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AN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF SCOTT COUNTY

THE MIDDLE PERIOD
1865-1900

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Almost immediately with the peace which closed the Civil War, railroad construction in Iowa resumed its mad course at the points where the conflict had interrupted it. Although widespread and important developments took place in other phases of business and industrial life, the railroad mania so dominated the next thirty-five years with its pushing and competing interests, the boom it gave to land values, the stimulus it injected into the life of older towns, the direction it gave in the location of new sites, and the fickle power it wielded of making and losing fortunes, so clearly ushered in a new era in the industrial and commercial history of Iowa, that despite the fact the first rails were laid in Scott County in 1854-55, with the close of the Civil War the Pioneer Period in the industrial history of Scott County, as well as in Iowa at large, may be said to have ended, and the Middle Period to have begun.

TRANSPORTATION

As more and more settlers crowded into the open spaces, new roads were laid out, usually following the section lines. This did not, however, disturb the layout of the older diagonal roads, which continued to be the main thoroughfares of the countryside. Conservatism was the rule, and there was little progress in the kind of roads built or constructed throughout this Middle Period. Too small tax levies retarded the improvement of the roads, but some bridges, however, were built across the creeks. The farmers worked out their poll tax in ditching, grading, and graveling those sections of the roads where the need of improvement was most urgent.

Towards the close of the century there was a growing realization of the need for better roads. The farmers felt the need because better roads would facilitate their marketing, while the merchants, especially in Davenport, realized that improved roads would boost their farm trade. Little was actually done, however, except to create a sentiment for good roads, a sentiment which was fully utilized in the present century.¹

Sometimes, nevertheless, impatient individuals would take matters into their own hands, and—with the consent of the authorities—proceed with needed construction. An example of one such instance in Scott County might be cited. Having obtained permission from the authorities of Scott and Clinton counties, a Swedish immigrant, Fred Rothstein, undertook at the close of the Civil War to build a toll bridge across the Wapsipinicon River. The bridge was completed in July, 1866, at a cost of \$3000. The next year a second company was organized to build another toll bridge across the same river at a probable cost of \$7000. Just two years later it was sold at a sheriff's sale for \$1000. Both bridges were finally purchased by the two adjoining counties and then became free bridges.²

Bridging the inland streams was an important step in completing an overland system of travel. But more important in the commercial history of Scott County than the bridges over the Wapsipinicon and other inland streams was the completion of that link which joined eastern markets and the western shores of the Mississippi River by a completed land route. And for Iowa, of course, such a link was the Mississippi River bridge. The first railroad bridge across the Mississippi River, with its wooden superstructure was frequently injured by fires, ice jams, storms, and collisions, as has been earlier noticed. Although such calamities caused interruptions in the traffic, at all other times the wooden bridge served its purpose well. After having been in use for a decade, the original bridge of 1856 was replaced by an iron bridge located a short distance down stream from the old one.

The second bridge was built by the United States. The cost, which probably exceeded a million dollars, was divided equally

¹*Report of the Iowa Agricultural Society*, 1892, p. 455.

²*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, March 21, 1867, Aug. 5, 1869; Aug. P. Richter, "A True History of Scott County," in the *Davenport Democrat*, May 8, 29, 1921.

between the United States and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, the successor to the Mississippi and Missouri Railway Company. The maintenance of the bridge likewise was to be shared in equal amounts by the government and the railroad.

The double-decked iron superstructure of the new bridge, connecting Davenport and the island, accommodated trains above and the general traffic of teams and pedestrians below. Though the railroad company owned the approaches to the bridge, complete ownership of the bridge itself resided in the United States government, and as a government bridge it was free to the general traffic. Other railroads than the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific might also use the upper deck by paying their share of the general upkeep.³

In the spring of 1872 the bridge was opened to traffic. First the wagon floor was tested. Then a train of cars ran over the railroad floor above. Under a weight of 252 tons the 220-foot spans sank only one-half inch, and the 260-foot spans, three-fourths of an inch.

In addition to the main bridge connecting Davenport and the island, two other bridges were built across the Sylvan Water, or the branch of the river south of the island, connecting the latter with the City of Rock Island. One of these bridges was a general traffic bridge built by the government, the other a railroad bridge, which, like the new track across the island, was built and paid for by the railroad company.⁴

The second government bridge served the ever-increasing traffic for more than two decades. It was even then in good condition, but inadequate because of the tendency to build freight cars larger. Accordingly Congress undertook in 1895 to enlarge the bridge at a cost not to exceed \$490,000 of which the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific was to pay forty percent. The work of rebuilding began late in 1895 and was finished about a year later. The rebuilding involved the strengthening of the piers and the replacement of the old superstructure with stronger and wider steel spans. The draw of the new superstructure was said to be the heaviest in ex-

³14 *Stat. L.*, 75-76, 485; 15 *Stat. L.*, 317; 16 *Stat. L.*, 505; 17 *Stat. L.*, 220; Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport, Scott County, Iowa*, I, 327-333.

