

THE PEOPLE OF IOWA ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

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The story of Iowa during the turbulent decade of the 1850s is the narrative of an energetic, vibrant frontier state. Bounded on the east by the Mississippi and on the west by the Missouri, Iowa prided itself on being the first free state admitted to the Union from the Louisiana Purchase. As a self-conscious, western frontier state, Iowa entered the arena of national politics only four years before the opening of the final ante-bellum decade.

In the 1850s, Iowa was primarily a land of farms and farmers. Although, as in all communities, rural or urban, there existed the usual artisans, shopkeepers, and professional men, the overwhelming source of Iowa's income, and hence the chief support for its non-farming residents, was the soil. The federal census statistics for 1850 and 1860, as well as the state census for 1856, disclose name after name with "farmer" listed as the occupation. Scattered through the lists, other occupations do appear—here a lawyer or a doctor, there a blacksmith, merchant or miller, sometimes a minister or a miner—but all were outnumbered by the farmers.¹

Figures for the value of farms, the amount of improved acreage, and farm implements and machinery testify to the prominence of agriculture in Iowa. (See chart.)

	<i>number</i>	<i>rank among states</i>	<i>value</i>
Separate Farm Holdings:			
1850.....	14,805	27th	\$ 16,657,567
1860.....	61,163	21st	\$119,899,547
Improved Acreage: ²			
1850.....	824,682	25th	
1860.....	3,792,792	15th	
Farm Implements and Machinery:			
1850.....		27th	\$ 1,172,869
1860.....		20th	\$ 5,327,033

Livestock and grain production figures similarly demonstrate the emphasis of agriculture in Iowa. In 1850 there were 38,536 horses on Iowa farms; a decade later the number increased to 175,088. During the same period mules multiplied from 754 to 5,734; oxen from 21,892 to 56,964; milch cows from 45,704 to 189,802; other types of cows from 69,025 to 293,322; sheep from 149,960 to 259,041; and hogs from 323,247 to 934,820. The total value of all types of livestock on Iowa farms soared from a meager \$3,689,275 in 1850, good enough only for 27th ranking, to a respectable \$22,476,293, or 19th place in 1860.³

The statistics for grain and other crop production likewise reveal the importance of agriculture in Iowa's economy. In 1850 Iowa ranked 18th among the states in total grain production with an output of 11,809,250 bushels. Ten years later the state had advanced to 10th place with an output of 57,613,564 bushels of grain. The biggest single crop was corn, followed by wheat, oats, buckwheat, barley, and rye. In 1860 Iowa ranked seventh in the nation in corn production with 42,410,686 bushels, a five-fold increase over the figures for 1850. In wheat production Iowa moved from 15th place in 1850 with an output of 1,530,581 bushels to 8th place in 1860 with a production of 8,447,403 bushels. The picture is similar for other grains: the volume of oats jumped in a decade from 1,524,345 bushels to 5,887,645; barley increased from a paltry 25,093 bushels to 467,103; buckwheat and rye also followed this trend of greatly increased harvests.⁴

In addition to its grains Iowa produced other crops which solidified its position among the farming states of the nation. In 1850 Iowans harvested 276,120 bushels of Irish potatoes as well as 6,243 bushels of sweet potatoes. A decade later the volume climbed to 2,806,720 bushels of Irish potatoes and 51,362 bushels of sweet potatoes. Iowa ranked 13th in the country in potato production. Gains of like proportions were made by such other commodities as wool, butter, cheese, and hops.⁵

Further illustrating the preponderant position of agriculture in Iowa are the statistics for manufacturing in the state during the same period. In 1850 there were 1,707 persons working in manufacturing establishments of all kinds,

the total numbers of which are not available. A decade later 1,939 manufacturing concerns employed only 6,307 workers. The value of all types of manufactured products in 1850 was \$3,773,075. In 1860 the figure stood at \$14,289,015. When these totals are contrasted with the totals for the value of farms and farm production, the differences are even more striking.⁶

The leading manufacturing firms in 1850 quite naturally were those producing farm equipment. Five such plants, employing 15 persons, existed that year. No statistics are available for lumber and saw mills, meat packing or slaughtering plants for the same year, but these could not have been numerous since there were only 1,707 factory workers in the state. In the next ten years the number of lumber and saw mills increased markedly as the demand for wood products soared with the rapidly growing population. These mills, however, had a capital value of but \$1,606,210, produced goods valued at \$2,124,502, and employed 1,680 workers. In 1860 Iowans also boasted of one paper mill, twelve woolen mills, and fifteen meat packing firms with a total productive value of merely \$901,926.⁷

The only other industry of any importance in Iowa during the early period of its history was the lead mining industry centered at Dubuque, opposite the Galena fields of Illinois. Yet, even mining was but a small factor in the economy of the state.⁸ In fine, agriculture was Iowa's major form of business enterprise during the 1850s.

The pattern of settlement in Iowa during the ante-bellum period dramatically underscored the state's frontier condition. The early pioneers, who had crossed into Iowa from the larger states and territories nearby as well as from more distant areas, settled mainly along the Mississippi River and inland from that waterway in the southeastern portion of the state. Except for a cluster of five counties in the extreme northeastern corner of the state, the entire northern half of Iowa was still uninhabited in 1850. In the southwestern part of the state only three counties, Pottawattamie, Fremont, and Page, contained settlements of any size.⁹ The remainder of the land in this area, as in the north, was untenanted. Here and there,

of course, a pioneer entered to challenge nature's creatures in the battle for survival.

These boundaries of settlement remain appreciably unchanged until well into the 1850s. Even by 1854, aside from the northeastern tip, the entire northern half of Iowa lay untamed. Though people had begun to move into the southwestern portion, the bulk of Iowa's population, growing numerically from 191,000 in 1850 to about 326,000 in 1854, continued to cling to the original areas of settlement, that is, in the southeast and along the Mississippi. Other portions of the state remained unpopulated until the waning years of the 1850s and even then settlement there continued to be sparse.¹⁰

When the last ante-bellum decade opened, the state of Iowa was a way station on a well-travelled route to the Far West. The discovery of gold in California two years earlier still continued to lure thousands away from their farms and offices.¹¹ One newspaper of the day lamented that California would in no way benefit Iowa, as the population of the former was increasing at the expense of the latter. But this was a pessimistic view of events. Nevertheless, the migration from Iowa to the gold diggings in California in the spring of 1850 approximated 10,000 souls.¹²

Still, even while thousands abandoned their plows, forsook their tools, or deserted their offices in the quest for quick wealth, many more thousands of strong-bodied men, women, and children poured into Iowa from the South, the North and Northeast, and from abroad in ever-increasing numbers. Only this migration into the state can account for the increase in the population during the first half of the 1850s, more than offsetting the other thousands who departed to seek homes in the Pacific coastal regions and in the Mormon paradise of Deseret. The natural increase in the population during this period totaled 54,125 persons.¹³

