

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN IOWA TO 1880
AS REFLECTED IN THE OBSERVATIONS OF TRAVELERS

by

Jennie L. Harding

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major Subject: Economic History

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

lege

1942

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| THE NATURAL CONDITIONS OF IOWA | 6 |
| THE INCREASE OF POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT OF IOWA | 12 |
| AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND METHODS | 18 |
| PIONEER INDUSTRIES | 23 |
| MARKETS, COMMODITIES AND PRICES | 28 |
| TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION | 33 |
| GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIVING -- FOOD, HOMES AND CLOTHING | 43 |
| CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, RELIGION AND MORALS | 52 |
| EDUCATION AND CULTURE | 57 |
| CITATIONS | 61 |
| LITERATURE CITED | 72 |
| LITERATURE READ AND NOT CITED | 77 |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENT | 80 |

INTRODUCTION

The settlement of Iowa came in the full tide of the westward movement to the Middle Border. At the same time there was an awakening interest in scientific study. Although most travelers came for land settlement or speculation, many, of varying competence, came for scientific study.

The travel literature gives only a fragmentary reproduction of the great panorama, but it sets forth both a challenge and an appeal. Some sketches are rich in color, and others are fraught with emotional appeal telling of the hardship, the loneliness, the rough uncouth crassness, the privation, the want and sacrifice of the pioneers. Other sketches reveal the gaiety, the good fellowship and devotion of the people.

During the forties religious and political disturbances, and seasons of economic distress were frequent in central and northern Europe. Those periods of stress and misfortune drove many persons of intelligence and high character to seek economic opportunities, or to find a surcease from political and religious persecution in the United States. Security of religious freedom was the motive that led Henry Peter Scholte to establish the Pella settlement along the Des Moines and Skunk Rivers. The year following the first settlement, in 1848, Peter Scholte sent a pamphlet to Holland which described the economic resources and opportunities of the region.

Writings of journalists, botanists, geologists, ministers, novelists, scholars, soldiers, home-seekers, railroad contractors, surveyors, lecturer-entertainers, and lecturer-reformers have been examined. The writings fall

roughly into two groups: the observations of fact, and personal opinions and the interpretations expressed. Both groups of material have required cautious study.

Count Francesco Arese, an Italian diplomat, made a trip to the prairies in 1837 and 1838. His writing affords an excellent example of traveler's accounts for several reasons. His route was typical, his motive arose from his sense of curiosity and desire for adventure, his observations were accurate and his opinions only slightly prejudiced.

From New York City he journeyed through the Middle Atlantic States by stage, crossed the Appalachian Mountains in the region of the headwaters of the Kanawha River, proceeding down that river and the Ohio to Cairo, then up the Mississippi to St. Louis, up the Missouri to Council Bluffs, then on horseback to the Vermillion River and Sioux villages. He then crossed overland to the St. Peters River region, and followed it somewhat circuitously to the Falls of St. Anthony, descended the Mississippi to Fort Crawford and journeyed on by the Fox River region to Green Bay. He concluded his journey by way of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River, making further observation of New York and the New England States. The journal of his American travels was written in French. Andrew Evans, who translated the notes, points out that Arese was occasionally careless, having written New York for New Castle; and also that the typesetters who originally published his notes made remarkable errors in American geographical and proper names. These errors Evans has explained by notes. Arese's observations on modes of travel types of homes, occupations of the people, and the flora and fauna are accurate. The trip was made apparently for the sake of adventure, and the

whole account reflects his carefree and buoyant spirit.

Some travelers who came to the West expected so much that their reaction, upon being disappointed, was sometimes violent. "To many, especially the traveler from abroad, . . . the frontier was the rawest, most uncouth manifestation of a crude and braggart republic."¹ Fredrika Bremer observed that in the "Great West" on the shores of the "Great River" Mississippi various scenes and peoples existed -- from the best to the worst. Beltrami, an Italian adventurer, waxed eloquent over the Mississippi River even between Cairo and St. Louis, which Dickens later spoke of as "the hateful Mississippi, . . . a slimy monster hideous to behold."² Murray described Keokuk in 1835 as the "lowest and most blackguard place that I have yet visited."³

The most common routes to Iowa were: overland by way of the Cumberland Road to St. Louis, from Peoria, Illinois to Fort Madison, from Milwaukee to Dubuque, and from Green Bay along the Fox River to Prairie du Chien; and by boat particularly on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Des Moines Rivers. Newhall observed that, "the great thoroughfares of Illinois and Indiana, in the years 1836 and 1837 . . . would be literally lines with the long blue wagons of the emigrant slowly wending their way over the broad prairies -- the cattle and hogs, men and dogs, and frequently women and children, forming the rear of the van."⁴

The types of writings examined include journals, letters, guide books, and works re-written from notes or scrap books. Journals have yielded some of the most helpful and useful materials. America of the Fifties by Fredrika Bremer is an edition of a series of letters which she wrote while

visiting relatives and countrymen in the Middle West. The letters of travelers contain much information pertinent to this study. Works have been re-written chiefly to make the finished work literary, and therefore attractive to a larger group. Guide books have comprised a considerable portion of the writings examined. Most of them have been written with flourish and a touch of flambuoyancy. Their purpose was to attract settlers to the new lands of the West. The publication of some guide books was sponsored by land companies, and others by railroad promoters. Marcy's Prairie Traveler was published for the primary purpose of serving as an aid and guide to inexperienced travelers on their perilous westward journeys.

The writings examined set forth various motives for the westward migration. Arese points out that everyone aboard his boat ascending the Missouri "belonged to the American Fur Company. Some of them were heads of factories, and depots, but the largest number was made up of hunters, trappers, and voyageurs, mostly French, or to speak more precisely, of French extraction."⁵ Newhall noted in 1836, "often ten, twenty, thirty wagons in company. Ask them when and where you could, their destination was the 'Black Hawk Purchase'." These people were going to Iowa to establish permanent homes.

The forties and fifties were the years of most privation and hardship. Then, doctors were few, cholera and ague often assumed epidemic proportions.

Means of travel were poor. Often, for weeks in winter, it was impossible to get about except by means of bobsleds. Again, in rainy seasons or particularly wet years, the prairies were changed to oceans. Sloughs in low places and along river bottoms were very common, making formidable barriers to overland travel. Money was scarce, and prices of commodities varied chiefly because of transportation costs.

The Civil War brought swift and lasting changes to the State of Iowa. It is the purpose of this study to trace the development of these changes insofar as they have been pointed out in travel literature.

THE NATURAL CONDITIONS OF IOWA

Travelers in general have been very favorably impressed by the general appearance, and the natural resources of Iowa. Giacomo C. Beltrami, in 1823, found scenes along the Mississippi River enchanting. His descriptions appeal strongly to the imagination. He had "never seen nature more beautiful or more majestic . . . the immense prairies . . . like oceans, the monotony of them relieved by isolated clusters of thick and mossy trees."⁶

In 1828, Caleb Atwater ascended the Mississippi River to Prairie du Chien. The rolling hills and valleys carpeted with thick grasses, he thought, could support a vast new empire. He spoke of the region as a country fit for princes.

Wild game was very abundant. George Catlin, traveling along the Missouri River in 1832, wrote that "swans, ducks, geese, pelicans, deer, antelope, elk, and buffaloes . . . were thriving . . . amid the thousand islands and grass-covered bluffs that stud the shores of this mighty river."⁷ Later about 1834, after a two day trip up the Des Moines River, Catlin came upon the village of the Chieftain Keokuk. He regarded the whole country as a garden wanting only cultivation.⁸ After traveling up the Mississippi River in a bark canoe, he camped on Muscatine Island. There he found prairie hens and wild fowl "in abundance for my meals . . . the whole island a lovely prairie covered with a high and luxuriant growth of grass."⁹

In 1836, Albert M. Lea published a small book which contains the following description of Iowa:

The general appearance of the country is one of great beauty. It may be represented as one grand rolling prairie, along one side of which flows the mightiest river in the world, and through which numerous navigable streams pursue their devious way towards the ocean. In every part of this whole District, beautiful rivers and creeks are to be found, whose transparent waters are perpetually renewed by the springs from which they flow. Many of these streams are connected with lakes; and hence their supply of water is remarkably uniform throughout the season. All these rivers, creeks, and lakes, are skirted by woods, often several miles in width, affording shelter from intense cold or heat to the animals that may there take refuge from the contiguous prairies. These woods also afford the timber necessary for building houses, fences and boats.¹⁰

Lea had been favorably impressed by the natural resources of the territory, and wrote:

Taking this District, all in all, for convenience of navigation, water, fuel and timber; for richness of soil; for beauty of appearance; and for pleasantness of climate, it surpasses any portion of the United States with which I am acquainted.¹¹

The products of this District are chiefly mineral and agricultural

Bituminous coal, the oxides and sulphurets of iron, limestone, sandstone, and fire-clay, are found in numerous places; and some of these minerals occur in great abundance. But the chief mineral wealth of this region consists in its Lead Mines. The finest mines in the United States are those near DuBaque [sic], in the northern part of the District. The galena has been found throughout an extensive tract.¹²

Lea also stated that along the Des Moines River there were: "forests of the finest walnut, oak, ash, elm, and cherry . . . and back of these wooded bottoms are extensive prairies both flat and rolling."¹³

Reports made by John C. Fremont in 1841 stated that the region of the Des Moines River was densely and luxuriantly timbered and the prairie uplands bordering the Cedar River had rich soil.

Thomas Farnham crossed the prairies of the Middle West in 1839 and found: "rich, deep, alluvial soil capable of producing the most abundant

crops of grains, vegetables & c., that grow in such latitudes."¹⁴

Captain James Allen recorded in his journal in 1844 that on the journey to the "Lake of the Oaks"¹⁵ there were many hundred acres of excellent timber; the country all around was high and bleak, and so inhospitable that it would be many years before settlement could be led to it. Between the Des Moines River headwaters and the Big Sioux River was a buffalo range. His expedition found game plentiful, especially the "wary fleet-footed elk"¹⁶, and flocks of waterfowl at Medium Lake near what is now Emmetsburg.

In 1845, Asa Whitney made a five hundred mile trip across northern Iowa in the interest of railroad promotion. He wrote in a letter that his trip had been "over the finest country upon the globe . . . no swamps, no marshes, no flooding of rivers except in the vicinity of the Wabisipinica . . . the most healthy [sic] country in the world . . . never found atmosphere so pure."¹⁷ He did not see half an acre of useless bad land. He found the best of grasses, which when cured made good hay; and extended tracts of timber along the Cedar River. Coal was abundant, timber was all natural growth and streams could be bridged easily at little expense.

Henry Peter Scholte described the natural advantages and resources of the Pella region in the pamphlet which he sent home to Holland in 1848. He mentioned the water power, the presence of a mineral spring, the possibility of navigating the Des Moines River, the lime and coal deposits, sandstone, the excellent water in dug wells, and the surface of the land was rolling and undulating.

Fredrika Bremer, in the fifties, wrote that her "journey over the Iowa prairie in a half-covered wagon was very pleasant. . . . The valley of the

Mississippi has room for about two hundred millions of inhabitants, and the American Union has a heart large enough, and sufficient power to take under her charge all strangers, all neglected or unfortunate children of the earth, and give them a portion of her earth and of her spiritual life."¹⁸

Isaac Lane Usher went to Muscatine, Iowa in 1853 to build a railroad. He described the open country twenty-nine miles from Muscatine as, "Rolling prairie, as beautiful as nature could make it . . . with here and there an oak opening to supply wood and fencing timber, . . . soil as good as any in the world, and climate as healthy [sic]."¹⁹ The open country from Tipton to Elk River was "interspersed here and there with a grove of oak timber and watered with clear, running streams. . . . [The land was] hilly and broken within two or three miles of the river . . . much more pleasant and beautiful than flat country."²⁰

Edward L. Peckham, a young botanist from Rhode Island, traversed Iowa twice within a fortnight by stage coach in the year 1857. His journey was a very tedious one, a point he made emphatic in his journal. Davenport in the State of Iowa, is a pretty place, and growing at a prodigious rate. Here I bid [sic] goodbye to [friends] and continued . . . over a rolling prairie destitute of trees. Here I began to experience feelings of dislike and aversion. The whole prospect was lonely and deserted, and the odor of flowers truly sickening."²¹

Nisbeth, a Swedish traveler, visited the Swedish colonies of Iowa in 1872. He expressed the opinion that soil in the vicinity of Stanton was so fertile that it would be fifteen or eighteen years before it would need fertilizer.