⁴Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 4, 1921.

istence. Traffic, including now also electric street cars, began to move over the rebuilt bridge on December 1, 1896.⁵

Though the United States owned the bridge, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific retained title to the approaches to it, and under the authority of the United States government levied fixed charges upon the freight traffic of other railroads using the bridge. When the railroad company in 1881 raised the charge per loaded car from three to five dollars, Davenport protested so vigorously that the former rate of three dollars was restored.⁶

Under such circumstances the question of another bridge was not long in presenting itself. Local capitalists in 1885 incorporated the Davenport and Rock Island Bridge Company for the purpose of building another Davenport and Rock Island bridge to serve primarily two projected railroads—the Moline, Rock Island and Southern, and the Davenport, Iowa and Dakota. Due to difficulties in raising the necessary capital the rights of the bridge company passed to other companies, finally to one controlled by Frank P. Blair. Under the direction of this eminent railroad builder both the bridge and a railroad between Davenport and Clinton were built. The bridge, known as the Crescent Bridge, was placed a short distance below the government bridge and probably cost close to a million dollars. It consisted of a steel single-deck superstructure swung across stone piers. It was opened to the traffic on January 1, 1900.⁷

Before the close of the century about a dozen bridges, mostly railroad bridges, spanned the Mississippi between Iowa and Illinois. They greatly facilitated traffic between the East and the West, and did not, as it had been asserted, prove any serious bar to traffic on the river. They did not put the ferries completely out of business even where, as between Davenport and Rock Island, there was a free traffic bridge. To be sure, there was competition, which sometimes resulted in a retarding of progress. In the eighties, for instance, the ferry company fought such a progressive movement as the

⁵Downer, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-334; 28 *Stat. L.*, 942; *Der Demokrat* (Davenport), Dec. 3, 1896.

⁶Richter, *op. cit.*, Feb. 19, 1922; 21 *Stat. L.*, 482; Downer, *op. cit.*, p. 915.

⁷23 *Stat. L.*, 443; Richter, *op. cit.*, May 28, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, July 9, 1896, June 11, 1900.

granting of franchises to run streetcars over the government bridge.⁸ But at other times the ferry proved a very desirable part of the local transportation system, especially at times when portions of the government bridge had been wrecked or the whole bridge was undergoing repairs.

The bridge probably hastened the introduction of the raft steamer, by the use of which collisions were lessened between rafts and bridge piers. Rafts, both of logs and sawed lumber, continued to move down the Mississippi throughout the 19th century. The steamboat traffic was still quite large in the later sixties and the seventies.⁹ Barges then carried large shipments of wheat from Davenport down to New Orleans, sometimes to be reshipped from there to Liverpool.¹⁰ There are also instances of manufactured goods going the same way to continental parts of Europe.¹¹

These bridges were part of the bonds of commerce and steel linking East with West—bonds which the farsighted foresaw as inevitable before the Civil War. Throughout the Middle Period these links of steel and stone continued to unite Scott County with the Eastern markets much more strongly than did the traditional river route join it to the South, although throughout the Middle Period the levee at Davenport frequently presented a busy and spectacular appearance. Splendid steamboats engaged in the regular St. Paul and St. Louis trade stopped there. Now and then transient steamboats would lay to; local packets carrying freight and passengers came and went. In the eighties and nineties, however, river traffic fell off considerably, but even near the close of the century, the comings and goings of steamboats were still daily occurrences at the port of Davenport.¹²

Apart from the construction of railroad bridges, the construction of railroad lines themselves in this period offers the usual record of light and gloom, of success and failure, in all of which Scott County had its share.

The business of the Mississippi and Missouri railroad had fallen off during the Civil War, construction of the line of

⁸Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 3, 1922.

⁹*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Feb. 15, 1872; *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1875, p. 470.

¹⁰*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1868.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 15, 1868.

¹²*Iowa State Atlas*, 1904, p. 275; *Album of the City of Davenport*, 1887, p. 18.

track had lagged, and the company at the close of the war found itself in serious financial difficulties. In the summer of 1865 the road was leased to the Chicago and Rock Island, which in the fall of the same year began to negotiate for the purchase of all the property of the Mississippi and Missouri Company.