Several factors tended to encourage heavy immigration into the state. The most compelling factor, perhaps, was hunger for land. The construction of railroad lines to the Mississippi was a great improvement in the facilities for overland travel. No less than three railroads reached the Mississippi from the East in the middle of the decade of the 1850s. These were the Rock Island, the Northwestern, and the Burlington

which came to the great river in 1854, 1855, and 1856, respectively, and offered improved transportation facilities. In addition, guides for immigrants were published in newspapers throughout the East and South describing in glowing terms the wonderful opportunities to be found in Iowa. "Iowa" became a common household term in the eastern states. Speculators in land, land investment companies, and railroad companies encouraged thousands to migrate to the new areas west of the Mississippi.¹⁴

An almost insatiable land hunger was a major characteristic of the American pioneer. He constantly sought to acquire new and better land holdings. In New England the farmer had to work a soil which was of poorer quality than that held by his counterpart of the Midwest. In the South the small landholder could not compete with the larger plantation owners who devoured the best crop lands. Iowa appealed to all those who wished to toil for their daily bread on more favorable terms. Not only farmers, but merchants, businessmen, and professional men also sought the new and better life in the young state of Iowa, where everyone might start anew, on a better footing it seemed, and on more equal terms with each other. A serious outbreak of cholera in the Middle Atlantic states and a severe drought which gripped the entire Ohio Valley during the growing season of 1854 motivated thousands of Americans to leave the Northeast for happier and healthier regions.¹⁵

Great disappointments, however, sometimes awaited the newly arrived settler. Up and down the Mississippi in 1850, but especially along the portions of the river adjoining southern Iowa, an epidemic of the dread cholera raged along the water-front towns. During the intense heat of mid-July, a newspaper in Burlington reported that an average of six to eight persons fell victim to the dreadful scourge daily, and warned those living inland to remain out of town until the intensity of the disease had abated.¹⁶

If cholera could not deter the settler, nature unleashed her potent energies to try his mettle the following year. Starting in mid-May, heavy rains drenched the state for about two months. The gloom and sadness brought by the incessant storms which washed away much of the crops found re-

flection in the press. One journal pessimistically asserted that "we have before us not only the prospect but the certainty of hard times."¹⁷ In the wake of the continued heavy rains came a more serious and destructive calamity. Flood waters came surging over the lands to complete the dismal story of crop and property destruction. The Des Moines River at one time was miles in width as it inundated the fertile corn and wheat fields and swept away housing, sheds, fences, and livestock. Little of the corn and wheat, the two principal crops, remained to be harvested. So desperate was the condition of some that a boat had to be sent to St. Louis to procure emergency provisions for the homeless and hungry survivors of the raging flood waters.¹⁸

Nor did the hard times of 1851 decrease with the receding flood waters. With the cessation of the rains came a severe drought which lasted the remainder of the summer, further destroying the few crops that had escaped destruction from the rains and floods. Once again cholera struck, as well as many other types of illnesses, finding many victims from among the ill-fed, ill-clad, poorly sheltered sufferers from nature's capriciousness.¹⁹

Nonetheless, the pioneer of a century ago remained confident amid his misfortune. Living as he did in the shadow of ever-present, sudden death, the settler merely took his adversities in stride as he continued to eke out the type of life and existence he desired. Thus, that very fall of the "hard" year of 1851, one editor reflected that the fall had been favorable and that the Mississippi still remained open for free trade.²⁰

The news of the natural disasters which struck Iowa did not discourage those who intended to migrate thither. Indeed, a new flood of immigration came pouring across the Mississippi in 1851 and the following years, ceasing only temporarily during the Civil War. Iowa's population in 1851 increased by some 13,000 over the previous year's total even though thousands had been lost to the gold fever and to nature's harsh exactions. In 1852 the population climbed to 229,900 and two years later it stood at 326,500. From 1850 to 1854 the population increased by an average of about 40,000 per year.²¹ After 1854 the upsurge became almost as a tidal wave, as the population reached 674,913 in 1860.

Up and down the Mississippi, in the towns bordering on the river and in those close to it, local editors kept an eye upon the influx of settlers who were entering the state. Even some of the more inland towns took cognizance of the heavy travel as more and more people moved into the interior to carve out their homes in the wild prairie regions. Oskaloosa reported that the streets of the town were clogged with travelers, their wagons and their cattle. In Burlington the ferry boats lagged far behind in their schedules, while the vehicles of the immigrants jammed the streets of the town. Nor were there any signs that the flow of human traffic would ever abate. At all the principal crossing points on the Mississippi the ferry boats plied from shore to shore endlessly in a vain effort to keep up with the tide of passengers and freight seeking to cross into Iowa.²² At Prairie du Chien, Dubuque, McGregor, Davenport, Burlington, and Keokuk the congestion of traffic sometimes forced travelers to delay for two or three days. Even out-of-state newspapers took notice of the mass of humans heading for the state. A St. Louis paper reported that more than 1,700 wagons passed a certain point in Illinois all bound for Iowa, and estimated that the increase in population during 1853 would amount to at least 50,000, a fairly accurate guess in the light of the actual census figures.²³

The heavy traffic transformed some of Iowa's Mississippi ports into boom towns. Davenport and Keokuk reported unprecedented building activity as the citizens labored to provide the invading hordes with housing and supplies.²⁴ The *Keokuk Morning Glory*, caught up in the fever of excitement, predicted that Iowa's population would reach the million mark by 1860. The *Keokuk Dispatch* reported that it was impossible to travel along the Mississippi "without being astonished at the immigration constantly pouring into Iowa from all parts of the country." From Dubuque the *Tribune* recorded that immigrants were streaming across the river "daily—yes, hourly."²⁵

Iowa residents at first welcomed the newcomers with open arms, broadcasting to all who cared to listen that the soil of the state was the richest in the world and existed in plentiful quantities waiting to be improved. Before long overzealous editors began predicting that Iowa would soon move

to the fore among the rich states of the Union. With a burst of pride characteristic of a frontier region, one editor proclaimed that not many days would pass ere the selfish ascendancy in national affairs of the Middle and Northern states would be replaced by the freshness of the states in the "Valley of the Mississippi" which will "when the day of their predominance comes, put an end to that system of local and partial legislation which has done more to weaken the bond of union and obliterate the reverence of the people for the Constitution than all other causes combined."²⁶

Until 1854, when a new wave of population came to Iowa in massive numbers more from the Northeast than elsewhere, Iowans betrayed a definite southern affinity, a mood that could be detected in the customs and attitudes of the people toward a variety of things, especially politics and the Negro.²⁷ To a considerable extent, Southerners had colonized Iowa by working their way up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Many settled in what later became the counties of Fremont, Page, Appanoose, Davis, Decatur, Van Buren, and Lee, thinking they were still in the state of Missouri. Some even brought their slaves with them in the erroneous belief that they had settled upon slave soil.²⁸ Moreover, settlers who had come to Iowa in these early years from southern and western Pennsylvania, and from the southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were likewise bound to the South by ties of blood, tradition, and economic enterprise.²⁹

A glance at the areas of first settlement helps to establish the southern proclivities of the early settlers. Coming largely from forested areas, the people of the South shunned and feared the broad expanses of the open, treeless prairies. Could land which supports only the tall prairie grass and flowers possibly possess any fertility? Was not the presence of timber a sure sign of the fertility of a parcel of land? Thus the first settlers avoided the open prairie lands and took up their residences along the streams where timber was available.³⁰