One of the natural disadvantages of Iowa was the sloughs or marshes. Willard Barrows, a surveyor who came to Iowa in 1838, mentioned a large slough near the mouth of Rock River. The slough was caused by the annual overflow of the Mississippi River.²² All around the east bank of the Mississippi opposite Burlington was a dismal swamp in 1840. Captain Allen mentioned numerous sloughs. Near what is now Emmetsburg, the whole detachment had to ferry across a large slough in a pontoon wagon bed, and swim the horses.²³ Edwin Sumner's report of the dragoon expedition made in 1845 stated that the prairies were wet, and the streams were full. These conditions delayed the arrival of the force at Ft. Atkinson.²⁴ Many of the swamps hindered travel and retarded settlement. W. F. Rae, an English traveler, who crossed Iowa in 1869 on the Chicago and Northwestern railroad train said, "Iowa has its drawbacks in the shape of swamps, as well as its treasures in the form of rolling prairies. . . . The railroad crossed through one of the worst swamps in the whole state."²⁵

The weather had its vagaries in those pioneer years. The winter 1856-57 was especially severe. The snow began November first, and was followed by rain which turned to sleet. The storm, lasting three days, piled snow to depth of four feet. The temperature dropped to as low as forty degrees below zero. and severe cold continued with little moderation until April. The spring and summer of 1857 were very wet. Many parts of the country were flooded. All the level regions of northern Iowa were covered with water, and crops could not grow.²⁶

September rains are often mentioned. William O. Gulick, who enlisted with Union cavalry troops in 1861, wrote to his relatives of standing guard

in heavy rains. The camp -- "Camp Warren west of Davenport" -- consisting only of tents, was not too well situated. Most of the boys slept on the ground, and on one occasion, "woke up swimming in water." The next day ditches were dug to drain away the water. He later speaks of the camp as "very healthy."²⁷

The next year, in September, Charles H. Babbitt, one of a small group of home guardsmen who called themselves "The Flying Artillery", traveled overland from Council Bluffs to Sioux City. They encountered heavy rains and mud, having at times to literally chop the mud from the wheels of the wagons. He speaks of one camp as the "most mosquito-infested place I ever saw. Notwithstanding smudge maintained all night and liberal use of pennyroyal the men were unable to sleep because of the pests." Traveling between the Little Sioux and Onawa Rivers the "bay horses were converted into roans by the white wings of mosquitoes that covered their bodies."²⁸

In 1866, George C. Duffield, an enterprising Iowan, drove cattle from Texas through Iowa to Burlington, where they were loaded on a stock train and shipped to Chicago. The herd was stampeded by violent thunderstorms. Frequently he and his riders were drenched to the skin, or rode in drizzling rains all day. In October, the weather became warm and pleasant again.

THE INCREASE OF POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT OF IOWA

The Black Hawk Purchase, negotiated in 1832, comprised a strip of land extending fifty miles west from the Mississippi River, and south to the present boundary of the state to Missouri. The area was opened for settlement 1 June, 1833. According to the 1836 census, Iowa had a population of 10,531; and in this year an additional purchase was made, west of the first, the whole of it being one and a quarter million acres. The population numbered 22,859 in 1838, and 43,000 in 1840. In 1842, the remainder of Iowa Territory was negotiated for, and by the same agreement the Indians were given the privilege to remain three years longer, the time expiring 11 October, 1845 at midnight. There was a rapid flow of immigration into Iowa after 1850, numbering about 15,000 persons in that decade. After 1860, a tide of immigration swept over even the waste places of the state covering the hills and valleys.²⁹

Dubuque, situated on one of the most delightful sites on the river, was a small town of two hundred houses in 1834 and had been built entirely within the two previous years.

After the second purchase of Indian lands in 1836, Dodge, of the U. S. Army who had negotiated with Keokuk for the purchase, admonished Keokuk to move his family within a month in order to make room for the whites. Keokuk laughed at the admonition, for he had already sold his wigwams to the whites, who then numbered four hundred, and several hundred more were on the way.

Home-seekers who came to Salem, Iowa in the early forties found the

country "new", and only partially organized into settlements. "A line two counties wide bordered the Mississippi River in 1842. A row of counties on the south bordering the state of Missouri had already been established, and . . . the remainder [of the territory was] inhabited by Indians, buffalo, elk, deer, wolves, and other denizens of the virgin country." ³⁰

"The traces of man's industry and genius are few; and at best they are crude and primitive as yet," ³¹ said Ole Munch Raeder, a Norwegian traveler who visited eastern Iowa in 1847. He predicted that it would be a long time before the "dreary monotony of the woods would be enlivened by the appearance of neat little towns and smiling landscapes with cheerful farmhouses." ³²

During this same year the Mormons began their hejira from Nauvoo to the far west. The suffering and hardship they endured in crossing Iowa was terrible. Many did not reach the east bank of the Missouri River until late fall. The first winter of 1846-47 was spent at Council Bluffs, which was then merely a trading post of the American Fur Company. At this winter camp, the Mormons were befriended by the Omaha and Pottawottami Indians who allowed them to use timber for huts and fuel, and offered their men as guards for the herds of livestock. ³³

Henry Peter Scholte came into the old half-breed tract in March 1848 to secure lands to establish a Dutch colony. At that time lawsuits were constantly being brought to settle the matter of titles. Many who lived there were not owners of the land, and Scholte considered this situation undesirable. He secured a list of the settlers and, within one day, by hard riding secured everybody's promise to sell at a stipulated price. ³⁴

Keokuk was the hub city in the early pioneer years. From the record of a young St. Louis journalist, its population was 3100 in 1850. In the same year Farmington was "sprawled over an area large enough for 10,000."³⁵ It then had many large fashionable residences, fine stores, several hotels, and offices of doctors and lawyers. The young journalist continued up the Des Moines valley to Fort Clark, then established at the junction of Lizard Creek, and the Des Moines River. This region was very sparsely settled. During the second day's travel north of Des Moines village he mentions having seen "only an occasional cottage peering from some point of timber."³⁶

C. L. Lucas came into Iowa in 1853. Fort Des Moines was then a "small place."³⁷ Both the residences and business houses were restricted to the grounds of the old military post. Prior to reaching Des Moines, the Lucas party had met five families returning from Boone County to Illinois. They had spent the summer there and were returning to their old home, thoroughly disgusted with Iowa pioneering.

"The rate of settlement of Iowa is faster than that of any state except California,"³⁸ wrote Issac Lane Usher, a railroad builder, in 1853. From Ohio the settlers came by hundreds every day. They were "regular, old farmers, energetic and industrious . . . more wagons than the ferry boat can take across the river in the day time."³⁹ Sometimes there were fifteen or twenty wagons waiting. In going a distance of five miles on the prairies Usher met fifteen wagons of settlers on their way to the west. At Muscatine in May of the next year he wrote, "We have eighty-five regular families and sometimes as high as one hundred twenty-five arrivals per day."⁴⁰

Frances Gage, a temperance lecturer, spoke in Oskaloosa in 1854. She visited her sister who had settled near there ten years earlier. The sister told her that, "for weeks I saw no face of woman," yet when Mrs. Gage came to visit, "the friendly, cheerful smoke of twenty home-fires"⁴¹ could be counted from her sister's back door. "There was peace, plenty, and cheerfulness"⁴² in the Iowa cabins that Mrs. Gage visited.

Peckham who crossed Iowa in 1857, considered the country between Iowa City and Des Moines quite bleak. "Our horses were watered and our own thirst quenched about 6 p.m. at a group of log houses and barns on the edge of a grove of trees."⁴³ The stagecoach had left Iowa City at eleven in the morning. By 1858, there were not more than ten persons per square mile and less than four hundred miles of railroad in this state, none of it extending half way across. Not half the lands were owned by settlers and only a very small fraction of the holdings were under cultivation.⁴⁴

The rivers of Iowa played an important part in the settlement of the state. As pointed out above, most of the earlier travelers who visited Iowa came by boat. "The Omaha, and others of her kind, served in the settlement of the Missouri valley and the development of the young towns in western Iowa before the railroads came to ruin the river traffic."⁴⁵ The first voyage of the Omaha was made in 1859.

In the early sixties, when the nation was being torn asunder by the Civil War, the Sioux Indians took advantage of the situation to wage war upon the white settlers and pillage their homes in the northwest portion of the state.⁴⁶ Many farmers had fled to Sioux City leaving their unharvested wheat, growing corn, and in many instances, their household effects. It was

to quell the fierce Sioux that Charles Babbitt and the homeguard expedition went to Sioux City. The inhabitants were then, 1862 "mostly old-time French traders and former attaches of the North American Fur Company. . . . Some were quite well off in worldly possession."⁴⁷ After the War, beginning in 1866, there was a general and rapid migration of settlers into this newer region. Supplies were freighted from Denison, then the railroad terminus, by wagon to Sioux City.⁴⁸

In 1872, a young Swedish traveler came to this state to visit the colonies of his countrymen. The population of the state was then 1,100,000, of which about 10,000 were Swedes. Burlington, then thirty-nine years old, had 20,000 inhabitants most of them being artisans, and laborers who "appeared to be in good circumstances."⁴⁹ Red Oak, then a town of 2500 population had between three and four hundred Swedes. This traveler visited the Icarian colony, settled by French political dissenters, near Corning. Although the colony had been established seven years prior to his visit, it did not appear to him to be prospering. "None appeared happy, but rather indifferent more like martyrs than human beings."⁵⁰ The young people left the colony and sought a better future elsewhere.

M. Cohen-Stuart visited the Dutch colonies of Iowa in 1873. On traveling through Des Moines he found it "a growing little place of nearly 13,000 -- bent upon being much more respectable later on."⁵¹ The three million dollar capitol was then being built. Between Des Moines and Fort Dodge was a "constant succession of undulating fields."⁵² At Fort Dodge, Stuart was not very comfortable. "If there had been a prodigal expenditure of money", he wrote, "it had not been on the station which was constructed of rough lumber

. . . plain and primitive in absolute harmony with the surrounding country." Continuing his journey from Fort Dodge to Orange City he found "the whole country practically wild, . . . now and then a station of logs or boards more primitive than the one at Fort Dodge . . . or a lone farm . . . then, not a sign of habitation. . . . Storm Lake was a variant to the monotonous scene."⁵³

Mahlon D. Collins returned to the vicinity of Salem in 1879, where he had formerly lived when Salem was an important station of the Underground Railroad. He saw that "towns had sprung up everywhere in place of virgin wilderness of a few years before. Railroads crisscrossed the area in every direction."⁵⁴ Where once he built his church buildings, he then found established congregations with their houses of worship already built. But in most parts of northwestern Iowa, frontier conditions still prevailed.

Many pioneer home-seekers witnessed the same changes and development as Lydia A. Titus, who saw her surroundings change "from a raw unbroken prairie to a settled community with schools and churches . . . the county seat from a scraggly village to a thriving up-to-date town with all the improvements of a city."⁵⁵

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND METHODS

Agriculture was carried on largely on a subsistence basis before the Civil War. Tools and machines were scarce, roads were poor and transportation was generally difficult. One of the first tasks was breaking the ground. An early settler of Boone County used a twenty inch plow to which was hitched five yokes of oxen. Two or three acres of land could be broken a day. Many farms were fenced by rails. Farmers of the earlier years were often harassed by the Indians.

Wheat was first grown in the vicinity of Keokuk, and the lower Des Moines Valley in 1849, much of it being shipped down the Mississippi River. Settlers between the Skunk and Boone Rivers in 1850 made "a good living . . . they had sufficient coal for fuel and abundant deer, elk, grouse, turkeys, and small game. . . . The soil was second rate."⁵⁶ As late as 1851 the entire Des Moines Valley was dependent upon Mississippi River shipping points for dry goods and all the necessary articles except the produce of the "hens, hogs, and the corn field."⁵⁷

When Henry Peter Scholte bought out the settlers in the Pella region, he found many of them carding wool and making their own linsey-woolsey cloth. Many of the tasks the settlers performed, Scholte felt would be difficult for his countrymen, who were accustomed to gaining enough money to satisfy their needs. But, he felt sure they could do well to make more dairy products, a phase of agriculture which most of the settlers were then neglecting.

Peckham found farmers beyond Adel producing fifty to one hundred bushels of corn an acre. In that vicinity he saw men planting corn by hand. He mentioned the slow pace of the stage horses, and explained that "our slow pace was caused by the badly fed state of the horses. Neither hay nor oats could be obtained, and corn was their only food, and therefore dangerous to overheat them. The past winter had been very severe and the people improvident. With oceans of prairie close at one's door, no grass had been cut, and of course, no hay secured."⁵⁸

"The spring of 1862 was one of privation for settlers of Lott's Creek", wrote Collins. There had been poor crops the year before. Flour was ten cents a pound and coffee was out of reach. Game was plentiful and the principal article of diet. A sorghum mill was set up and a substitute for coffee was obtained by soaking bread in sorghum and then toasting it. The sorghum was also used as a substitute for sugar.

M. Cohen-Stuart, speaking of agriculture in Iowa generally, wrote: "The principal riches of the state is the fruitfulness of its soil . . . wheat, oats, flax, vegetables, fruit -- everything flourishes luxuriantly and abundantly upon the willing soil, while natural pastures are exceptionally fitted for stock-raising. . . . The real fruit of the soil: the land's blessing is corn or maize."⁶⁰ Sod corn produced ten to fifteen bushels an acre, and later when carefully cultivated produced forty to one hundred bushels. "What the pomegranate or bread-tree is to some countries, that and much more is the maize plant to Iowa: at once the staple product for trade and daily bread for the farmer and his family, food for human beings and animals."⁶¹ Stuart drove by wagon into the country. He found most of

the farms fifty to sixty acres in size. Scarcity of labor and high wages forced the owner and his sons to till their own lands. He believed the lands to be the better for it. In traveling from Des Moines to Fort Dodge he observed numerous prairie fires. Many settlers set fires to clear away the prairie grass and fertilize the soil. The fires were usually held in check by furrows of the overturned soil. Hogs, cattle, and sheep were allowed to roam through the timbered areas or graze in the open pasture lands. The farmers cured their own meats, and made their own lard. Often the hogs were so wild that it was very difficult to drive them to market.