Anxious to save as much as possible for both bondholders and stockholders of the Mississippi and Missouri Company, these two groups of creditors privately agreed upon the terms of the sale. According to this, the property of the company was to be sold to a new company incorporated May 26, 1866, by the Chicago, Rock Island interests—the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company of which Thomas C. Durant was president and John F. Tracy vice president. The purchase price was to be \$5,500,000 in money or bonds, which was to be distributed to the holders of the \$7,000,000 of mortgage bonds in ratios of from one hundred percent for the first, down to thirty percent for the fifth and last issue. The stockholders were to receive sixteen cents on the dollar of their stock.

This agreement did not satisfy all the bondholders of the last issue of mortgage bonds, and these accordingly started foreclosure proceedings in the federal courts. The Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific, however, bought the bonds in question, took over the suit, brought in cross bills to foreclose on all the other mortgage bonds, and obtained a decree of sale according to which all the property of the Mississippi and Missouri was sold at the court house in Davenport on July 12, 1866, for \$2,100,000 to a representative of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific.¹² The proceeds of the sale were distributed according to the agreement previously made, except the sixteen

¹²*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, July 12, 1866; Richter, *op. cit.*, May 8, 1921; *United States Reports*, 1868, LXXIV, 392-416; *History of Johnson County, Iowa*, 1883, p. 265.

In the *Railroad vs. Howard* case, growing out of the sale of the M. & M., the Davenport law firm of James Grant and Samuel Francis Smith, secured a fee of approximately \$100,000, the largest fee which had ever been paid to any lawyers in any one case in the state. See *Biographical History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1895, pp. 31, 73.

B. F. Allen, the Des Moines banker, as receiver of C. R. I. & P. bonds after the sale of the M. & M. came into the possession of \$800,000 worth of bonds, which he hypothecated, and with the money thus obtained made various risky investments which later resulted in the failure of his banks in Des Moines and Chicago. The bonds had been paid before the closing of the banks, however. See *An Autobiography of Charles Clinton Nourse*, 1911, p. 210; the *History of Jasper County, Iowa*, 1878, p. 433.

percent to the stockholders, which was held up by a suit in the federal courts by holders of bonds issued by Davenport and other cities to buy Mississippi and Missouri stock when that company began to build its road. The courts upheld the bondholders and the amount withheld, [a sum of] \$552,400, was paid to them by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; but the courts also provided "for subrogating the defendants to the rights and remedies of the plaintiffs against the municipalities issuing the bonds so far as they were paid out of the fund in controversy."

Emboldened by this concession, the holders of the bonds issued by Davenport, Muscatine, and other Iowa cities—and counties—renewed their efforts to recover both principal and unpaid interest. For several years these communities had not been paying interest because of the hard times, and the Civil War, and later, because of State courts, after having adjudged the bond issues constitutional, reversed their position and held them unconstitutional, null and void. The federal courts in turn reversed the last decision of the state courts and granted writs of mandamus against the officers of the communities refusing to levy taxes to pay the accruing interest. This procedure brought compliance on the part of the communities and settlement with the bondholders.

In explanation of the contention of the cities, it should not be forgotten that, while they had to pay their bonds, principal and interest, the stock which they had received from the Mississippi and Missouri had become worthless; and this at least was to some extent due to the result of "liberality" in granting construction contracts as well as financial manipulation in general. Against this, however, stands the increased land values due to the building of the railroad and the maintenance of an improved transportation system.

Both Davenport and Scott County had issued bonds to aid in the construction of the Mississippi and Missouri railroad, the former in the amount of \$75,000, the latter \$50,000, and these amounts had been substantially increased by several years of unpaid interest. In the face of prosecution for contempt of court both city and county bowed to the inevitable and in 1869 made agreements with the bondholders according

to which there was a new issue of bonds, but with a reduction of the rate of interest from ten to six percent.¹⁴

Shortly after the sale of the Mississippi and Missouri, the purchaser, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, consolidated with its parent organization, the Chicago and Rock Island. The combination took the name of the purchasing company. In reporting the sale of the Mississippi and Missouri, the *Davenport Democrat* had assured its readers that the road had passed into good hands. The new company, the paper said, had the means and would soon "make the dirt fly." It did, though the line did not reach Council Bluffs until 1869.

Judging from the earlier unpleasant experiences in railroad financing, one would not have expected Davenport and Scott County ever again to have been "made the goat." Such surmises, however, are not in accordance with the subsequent facts. New railroads were so clearly the very making of the Western country that only with the greatest difficulty could their promotion be kept within proper limits. When, therefore, prosperity returned in the later sixties, Davenport capitalists—George H. French, J. L. Davies, M. Donahue, Robert Krouse, W. H. Holmes, J. L. Swits, L. C. Dessaint, E. Smith, and others—in 1868 incorporated the Davenport and St. Paul Railroad Company.¹⁵ As indicated in the name, the promoters had planned a railroad between Davenport and St. Paul. It was to meander up through Iowa according to the direction of the economic winds, for the company depended on local support in financing the enterprise.