Moreover, such a place of habitation was practicable. The timber could be put to use in building shelters for humans and animals, as well as for fencing and simple farm tools. The streams permitted ease in transportation and provided water for daily needs. And Iowa was blessed with an abundance of

streams in addition to the two mighty rivers which formed her eastern and western boundaries. Most of the larger streams flowed from northwest to southeast, but several angled from northeast to southwest. These latter, however, were smaller and not nearly so navigable as the others. Along the rivers, the Iowa and Cedar Rivers in the east for example, the Des Moines and Raccoon Rivers in the central region, and the Skunk and Nishnabotna Rivers in the west, grew fairly fine stands of timber. Oak, walnut, ash, linn maple, hickory, elm, and cottonwood were available at various places. These served to give the Southerners a feeling of security and well-being.³¹

According to the federal census of 1850 more than 16.5% of the inhabitants of Iowa originated in the deep South or in the border states. Another 16% came from the Middle Atlantic or New England States. Still another 16% came from Ohio, while the other states of the Old Northwest combined to contribute 17%. About 20.5% of the residents in Iowa in 1850 were born in the state; all others originated in other parts of the country or migrated from abroad.³²

In the counties immediately north of Missouri, as well as in the extreme southeastern tip of the state, the scales were heavily weighted by those with southern backgrounds and traditions. Considering those who were born in the slaveholding areas of the United States, but not including those of Southern extraction who migrated from non-slave areas, Southerners totalled more than 38% of the population of Appanoose county. Davis, Monroe, Decatur, Wayne, Fremont, Lucas, Page, Van Buren, and Taylor counties boasted similar or larger percentages. Certain of the interior counties, through which rivers ran, also contained large groups of Southerners: Jasper, 31%; Marshall, 28%; Polk, 25%; Dallas, 25%; Keokuk, 21%; Madison, 35%; Warren, 26%. In addition, many more counties housed as much as 15% of its inhabitants who had Southern birthplaces. The statistics for those of Southern origin become even more impressive when they are enlarged to include those who entered Iowa from specific areas in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana.³³

Blood ties, however, were not the only bonds joining Iowa to the South. Stronger, perhaps, than sanguinary bonds

were the links forged by trade and commerce. Until the railroads came to Iowa, most goods traveled down the rivers southward to be sold and transhipped to other areas. Even with the strengthening of the East-West facilities of travel and communication, even after the Northeast began to take the major share of the western trade, the economic ties with the South still remained firm.³⁴ Since the railroad did not enter Iowa until the mid-1850s, Iowans had fully 20 years to increase and strengthen their economic alliance with the South.

Truly indicative of the Southern frame of mind was the prevailing attitude toward the Negro and chattel Slavery. While the majority of those who had migrated from the South did so because of the pressure of economic competition with the large plantation owners and their field crews of slave labor, as well as because of simple population pressure, these emigrés nevertheless came away with a loathing of the Negro. Most believed that slavery was the only natural condition for the Negro.³⁵ Most also opposed the advance of slavery into Iowa and elsewhere above the limits imposed by the Missouri Compromise, not, however, for moral reasons, but from economic considerations. These people feared the unequal competition from slave labor or the cheap labor of free Negroes, competition which had motivated their departure from the South. Even the later arrivals in Iowa from the Northeast held similar views. This latter group might oppose slavery as a great moral evil, but no love for the Negro himself accompanied this attitude. Thus the people of Iowa, while opposing slavery for one reason or another, refused to permit the Negro to share the rights and privileges accorded to the white settler.³⁶

This antagonism toward the Negro was translated into concrete action in 1851, when the General Assembly of Iowa passed a bill, subsequently signed by the Governor, which made it a penal offense for free Negroes to migrate into the state.³⁷ That this act had the full support of Iowans there can be no doubt. The disabilities under which the few Negroes already in Iowa had to live, as well as the new prohibition against further Negro immigration, remained in effect until after the Civil War.³⁸

The hostility to the Negro which was manifest in the state also found reflection in the public speeches of Iowa's representatives to Congress. Senator Augustus C. Dodge, while stoutly protesting that he had no antipathy for any individual merely because of color, nevertheless firmly insisted that he was not "l'ami des Noirs." Three years later he reiterated his position when he told the Senate that "it must always be, in our Republic, that when living in the same community or family the negro will be denied, and justly denied, the political and social equality of the white man."³⁹

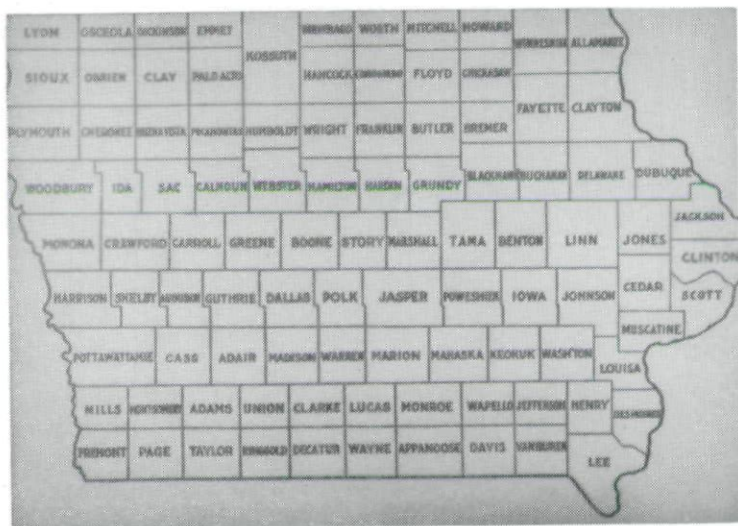
Dodge's colleague in the Senate, George W. Jones, fully agreed with him. According to Jones, it was obvious that the white race was superior to the dark. Moreover, Jones denied that the Negro was included in the Declaration of Independence, especially in the clause that declared that all men were born free and equal. Even those few individuals who genuinely sympathized with the plight of the free Negroes conceded that it might be best if these freedmen were re-settled in areas beyond the territorial confines of the United States.⁴⁰

Though the Southern climate of opinion was a potent factor in the Iowa way of life; though evidence of Southern influence could be found throughout the state; though the early political leaders were Southerners by birth or inclination, Iowa possessed other population groups whose importance, even during this early period, should not be minimized.