In 1836, Albert Lea wrote of the Iowa District:

The agricultural productions consist chiefly of maize, wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes. The large white corn of the south may be produced as far north as Rock Island, and yields from fifty to one hundred bushels per acre; but the yellow flint-corn grows well anywhere, and yields from forty to seventy-five bushels per acre; the latter is the more certain crop. Wheat is produced with a facility unknown except in the west. I have known the sod of the prairie to be simply turned over, the seed harrowed in, and thirty bushels per acre to be harvested. But the usual crop, after the first, is from twenty-five to forty bushels per acre with negligent farming. Oats yield usually from sixty to seventy bushels per acre, and seventy-five bushels have been cut at DuBaque [sic] Potatoes grow abundantly, and are famous throughout the west for their fine quality.⁶²

When Henry Peter Scholte bargained for the lands of the Pella colony in 1847, the settlers were then producing wheat, oats, buckwheat, flax, hemp, Indian corn, cabbage, turnips, onions, potatoes, and melons. Tame and grafted fruit trees were numerous, and in the groves wild fruit trees and grape vines grew in profusion. The live stock, he considered, was of good quality. Much of the live stock ran loose on the prairies in the western and southern portions of the region. Hogs were plentiful, being allowed to roam the woods, then brought home and fattened on Indian corn at

slaughter time. Some of the farmers had twenty-five thousand pounds of ham and bacon, and five thousand pounds of lard ready for shipment. That some of the settlers had such a large supply of these goods seemed quite remarkable to Scholte because they had been in the region only three years.

A clergyman who had traveled in Iowa in the fifties wrote of agriculture in glowing terms. Many pioneer farmers who spent the best and hardest years of their lives at farming⁶³ would not agree with the following:

This beautiful country is dotted all over with neat farmhouses, and variegated with orchards and groves planted by the hands of man. . . . The farmer has but little to do. When he has his house and stabling built, and his land fenced and broken up, he has but little else to do but gather in his produce, and spend the balance of his life in comfort and ease. . . . This is the country for our industrious Pennsylvania farmer. Here he can farm without much labor, and by economy add farm to farm.⁶⁴

H. Harcourt Horn first came to the English colony of the Decorah community in 1868. In 1869, he returned to his native land for his wife. They lived in northeastern Iowa for ten years. The information, which follows, concerning farming, and farming methods was taken from his book, An English Colony in Iowa.

Threshing machines, when first used, were operated by horse power. Eight to twelve horses were needed. Horse power soon gave way to steam power, and that resulted in a new difficulty of selecting the best and safest fuel. Sparks from coal burners sometimes set stacks of grain or straw afire. There was no market for gasoline at that time, and there was sometimes a dangerous amount of it in the kerosene.

Farmers made little effort to fertilize their fields. Manure was piled up by the barns and not utilized. Sometimes the barns were moved away from the piles of manure.

Many of the fences were "snake fences", that is, made from wooden rails. Such fences had their disadvantages, for they harbored weeds which soon spread to the cultivated fields.⁶⁵

The lands around Decorah were well suited to diversified farming. Grain growing appealed to persons with limited capital. Spring wheat was the staple, and the highest grade brought the highest price. It was always in demand by millers. Barley was much in demand by brewers and malters, and rye was sought by distillers. Oats were fed to horses in summer, and corn in winter. No turnips or alfalfa were used as feed at that time.⁶⁶

During this decade there was an attempt made to improve the breed of stock, and thoroughbred strains were introduced. Some Chester White and Berkshire swine were brought in. Thoroughbred cattle were not much in evidence. The climate was too severe for the Channel Island varieties but Herefords, and some Shorthorns were introduced.⁶⁷

Ephriam Adams, a home missionary, writing in 1870 stated the opinion that Iowa was in the dawn of its development. Of Iowa's 55,000 square miles [35,200,000 acres], two-thirds, or 25,000,000 acres was still prairie sod. At that time this state ranked fourth in the production of some cereals.⁶⁸

In 1870, Iowa farmers generally felt that great things would be done by railroads. It was during the seventies that farmers and the railroads of Iowa came to battle. The farmer of American stock continued to plant grains and break up virgin soil, only to aggravate the already glutted grain markets. Diversified methods of farming were introduced chiefly by farmers of European stock.

PIONEER INDUSTRIES

Many of the pioneers did not earn their living from the soil. "Steamboating" was necessary, and fortunes were made and lost in the industry. The "lives of many Iowa people . . . captains, pilots, deck-hands, merchants, and traders centered around the coming and going of river steamboats. . . . Now only the quiet little river towns remain, sole relics of the romantic time when the Mississippi was the principal highway to Iowa, when steamboating was an art as well as a job, and when culture and gaiety reigned in the ports on the Father of Waters."⁶⁹

Albert Lea writing in 1836, stated that:

There are ten or twelve steamboats continually plying between St. Louis and the various ports on the upper Mississippi, as far as the Falls of Saint Anthony. . . . But whilst I am now writing, this thing is all changing; for such is the rapidity of growth of this country, and such is the facility with which these people accommodate the wants of the public, that I would not be surprised to find the number of boats doubled within the current year.⁷⁰

"The winding Cedar River, with its beautifully wooded bluffs, its valley walls of towering limestone, and its constantly shifting sandbars was once the scene of vigorous river traffic."⁷¹ In the summer of 1859, the first summer of steamboating on the Cedar River, the Black Hawk made a profit of two thousand dollars. In 1878 La Claire Belle made a profit of seventeen thousand dollars on the Mississippi River.

The Civil War had a depressing effect on steamboating, but the sixties and seventies was a period of recovery for the industry, followed first by

gradual decline, and then speedy decline in the eighties. Four railroads were completed across Iowa by 1870, and it was the competition from these that finally drove the steamboats from the rivers.

Murray noted that most of the workers in Keokuk in 1835 were watermen, who worked loading and unloading the keelboats. On the whole, he considered them a "rough and blackguard lot."⁷² Sometimes the farm boys worked on the river boats. Fourteen "country pick-ups" were employed on the Agatha in 1843 for two weeks. The men received seventy-five cents a day. There were no fights on board, and although there was whiskey, there was only one instance of drunkenness.

There was at least one sawmill in every town, and thousands of feet of lumber were turned out every year. Rafting the logs from the northern forests to the sawmills of Iowa was most important during the thirties, forties and fifties. The steamboats generally used for rafting were the stern wheelers. The round trip from Beef Slough, Wisconsin to Muscatine required ten days, and to the mills at Davenport, eight days. As the industry increased many mills provided their own boats, while the small mills depended on the regular steamboat companies and free lance captains. The full crew on a rafter was about twenty-five men. Such work afforded variety and fair pay. Most of the raft boats were manned by whites, while the packets were manned by negroes. The captain and crews shared alike in toil and leisure. The boatyards in Iowa afforded winter employment for many. Sometimes the more ambitious or less encumbered went to the north woods.

Overland hauling or freighting gave employment to many. Henry Peter Schelte's pamphlet states that goods were freighted from Keokuk to Pella for

seventy-five cents an hundred weight. The road led over a high prairie ridge, and except for a short period when soaked with rain, it was very good. When weather was bad the freighting sometimes cost one dollar an hundred weight, and never more than one dollar twelve and a half cents when the hauling was most difficult.

In 1853, according to C. L. Lucas, there was not a mile of railroad in Iowa, but in less than a day several steamboats carrying cargo and passengers landed at the wharf in Fort Madison which was then a supply point for the inland settlements. The next year, he and his father hauled goods from the Mississippi River towns to merchants in Boone County. It was a four hundred mile trip requiring twenty days with ox teams, or fifteen days with horses. Oxen were more generally used because horses needed grain. They charged two dollars and fifty cents for each one hundred pounds of goods.

While the railroads were being constructed in Iowa, their western terminals were the points from which the freighters and teamsters set out with the goods for the frontier outposts of both the settlers and military forts.

Grist mills were early established, so that the settlers might have their corn ground into meal. These were first run by water or horse power which later gave way to use of steam. Keokuk in 1838 was "the Chicago of the West", but the nearest mill was thirty miles distant at Sweet Home, Missouri. It was horse propelled, and customers had not only to wait turns for the milling but sometimes to furnish a horse. A mill was built in Ottumwa in 1844. Scholte, extolling the advantages of the Pella region to his countrymen, wrote that lumber could be secured from neighboring saw-

mills to build their farm and town buildings. A sawmill could be established on the Skunk River, and sawing begun in April; later, a corn mill could be established. Mahlon Day Collins, living in the region of Fort Dodge in 1856-57 took grist thirty miles to Fort Dodge. The journey was made hazardous by rains and swollen streams. He and his brother constructed a crude raft from a broken bridge, a canoe from a large walnut log, and swam the horses across the largest stream. Peckham, in 1857, mistook the shrieking whistle of a steam mill near Grinnell for that of a locomotive. During his return journey, a Westfield handbill was tossed into his coach. As far as he could observe the town consisted of about six buildings, yet the hand bill boasted of "mill privileges in abundance, one steam mill in our place, one within two miles, one within four miles and a steam flouring mill within five miles." Among other attractions advertised by the handbill were Westfield's blacksmith shop, employing two hands; two wagon makers; several carpenters; a plasterer and shoemaker; one tavern, and another needed; one bakery; and two dry goods and grocery stores.⁷⁴

L. J. Rose, a Jewish merchant, came from Quincy, Illinois to Keosauqua in 1848. Within the next ten years he greatly increased his riches. He decided to sponsor an emigrant train to California, and spent most of a whole year during 1856-57 disposing of his large holdings.⁷⁵

At Muscatine in 1853 there were two large flour mills producing three hundred barrels of the best quality flour every twenty-four hours. Steam mills sawed twenty thousand feet of lumber each day. There were also lath, shingle, and planing mills. Pine logs from three or four hundred miles up the river were rafted down for these enterprises.⁷⁶

Lands which were purchased from Keokuk at seventy-five cents an acre were resold for ten shillings, or two and a half dollars. Land offices were numerous, and many surveyors were attracted to the young Iowa country.⁷⁷

A young Iowa volunteer, while waiting to get cavalry equipment at Camp Warren wrote to his relatives that his mess consisted of three carpenters, one telegraph operator, three Mt. Vernon students, his close companion one stone mason, and two common laborers. He was prevented from going into Burlington "to have my likeness taken"⁷⁸ by a camp order for special parade. He and his companion were farmers, so it is plain that the Iowa volunteers were men from many occupations.

The mining industry afforded occupation for many early settlers. Coal was found in the Pella region, in the upper Des Moines valley, near Stanton and Red Oak, and near Fort Dodge. A group of scientists, enroute from Dubuque to Sioux City visited gypsum quarries, limestone quarries and kilns, and coal mines at Fort Dodge in 1872.⁷⁹ The lead mines at Dubuque were important. The shipment of lead was the most important factor in the early development of steamboating on the Mississippi River.

Des Moines in 1850, had a "two story brick court house, plenty of lawyers, doctors of law, physic, and divinity . . . mills and machine shops going full blast . . . and two printing presses."⁸⁰ Oskaloosa in 1853, had a large distillery, which was then looked upon as valuable property. The largest furniture factory in Red Oak in 1872 was operated by two Swedes.

The earliest settlers had to make almost everything they used but were glad enough to exchange their surplus grain and livestock for "store things", or other necessary machines and goods for the production of which they had neither the time nor the materials.

MARKETS, COMMODITIES, AND PRICES

From the time of the fur traders the principal avenues of trade were down the rivers to the ports of the Mississippi. Lea, writing in 1836, stated that: "THE TRADE of this District is confined almost entirely to the grand thoroughfare of the Mississippi. By it, the produce of the mines is carried away, and all the wants of a new population are supplied."⁸¹

Much of the agricultural surplus was sold to incoming settlers. Lea wrote in 1836 that: "All kinds of agricultural products have heretofore found ready consumers in the increasing population of every neighborhood; and this cause will continue to afford a market at every man's door for years to come."⁸²

Newhall, in 1841, expressed much the same opinion, but pointed out that a foreign market would have to be found soon. "The steady and constant influx of population had prevented a surplus of agricultural produce."⁸³ The opening of new farms at that time was increasing rapidly. The raising of stock was increasing very rapidly also. The result of this, thought Newhall, would be "that Iowa must ere long avail herself of the natural channels of navigation with which she is bountifully supplied."⁸⁴ Some agricultural surplus was disposed of in the South, but much was marketed in Europe at times, notably at the time of the famine in Ireland, and during the Crimean War.