The same year that the Davenport and St. Paul was incorporated, the General Assembly passed an act which raised expectations in such financing. This law permitted townships and incorporated towns and cities to levy taxes up to five percent of the assessed valuation in aid of new railroads.¹⁶ Davenport and several townships of Scott County accordingly voted a two percent tax in support of the projected road. The vote stood 921 for to 419 against. Thus, though the proposition carried, the opponents were numerous, and, determined to

¹⁴Richter, *op. cit.*, June 5, 1921, Sept. 10, 1922. The rate of interest was reduced to four and a half percent in 1889.

¹⁵Richter, *op. cit.*, June 12, 1921.

¹⁶*Acts of the General Assembly, 1868*, pp. 54-55. The governor permitted the law to go into effect without his signature.

block the levy of the tax, they appealed to the court, which declared the law under which the tax had been voted unconstitutional.¹⁷

Individuals in Davenport, however, purchased some of the stock and larger amounts were purchased by capitalists in Frankfort, Germany. Construction was soon under way. During the year 1870 the line was built through Scott County. From a point twelve miles out of Davenport where Eldridge was located, a branch was built via De Witt to Maquoketa while the main line was gradually extended up through Wheatland to Fayette. This was accomplished in spite of financial reverses and the failure to secure a proper entrance into the City of Davenport. The first depot was built outside the city near Duck Creek. Later a track was built to the foot of Spring Street on the Mississippi River, but still the road was without any direct rail connection with the government bridge over which it might have the right of way by paying one-third of the cost of keeping the bridge in repair.¹⁸

In 1874 the road was turned over to a receiver, and two years later it was sold at the court house in Davenport to satisfy a mortgage debt of \$3,450,000. The purchaser, the Davenport and Northwestern, had been organized by stockholders of the older company. The new company succeeded in extending the track from Spring Street into the business district of the city in spite of some opposition from the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, when supported by contributions from public-spirited citizens. In 1879 the road was again sold, this time to the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul for about a million dollars in bonds of the latter company. This gave the stockholders about thirty-five cents on the dollar.¹⁹

The change in ownership was a distinct gain to Davenport since it gave the city the benefit of a larger transportation system. To Eldridge, on the contrary, it was temporarily a severe blow. This town owed its origin and importance to the building of the Davenport and St. Paul and here the company's main shops were built. The new owners decided on a

¹⁷Richter, *op. cit.*, July 10, 1921.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, June 12, July 31, 1921; *Andreas Illustrated Historical Atlas of Iowa*, 1875, p. 166; *Weekly Davenport Democrat*, March 21, 1872.

¹⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, January 1, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, Aug. 7, 1879.

change of location. Mechanics were suddenly sent to wreck the buildings and loosen the fixed machinery and both were loaded on flatears and taken to Oxford Junction where the shops were henceforth located.²⁰

Besides Eldridge, Long Grove and Donahue also grew up on the Davenport and St. Paul, the building of which furthermore boosted the growth of the older towns of Dixon and Big Rock. Eldridge and Donahue were named for the Davenporters J. M. Eldridge and Michael Donahue.

The Chicago, Clinton and Southwestern was projected simultaneously with the Davenport and St. Paul. Several townships in the northern part of Scott County voted aid, and track construction began. Financial difficulties, however, retarded the work, and the road was sold in a few years to the Chicago, Cedar Rapids and Northern. Trains began to run between Clinton and Davenport in 1883, when a connection was made with the Maquoketa branch at Noel's Station. Ultimately the road was built westward via West Liberty to Tipton. McCausland and New Dixon owe their origin to this road.²¹

Meanwhile the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific had completed the long looked-for short-cut between Davenport and Muscatine, which ran along the river via Buffalo and other small towns on the river shore. The first express train over this route left Davenport on November 7, 1881. Formerly this train had gone around by Wilton Junction.²²

Davenport capitalists again gave hostages to fortune when in 1882 they incorporated the Davenport, Iowa and Dakota Railroad Company with a nominal capital of \$8,000,000. The incorporators were among "the most enterprising and energetic business men of the community"—A. F. Williams. J. M. Eldridge, J. J. Thomsen, W. S. Wadsworth. T. W. McClelland, H. M. Martin. Nicholas Kuhnen, T. D. Eagal. D. N. Richardson, A. C. Fulton, Jas. Thompson. George H. French, Jul. Schuett, A. Burdick, A. J. Hirschl. J. R. Nutting. and S. P. Bryant. The city proved its faith in the undertaking by

²⁰Richter, *op. cit.*, Jan. 8, 1922.

²¹*Ibid.*, Aug. 21, Dec. 4, 1921, May 28, 1922.