The Middle Atlantic and New England states contributed about 16% of Iowa's settlers. In 1850, however, less than 3% of Iowa's inhabitants came from New England, leaving about 13% who had originated in the Middle Atlantic region. These individuals, reared in environments manifestly different from those of their neighbors, tended to settle in the northern portion of Iowa and along the Mississippi River. Later arrivals from the Northeast quickly moved inland away from the rivers and streams, a movement Southerners hesitated or feared to make. Perhaps the earlier settlers had already appropriated the best lands along the rivers and streams; perhaps the difficulties encountered with the rocky soil of New England motivated settlers from that area to seek land which could be cleared and cultivated with ease. Whatever the reasons, it was the folk from the Northeast who first moved away from

the immediate vicinity of the Mississippi River and from the larger bodies of water in the state.⁴¹

Although persons of New England birth accounted for less than three percent of the population in 1850, their numbers were considerably higher in certain sections, almost negligible in others. Where the Southerners predominated, for example, the New Englanders were scarce. Fewer than one percent made their homes in Appanoose county. The same held true for Davis, Page, Marion, Madison and other counties with sizable groups of Southerners. In the northeastern portion of the state, however, the opposite was true. New Englanders numbered more than seven percent of the population in Clayton and Clinton counties. In Delaware, Jackson, and Allamakee counties, New Englanders made up more than five percent of the population. Pottawattamie county, in the southwest, contained more than eight percent of New Englanders in its population, but many of these were Mormons soon to leave the state for Deseret.⁴²



Iowa County Map

The settlers from the Middle Atlantic states also tended to reside in the northeastern part of Iowa, though the entire area along the Mississippi was popular. More than 32% of

the inhabitants of Buchanan county originated in New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania. Iowans from the Middle Atlantic region comprised a fifth to a fourth of the population in Clayton, Clinton, Jackson, Delaware, Linn, Johnson, Muscatine, and Scott counties. Later in the decade the Northerners moved into many areas originally colonized by Southerners, but still religiously avoided the overwhelmingly southern counties. The state of Ohio, alone, furnished over 16% of Iowa's residents in 1850. Although Ohioans scattered throughout the state, large groups concentrated in two clusters of counties, one in the northeast, the other in the southeast. Buchanan, Cedar, and Fayette boasted of 20% or more of natives of Ohio among their populations. Henry, Washington, Louisa, and Poweshiek counties contained similar percentages of Ohioans among their residents.⁴³

The other states of the Old Northwest made up, collectively, about 17% of the people of Iowa in 1850. Settlers from this area tended to congregate in the southcentral portion of the state, where they comprised a fourth to a third of the inhabitants of Boone, Marshall, Benton, Dallas, Madison, Polk, Jasper, Warren, and Poweshiek counties. Like figures betray a large concentration of natives of the Old Northwest in Lucas, Monroe, Wapello, Clarke, and Keokuk counties. Those who came from southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin were strongly of southern extraction and helped to swell the strong southern element in the state.⁴⁴

Before taking notice of the settlers of Iowa who came from the nations of Europe and the Western Hemisphere, it might be well to pause momentarily to examine the population of Pottawattamie county in southwestern Iowa. Until 1854 that county abounded almost exclusively with Mormons. Kanesville, established right on the Missouri River, later renamed Council Bluffs, became an important rendezvous for Mormons preparing to trek to Utah. Later it served as the jumping off point for many caravans heading for California and Oregon. By 1854, with the movement of the Mormons to join Brigham Young, the population of Pottawattamie declined to about 3,000 from the figure of 7,800 in 1850. A similar situation existed in Mills county, but as that county had not yet been officially organized in 1850, the population figures are not available.⁴⁵

While the settlers of Iowa were predominantly native-born, the foreign-born population nevertheless comprised more than 10% of the total in 1850. The foreign-born element came mainly from Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Holland, Scandinavia, and the German States. Others, not so numerous, journeyed to Iowa from France, Switzerland, and the Austrian Empire. The bulk of the foreign-born group, however, originated in the German States, Ireland, and Britain which, combined, accounted for more than 8% of the total population. Germans held the lead, contributing 3.7% of the total, while Britain and Ireland followed with 2.5% each. All other nations yielded less than 3% collectively. All told, of a total population of some 192,000, about 20,800 were not natives of the United States.⁴⁶

In the main, the bulk of the foreign-born group crowded into the eastern portion of the state, particularly in the settlements along the Mississippi River. In addition, they, like the Northeasterners, seemed to shun the areas of strong southern attachments. Two major exceptions to this pattern of settlement were the English and the Hollanders.⁴⁷

Owing to difficulties of language as well as differences in culture and tradition, the Germans tended to be extremely clannish. Large numbers of Germans settled in the towns of the Mississippi, principally in Davenport, Burlington, Muscatine, and Dubuque. Clayton county, harboring a population which was more than 13% German, contained colonies of German communists. Germans, moving from Davenport, founded Minden, Walcott, Avoca, Wheatland, and DeWitt. New Wien was a solidly German and Roman Catholic town. Of the 7,101 Germans in Iowa in 1850, more than 5,400 established their residences in the six counties of Lee, Clayton, Des Moines, Scott, Dubuque, and Muscatine.⁴⁸ So numerous were they and so potentially powerful politically, that the Iowa General Assembly continually made provision for printing the important legislative enactments and state documents in the German language. Perhaps their strong clannishness gave an artificial impression of political strength.⁴⁹

These emigrants from the German States continued their usual custom of enjoying the Sabbath with fun and relaxation accompanied by a heavy consumption of lager beer. Their

native-born neighbors soon came to resent what they considered to be deliberate desecrations of the Sabbath and clamored for legislative enactments to preserve the sanctity of the traditional day of rest.⁵⁰ Later in the decade animosity toward the foreign-born, directed especially against the Germans and Irish, took on political form.

The emigrants from Ireland in 1850 totalled 4,907 persons. Though the Irish spread throughout Iowa, they concentrated more heavily, like the Germans, in the towns along the Mississippi River. Later in the decade, when the railroads came to Iowa, many thousands of Irish entered the state as construction workers for the railroads, and remained to settle in the state. During these early years the Irish swarmed into Dubuque county, where they formed 16% of the population. The large concentration of Irish at Dubuque reinforced the already strong position of the Roman Catholic Church in that city which was large enough, even in 1850, to have its own bishop, Mathias Loras. Other substantial communities of Irish located in Jones, Clayton, Jackson, Iowa, Clinton, Scott, and Winneshiiek counties.⁵¹

The British, including those from Scotland and Wales, not being restricted by any language barrier and being far less clannish than the other foreign groups, scattered throughout the state in more or less equal diffusion. Pottawattamie county, however, contained a significant settlement of Britishers, but these were Mormons, newly arrived as converts and soon to leave for the sanctuary being carved out of the desert by Brigham Young and his zealous followers. Otherwise, only Dubuque and Scott counties held any sizable numbers of Britishers, the former embracing 6.5% and the latter some 4.7%. In 1850 the British numbered 4,820 individuals in Iowa.⁵²

A not inconsiderable group of settlers came from Canada. In 1850 these hardy pioneers amounted to 1,839 men, women, and children, or about .9% of the population. Like the British, they scattered throughout the state, coming as they did from a Canadian environment which was not too dissimilar from that found in the United States. Nevertheless, substantial numbers of Canadians settled in the river border counties of

Dubuque, Jackson, Henry, Lee, Van Buren, and Pottawattamie.⁵³

Settlers from Holland in Iowa totalled 1,096 individuals in 1850, representing .5% of the population. One settlement of Hollanders, numbering 884 persons, located at Pella in Marion county, comprising 16.2% of that county's population. Other groups of Hollanders made their homes in Wapello, Lee, Mahaska, and Muscatine counties.⁵⁴

The three Scandinavian nationalities of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians comprised a mere .3% of Iowa's population in 1850, numbering but 611 persons. Nevertheless, in the three counties of Allamakee, Winneshiek, and Fayette, in the extreme northeastern corner of the state, they clustered in communities of some size. Many, of course, had merely crossed into the state from Wisconsin and Minnesota, as they were to do in increasing numbers later in the decade. Other Scandinavian settlements existed in Jefferson, Story, Lee, Henry, Polk, and Van Buren counties.⁵⁵