Money was very scarce in the early years. By 1840 the effects of the crisis of 1837 had reached Iowa. There was no money or credit, and little

hope for business. Antoine Le Claire was then building his first hotel in Davenport, and in doing so almost exhausted his credit.⁸⁵ From 1838 to 1842 there was almost no money in circulation. Farmers had to pay as high as fifty percent interest on money they had borrowed to enter their land. "Those were dark days in Iowa, and there was no let up for a number of years."⁸⁶

In the late forties German immigrants came to Davenport in large numbers. "Many of them possessed a good deal of money, which the country sadly needed. They entered large tracts of land, which they immediately improved."⁸⁷

In 1846, a Davenport merchant exchanged twenty-six hundred in gold at St. Louis for ten thousand dollars in currency.⁸⁸ In 1854, business was again very much depressed because of the exchange value of currency.

Persons were giving their own individual tickets, payable when presented in amounts equal to one dollar.⁸⁹

In the late sixties gold was again commanding a high rate of exchange. At Decorah it required six hundred in "greenbacks" to buy sixty dollars in gold. There was no small coinage at that time, and paper scrip known as "shinplasters" was issued for amounts of five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cents.⁹⁰

Barrows, a surveyor who came to Iowa in 1837, stated that in Rockingham flour cost sixteen to twenty dollars a barrel, and cornmeal one dollar and seventy cents a bushel. No meat of any kind could be secured at any price except wild game, and that was plentiful. The settlers took "store pay"⁹¹ for their surplus produce.

In 1838 flour cost eighteen dollars a barrel, and pork sold for eighteen to twenty dollars a hundred pounds at Keokuk. Then Keosauqua was as far west as white men had ventured to settle. The first keel boat that reached that

point carried flour, cornmeal, dry goods, and Indian supplies. Two years later a steamboat went to Pittsburgh, two miles above Keosauqua, where it took on a cargo of two hundred bushels of shelled corn. This corn had been hauled two miles to the boat; the price of corn was very high that year and netted the farmer a "handsome profit".⁹² In 1841, a flatboat was loaded at Keosauqua with sixty tons of bulk pork, and ten tons of barreled beef, which was shipped to New Orleans.

Market prices at Davenport were very low in the year 1841. During the summer "good, sound, sweet smoked shoulders"⁹³ of pork sold for one cent a pound. Steamboats bought them for fuel because they were cheaper than wood. Those were hard times for both farmer and merchant. Wheat sold at thirty to forty cents a bushel; and dressed hogs sold at one dollar to a dollar and a half an hundred weight. Good, fresh butter sold at five to eight cents a pound. At this same time the farmer had to pay as high as fifty percent interest on money he had borrowed.⁹⁴

A railroad builder at Tipton in 1853 wrote, "We have taken a contract on the Lyons, Iowa Central railroad, of two miles, near this place. The work on it will amount to about \$30,000."⁹⁵ Wages paid for labor were: fifteen cents a yard for earth hauled less than fifty rods, twenty cents a yard for all over fifty rods; two dollars a day for two horses and driver, boarding himself; two dollars a day for a yoke of oxen and a cart. A hotel, setting a "first rate" table, charge two dollars a week for board. This railroad builder had been offered thirty dollars a month to keep the books for the company. He accepted the job, although the only time he had to do the extra work was at night.

At Muscatine in the same year the same railroad builder wrote: "Any quantity of money you can get here at twenty-five percent with ample security."⁹⁶ The next year he wrote: "Any man with \$3000 or \$4000 can live here easy by 'shaving' short paper at 20 and 30%."⁹⁷

Prices of common boards in Muscatine were then twelve dollars a thousand, of better quality, twenty-five dollars a thousand, shingles three and a half dollars, and laths two and a half to three dollars.

Land prices varied from one hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars a front foot in the business portion of Muscatine to fifteen and twenty dollars an acre one mile out, and four to ten dollars an acre four or five miles out. Land values were advancing twelve to twenty-five percent each month, and in many cases, one hundred percent a month. This, Usher said, was due to the rapid inflow of immigrants.⁹⁸

Food prices in Muscatine in 1854 were as follows: corn, twenty to twenty-five cents a bushel; flour, six to six and half dollars a barrel; beef, six and seven cents a pound; pork, five and six cents a pound; prairie chickens, one and a half dollars a dozen; quail, thirty cents a dozen; turkeys, fifty cents each; tame chickens, one and a half dollars a dozen; butter, ten and twelve cents a pound; milk, four cents a quart; potatoes, twenty-five cents a bushel; peaches, one dollar a bushel; muskmelons, five cents; watermelons, five and ten cents.⁹⁹

Pearson's journal written in 1872 contains this interesting entry: "Bought a span of large horses from Wm. Packard and gave him a receipt for two hundred and sixty-five dollars to be credited on his Notes and Mortgage to me."¹⁰⁰

Walter A. Blair, writing of economic conditions in 1878 stated that living conditions generally were good, and supplies plentiful and cheap. Coal was furnished for the steamboats at two dollars a ton. Dry oak wood sold at two dollars and a half a cord; and slabs, piled on the river bank, sold at a dollar and a quarter to a dollar and a half a cord. Deck hands then received twenty-five dollars a month; firemen received thirty-five dollars a month; a chief engineer received ninety dollars a month and his assistant sixty; a cook received sixty dollars a month and his helper fifteen. When families and friends traveled on the boats, the cook was paid fifteen dollars a month more, and an extra cabin boy was hired.¹⁰¹

There were boat stores in the river towns where the steamboats secured supplies of fish, vegetables, and ice. Ice then cost two dollars a ton, eggs sold at ten to fifteen cents a dozen, meat cost six to ten cents a pound and the liver and bones were given away. Potatoes sold at twenty to fifty cents a bushel. Catfish cost ten cents; buffalo fish, eight cents; crappies and sun fish, eight cents; and frogs' legs, seventy-five cents a dozen.¹⁰²

Generally, this period to 1880 was one of hard times for the people of Iowa. Weather conditions were at times the cause of crop failures. The payment of high rates of interest on money borrowed to purchase land was a hardship. The condition of the currency was a principal cause of hard times. The money crises of 1837, 1857, and 1873 had a direct adverse affect on economic conditions. The cost of transportation was a factor which caused prices to vary not only from time to time, but also from one part of the state to another.

TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION

Rivers of Iowa served as the natural highways. Travel by waterways was developed first, and way by far the most important.

The most common difficulties of river travel were caused from frequent changes in channels, ledges of rock or boulders dangerously close to the water's surface, quicksand beds in the rivers, and rapids.

The first boats were small and often somewhat fragile. John Huff went up the Skunk River in 1835 bee-hunting. He collected about eighty gallons of honey and put it in barrels. He loaded the barrels onto two canoes, and lashed the canoes together. Striking a "sawyer"¹⁰³ the canoes capsized, and threw all but one barrel of honey into the river. Among other things Huff lost his shoes, and was forced to walk barefoot to Burlington before he could get another pair. At Burlington, he procured grappling hooks which he used to recover his possessions from the bottom of the river. His trip to Burlington and back to the scene of disaster required twelve days.¹⁰⁴

The Agatha was the first steamboat to ascend the Des Moines River to Raccoon Forks [Ft. Des Moines] in 1843. One of the "polemen" has left an account of the steamboat Agatha being grounded on a ledge of rock then called Appanoose Rapids, near Ottumwa. On its return trip down the river a side wheel boat was found lodged on the same ledge. The Agatha went by at full speed and the waves thus created shook the side wheeler loose from the ledge.¹⁰⁵

Whitney in 1845 described the Missouri, near Calumet, as a difficult

stream to bridge and navigate because it contained many shoals and rapid currents. At that time the water was from eighteen to twenty-two inches in depth, the beds were commonly of quicksand, the channel was constantly changing, and at that time full of snags. Below Calumet the river bottom was four or five miles wide between the bluffs. The bed was entirely quicksand. He was interested in river beds that could support good railroad crossings. Above Calumet he found two such places of bed rock and one of gravel.¹⁰⁶ The shifting current of the Des Moines River which washed away the willows and the banks was one factor which caused that river to be abandoned as a waterway.

The first boats were often propelled by man power. W. C. Morris, who worked as a "poleman" on one of the first keel-boats employed on the Des Moines River, has written a vivid description of "poling" boats on that river. It was a laborious task which required both perseverance and muscle. Wood served as the fuel first used on the steamboats. Sometimes the boats were tied to the shore while the crew went into the woods and chopped the fuel that was needed. Later, coal was used, and contention for a supply of coal sometimes resulted in a steamboat squabble.¹⁰⁷

The first ferries across the Mississippi were man-propelled flat boats, these were later replaced by the horse ferry, and it in turn by the steam ferry. A young lawyer has left an account of crossing this river in December, 1840 in a log canoe which required an hour's struggle through cakes of floating ice.¹⁰⁸

In 1854, Ft. Des Moines caught the "steamboat fever." A corporation was formed which purchased the Colonel Morgan, and adopted the old charter

which had been granted in 1851. This corporation began business in February, 1854 using the name the Fort Des Moines Steamboat Co. In 1855, six steamboats arrived at Des Moines, and about twice as many at points below.

The year 1859 is referred to as a "boss year" in steamboating. Five boats were noted at Des Moines in one day in April loading and unloading cargo. The steamboat Charley Rodgers made five round trips, including one to Ft. Dodge in that one season. The Republican state convention met in Des Moines this same year and held its sessions at Sherman's Hall on 23 June. Ottumwa was then the railroad terminus and many delegates came by boat. One delegate from Dubuque crossed the Mississippi on a ferry to Dunleith, Illinois, and then traveled by the Illinois Central Railroad to a point opposite Burlington. He then took the Burlington and Missouri to Agency City, the terminus. From there he traveled by stagecoach a distance of six miles to Ottumwa, and then traveled on a sternwheel steamboat to Des Moines.¹⁰⁹

The Des Moines River Steamboat fleet narrowed down to three boats in 1861, and made most of their runs between Des Moines and the railroad terminus. During that year the boats began carrying troops, and altogether made thirty-four trips. The next year the boats carried disabled and discharged soldiers for half price. In 1862, the floods came again and members of the legislature had to be carried across the bottoms from the west side to the capitol. The water was high enough at one time so that one boat unloaded at the old Griffith block on Locust Street.¹¹⁰ The coming of the railroad marked the end of steamboat travel on the Des Moines River.

The river boats served the river towns and communities adequately enough, but settlers inland had to travel by land. From travel accounts it must be concluded that land travel at its best was always very bad, and roads were abominable.

Albert M. Lea, in 1836 wrote:

The natural surface of the ground is the only road yet to be found in Iowa District; and such is the nature of the soil, that in dry weather we need no other. The country being so very open and free from mountains, artificial roads are little required. A few trees taken out of the way, where the routes much traveled traverse the narrow woods, and a few bridges thrown over the deeper creeks, is all the work necessary to give good roads in any direction.¹¹¹

Conditions as Lea presented them were exceptional.

Davidson's Guide published in 1840, stated that: "Stages leave Chicago daily for Galena, the locality of the celebrated lead mines, one hundred miles west, on the Mississippi River, to which a railroad is contemplated."¹¹² The greater part of Iowa at this time was not served by stagecoaches. A young lawyer recorded in his diary that he tramped thirty miles through mud from Mt. Pleasant to Washington. This was in the spring of the year. A severe thunderstorm came up, and, added to this hardship, he was followed by prairie wolves. He traveled on by foot to Fairfield a distance of twenty-five miles. The Skunk River was then out of its banks forming a wide slough. He crossed the slough on the trunks of trees, and crossed the river in a log canoe which he found.¹¹³

In 1846, the Mormons began their exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois. "There were no roads which might be followed by the wagons. After a heavy rain or snow the country was impassable for the baggage . . . , and under these conditions long halts had to be made. The head of the column reached the

Mississippi [Missouri] River at Council Bluffs in June, and the bulk of the party which had set forth on March 1 attained the same point in July. It had been more than four months in traversing the four hundred miles."¹¹⁴ The Mormons crossed streams by means of flatboats which they constructed. They built rude roads and bridges. Skiffs for the purpose of transporting the women and children across the streams were carried on boatwagons to the Missouri. The first of the exodus from Nauvoo began late in February, and until May bad weather hampered them. "Sometimes at night the wet clothing and bedding of the moving people would be frozen solid. Live stock suffered from exertion, exposure and lack of food, and began to die."¹¹⁵

C. L. Lucas came to Iowa in 1853. The entire party traveled in wagons, all drawn by oxen. Beyond Salem they traveled by way of the old Ft. Madison and Agency City Road northwest along the divide between the Des Moines and Skunk Rivers traversing forty-five miles in three days. "Iowa had taken one of her weeping spells, and this gave some of us the blues."¹¹⁶ The hills were slippery, and the level land was muddy and soft. They were obliged to double teams, which made travel slow and tedious.