²²*Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1922; E. H. Schmidt, *Davenport City Directory, 1882 and 1883*, p. 35.

voting a three percent tax to be paid when thirty miles of track out of Davenport had been completed. Even with this precaution there was vigorous opposition. The opponents petitioned the courts to restrain the collection of the tax, but the petition was denied. The track was built from Davenport through Blue Grass, and when it reached a point close to Bennett, Cedar County, the tax in aid was levied and collected. This subsidy, however, was not enough to enable the company to continue track construction. In 1890 its property was sold to the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern. All the rolling stock at the time of the transfer consisted of one caboose and a few flatcars. The new owners soon leased their whole system to the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific for a term of 999 years.²³

There had been repeated agitations for a railroad through Le Claire and Princeton, but not until Frank P. Blair came forward in the later nineties with a proposition for both a bridge over the Mississippi at Davenport and a railroad from Clinton to Davenport and Rock Island, did the hopes of the people materialize. Mr. Blair represented the Davenport, Rock Island, and Northwestern Railroad and Bridge Company, capitalized at \$3,000,000. This company undertook to build both railroad and bridge. Both were completed early in 1900. The cost of the forty-one mile railroad was about one million dollars. Only a year later the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul acquired control of both bridge and railroad under a joint ninety-nine year lease. At the beginning of the present century, all the railroads in Scott County were thus under the control of three large companies: the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy.²⁴

During the Middle Period railroad construction east of the Mississippi had gone on as briskly as west of the river, and Davenport benefited by both developments. The increase in railroads east of the river not only gave Davenport outlets

²³Richter, *op. cit.*, March 22, July 30, Sept. 3, 1922; C. Ray Aurner, *A Topical History of Cedar County, Iowa*, 1910, I, 296.

²⁴H. P. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1900, p. 1440; Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 915; *Der Demokrat*, March 16, 23, June 1, Dec. 28, 1899, Jan. 11, 1900.

to the east, but also to the north and south. It furthermore tended to increase competition by which rates were reduced for the trans-Mississippi country.²⁵

Rates on the Mississippi and Missouri had been raised during the Civil War and remained high, especially on freight, after the close of the war. The passenger rate had been reduced in 1865 from six cents to four and a half cents per mile. But freight rates continued to be "extortionately high." Davenport merchants were also discriminated against through the "long and short haul" abuse.²⁶

Competition among the railroads increased as more and more roads were built. Sometimes there were rate wars. A lively rate war between the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul occurred in the fall of 1882, during which the fare from Davenport to Chicago was reduced from five dollars to fifty cents. The result was that for about two weeks there was an immense increase in travel between these two cities.²⁷ For the time being this may actually have increased the earnings of the roads, but such competition threatened the economic foundations of rail transportation, and, fully conscious of this, the railroads sought and found relief in the formation of traffic pools by which each participant obtained a definite part of the business within a given area.

In the early eighties each of the Iowa railroad pools had offices in Davenport; the Tri-Cities constituted a special division, owing chiefly to the vast amounts of lumber, agricultural implements, and produce shipped from these cities. Most of this freight, however, was sent over the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific.²⁸

The growth and prosperity of Davenport depended so much upon the development of the railroad system that the community could always be relied on for private donations and public grants whether it was for extensions or new construction. The city, as we have seen, repeatedly voted taxes in aid of new railroads. Large sums were also donated by individuals.

²⁵*Davenport, 1874*, a pamphlet.

²⁶Richter, *op. cit.*, May 8, 1921.

²⁷*Ibid.*, March 26, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, Nov. 23, Dec. 14, 1882.

²⁸Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 1893, p. 36.

Private subscriptions helped to secure for Davenport the enlarged repair shops of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; and through the good will of the city, the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern finally obtained a convenient terminal. But when this company overreached itself and built a side-track on ground belonging to the city there was prompt action on the part of the latter. Directed and assisted by the mayor and other city officials, workmen tore up the obnoxious track and compelled the company to adjust the matter in a way which was fair to both parties.²⁹

Various improvements in train service appeared from time to time, such as better equipped cars and coaches and faster trains. A refrigerator car for shipping butter and eggs to New York was running twice a week over the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific in 1873. Fast trains began to run between Davenport and Chicago late in 1887. The flyers, as they were called, reduced the time of travel between these cities from ten to five and a half hours.³⁰ Such improvements, together with more convenient terminals, the two bridges, and better connections with the roads on the east side of the river, combined to give the city at the close of the century excellent railroad facilities for both freight and passengers.

RETAIL BUSINESS

The natural result of all the railroad construction was to stimulate the merchantile and commercial enterprises in the county. Thus, about the turn of the 20th century, the trading centers outside of Davenport numbered about twenty-six.