Generally overlooked in any examination of the origins of the settlers of Iowa during its early history have been the brave souls from France, Switzerland, and the Austrian Empire. To be sure, emigrants from the last country were scarce in Iowa in 1850, but as the decade wore along, so too did their numbers increase. In Dubuque county, where the foreign-born elements embraced 39.5% of that county's population, emigrants from France and Switzerland established homes in some strength. Lee, Davis, Jefferson, Des Moines, Johnson, and Washington counties also harbored people with French origins. In addition, Iowa contained a few individuals from Poland, Russia, Italy, Mexico, and Belgium who settled primarily in Dubuque, Wapello, Des Moines, and Pottawattamie counties.⁵⁶

Iowans early became conscious of the increasing size of the foreign-born population and aware also that Wisconsin was the only western state actually encouraging settlement within her boundaries. To counteract the propaganda from Wisconsin, a bill was introduced into the Iowa Senate in 1853 which provided for the appointment of an agent to promote immigration to Iowa with headquarters in New York City. A special committee of the Senate, to which the bill had been

referred, reported back on Jan. 12, 1853, just five days after the introduction of the measure, that it could not "from their present information recommend the appointment of such commissioner of emigration."⁵⁷ Thus the first move to create such an office fell by the wayside.

The various groups of Iowa's residents, whether of Southern or Northeastern stock, whether of native or foreign origin, played important roles in the political history of the state during the convulsive decade of the 1850s. Because the influence of the Southerners was so strong during the earlier period of the state's history, politics tended to be shaped according to the prevailing Southern attitudes towards such things as slavery, banking, and internal improvements. As has been already pointed out, the Southern view of the Negro was one that could not be shaken, even after this group had been replaced in the ascendancy by others. For the most part, the Southerners voted with the Democratic party. Persistently loyal to the leaders and concepts that had early gained their allegiance, this group did not give up their former convictions very easily. Certain of the counties, where the children from Dixie continued to predominate, never departed from their loyalty to the Democratic party, even in the wake of the Lincoln sweep in 1860 and after.⁵⁸

When, after 1854, the immigrants to Iowa came increasingly from the Northeastern portion of the country, bringing with them all the prejudices and loyalties common to that section, the political complexion of the state began to undergo a significant change. Nor did the changes which were thus inaugurated proceed harmoniously. The Southerners and Yankees eyed each other suspiciously. The Eastern settlers brought with them a respect for education, a belief in the social proprieties, and a distinct anti-slavery attitude, notwithstanding that their feelings toward the individual Negro might have differed but little from those of their Southern brethren. The Yankees disdained the rough, ignorant appearance conveyed by the sturdy pioneers from the South. For their part the Southerners, accustomed to the evangelism of the frontier religions, disliked, among other things, the colder piety of the Easterners. This mutual antagonism soon found expression at the polls.⁵⁹ Gradually, an opposition of coalition groups, which

later united to form the Republican party, displaced the Democrats from their position of political supremacy in the state.

The incoming human flood early stimulated a demand that carried to the chambers of Congress for legislation to provide for internal improvements at federal expense, the old cry of the Whig party, and for a measure offering the free disbursement of the immense holdings of government land within the state of Iowa. The demand for homesteads became particularly insistent after 1850 and soon became one of the standard political issues of the various campaigns during the 1850's. In Congress Iowa's Democratic representatives energetically supported measures providing for free homesteads to actual settlers. In the Senate A. C. Dodge was equally friendly to such a measure.⁶⁰ These pro-homestead and pro-internal improvements sentiments were merely the products of an ever-increasing population in Iowa which desired to see the federal government aid the state in its growth. The Northern newcomers also clamored for changes in the state constitution, a document which embodied the Southern proclivities of its creators.

The population statistics for the latter half of the 1850s were charged with electricity. According to the state census for 1854, Iowa's population stood at 326,500. Just two years later the figure read 512,000 and, as already noted, in 1860 there were 674,913 people in the state. Every county reported an increase in inhabitants. Pottawattamie county, too, gained in population after having suffered declines since 1850 owing to the Mormon departures.⁶¹

The bulk of the immigrants came from the northeastern section of the nation, New England, the Middle states, and Ohio. By 1856 people from these regions represented more than 38% of Iowa's population, while in 1860 the figures declined somewhat to 33.5%. These newcomers settled not only in the more populous eastern counties, but also streamed into the interior northern and western portions of the state where land was plentiful and people few.⁶² The immigrants from the East did not have the same distrust of the prairie regions which the early settlers manifested. Hence, they pushed into Iowa's unsettled interior areas until only the extreme northwestern

corner of the state remained relatively free of human habitation at the outbreak of the Civil War.

During the latter portion of the 1850s settlements were established in Woodbury, Palo Alto, Emmet, Buena Vista, Clay, Dickinson, and Franklin counties as well as Sioux, O'Brien, Plymouth, and Cherokee counties. Only Lyon and Osceola counties were not listed in the federal census of 1860.⁶³ Residents of the Missouri slope began to tell of people coming in from the East, proudly announcing that not everyone was heading for Kansas or Nebraska, or points farther West.⁶⁴ These newcomers to Iowa, of course, may not have come to the state directly from the places of origin which the census rolls show. The New Englander may have lingered for a number of years, say in Ohio, before pushing on farther West. The Southerner may have paused for several years in Kentucky or Tennessee prior to crossing the Mississippi into Iowa. Palo Alto's first inhabitants, for example, were Irish who had originally settled in Kane county, Illinois, before deciding to locate in Iowa.⁶⁵

In 1856 and 1860 persons of New England origin in Iowa had quadrupled since the federal census of 1850. Though New Englanders comprised merely 4.1% of Iowa's population, such newer counties as Mitchell, Grundy, Audubon, and Kosuth boasted a population that was more than 10% of New England background. The older counties of Fayette, Black Hawk, and Buchanan also reported an increase in the number of "Yankees." In Fayette, for example, New Englanders totalled more than 22% of the population. But these same counties contained ever larger numbers from the Middle Atlantic states or from Ohio. Settlers in Iowa in 1856 and 1860 from Ohio and the Middle Atlantic region had tripled or quadrupled since 1850. In 1856 former Ohioans numbered 90,000 persons or 17.5% of the total population, while natives of the Middle states totalled 85,564 or 16.7% of the whole. In 1860 settlers from Ohio and the Middle States comprised 100,117 and 101,541 persons respectively, or 14.8% and 15% respectively.⁶⁶

Against this picture of increased immigration from the Northeast was the decreased flow from the slave-holding

states. Although the number of Southerners did increase numerically since 1850, their percentage in relation to the total population declined. In 1850 Southerners comprised 16.7% of the population of Iowa; in 1856 they accounted for no more than 10.8% of the total, while in 1860 they fell to only 4.6% of the population. In cold statistics, and in truth, Easterners replaced Southerners in numbers and in influence in all but the southernmost tier of counties, and even here their numbers were not entirely negligible.⁶⁷

Although natives of Indiana and Illinois more than doubled in 1856 in contrast to their numbers in 1850, their percentage figures decreased. The situation persisted in 1860. Persons born in Indiana represented 11.2% of the total population of Iowa in 1850; they accounted for 10.4% in 1856 and 8.5% in 1860. Natives of Illinois declined from 5.6% in 1850 to 4.5% in 1856 and 4.2% in 1860. Residents of Iowa from Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota numbered only 6,021 persons in 1856 or 1.1% of the whole population of the state. In 1860 the figures rose to 9,837 individuals, or 1.5%.⁶⁸ Since many of the newcomers from the Old Northwest came from families which were originally Southern, their decreasing totals further underscored the decline and waning influence of the Southern element in Iowa.