There was a network of stage lines across Iowa in the forties and fifties. The Western Stage Company, which dissolved in 1870, was one of the largest. Vehicles ranged all the way from farmers' wagons to the aristocratic Concord coach. In those days the stages made a practice of hauling the legislators free of charge.¹¹⁷

Peckham's journal tells of the many hardships of his stagecoach journey in 1857. The overland trip began at Iowa City. "After riding two hours,

and gaining only eight miles, I began to consider my situation."¹¹⁸ The coach contained eight adults, besides himself, and two small children. A little farther on the situation was somewhat relieved, for he wrote: "On leaving Newton I am pleased to find two coaches were provided, . . . giving us six inside beside the children. I thus secured the outside middle seat and had room for my legs."¹¹⁹ Between Iowa City and Des Moines the passengers had frequently to get out of the stage, and walk up the hills, even during the night. After a heavy rain the roads west of Des Moines were "greasy and slippery." While crossing a bridge, one pole horse slipped and broke through a plank of the bridge. The lead horses were detached and, after much difficulty, the horse was extricated, apparently unhurt. The team was hitched up again and the stagecoach party went on its way.

For a period of six years while employed in a pastorate that covered a large area between Boone and Denison in the late sixties and seventies Mahlon Day Collins used a two seated surrey drawn by two horses.

When M. Cohen-Stuart visited Orange City in 1873 it was necessary to travel overland from Le Mars. He with his friends rode in a "buggy" drawn by a team of spirited horses, over a road that was a mere trail.¹²⁰ A family of pioneers who moved from Page to Hancock County in the early seventies followed a road which was merely two tracks that had first been cut deep by the wagon wheels and then washed out by the rains.¹²¹ When Benjamin Pearson made his trip to Kansas in 1872 the roads were very bad and the bridges unsafe. In numerous instances he forded streams.

The most unique and certainly the most difficult and trying of all modes of travel were the handcarts used by the Mormons. The largest

expedition crossed the state from Iowa City to Council Bluffs in 1856. Wood and water were necessities and camps were made where these could be obtained most easily. Their journal mentions that whooping cough and quick consumption caused the death of many of the expedition. Three children died during the first nine days. They encountered rainstorms and dusty roads.¹²²

During the fifties railroad building had its first development, although it was not until after the Civil War that roads extended across the state. The residents of the community held a celebration on 10 June, 1857 to welcome the first railroad train that came into Farmington. The first railroad train came to Des Moines in August, 1866. "These celebrations along the river as the old Des Moines Valley Railroad crept slowly up toward the future capital were the handwritings on the wall to the steamboatmen, and warned them that their glory was passing."¹²³

W. F. Rae, who crossed Iowa in 1869 by way of the Northwestern Railroad describes the Mississippi River bridge as having an "unsubstantial appearance." It was built partly of wood and partly of iron. At Council Bluffs he was somewhat disillusioned. Omnibusses met the passengers at the railroad station. Although it was a cold raw day, some had to sit on the roof among the luggage. His conveyance was drawn by four horses through deep ruts of mud to the river's bank and then onto the deck of a flat-bottomed steamer.¹²⁴ Nisbeth has left a record of a similar service when he visited Iowa and Nebraska in 1872. The railroad ended at the Missouri bank and travelers had to cross the river "on one of those huge river boats three or four stories high that are found here in America,"¹²⁵ at a point

where the Platte empties into the Missouri. There were "snorting locomotives rushing along both banks of the river."

M. Cohen Stuart, after having spent a miserable night at Ft. Dodge, in 1873, felt a great deal of physical relief in the services rendered him by the railroads. After waiting in a cold cheerless station, he was able to warm his "benumbed fingers by a glowing stove in a railway coach." 126 Perhaps he felt some spiritual relief too, as may be judged from the following:

Verily, one must have visited America, especially such wild lonely regions to fully realize the value of the railroad, to feel the full significance of the invention of our nineteenth century, and to reverence it as the symbol of progress and civilization . . . As by a stroke of magic one seems transferred from the inhospitable wilderness to the world of human beings, to civilized society. . . . Americans are conquering with railroads . . . it is the battering ram, paving the way for civilization, which shall people and till the wilderness and transform the prairies . . . into fields. 127

He thought that there existed in the Netherlands or thereabouts no match for the Pullman cars to be seen in America, which were handsome, very comfortable, and luxuriantly furnished. Bibles and hymn books were on bookshelves, as well as a few saws and axes. The latter were to be used in case of accident, if a car should be overturned, or should there be an attack by Indians. The possibility of the Indian attack was not an especially tranquilizing thought to Stuart, but still not such a great probability at that time, as there had been little trouble from the Sioux Indians since the Civil War.

It seems proper that a discussion of hotels, taverns, inns, and their service be presented here, after discussing the various means of travel. The hotels and taverns were managed as any business, but travel was so

difficult and weather so uncertain that every settler's house was a hostel.

Murray, visiting Dubuque in 1835, complained that travelers of quiet and respectable habits were forced into the society of ruffians -- a fault common to most towns in the West -- and that the bar-room was the only sitting room where he was forced in the company of "blackguard" and noisy miners. He recounts that he and a companion, a Dr. M-- of the United States army, had retired in a large room which covered the whole of the first floor. During the night a drunken ruffian attempted to get into Dr. M--'s bed to sleep, but was driven away. In general, hotel keepers of the West furnished an abundance of food, but of comfort, quiet, and privacy they knew little.

A young lawyer who came from New England recorded in his diary in 1841 that in one hotel a number of men, women, and children all slept on the floor of a great room. The men retired first, the women following. He felt very reluctant to participate in such a procedure but as no one else seemed greatly perturbed, he retired as did the others. The next morning brought a great scramble for shoes, stockings, and other clothing. At the county seat of Washington County he took a bed with another young lawyer in a room next to the tavern. The noise of drunken men arguing over theology greatly disturbed his rest.

Von Hoppers in 1849 spent a comfortable night at the first hotel of Burlington, which had been built fourteen years earlier.

A journalist, who traveled from St. Louis to Fort Clark in 1850, mentioned that at the end of the first day's journey from Des Moines he partook of frugal fare at a Swede's cottage and slept in a "down" bed.

Returning from the fort, he spent a stormy night in a "six by nine" cabin which contained two beds, where also slept nine men, two women and a crying child. "Here", said he, "they roost, sleep, eat and be merry,"¹²⁸ while under the floor of the house the chickens, geese, hogs, cats, and dogs huddled together.

The hotel in Fort Dodge where Stuart spent part of the night, late in November, 1873, he spoke of as a "large but hollow, unsociable building . . . resembled an enormous shed."¹²⁹ The bed chamber was bare and ill-lighted. He and Mrs. Stuart hastily made their toilet by candle light at three forty-five in the morning and "partook of wheat cake with tea in the bar-room."¹⁵⁰ They rode in a covered omnibus, the cold morning wind flapping the loose canvas, to an even more cheerless station where they waited for the train.

Traveler's accounts contained little information about carrying the mails. They were carried by whatever means was considered the most expedient mode of travel at the time, -- the steamboats, the freighting wagons, the stagecoaches, and the railroads.

GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIVING -- FOOD, HOMES, AND CLOTHING

The first white people who came to Iowa were traders. Many, even of licensed traders, debauched the Indians by selling them whiskey, robbed them of their annuities, and cheated them when buying their peltries and other articles which they had to sell or trade.

Beltrami, a traveler, who wished to see the lead mines at Galena finally bribed the Indians with "all-powerful" whiskey for said he, "nothing but artifice and delusion can render the red people friendly to the whites."¹³¹

Catlin found Prairie du Chien in 1834 "one continuous scene of wretchedness, drunkenness and disease amongst Indians who came to trade and receive annuities."¹³² Even though the annuities fell far short of paying their accounts, the Indians could always get whiskey. The traders took good care to have accounts standing against them.

Murray and a party of soldiers from Ft. Crawford went into the Turkey River region to hunt in 1835. The Winnebagoes feigned friendliness to them, but fired the grass and dry brush around them in an attempt to drive all the large game from that vicinity. His party shot some grouse and pheasants, cut down a bee tree which contained very rich honey, and bought a quarter of venison from an Indian in exchange for some bread and a drink of whiskey. The Indians succeeded, however, in driving out all the big game.¹³³

At the time the Sacs and Foxes made their cession of land in 1842 they were also much demoralized by the habitual use of whiskey. They then

numbered about 2200 persons, were large of stature, lived by hunting and desired no education. They agreed to settle southwest of the Missouri within three years following the sale of the lands.

Sometimes the Indians were maliciously or brutally attacked for no just cause. An old Indian with some of his family came to Fairfield in 1841 with peltries to trade for provisions. One young Indian boy was severely attacked by a white who gave him severe blows with a switch. Some bystanders rose to the defense of the Indians and others to the defense of the white so that a general row ensued. The Indian, even though very angry, quietly took his family and returned to his camp.¹³⁴

There was usually plenty of food though often there was little variety. John Huff in the lower Skunk River region in 1835 collected three barrels of honey, five dressed wild turkey, and some venison, which he sold in Carthage, Illinois. Catlin in 1836 speaks of eating bass, wild fowl, clams, snails, frogs, and rattlesnakes. The latter, he explained, when properly dressed and broiled was most delicious food. A meal served at a hotel in Burlington in 1840 consisting of fresh pork, potatoes, and bread was spoken of as a sumptuous meal.

In the summer of 1851, when floods were especially menacing, and supplies very hard to secure the Des Moines women made sweet cakes and dainties of corn-meal for the fourth of July celebration. A journalist who traveled from Keokuk to Ft. Clark and back in the early winter of 1850 secured food and lodging at the homes of the settlers. During the second day of the journey north of Des Moines he was served "corn dodgers" and coffee at noon. The following night he spent at Booneville, after feasting

on black perch, venison, and coffee. At Fort Clark, his friend, Major L. A. Armistead, "regaled him with soup, cheese and dainties."¹³⁵ He learned that goods at the Fort cost five times as much as at Keokuk. While he was returning a storm came up, and in spite of robes and blankets he considered the prairies dreary and cheerless. In the early afternoon he stopped at a "miserable cabin" where he ate fried apples, pumpkin sauce, and bad coffee. The children in this home were barefoot.¹³⁶

Peckham, on his journey in 1857, was sometimes delighted with the food he had served to him, and other times was both disappointed and disgusted. At ten o'clock the first night of his trip in Iowa the stagecoach stopped at Marengo, where the passengers ate "hot coffee, ham and eggs and potatoes."¹³⁷ At Newton, where the host made an attempt to please his customers, Peckham relates, "The table was adorned with tumblers of radishes and dishes of lettuce and sliced boiled eggs, filberts and almonds, articles which cost nothing and which no one eats, and as I expected only a small piece of roast beef or boiled mutton, which was carved at a distant table by a tall man with a white apron, were passed around. My beef I could not eat. I despaired of getting mutton, so pitched into the chopped potatoes and butter and fried ham and cup of hot coffee."¹³⁸ He has given this description of another tavern: "Our breakfast table was crowded with dishes of pies, cakes and preserves, leaving barely room for our plates. I had to put my coffee on top of a pie; when the dish of dipped eggs came around, it also was placed on a pie. The fried ham and potatoes was handed around, the whole scene being a jumble of everything until if a person desired a particular dish, he had to hunt and dig it out. I never saw such a mess.

Although I never eat the confounded stuff, I called for cake and preserves, just to make a bother and see the landlord hunt about."¹³⁹ In Des Moines, "We got breakfast of fried ham and eggs, hot coffee and warm biscuit, and left about seven o'clock." The next stop for food was made at a house on the ridges west of Des Moines which, he says, was the "only visible evidence of life amid those vast and awful solitudes . . . got a most excellent supper, consisting of curlew, woodcock and stewed prairie chicken, dipped eggs, coffee, tea, and warm biscuit."¹⁴⁰ At Lewis beyond the divide of the Missouri Valley he was served the poorest breakfast he ever tried to eat, " . . . fat fried pork, hard bread, and spring water."¹⁴¹ Preserves and cakes were on the table, but he surmised that they had been put on daily for a month. He paid the usual charge of fifty cents for his meal.

Charles Babbitt states that while his group of home guard men were at Sioux City in 1862, they occasionally went fishing in the Missouri and Big Sioux Rivers. They caught catfish and pickerel, which, he said, constituted a welcome relief from the regular rations furnished by the state contractors.

William Gulick's letters have left some information about the food and rations of the Civil War soldiers. The soldiers could trade pork or beef which had been issued them for all the knickknacks wanted. He mentions that he once bought an apple dumpling. Of regular rations they drew pork, beef, rice, potatoes, bread, sugar, coffee, tea, molasses, vinegar, soap, candles, salt and peppers, usually not all at once but all that was needed. Of molasses he would have liked to have more, which was issued only once a week and then only a little.

Of clothing each man received, three blankets -- one for his horse, shirts, two pair of drawers, two pairs of socks, a canteen, "all the little necessaries we wanted, . . . heavy pair of pantaloons (another to be issued) very heavy overcoat with cape a Fighting Jacket, a coat for fatigue dress, a pair of boots, a pair of shoes, and a hat."¹⁴²

Stevenson, who crossed Iowa in 1879 was pleased with a breakfast consisting of "porridge with sweet milk, coffee and hot cakes,"¹⁴³ which was served to him at Burlington.