Of these—Allen's Grove, Argo, Gambril, Gilbert, Green Tree, Jamestown, Mount Joy, Noel, Plainview, Pleasant Valley, Round Grove, and White Sulphur Springs—owed their commercial importance to a post office, a general store, a blacksmith shop, and perhaps a tavern or hotel, and a public hall. Noel, Gambril, and Mount Joy were also stations on the railroad. Jamestown was the only coal mining town in the county.³¹ The more pretentious towns—Big Rock, Blue Grass, Buffalo, Dixon, Donahue, Eldridge, Le Claire, McCausland,

²⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, July 30, Oct. 22, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, Nov. 12, Dec. 10, 1891; *Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Nov. 14, 1872.

³⁰Richter, *op. cit.*, July 30, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, Dec. 8, 1887; *Weekly Davenport Democrat*, July 10, 1873.

³¹*Iowa State Atlas*, 1904, p. 276.

New Liberty, New Dixon, Long Grove, Maysville, Princeton, and Walcott varied in population from less than one hundred for Donahue, Maysville, and New Dixon to about 1,000 for Le Claire. Buffalo, Eldridge, Le Claire, Princeton, and Walcott were incorporated.²² All of these towns had one or more general stores, and most of them had one or two lumber and coal yards, one or several implement stores, and one or several saloons, the latter sometimes in connection with a store or a hotel. A number of the towns had a drug store, a meat market, a hardware store, a furniture store, a livery stable, and one or two hotels. All supported one or several mechanics. And all except Maysville, which was not on the railroad, had facilities for shipping grain and stock.²³

Most of the small town stores and shops were home-owned, both as to buildings and stocks, and generally operated by the sole or partner proprietors. The buildings showed such innovations as square fronts and large plate glass windows. Within there would be showcases and other means for displaying the goods. Excepting the general custom of giving away art calendars, the small town merchant did but little advertising, depending mainly upon service, quality, and convenience to sell the goods. Credit was liberal and not often abused.

Competition played its part in the small town business both between merchants and towns. Davenport always drew a large share of the country and small town business. Near the close of the century the mail order houses began to scatter their mammoth catalogues and to make serious inroads upon small town business.

The increasing population was a positive factor in retail business prosperity. Though this increase was not large in the small towns in this period, it was constant, and almost without exception in the towns named. Between 1870 and 1900 the population in Davenport increased from 20,038 to 35,254.

Retail business establishments in Davenport grew as the population grew, but at a lower rate of increase. Including eating houses and hotels and shops such as tailor shops, shoe shops, and bakeries there were close to 600 retail establish-

²²*Abstract of the United States Census, 1910, p. 589.*

²³Owen, *Gazetteer and Directory of Scott County, Iowa, 1877, pp. 247-258; Downer, op. cit., I, 380, 385.*

ments in 1874 and nearly 800 in 1899. More specifically, grocery stores increased from ninety-one to one hundred four, meat markets from twenty-one to thirty-four, confectioners from twenty-one to twenty-two, boarding houses from twenty-two to forty-nine, hotels from twenty-two to twenty-six, restaurants including ten "dining rooms" from twenty to twenty-seven, cigar and tobacco stores from nine to sixty-two, and saloons from sixty-four to one hundred fifty-six. Dry goods stores declined from eighteen to eleven, gents' furnishing stores from fourteen to six, tailor shops from forty-three to thirty, and milliners from fifteen to nine. The decline in these lines may be partly due to the rise of the department stores of which there were five in 1899. Boot and shoe shops increased from forty-two to fifty-three, ice dealers from four to seven, coal dealers from seven to seventeen, wood dealers from three to fourteen, booksellers and stationers from five to six. Gas fixtures' stores were mentioned in 1874, but not in 1899. At the close of the Middle Period there were also such new establishments as bicycle shops and electrical supply stores.³⁴

Always anxious to maintain good relations between town and country, the city council in pioneer times had licensed two private market houses where gardeners and farmers might display and sell not only fruit and vegetables, but also meats—for home butchering was still "all the go" in Scott County. The retailers might also use the market houses if they closed their regular establishments at designated hours. The new method of retailing, however, did not meet with any general approval and the courts finally declared these particular market houses to be illegal, but upheld the right of the city to establish municipal market houses.