Immigrants of foreign origin also joined in the great movement to Iowa. These groups, too, increased in numbers during the same period. Germans and Irish quadrupled, British tripled, while the Scandinavians increased almost seven-fold. Settlers from France, Canada, Austria, Switzerland, and Holland likewise registered sizable gains. All told, the foreign-born residents of Iowa comprised over 15% of the population in 1856 and 1860 in contrast to 10.9% in 1850. Germans, Irish, and British continued to lead all other groups.⁶⁹

While the British and Canadians, escaping the usual difficulties occasioned by language and custom differences, scattered fairly evenly throughout the state, the Germans continued to concentrate in the Mississippi counties and in the central eastern counties. The Irish also tended to follow the German example, congregating in the towns of the eastern portion of the state. Freedom from the language barrier enabled the

Irish to spread also into the interior regions. For the most part, the Hollanders gravitated to Marion county which was home for three-fourths of this group. Johnson, Winneshiek, and Linn counties contained more than half of the immigrants from the Austrian Empire, while a like percentage of the Scandinavians settled in Allamakee, Clayton, Jefferson, and Winneshiek counties combined. Of the 7,676 Scandinavians, Winneshiek held 2,923 in 1860. Lightly sprinkled here and there throughout the state were immigrants from several other foreign lands.⁷⁰

The wagon trains that rumbled along the well-worn trails leading to the Mississippi from the East, as well as the railroads, carried the anti-slavery attitudes of the new arrivals in addition to their tangible possessions. The New Englanders were sincerely convinced that slavery was a great moral sin in the eyes of God. Newcomers from Ohio and the Middle Atlantic region held somewhat similar views. Generally, however, they were not outright abolitionists, but on the question of slavery expansion, they could be as fanatic in their opposition as the most outspoken radical.⁷¹

Moreover, the New Englanders were leaving an area where the Democracy had not been, for many years, in a flourishing condition. Vermont had never cast a presidential electoral ballot for a Democrat; Rhode Island and Connecticut had voted for Whigs in the last three presidential elections. Only New Hampshire and Maine tenuously remained in the Democratic camp of late.⁷² Thus, the new arrivals undoubtedly also transported voting habits which did not permit them to cast ballots for Democratic candidates. One population group still received no welcome in Iowa during the late 1850s, the freed Negroes. Even after the machinery of the state government fell into the hands of the anti-slavery elements, those same men who had inveighed so vociferously against slavery, opposed just as vehemently the elimination of the barriers to Negro settlement in the state. Nevertheless, some petitions to eradicate this injustice began to reach the state lawmakers.⁷³ It would remain for the Civil War, however, to remove the obstructions to Negro migration into Iowa.

The foreign-born residents in Iowa, as noted earlier, provoked friction with the native-born settlers. Not only the clannishness, but the customs, habits, language, and dress of the foreign groups became objects of suspicion to the Americans, characteristics of an unknown nature that could—so ran the fear—undermine the foundations of the American system of government.⁷⁴

Before long, criticism of foreigners and of their habits began to appear in the newspapers. According to the *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Europe's displaced people were responsible for difficulties hitherto unknown in Iowa. The *Western Gazette* of Bloomfield charged that some of the German states were deliberately shipping "their convicts to our shores." The same paper voiced the fear that the increased number of Catholics—for the Irish almost wholly, and the Germans to a considerable extent, professed Roman Catholicism—would "transfer to this happy land Popery in all of its lurid forms." Something should be done immediately to stop this threat. Furthermore, these foreigners were involved in most of the drunken brawls that were noticeably increasing in the state.⁷⁵ The *Davenport Gazette* disdainfully noted that the Germans, especially, were quick to oppose certain state laws, such as Prohibition and the Sabbath law, which a majority of the Iowans had favored. The paper condemned these people in the aggregate "for their excesses and their infidel principles."⁷⁶ Precisely what these faults were, the editor failed to disclose. Most of the anti-foreign editorials appeared in Whig journals or in papers friendly to the Whig cause. Few, if any, of the Democratic organs attacked the foreign-born settlers.

The growing anti-foreign sentiment very soon found expression in a political party which mushroomed in 1854 and later. In the elections in the East, this party won more political offices than either the Democrats or Whigs cared to admit. Officially entitled the American party, but more popularly called the Know-Nothing party from the refusal of its members to divulge details of meetings, this unique political organization first appeared in Iowa late in 1854. By early the following year, it had begun to attract an impressive following. As late as 1857 this party entered candidates in Iowa's political contests.

Several factors lay behind the increasing Know-Nothing popularity in Iowa. Partly it was the pressure of economic competition from the overseas immigration which undoubtedly impelled many Easterners to journey to less populous areas. Partly it was the fear of Roman Catholicism, a dread which American Protestantism still possesses to a puzzling degree. Nevertheless, this anti-Catholic prejudice did not get out of hand in Iowa despite its evident existence. Partly it was the refusal of native Americans to accept the foreigners as social equals, the cultural differences being what they were. As laborers, however, the foreigners received a ready welcome in communities gripped by a shortage of labor.⁷⁷ Irish laborers also played a significant role in the construction of railroad lines across Iowa.

German fondness for beer and Irish predilection for whiskey also played into the hands of the Know-Nothings. During the middle of the 1850s, Iowa was in the throes of a temperance crusade. Needless to say, the Irish and Germans energetically opposed any legislation that might interfere with their drinking habits. Hence, it was not a difficult step for temperance men to join the Know-Nothings against the foreign anti-temperance elements.⁷⁸

By late fall of 1854 the Know-Nothings had made enough progress in Iowa to enter the newspaper battles with their own journals. These included the *Muscatine Tri-Weekly Journal* and the *Keokuk Whig*, whose sympathies, however, were suspect. Later the Know-Nothings could boast of papers in Des Moines, Dubuque, and Oskaloosa.⁷⁹

In order to capitalize on the nativist sentiment within Iowa, as well as to reap the benefits of the existent unsettled political atmosphere, the Know-Nothings broadened their appeal to the voters. The party offered a platform with two major planks: one, of course, reflected the anti-foreign, anti-Catholic stand of the order; the other announced an anti-slavery position. The national meeting of the American party had split over the slavery issue in 1855 and the Iowa group backed the anti-slavery wing of the party.⁸⁰ But the rise of the Republican party in Iowa after 1856 ultimately stole their thunder.