In the Pella region, Lucas for the first time saw people wearing wooden shoes, and stove pipes extending through grass-roofed houses. From Pella on to the end of his journey in Boone County he saw sod houses frequently. "While they did not look inviting on the outside, they were very comfortable on the inside during the storms of winter."¹⁴⁴ His home in Boone County was located a mile out on the prairie. It was a small log cabin, with room for two beds in the loft, which was reached by means of a ladder. Often in winter he awoke to find on the beds two inches of snow that had sifted through the cracks in the walls. It took much wood to heat such houses especially during the blizzards which were frequent.

Babbitt's journal contains a graphic description of the stockade at Sioux City. The outer walls were two by ten cottonwood planks nailed both outside and inside of four by four studdings and the space between filled with Missouri River sand. The walls were pierced with loopholes for small arms and at each corner was a tower. Inside the walls was a large building forty by eighty feet containing rows of double bunks for sleeping, water wells, cooking appliances, food and fuel, and several long tables. There

was also space within the stockade to temporarily accommodate a large number of domestic animals in case of emergency. The stockade was sufficiently strong to protect them against bows, arrows, and guns of Indians at that time.

When Stuart visited the Pella colony, brick buildings were supplanting the wooden ones. This trend was generally true of all regions as they became more thickly settled, the old sod and log houses were torn down or used for storage or to house animals and substantial frame or brick houses were built to take their place.

Household furnishings were usually very crude and simple. A young New England lawyer taught school during the first winter spent in Iowa in 1840-41. As part of his compensation he was "boarded around." In one home every one slept on the floor except him, and he slept on a sort of folding cot.

An old manifest, of the Badger State which carried a cargo to Des Moines on 11 April, 1857, enumerates the following items: sixty-eight boxes of glassware, one hundred four plows, three casks of glassware, one dozen buckets, two ice chests, four packages of furniture, two boxes of iron bands, two stoves, four boxes of stationery, two boxes of curtains and fixtures, and three hundred barrels of whiskey. With the exception of the last item the names of the companies or merchants who received the goods were given.¹⁴⁵

A family of settlers who moved from Page to Hancock County in the early seventies carried in their wagon the mother's cane seat rocker, family

pictures and books, one bureau, a jar of honey, and cooking utensils, besides their bedding and clothing.¹⁴⁶

Stuart found the homes of his countrymen at Orange City in 1872 very agreeable. He mentioned the companionable singing teakettle, his host smoking his fatherland's pipe, and young people gathered around the organ singing four-part songs. Then, he found it hard to realize that they were in the heart of the newly occupied prairie country.

Amusements and good times were often associated with, or followed some kind of hard work. A whole neighborhood or community joined in "mill raisings" and "house raisings," and "husking bees" and "quilting bees." There were country dances, horse races, community sings, and "literaries." Sometimes the horses races or other contests which were accompanied by enough whiskey drinking ended in a general row and show of violence.

C. F. Davis has left an account of an old fashioned country dance at Fort Dodge. The occasion was to celebrate the arrival of the first steamboat, which was tied up at the shore for the night. One of the pilots, who was a violinist, furnished the music, and the neighborhood "beaux" and "belles" joined in the gaiety. People came from miles around to see the boat.¹⁴⁷

When the Mormons crossed Iowa in 1846-1847 they tried to establish "log hut and agricultural camps." They put up log houses, dug wells, plowed land, and planted seed. Several thousand acres were sown to grain and vegetables, that later wayfarers might harvest them. They established Garden Grove, fifty miles west of Nauvoo. The task of burying those who died on the way was a real hardship for them. They first stripped off the

bark in two half cylinders from an eight or nine foot log. The half cylinders were placed around the body of the deceased and bound firmly with wythes and placed in the hole or bit of ditch dug to receive it in the wet ground of the prairie. They last tried to set out landmarks, or with the aid of the surveyor determine bearings related to the streams by which the position should in the future be remembered and recognized.

In the camps "malaria spread; the illnesses due to breaking virgin soil appeared; and symptoms similar to those of scurvy likewise developed. The people also were poorly sheltered. Log cabins were the best dwellings obtainable."¹⁴⁸ Sometimes they lived in tents, or shelters of sod, tree branches and plastered mud, or even holes in the hillside. The principal diet of many was cornmeal.

Sickness broke out in many places; there were epidemics of smallpox, measles, cholera, and various fevers. On a second journey to the Falls of St. Anthony, Catlin found that smallpox had killed half of the Indians at Prairie du Chien. There was a considerable number of half-breeds and French there also. Some had been vaccinated several years before, but the persons of recent vaccination had all died. A young surveyor became ill with "congestive typhus fever" in 1841 and spent five weeks at the home of the owners of Crandell's Ferry, along the Mississippi. The doctor himself was so ill with "ague" he could hardly make his calls. When asked why he didn't give himself some care he responded that he was the only doctor so he "just took quinine and let her shake."¹⁴⁹

Peckham's journal stated that a case of smallpox in Adell in 1857 caused the people to be much alarmed. Cholera raged along the Iowa shores

during the Civil War. An old settler's account of early settlers in Hancock County states that the doctor came fifteen miles every day to visit the mother who was very ill.¹⁵⁰ Duffield's diary of 17 October, 1866 states, "hard shake ague . . . sick night"¹⁵¹, and 20 October, "hard shake, high fever."¹⁵²

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, RELIGION AND MORALS

Upon this subject, travelers have written most. The accounts give varied impressions, for some were interested in or had dealings with one type of Iowan, while others had more pleasant and agreeable experiences.

Murray speaks of Keokuk as "the lowest and most blackguard place I have yet visited"¹⁵³ in 1835. One individual, half drunk, related with satisfaction that he had hidden in the woods and shot an Indian carrying a wild turkey. He then threw the body into a thicket and took the turkey for himself. Murray was appalled that such an act of atrocity had gone unpunished but explained away this general feeling of the settler by saying that he considered the "Indian a wild beast instead of a fellow creature."¹⁵⁴

Although Sir Charles Lyell did not visit Iowa, the westerners whom he met on the Missouri and Mississippi steamboats were typical of some classes of Iowans at that time. He did not like their "impertinent curiosity," and "found the society most agreeable in places which have been the longest settled."¹⁵⁵

Fredrika Bremer did not resent the curiosity of the westerners. While in Keokuk:

. . . it had been noised abroad that some sort of Scandinavian animal was to be seen at the inn, and it was now requested to come and show itself. . . . I also made a somewhat closer acquaintance, to my real pleasure, with a little company of more refined people; . . . I mean well-bred and well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, the aristocracy of Keokuk. Not being myself of a reserved disposition, I like the American open, frank, and friendly manner. It is

easy to become acquainted, and it is very soon evident whether there is reciprocity of feeling or not. . . . The men work hard and are careless regarding their dress . . . but their unkempt outsides are no type of that which is within, as I frequently observed this evening.¹⁵⁶

Emerson came to Iowa in 1850 on a lecture tour. He was most impressed by the novelty of the scenery, "the raw bullion of nature." He came again to Davenport as a lecturer in 1855. The new land still stirred his fancy. At that time the Le Claire House prohibited gambling and required gentlemen to wear their coats at table.¹⁵⁷

However rough and uncivilized a settlement seemed to be there was often some stout soul who took it upon himself to conduct preaching, or Sunday service. In Dubuque in 1835, Murray attended church in a "small low room capable of containing a hundred persons. . . . The minister was a pale, ascetic, sallow-looking man, and delivered a lecture dull and sombre as his countenance."¹⁵⁸ He was pleased to note that a "thought of divine worship in such a place as Dubuque"¹⁵⁹ should exist.

Collins in writing of the Underground Railroad station at Salem in 1842 says, "Education, temperance, religion and anti-slavery sentiments were early and thoroughly propagated and good seed sown."¹⁶⁰ A distinguished group of twelve young ministers who did much to "sew good seed" was known as the Iowa Band. Reverend Asa Turner who came to Iowa in 1838 preceded the remainder of the group by five years. Most of this group were students graduated from Amherst, Andover, Dartmouth, Yale, Harvard, and New York University. All were ordained by Turner at Denmark, Iowa and then dispersed to their various pastorates in the state, serving in the Home Missionary

Society of both Congregationalists and Presbyterians.¹⁶¹ Scholte was aided in buying up the lands for the Pella colony by a missionary who had worked in the neighborhood of Fairfield for six years. He recorded that he had heard two excellent sermons on Sunday. Scholte later criticised the Pella settlers' neglect of religion, caused by their concern for material gains. However, when Von Hespers and his family came to the colony they were received into the church as members six days after their arrival.¹⁶² Gulick's letters, written during the Civil War, bring out the fact that ministers and religious societies concerned themselves with ministering to the soldiers. While at Camp McClellan, near Davenport, he "heard a good discourse" every Sunday. At Camp Warren, near Burlington, there was preaching on Sunday, and sometimes mid-week services. Later at the Benton Barracks in Missouri, the Clinton Bible Society presented a testament to each one in camp.¹⁶³ The Reverend L. N. Call was sent into Franklin County, Iowa as a missionary in 1866. Mrs. Whitley has left an account of the daring and hazardous crossing of the Mississippi on thin ice to reach him as soon as possible. Then there were "no churches, no railroads, and only sketchy wagon roads."

Collins spent most of his adult life ministering to the settlements of northwestern Iowa. In 1864 he crossed from Humboldt County to Denison in a wagon. He preached first in a schoolhouse and later in the courthouse. In those days a preacher "fought the Devil with his own weapons on the frontier." A "bully" bent on licking a preacher was seized by Collins and shoved backward onto the ground with such force that both collar bones were broken.¹⁶⁴

In regard to the use of alcohol or whiskey, Charles A. Dana has left a good summing-up. "Total abstinence is not the rule of the Mississippi Valley, everybody feeling it to be a sort of duty to temper the limestone water of the country with a little brandy or equally ardent corrective."¹⁶⁵ An account is given concerning the presiding officer of the territorial legislature in 1840, who for several days before the close of the session, was uncontrollably drunk. Wearing his fine clothes he was seen taking a nap in a bed that had been prepared for swine. The same diary states also that a saloon keeper on no just provocation "shot young L--" who died a few days later.¹⁶⁶

Charles Francis Adams who visited Iowa in the late sixties said, "taken as a class, the manners of the employees of the Western Railroad system are probably the worst and most offensive to be found in the civilized world."¹⁶⁷ Stevenson was likewise offended by the boldness and familiarity of public hotel servants with whom he dealt in Council Bluffs.

Nisbeth, speaking of his countrymen, said the Swedish women made good hired girls. "During the first part of their stay in America, all Swedish women belong to this class, but after having been here awhile and learning the language of the country, they are not slow to seize upon all the insolent ways that characterize the American working class women."¹⁶⁸

Stuart expresses a different opinion. "Society and life spontaneously produce here a substantialness, a feeling of power, a development --. Men have acquired a ripeness of experience, broadness of view, exactness of judgment, and practical readiness; and the women all possess something of the lady, a characteristic of every American woman no less in country

districts than in towns."¹⁶⁹

The pioneer was kind-hearted and generous, ever ready to assist and help. The needy settler always found an open hand and a kind heart in his neighbor. If there was sickness in the family or a cabin to be built, there were plenty of willing hands to assist.¹⁷⁰

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Of the early communities Collins wrote, "Iowa communities of that day were largely made up of people who were self-reliant and law-abiding, with an intense desire for learning which transcended the wish for material advancement, while not decriing the latter. Many became wealthy in later years, and others who once lived in Iowa, or who still reside there found fame in many parts of the world. Every community fostered literary and musical learning and effort."¹⁷¹

Many young men, coming to Iowa, spent their first winter or two teaching an elementary school. Women did not generally enter the field of teaching until the time of the Civil War. Gulick writing from camp to his sister said, "You say the girls have schools engaged. . . . It will be hard to teach this winter. . . . I had rather they would not."¹⁷² He mentioned also that a fellow soldier, Peter Barr, had a soldier's library of fifty books with him. New Year's Day in Camp Benton, Missouri he spent reading Harper's Monthly.

An old settler's narrative tells of children in the early sixties who attended "Mrs. Lizzie Leonard's school." The building partially burned after the first week, but school was continued in a boxcar while the damage was being repaired. Later this same family would not settle on a farm with a family of growing children where there were no schools. There were no churches in northern Iowa then, but the school laws were good, providing a school for four or five children. The father taught them for two winters

in their own home, receiving forty dollars a month with additional compensation for rent of the room and fuel.¹⁷³

H. Harcourt Horn wrote that between 1869-1879 there was a good graded elementary school in Decorah with excellent teachers. A private school was organized then, which was also well patronized. It was difficult to get good teachers for the rural school because of the bad roads, and the extremes of the weather. The history texts, he thought, were entirely unreliable, but the texts for arithmetic, geography, and science were well written. Dime novels were quite common, and magazines were filled with "tall yarns" of the Civil War.