In 1872, twelve years after the closing of the first market houses, the City at the request of 2,000 petitioners again provided two buildings for market house retailing, one a rebuilt wooden church and the other a new brick building. Various objections to the plan soon arose. The buildings were too close to the railroad and the trains frightened the horses of

³⁴Hawley, *Davenport Directory, 1874-1875*, pp. 213-230; Stone, *Davenport City Directory, 1898-1899*, pp. 655-762.

farmers and trucksters. Only a few of the regular merchants rented stalls in the market houses, and in less than two years the whole scheme was abandoned and the principal building turned into a police station and city calaboose.³⁵

Until 1874 the retailers of meat had been butchers who bought their hogs and beeves directly from the farmers, and who did their own butchering often on the same premises where they did their retailing. Usually they would conform to the rule, live and let live, but at times when a neighborhood butcher cut prices there would be lively competition. Such conditions as well as the growth of the business in general prompted the formation of the butchers' and drovers' union in 1874. The following year the idea of the union was sold to the community through a spectacular parade, and for a number of years its rules seem to have been observed by both members and non-members.

Peaceful conditions were thus maintained for the butchers until the later eighties. In November, 1887, the agents of the big packer, Phil. Armour of Chicago, appeared and sold beef to be shipped from Kansas City to the local butchers at three and a half cents a pound, which was exactly what the latter paid to the farmers for beef on the hoof. Though only two of the butchers purchased at this time, a number of them saw that the time had come for an improvement in the business locally. Accordingly they purchased a tract of land for a common slaughter house, and furthermore, they induced the city council to enact an ordinance for the inspection of cattle to be slaughtered, and for prohibiting the sale of meat of cattle not thus inspected. This was before there was any federal inspection of meat.

The plan did not work well. Some of the butchers continued to buy from Armour though he soon raised the price on beef to six and three-fourths cents a pound. In 1888, Swift and Company began to undersell Armour. A fierce price war followed, then a truce, and finally the beef trust, which transformed most of the Davenport butchers into meat cutters.³⁶

The contest over the control of the retail liquor business

³⁵Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 4, 11, 18, 1921.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 8, 1922.

had grown bitter in pioneer times, but with the modification of the prohibitory law of 1855 a truce followed which lasted until after the Civil War. Then the struggle revived in the course of which there were sometimes acts of lawlessness committed as for instance in 1870 when a large quantity of beer was destroyed by drilling holes in the filled containers at one of the Davenport breweries.³⁷ In the seventies and early eighties there were repeated crusades against the saloons, sometimes taking the form of protracted religious meetings.³⁸

Davenport took a leading part in the contest generally. Here there was a prohibition press and active prohibitionist organizations, and here also the anti-prohibitionists first organized with the enthusiastic support of the local German press. The editors of the German papers, ardent Schleswig—Holsteiners as most of them were, never relented in their warfare against prohibition, which they regarded as the very essence of intolerance, hypocrisy, and irrationality.³⁹ The agitation against the liquor traffic culminated in the prohibition amendment to the constitution of Iowa in 1882. Scott County gave a big majority against the amendment.⁴⁰

To test the constitutionality of the amendment the Davenport brewing firm Koehler and Lange brought a friendly suit against John Hill, a local retail liquor dealer, who refused to pay for a quantity of liquor sold after the amendment was to take effect. The courts on purely technical grounds declared the amendment unconstitutional and the brewers thus won their suit; but in 1884 the General Assembly repealed the cider, wine, and beer exemptions to the law of 1855 and enacted a drastic prohibitory law, the so-called Clark Law, which became effective July 4, 1884.

Would the saloons close? The Governor of Iowa wrote letters to the mayors of the cities urging them to enforce the new law. The Mayor of Davenport wrote a courteous reply, but took occasion to remind the Governor that the administration of the City of Davenport was outside of the Governor's

³⁷Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 993.

³⁸Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 18, Oct. 2, 1921.

³⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, April 30, 1922; Gustav Donald, "Ohne Wahrheit, keine Freiheit" in *25 Jahre Gala-Ausgabe der Iowa Reform*, 1909, p. 105; Joseph Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften*, 1900, p. 121, *et seq.*

⁴⁰Eiboeck, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

office. Harking back to the rising in March, 1848, in Schleswig-Holstein, someone gave currency to the witticism that the "free and independent State of Scott County" would brook no undue influence from anywhere outside of its borders.

The Davenport saloons soon re-opened under a city ordinance by which they might procure licenses to deal in "non-prohibited beverages." Of these there were soon a variety of new brands such as Mum, Seafoam, Cordial, Hop Nectar, and Kentucky Blue Grass. Mum was manufactured by Koehler and Lange.⁴¹

On July 8, 1884, *The Gazette* observed: "To a stranger in Davenport it would appear as though there was no more prohibitory legislation in town than a year ago. Not a saloon in the city, at present, shows any indication of closing up. At midnight of the Third the outlook for observance of the law was good, but since then the saloons have been in full swing."