Toward the end of 1857, Iowans began to feel the pinch of economic distress brought on partly by the Panic of 1857 and partly because of a series of natural disturbances. The economic crisis which engulfed the East in 1857 and later spread westward began on Aug. 24, 1857, when Charles Stetson, president of the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, announced that his firm would suspend monetary payments. Instead of helping Stetson's firm meet its financial obligations, other New York banks began a policy of contraction which proved to be contagious. Economic distress was one product of this form of business selfishness.⁸¹

Although many firms were forced to close their doors in Iowa in 1857, severe economic hardship did not develop until 1858. As late as October, 1857, for example, Charles Aldrich, editor of the *Hamilton Freeman*, reported that "things are still moving on satisfactorily" in north-central Iowa, but during the early months of 1858 Iowans began to suffer.⁸² The collapse of real estate values, the decline in grain prices, and the lack of banks of issue with a consequent shortage of circulating media combined to inflict financial hardship on scores of Iowans. Too many Iowans, moreover, had over-extended themselves by purchasing stocks in railroads, as well as by securing land for speculation. Railroads lay behind most of the land speculation. Although out-of-state buyers swarmed into Iowa during the 1850s, many Iowans had also dabbled in real estate.⁸³

Complicating the distressing financial picture were a series of natural afflictions which struck Iowans about the same time. The winter of 1856-1857 was the most severe in the memory of settlers, and took hundreds in western Iowa by surprise. Many suffered from shortages of food and fuel.⁸⁴ To add to the miseries of the cruel winter, the summer and autumn of 1858 brought further distress. Heavy rains and intermittent frosts caused crop failures over two-thirds of the state. Caught between the Panic of 1857 and the wrath of the elements, many Iowans suffered extreme privation and hardship. In the newer portions of the state pioneer families barely managed to survive, subsisting on diets of wild game and a little flour. And wheat sold for only 40 cents per bushel! The inability to pay

taxes compelled thousands to yield their land holdings to tax-title purchasers.⁸⁵

In addition to the numerous families hurt by the crop failures, low prices for grain, and the Panic, many business establishments experienced financial difficulties. In 1857 Iowa firms with total liabilities of over two million dollars closed their doors. The next year firms with liabilities totalling more than three million went out of business. Other midwestern states, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Missouri, exhibited similar trends. Indeed, long after eastern companies had recovered from the Panic or were well on the road to recovery, the Middle West continued to suffer.⁸⁶ Before long, suffering Iowans began to look to the state legislature for relief. The press was divided on the question of relief legislation. The *Montezuma Weekly Republican*, for example, held that existing laws sufficed to meet the situation. Nevertheless, the demand for relief measures grew strong enough to persuade the General Assembly to yield to the anguished appeal of the hard-pressed Iowans. Iowa lawmakers enacted such relief measures as stay and appraisal laws and extended the redemption times.⁸⁷

The ravages of the Panic also greatly impeded railroad building in Iowa as construction was all but halted throughout the state. Despite the incentive of the Iowa land grant of 1856, less than 500 miles of railroad were in operation in the state by 1859. The *Hamilton Freeman* wondered whether railroad construction crews would ever resume their work.⁸⁸

Railroad promoters, led by Platt Smith, president of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad, endeavored to secure state aid for the railroads. Smith tried to convince Governor Lowe that sentiment in Iowa for state aid to railroads was strong. He insisted that only two newspapers in the state, the *Express and Herald* of Dubuque and the *Eagle* of Vinton, opposed the scheme for the state to help the railroads. "I have no doubt," Smith wrote Lowe, "that every paper from here (Dubuque) to the Missouri River, and for thirty miles on each side, will be in favor of the measure in less than two months if the subject is agitated."⁸⁹ There is some evidence to believe that Lowe favored Smith's proposals.⁹⁰ Other Republican leaders, however, opposed state aid for railroads. Prominent party figures,

including Senator James Harlan, urged Lowe not to involve either the state or the Republican party in schemes to aid the railroads with state funds. And at least one Republican voiced a fear that the railroads would soon become the strongest power in the state. In the end, Governor Lowe heeded the advice of party leaders and refused to call a special session of the Legislature to consider relief measures for railroads.⁹¹

As the decade of the 1850s drew to its inevitable close, the exciting issues of national politics gripped the attention of the people of Iowa. Nativism, temperance, constitutional reform, railroad speculation, clamor for internal improvements, homestead legislation, transcontinental railroad route—these and other mostly local issues moved aside for such more urgent concerns as the agitation over slavery, the Kansas fiasco, John Brown's raid, and, ultimately, the basic question of the very preservation of the Federal Union itself. Iowans participated in these movements with their usual indefatigable energy and played significant roles in the tragedy which signalled the opening of the new decade.⁹² Indeed, it would not be too much to state that the Civil War coincided with Iowa's coming of age with respect to the national scene: the frontier state had attained maturity.

FOOTNOTES

¹ "The Seventh Census of the United States," "The Eighth Census of the United States." Manuscript census reports for Iowa located at the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines; *The Census Returns of the Different Counties of the State of Iowa for 1856* (Iowa City, 1857).

² John A. T. Hull, comp., *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census 1836-1860* (Des Moines, 1883), 141, 179-180.

³ *Ibid.*, 88-92, 143, 179-181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 64-74, 76, 179-181.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 134, 136-137, 179-181, 187-188.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ See L. H. Langworthy, "Dubuque: Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, Etc.," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, VIII (1910), 366-422.

⁹ Cardinal Goodwin, "The American Occupation of Iowa 1833 to 1860," *Ibid.*, XVII (1919), 96; Hull, 196-199.

¹⁰ Hull, 196-199; *Census of Iowa By Counties As Returned to the Secretary of State for the Year 1854* (Iowa City, 1854).

¹¹ Louis Pelzer, "The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa 1846-1857," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, VI (1908), 189-190.

¹² *The Iowa Republican* (Iowa City), April 3, May 1, 1850.

¹³ Compiled by the author from the manuscript census reports for Iowa for 1850 and 1860 and from the *Census of 1856*, hereafter referred to as *Nativities of Population*.

¹⁴ Goodwin, 96-97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), July 24, 1850.

¹⁷ *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, July 3, 1851; Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 238.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 238-239.

²⁰ *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 29, 1851.

²¹ Hull, 196-199.

²² *Oskaloosa Herald* quoted in *Iowa State Gazette*, May 21, 1851; *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 9, 1851; Oct. 26, 1852; Sept. 28, 1853; *Iowa State Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1851.

²³ *St. Louis News* quoted in *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 30, 1853; Goodwin, 98.

²⁴ William J. Petersen, "Population Advance to the Upper Mississippi Valley 1830-1860," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXII (1934), 328; Nathan H. Parker, *Iowa As It Is In 1856* (Chicago, 1856), 56-57.

²⁵ *The Morning Glory* (Keokuk), June 12, 1855; *Keokuk Dispatch and Dubuque Tribune* quoted in Nathan H. Parker, *Iowa As It Is In 1857* (Chicago, 1857), 57, 62.

²⁶ *Keosauqua American* quoted in *Burlington Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 13, 1851; Petersen, 333.

²⁷ Charles Roll, "Political Trends in Iowa History," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXVI (1928), 499-500.