Ephriam Adams, a home missionary, has compared the state institutions of 1843 with those of twenty-five years later. Of public buildings the state then had, a rickety penitentiary, and a very ordinary state house which was nothing more than a fort in the heart of the Indian country. By the late sixties there were public institutions scattered all over the State -- homes for orphans, and asylums for the blind, the insane, and the deaf and dumb. The capitol was located in a city of 15,000. Iowa, he boasted, had been prompt in her full quota of men and means during the Civil War, and came out of it free of debt. The State University had an annual income exceeding \$25,000. The agricultural college had been generously endowed, the system of common schools had been magnificently provided for, and the denominational schools were highly regarded.¹⁷⁵

In 1873 Cherokee, which two years earlier had had hardly four log houses, was a prosperous town. The town had a fine church and opposite it stood a "College" building with broad wings and neat tower.¹⁷⁶ Some

communities did not readily adopt an attitude of open-mindedness. In Stanton, a community of three hundred and fifty Swedish families, the children were not taught English lest they go over to an English speaking church and the pastor would thereby lose his income. The children were taught by students from Paxton Seminary, Illinois.

These young teachers seemed very incompetent to the Swedish traveler. They had been young farmhands with no preparatory education, and "stuffed for three years with a lot of indigestible matter."¹⁷⁷ Their sermons, said the Swedish traveler, were a "hodge-podge."

Stuart noticed that the language as spoken by the members of the Pella colony had lost some of its purity, and many English words had been wholly incorporated. All little towns and villages of Iowa appeared, to him, to resemble each other. There was a log station, neat frame houses, a few small and often pretty churches with sharp pointed steeples. On a conspicuous site, commanding a view of the vicinity, there was always a larger brick building crowned with a tower or cupola, the school or "College" of the community. At Orange City, one unsightly structure served both as a schoolhouse and church. Stuart expressed his distaste for this crude, uncomfortable building.¹⁷⁸

In 1872 the American Association for the Advancement of Science met in Dubuque. The Illinois Central Railroad gave the party free passage, and they crossed the state to Sioux City and back. They made a study of the mineral deposits, and geological formations.¹⁷⁹

In the fifties, Fredrika Bremer made the following criticism of the culture of the Middle West: "One great difficulty in the cultivation of the

West is the great emigration thither of a large portion of the most rude and indigent populations of Europe, as well as the unfortunate children of the Eastern American States. By degrees, however, this population becomes orderly under the influence of New World cultivation."¹⁸⁰ This comment of Miss Bremer's raises the question of what made up this New World cultivation, and in what way did it influence this rude and indigent population to make it orderly.

Many who came from the eastern states were well educated persons who came, like The Iowa Band, to live among their fellow beings, to take their stand and go to work. More often selfishness, stubbornness, and prejudice were the deterrents, rather than destitution, to drawing a community together.

CITATIONS

1. Dondore, Dorothy Ann, The Prairie and the Making of Middle America; Four Centuries of Description, 289, The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1926.
2. Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino, "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1920) 144.
3. Ibid., 150.
4. Van der Zee, Jacob, "Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, III (April, 1905) 181.
5. Arese, Count Francesco, A Trip to the Prairies and in the Interior of North America [1837-1838], 60, The Harbor Press, New York, 1934.
6. Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino, "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1920) 181.
7. Catlin, George B., "The Grave of Sergeant Floyd", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 341.
8. Keokuk then owned an especially fine horse which Catlin admired. While Catlin visited the village, he had the privilege of seeing the Indians perform the begging dance, a barbaric performance, whereby certain braves destitute of mounts secured horses from their tribesmen.
9. Catlin, George B., "Adventures in a Bark Canoe", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 361.
10. Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, II, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1935.
11. Ibid., 12.
12. Ibid., 12-13.
13. Ibid., 25.
14. Farnham, Thomas J., Travels in the Great Western Prairies, 108, (Volume XXVIII of Early Western Travels, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites) The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906.

15. Captain Allen located "Lake of Oaks" at 43° 57' 32" north. This lake he found to be the headwaters of the Des Moines River, and gave the lake its name.
16. Allen, James, "Captain James Allen's Dragoon Expedition from Fort Des Moines, Territory of Iowa, 1844", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (January, 1913) 77.
17. Whitney, Asa, "Northern Iowa in 1845" [A letter], Annals of Iowa, Series 3 XIV (July, 1923) 59.
18. Bremer, Fredrika, America in the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer, 289, The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1924.
19. Usher, Issac Lane, "Letters of a Railroad Builder", Palimpsest, III (January, 1922) 19.
20. Ibid.
21. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Number 3, 1923) 231.
22. Willard Barrows was a resident of Scott County for twenty-five years. During the forties he was employed by the government to survey lands of northern Iowa Territory, and islands in the Mississippi River. He traveled in northern Iowa Territory while it was still in possession of the Indians.
23. Allen, James, "Captain James Allen's Dragoon Expedition", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (January, 1913) 88.
24. Sumner, Edwin V., "Captain Edwin V. Sumner's Dragoon Expedition in the Territory of Iowa in the summer of 1845", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 258-266.
25. Rae, W. F., "Through English Eyes", Palimpsest, X (November, 1929) 414.
26. "The Story of Mahlon D. Collins" is the actual autobiography of Mahlon D. Collins to the year 1860. The remainder is based upon his experiences, as they were told to relatives.
Collins, Hubert B., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 66-67.
27. Gulick, William O., "Journal and Letters of W. O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 202-203.
28. Babbitt, Charles E., "With the Flying Artillery", Palimpsest, V (December, 1924) 436-437.

29. Catlin, George B., "The Course of Empire", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 373.
30. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 59.
31. Tweito, Thomas E., "Gem of the West", Palimpsest (January, 1942) 26.
32. Ibid.
33. Dunbar, Seymour, A History of Travel in America, 1261, Tudor Publishing Company, New York, 1937.
34. Van der Zee, Jacob, "Coming of the Hollanders to Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, IX (October, 1911) 542.
35. Tweito, Thomas E., "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 128.
36. Ibid., 131.
37. Lucas, C. L., "Recollections of Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VI (April, 1904) 380, 381.
38. Usher, Isaac Lane, "Letters of a Railroad Builder", Palimpsest, III (January, 1922) 18.
39. Ibid., 20.
40. Ibid., 25.
41. Tweito, Thomas E., "Gem of the West", Palimpsest (January, 1942) 32.
42. Ibid.
43. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Number 3, 1923) 343.
44. Cheney, J. W., "The Story of an Immigrant Train", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XII (July, 1915) 81.
45. Holt, Edgar E., "The Voyage of the Omaha", Palimpsest, VI (April, 1925) 128-136.
46. An account of N. Levering of Greenwood, Missouri, who lived in northwestern Iowa at the time of the Spirit Lake Massacre, accounts for the motives of Ink-pa-do-tah by the following story: "Early in the month of March, 1857, a portion of Ink-pa-do-tah's band was

hunting in the valley of the Little Sioux River, in the east of Woodbury County when they chanced to pursue a herd of elk into the Smithland settlement, near the town of 'Smithland', where (as I was informed by one of the settlers) the Indians' pursuit was interrupted by the settlers, who took from them their guns, and pursued the elk themselves. The snow was very deep, the weather cold, and the Indians hungry and weary, having been on the chase for several hours without food; now deprived of the means of obtaining it, their savage indignation was aroused." The Indians demanded food from the settlers. Finally, to get rid of the Indians, the settlers resorted to the duplicity of impersonating General Harney, and drove the Indians away by saying that General Harney was in pursuit of them.

47. Babbitt, Charles E., "With the Flying Artillery", Palimpsest, V (December, 1924) 440.
48. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 100.
49. Swanson, Roy W., "Iowa in the Early Seventies as Seen by a Swedish Traveler", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVII (October, 1929) 566.
50. Ibid., 580.
51. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 237.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 239-240.
54. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 112.
55. Titus, Lydia A., "From New York to Iowa", Palimpsest, II (October, 1921) 320.
56. Tweito, Thomas E., "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 133.
57. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River from 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 341.
58. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Number 3, 1923) 232.

59. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 93.
60. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 225.
61. Ibid., 226.
62. Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, 13.
63. J. M. D. Burrows operated a large mercantile, produce, and milling business in Davenport for years. During the Civil War two flour mills burned, and he was unable to begin in any business again. In his book, Fifty Years in Iowa, he stated that he had been farming and gardening since the middle sixties and considered it a hard way to make a living.
64. Parker, Nathan H., Iowa as It Is in 1857, 85-86, Keen and Lee, Chicago, Illinois, 1857.
65. Horn, H. Harcourt, An English Colony in Iowa, 63-64, The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Massachusetts, 1931.
66. Ibid., 55, 56.
67. Ibid., 52.
68. Adams, Ephriam, The Iowa Band, 177, The Congregational Publishing Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 1870.
69. Meyer, Marie E., "Rafting on the Mississippi", Palimpsest, VIII (April, 1927) 125.
70. Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, 17.
71. Grahame, Russell C., "The Voyage of the Black Hawk", Palimpsest, IX (May, 1938) 157.
72. Murray, Charles A., "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1929) 150.
73. Lucas, C. L., "Recollections of Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VI (April, 1904) 383.
74. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Number 3, 1923) 233.

75. Cheney, J. W., "The Story of an Emigrant Train", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XII (July, 1915) 83.
76. Usher, Isaac Lane, "Letters of a Railroad Builder", Palimpsest, III (January, 1923) 17.
77. Catlin, George B., "The Course of Empire", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 372.
- Smith, Ophia D., "A Trip to Iowa in 1841", Palimpsest, XVII (October, 1936) 341.
- Sanders, Cyrus, "The Journal of Cyrus Sanders", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXXVII (January, 1939) 52-58.
78. Gulick, William O., "The Journal and Letters of William O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 230.
79. Swisher, J. A., "A Scientific Tour", Palimpsest, XIV (November, 1933) 398.
80. Tweito, Thomas E., "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 130.
81. Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, 16.
82. Ibid., 17.
83. Van der Zee, Jacob, "Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, III (April, 1905) 194.
84. Ibid.
85. Howe, Sam Storrs (ed.), "Reminiscences of Davenport", Annals of Iowa, Series 2 (January, 1882) 27.
86. Burrows, J. M. D., Fifty Years in Iowa, 48, Glass and Company, Davenport, Iowa, 1888.
87. Ibid., 69.
88. Ibid., 89.
89. Ibid., 106.
90. Horn, H. Harcourt, An English Colony in Iowa, 62.
About this time there were three years of continuous locust plagues. Many farmers in the southern part of Iowa were forced to leave their lands. Money "grabbers" bought up their tax titles.

91. Some business houses issued their own currency, and others credit in the form of paper of one sort or another.
92. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 331-332.
93. Burrows, J. M. D., Fifty Years in Iowa, 47.
94. Ibid., 47-38.
95. Usher, Isaao Lane, "Letters of a Railroad Builder", Palimpsest, III (January, 1922) 21.
96. Ibid., 18.
97. Ibid., 19.
98. Ibid., 18.
99. Ibid., 26.
100. Pearson, Benjamin F., "A Trip to Kansas and Return, May 20, 1872 to June 27, 1872", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XX (January, 1936) 208.
101. Blair, Walter A., A Raft Pilot's Log, 68-69, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1930.
102. Ibid., 69.
103. Webster's new international dictionary contains this definition: A tree which has fallen into a stream so that its branches project above the surface, rising and falling with a rocking or swaying motion.
104. Fulton, A. R., "Bee Hunters of Early Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 2 (January, 1882) 118.
105. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 333, 335.
106. Whitney, Asa, "Northern Iowa in 1845", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XIV (July, 1923) 60.
107. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 328, 335.
108. Negus, Charles, "Early Life in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (April, 1872) 83.
109. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 373.

110. Ibid., 373.
111. Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, 42.
112. Davidson, G. M., The Traveler's Guide Through the Middle and Southern States and the Province of Canada, 233, Published G. W. Davidson, and S. S. and W. Wood, Saratoga Springs, New York, 1840.
113. Negus, Charles, "Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (April, 1872) 88, 90.
114. Dunbar, Seymour, A History of Travel in America, 1247.
115. Ibid., 1250.
116. Lucas, C. L., "Recollections of Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VI (April, 1904) 377.
117. Grahame, O. F., "Stagecoach Days", Palimpsest, V (May, 1924) 176-185.
118. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Number 3, 1923) 232.
119. Ibid.
120. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 242.
121. Horack, Katherine, "In Quest of a Prairie Home", Palimpsest, V (July, 1924) 253.
122. Galloway, Andrew, "First Mormon Handcart Trip Across Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XX (October, 1936) 444-449.
123. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 363.
124. Rae, W. F., "Through English Eyes", Palimpsest, X (November, 1929) 416.
125. Swanson, Roy W., "Iowa in the Early Seventies as Seen by a Swedish Traveler", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVII (October, 1929) 571.
126. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 239.
127. Ibid., 239-240.

128. Tweito, Thomas E., "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 134.
129. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 239.
130. Ibid.
131. Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino, "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1920) 148.
132. Catlin, George B., "On the Upper Mississippi", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 344.
133. Murray, Charles A., "Big Game Hunting in Iowa", Palimpsest, II (May, 1921) 153-154.
134. Negus, Charles, "Early Life In Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (April, 1872) 91.
135. Tweito, Thomas E., "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 132.
136. Ibid., 134.
137. Peckham, Edward L., "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XXVII (Number 3, 1923), 232.
138. Ibid., 233.
139. Ibid., 234.
140. Peckham, Edward L., "A Journey Out West", Palimpsest, VI (July, 1925) 242.
141. Ibid.
142. Gulick, William O., "The Journal and Letters of W. O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 203.
143. Stevenson, Robert L., "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1929) 163.
144. Lucas, C. L., "Recollections of Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VI (April, 1904) 377.
145. Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 362-363.
146. Horack, Katherine, "In Quest of a Prairie Home", Palimpsest, V (July, 1924) 252.