²⁸ *Nativities of Population 1850*; Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), 21; *Biographical and Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties in Iowa* (Chicago, 1887), 411; J. M. Howell and Heman C. Smith, eds., *History of Decatur County Iowa and Its People* (2 Vols. Chicago, 1915), I, 184.

²⁹ Frank I. Herriott, "Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?" *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, VII (1906), 465.

³⁰ Paul Gates, "Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States," *The Journal of Economic History*, I (1941), 66.

³¹ Gray, 22-23; Nathan H. Parker, *Iowa As It Is In 1855* (Chicago, 1855), 35-36.

³² *Nativities of Population 1850*.

³³ *Ibid.*; Gray, 21; Herriott, 465.

³⁴ Gray, 20-21.

³⁵ See Joel H. Silbey, "Pro-Slavery Sentiment in Iowa 1838-1861," Unpublished M.A. Thesis (State University of Iowa, 1956).

³⁶ Leola N. Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XLVI (1948), 6-7.

³⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Third General Assembly of Iowa 1850, 88, 159; *Journal of the Senate*, Third General Assembly of Iowa 1850, 295.

³⁸ The prohibition against Negro immigration was rarely enforced, and the Negro population in Iowa grew from 333 in 1850 to 1,069 in 1860. Bergmann, 15.

³⁹ *Congressional Globe* 2nd Session 31st Congress, Appendix, 377; 1st Session 33rd Congress, Appendix, 377.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1st Session 34th Congress, Appendix, 407-408; *The Davenport Gazette*, March 11, 1852.

⁴¹ Nativities of Population 1850.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Harry Church and Katharyn J. Chappell, *History of Buchanan County Iowa and Its People* (2 Vols. Chicago, 1914), I, 56.

⁴⁴ Nativities of Population 1850; Herriott, 465; Gray 21.

⁴⁵ Jacob Van Der Zee, "The Mormon Trails in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XII (1914), 14-15; Hull, 196-199.

⁴⁶ Nativities of Population 1850.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Willard I. Toussaint, "The Know-Nothing Party in Iowa," Unpublished M.A. Thesis (State University of Iowa, 1956), 47-48.

⁴⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, Third General Assembly of Iowa 1850, 245.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Fourth General Assembly of Iowa 1852, 85; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Fourth General Assembly of Iowa 1852, 79.

⁵¹ Jacob Van Der Zee, *The British in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1922), 42; Franklin T. Oldt, ed., *History of Dubuque County Iowa* (Chicago, N.D.), 872-873; Nativities of Population 1850.

⁵² *Ibid.*; Van Der Zee, *The British in Iowa*, 52-53.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 46-47; Nativities of Population 1850.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; See also Jacob Van Der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912).

⁵⁵ Nativities of Population 1850; See also George T. Flom, "The Growth of the Scandinavian Factor in the Population of Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, IV (1906), 268-285.

⁵⁶ Nativities of Population 1850.

⁵⁷ *Journal of the Senate*, Fourth General Assembly of Iowa 1852, 144, 187.

⁵⁸ *The History of Madison County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1879), 407; Gray, 23, 27.

⁵⁹ Herriott, 465; Gray, 24-25; *The History of Keokuk County Iowa* (Des Moines, 1880), 406.

⁶⁰ Louis Pelzer, *Augustus Caesar Dodge* (Iowa City, 1908), 153-154; *Congressional Globe* 2nd Session 32nd Congress, Appendix, 205.

⁶¹ Hull, 196-199; Nativities of Population 1856, 1860; Secretary of State George McCleary reported to the Legislature that the 1856 returns were "made in a very imperfect manner, and many important omissions have been made—some assessors omitting the nativity entirely." *Journal of the Senate*, Sixth General Assembly of Iowa 1856, 77.

⁶² Nativities of Population 1856, 1860.

⁶³ Cole, 289, 292; *History of Franklin and Cerro Gordo Counties Iowa* (Springfield, Ill., 1833), 224-225; Dwight G. McCarty, *History of Palo Alto County Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1910), 22.

⁶⁴ *Sioux City Eagle*, May 8, 1858.

⁶⁵ McCarty, 22.

⁶⁶ Nativities of Population 1856, 1860.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Bergmann, 7.

⁷² Roy F. Nichols, *The Democratic Machine 1850-1854* (New York, 1923), 80.

⁷³ *Congressional Globe* 1st Session 34th Congress, Appendix, 408; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Fifth General Assembly of Iowa 1854, 317.

⁷⁴ Marcus L. Hansen, "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XIX (1921), 163.

⁷⁵ *Western Gazette* (Bloomfield), Jan. 20, June 28, 1854; See also Toussaint, 7-8.

⁷⁶ Feb. 15, 1855.

⁷⁷ Toussaint, 44-46; *Eddyville Free Press*, March 2, 1855.

⁷⁸ Toussaint, 44-45.

⁷⁹ David S. Sparks, "The Birth of the Republican Party in Iowa, 1848 to 1860," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1951), 127.

⁸⁰ *Democratic Banner* (Davenport), June 22, 1855; *Des Moines Valley Whig*, Nov. 21, 1855.

⁸¹ George W. Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857* (New York, 1943), 64-66.

⁸² Oct. 22, 1857.

⁸³ Van Vleck, 33, 83, 92; *Congressional Globe* 2nd Session 35th Congress, 767-768; Gates, 70-71.

⁸⁴ Robert Robinson to George W. Jones, Feb. 19, 1857; Enos Lowe to George W. Jones, Feb. 14, 1857. Jones Correspondence (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines); George W. Fitch, *Past and Present of Fayette County Iowa* (2 Vols. Indianapolis, 1910), I, 93; R. A. Smith, *A History of Dickinson County Iowa* (Des Moines, 1902), 52.

⁸⁵ Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938), 53-54; *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), July 29, 1858; Cole, 308.

⁸⁶ Van Vleck, 84, 91.

⁸⁷ *Montezuma Weekly Republican*, Feb. 27, 1858; *Tri-Weekly Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), Feb. 12, 1858; *Session Journal* (Des Moines), Feb. 12, 1858; *Journal of the Senate*, Eighth General Assembly of Iowa 1860, 745-746.

⁸⁸ Cole, 284; *Hamilton Freeman*, Feb. 25, 1858.

⁸⁹ Platt Smith to C. C. Carpenter, Nov. 2, 1858. Carpenter Papers (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City); Platt Smith to Ralph P. Lowe, Sept. 3, Nov. 24, 1858. Governors' Papers—Correspondence (Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines).

⁹⁰ John Bertram to Ralph P. Lowe, March 15, 1858. *Ibid.* Judging from the contents of Bertram's letter, it appears that Lowe was trying to discover a method by which the State could aid the railroads.

⁹¹ Thomas F. Withrow to C. C. Carpenter, Nov. 8, Dec. 23, 1858. Carpenter Papers; James Harlan to Ralph P. Lowe, Nov. 11, 1858. Harlan Papers (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City); *The Vinton Eagle*, Dec. 25, 1858; *The Weekly State Reporter* (Iowa City), Dec. 22, 1858.

⁹² See Morton M. Rosenberg, "The Democratic Party of Iowa 1850-1860," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (State University of Iowa, 1957).

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