147. Davis, C. F., "The Voyage of the First Steamboat from Keokuk to Fort Dodge", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VII (July, 1905) 141-142.
148. Dunbar, Seymour, A History of Travel in America, 1263.
149. Smith, Ophia D., "A Trip to Iowa in 1841", Palimpsest, XVII (October, 1936) 339.
- * 150. Horack, Katherine, "In Quest of a Prairie Home", Palimpsest, V (July, 1924) 257.
151. Duffield, George C., "Driving Cattle from Texas to Iowa, 1866", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XIV (April, 1924) 261.
152. Ibid., 262.
153. Murray, Charles A., "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1929) 150.
154. Ibid.
155. Lyell, Sir Charles, A Second Visit to the United States of North America, II, 199, John Murray, London, 1850.
156. Bremer, Fredrika, America in the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer, 242-243.
157. Hoeltje, Hubert H., "Emerson in Davenport", Palimpsest, VII (September, 1926) 267.
158. Murray, Charles A., "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1929) 156.
159. Ibid.
160. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 60.
161. Adams, Ephriam, The Iowa Band.
162. Van der Zee, Jacob, "Diary of a Journey from the Netherlands to Pella, Iowa in 1849", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, X (July, 1912).
163. Gulick, William O., "The Journal and Letters of W. O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 202, 203, 222.
164. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 95-99.

165. Peterson, William J., "The Grand Excursion of 1854", Palimpsest, XIV (August, 1933) 307.
166. Negus, Charles, "Early Life in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (April, 1872) 84.
167. Anderson, W. A., "The Granger Movement in the Middle West with Special Reference to Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXII (January, 1924) 5.
168. Swanson, Roy W., "Iowa in the Early Seventies as Seen by a Swedish Traveler", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVII, (October, 1929) 573.
169. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 233-234.
170. Burrows, J. M. D., Fifty Years in Iowa, 25.
171. Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 113.
172. Gulick, William O., "The Journal and Letters of W. O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 224.
173. Horack, Katherine, "In Quest of a Prairie Home", Palimpsest, V (July, 1924) 250, 254.
174. Horn, H. Harcourt, An English Colony in Iowa, 68-69.
175. Adams, Ephriam, The Iowa Band, 65-66.
176. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 241.
177. Swanson, Roy W., "Iowa in the Early Seventies as Seen by a Swedish Traveler", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVII (October, 1929) 568.
178. Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 227, 231, 245.
179. Swisher, J. A., "A Scientific Tour", Palimpsest, XIV (November, 1933) 401.
180. Bremer, Fredrika, America in the Fifties; Letters of Fredrika Bremer, 289.

LITERATURE CITED

- Adams, Ephriam, The Iowa Band, The Congregational Publishing Society, Boston, Massachusetts, 1870.
- Allen James, "Captain James Allen's Dragoon Expedition from Fort Des Moines, Territory of Iowa, 1844", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (January, 1913) 68-108, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1913.
- Anderson, W. A., "The Granger Movement in the Middle West with Special Reference to Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXII (January, 1924) 3-51, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1924.
- Arese, Count Francesco, A Trip to the Prairies and in the Interior of North America 1837-1838, The Harbor Press, New York, 1934.
- Atwater, Caleb, "A Country Fit for Princes", Palimpsest, XII (April, 1931) 144-159, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1931.
- Babbitt, Charles H., "With the Flying Artillery", Palimpsest, V (December, 1924) 433-445, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1924.
- Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino, "Through European Eyes", Palimpsest, I (November, 1920) 144-165, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1920.
- Blair, Walter A., A Raft Pilot's Log, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1930.
- Bremer, Fredrika, America in the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer, The American Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1924.
- Burrows, J. M. D., Fifty Years in Iowa, Glass and Company, Davenport, Iowa, 1888.
- Catlin, George B., "The Grave of Sergeant Floyd", "On the Upper Mississippi", "The Lead Mines of Dubuque", "A Visit to Keokuk's Village", "Adventures in a Bark Canoe", "The Course of Empire", Palimpsest, VII (November, 1926) 337-376, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1926.

- Cheney, J. W., "The Story of an Emigrant Train", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XII (July, 1915) 81-97, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1915.
- Collins, Hubert E., "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (January, 1930) 55-131, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1930.
- Davidson, G. M., The Travelers Guide Through the Middle and Southern States, and the Provinces of Canada, Published by G. M. Davidson, and by S. S. and W. Wood, Saratoga Springs, New York, 1840.
- Davis, C. F., "The Voyage of the First Steamboat from Keokuk to Fort Dodge", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VII (July, 1905) 140-142, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1905.
- Dondore, Dorothy Ann, The Prairie and the Making of Middle America, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1926.
- Duffield, George C., "Driving Cattle from Texas to Iowa, 1866", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XIV (April, 1924) 243-262, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1924.
- Dunbar, Seymour, A History of Travel in America, Tudor Publishing Company, New York, 1937.
- Farnham, Thomas J., Travels in the Great Western Prairies, (Volume XXVII of Early Western Travels, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites), The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1906.
- Fulton, A. R., "Bee Hunters of Early Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 2, I (January, 1882) 116-119, Sam Storrs Howe, Iowa City, Iowa, 1882.
- Galloway, Andrew, "First Mormon Handcart Trip Across Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XX (October, 1936) 444-449, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Grahame, O. F., "Stagecoach Days", Palimpsest, V (May, 1924) 176-185, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1924.
- Grahame, Russel C., "Voyages of the Black Hawk", Palimpsest, IX (May, 1928) 157-169, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1928.
- Gulick, William O., "The Journal and Letters of W. O. Gulick", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVIII (April, 1930) 194-267, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1930.

- Hoeltje, Hubert H., "Emerson at Davenport", Palimpsest, VII (September, 1926) 265-276, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1926.
- Holt, Edgar A., "A Voyage of the Omaha", Palimpsest, VI (April, 1925) 128-136, The Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1925.
- Horack, Katherine, "In Quest of a Prairie Home", Palimpsest, V (July, 1924) 249-257, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1924.
- Horn, H. Harcourt, An English Colony in Iowa, The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, Massachusetts, 1931.
- Howe, Sam Storrs, (ed.), "Reminiscences of Davenport", Annals of Iowa, Series 2 (January, 1882) 27, Sam Storrs Howe, Iowa City, Iowa, 1882.
- Hussey, Tacitus, "History of Steamboating on the Des Moines River, 1837-1862", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, IV (April, 1900) 323-382, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1900.
- Lea, Albert M., The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1935.
- Lucas, C. L., "Recollections of Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, VI (April, 1904) 367-384, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1904.
- Lyell, Sir Charles, A Second Visit to the United States of North America, Volume II, John Murray, London, 1850.
- Meyer, Marie E., "Rafting on the Mississippi", Palimpsest, VIII (April, 1927), The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.
- Murray, Charles, "Big Game Hunting in Iowa", Palimpsest, II (May, 1921) The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1921.
- Negus, Charles, "Early Times in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (April, 1872) The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
- Parker, Nathan H., Iowa As It Is In 1857, Keen and Lee, Chicago, Illinois, 1857.
- Pearson, Benjamin F., "A Trip to Kansas and Return, May 20, 1872 to June 27, 1872", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XX (January, 1936) 207-218, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1935-1937.

- Peckham, Edward L., "A Journey Out West", Palimpsest, VI (July, 1925) 233-249, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1925.
- _____, "My Journey Out West", Journal of American History, XVII (Numbers 3-4, 1923) 225-235, 341-353, XVIII (Numbers 1, 1924) 39-50.
- Rae, W. F., "Through English Eyes", Palimpsest, X (November, 1929) 2 412-418, The Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1929.
- Sanders, Cyrus, "Journal of Cyrus Sanders", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXXVII (January, 1939) 52-88, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1939.
- Smith, Ophia D., "A Trip to Iowa in 1841", Palimpsest, XVII (October, 1936) 329-341, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1936.
- Stuart, M. Cohen-, "An Eminent Foreigner's Visit to the Dutch Colonies of Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1931) 221-247, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1913.
- Sumner, Edwin V., "Captain Edwin V. Sumner's Dragoon Expedition in the Territory of Iowa in the Summer of 1845", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XI (April, 1913) 258-267, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1913.
- Swanson, Roy W., "Iowa in the Early Seventies as Seen by a Swedish Traveler", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXVII (October, 1929) 564-581, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1929.
- Swisher, J. A., "A Scientific Tour", Palimpsest, XIV (November, 1933) 396-403, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1933.
- Titus, Lydia A., "From New York to Iowa", Palimpsest, II (October, 1921) 311-321, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1921.
- Tweto, Thomas E., "Gem of the West", Palimpsest (January, 1942) 26-32, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1942.
- _____, "Journey of a Journalist", Palimpsest, XX (April, 1939) 127-136, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1939.
- Usher, Isaac Lane, "Letters of a Railroad Builder", Palimpsest, III (January, 1922) 16-28, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1922.

Van der Zee, Jacob, "Coming of the Hollanders to Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, IX (October, 1911) 528-574, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1911.

_____, "Diary of a Journey from the Netherlands to Pella, Iowa in 1849", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, X (July, 1912) 363-382, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1912.

_____, "Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, III (April, 1905) 175-191, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1905.

Whitney, Asa, "Northern Iowa in 1845", [A letter], Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XIV (July, 1923) 58-60, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1923.

LITERATURE READ AND NOT CITED

Adams, Ephriam, "The Point of View of the British Traveler in America", Political Science Quarterly, XXIX (June, 1914) 244-264, Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, 1914.

Anonymous, "The Vanished Stagecoach" (Des Moines Register) Annals of Iowa, Series 1, X (October, 1872) 316-318, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1872-1873.

_____, "The Indians of Iowa in 1842" Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XIII (April, 1915) 250-263, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1915.

Bay, J. Christian, The Fortune of Books, Walter M. Hill, Chicago, Illinois, 1941.

Brown, Harriet Connor, Grandmother Brown's Hundred Years, Little, Brown, and Company, 1929.

Clark, William, "A Trip Across the Plains in 1851", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XX (April, 1922) 163-224, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1922.

Colton, Kenneth E., "Stagecoach Travel in Iowa", Annals of Iowa, Series 3, XXII (January, 1940) 173-200, Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, 1939-1941.

Dale, H. C. (ed.), "A Fragmentary Journal of William L. Sublette", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VI (June, 1919) 99-110, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1919-1920.

Fremont, John C., "Early Reports Concerning the Des Moines River", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XVI (January, 1918) 108-120, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1918.

_____, "Pathfinding in Iowa", Palimpsest, IX (May, 1928) 172-184, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1928.

Girardin, E. de, "A Trip to the Badlands", Palimpsest, VIII (March, 1927) 89-101, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.

Latrobe, Charles J., "A River Trip in 1833", Palimpsest, II (August, 1921) 244-263, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1921.

Lindsey, Robert, "The Quakers of Iowa in 1850", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XII (April, 1914) 262-286 (July, 1914) 394-439, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1914.

Lucas, Henry Stephen, "Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XXII (October, 1924) 483-531, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1924.

Mahan, Bruce E., "The Way to Iowa", Palimpsest, II (October, 1921) 302-331, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1921.

_____, "Three Early Taverns", Palimpsest, III (August, 1922) 250-260, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1922.

_____, "By Boat and Covered Wagon", Palimpsest, VII (January, 1927) 5-8, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.

Meyer, Marie E., "River Towns", Palimpsest, VII (December, 1926) 381-389, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1926.

_____, "Nicholas Fejervary", Palimpsest, IX (June, 1928) 202-218, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1928.

Monaghan, Frank, French Travelers in the United States, New York Public Library, New York, 1933.

Nicollet, Jean N., "Rivers of Iowa", Palimpsest, VIII (August, 1927) 284-294, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.

_____, "The Missouri Slope", Palimpsest, VIII (November, 1927) 370-378, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1927.

Parish, John C., "The Ripple", Palimpsest (April, 1929) 113-122, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1921.

Pelzer, Louis, "Pioneer Stage-Coach Travel", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIII (June 1936 - March, 1937) 3-26, Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Peterson, William J., "The Voyage of the Virginia", Palimpsest, XIII (August, 1932) 297-318, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1932.

_____, "The Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVII (June, 1930 - March, 1931) 72-97, Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Russell, Charles E., "A- Rafting on the Mississippi", The Century Company, New York, 1928.

Van der Zee, Jacob, "Mormon Trails in Iowa", Iowa Journal of History and Politics, XII (January, 1914) 3-16, The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1914.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Earle D. Ross, Associate Professor of History of the Department of History and Government, for his assistance in the choice of a topic and his guidance in the preparation of this thesis.

I wish also to express my appreciation for the assistance given to me by the Iowa State College Library staff and the courteous manner in which they have placed useful materials at my disposal.