The Mullet Law of 1894 gave the State a system of liquor control which was a combination of prohibition and local option. One is tempted to call it a crazy-quilt plan, but it stood the pragmatic test: it worked. It gave prohibition to prohibitionists and liquor to the anti-prohibitionists. Since neither would make any real effort to understand the other, the politicians had to strike a balance.

The retail liquor business was not the only branch of the retail business which was regulated by the city council. In the sixties all wood and lumber offered for sale in the city had to be properly inspected by the person appointed by the council for that particular purpose. In the nineties this was optional at the request of either seller or buyer. The city ordinances required all retailers to be licensed, but the license in most instances was small—\$5 for general retailers. Transient merchants paid higher licenses, which in some instances must have been prohibitory. Only newspapers and farm garden produce raised by the seller could be sold on the streets without license.⁴²

⁴¹Richter, *op. cit.*, April 30, 1922.

⁴²Revised Ordinances of the City of Davenport, 1866, pp. 187, 242; 1893, pp. 133, 137, 138, 317, 527, 528.

The retail merchants of the Middle Period did not have the currency troubles which plagued the pioneer merchants. Most currency in the Middle Period was good and its value easily recognized. Counterfeits were rare. Some private scrip, popularly known as shinplasters, came into use in 1873, but it was soon redeemed and withdrawn from circulation.⁴³

Though there were some cash stores, for instance the large J. H. C. Petersen and Sons' dry goods store, established in 1872,⁴⁴ most retailers did a large credit business, which made difficulties at times. Evidence of this is found in the growth of the collection business. The R. G. Dunn's Mercantile Agency of New York City established an office in Davenport in 1873. A small number of business men in 1896 organized the Credit Men's Association, which proposed to cooperate with a similar national organization.⁴⁵ Locally the business of collection must have been a prosperous one, for there were nine collecting agencies in Davenport in 1899.⁴⁶

The retail merchant of this period employed more lady clerks and did more advertising in the local papers than the pioneer merchant. The salespeople were better trained for their particular work. They worked long hours, usually from seven in the morning till ten at night, and till after noon on Sundays. An early-closing movement in the seventies failed,⁴⁷ but the question kept on bobbing up in the years following.

At intervals there were building booms, which are definite indications of retail and wholesale business prosperity. New business blocks arose in the later sixties and early seventies and again in the later eighties and nineties.⁴⁸

The form of the business organization continued to be the single proprietorship and the partnership, with the corporate form for the larger establishments definitely in the ascendant near the close of the century.

WHOLESALE BUSINESS

The business of wholesaling, of course, cannot be entirely separated from retailing and manufacturing. Large retailers frequently become wholesalers, especially in a growing com-

⁴³Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 18, 1921.

⁴⁴*Album of the City of Davenport*, p. 17.

⁴⁵*Der Demokrat*, June 11, 1896.

⁴⁶Stone, *Davenport City Directory, 1898-1899*, p. 676.

⁴⁷Richter, *op. cit.*, Jan. 8, 1922.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, June 12, Aug. 21, 1921, Oct. 29, 1922.

munity, and the larger manufacturers are invariably also wholesalers. Wholesaling in Davenport emerged as a separate business in the fifties. It slumped during the Civil War, and the slump continued sometime after the war due to unfair freight rates. To favor Chicago, Davenport was made a victim of the long and short haul abuse.⁴⁹ When this condition had been improved, wholesale business more than regained its lost ground, and the constant improvement of the transportation systems made its position secure throughout the period.

A pamphlet published in 1874 by the Citizens' Association states that the increase in the last few years of the wholesale trade of Davenport had been one of the most gratifying aspects of the city's prosperity and that more wholesale establishments were needed even in the branches already represented. The pamphlet lists the following twelve successful wholesale firms: W. C. Wadsworth and Company, dry goods; Siekels and Preston, Seig and Williams, Hosford and Nutting, hardware; Beiderbecke and Miller, and Van Patten and Marks, groceries; Robert Krause, clothing; Nicholas Kuhnen, cigars and tobacco; Seth P. Bryant, and Child and Company, boots and shoes; Jens Lorenzen, crockery; and Haight, Sears and Company, saddlery hardware.⁵⁰ A number of these firms had their quarters in the Fejervary Block, which accordingly came to be known as the Jobbers' Row.⁵¹

The volume of wholesale business reached a total of \$5,397,000 in 1877,⁵² and \$8,088,000 in 1882. The latter figure combines the sales of sixteen different lines of business. In groceries the annual turnover in 1882 was \$2,555,800; in dry goods \$1,725,000, and in hardware \$985,000. Other principal lines were clothing; jewelry; cigars and tobacco; hides, pelts, and tallow; boots and shoes; glassware; stoves and tinware; leather and saddlery; rags; and kerosene oil.⁵³ Near the close of the century there were about forty different lines of wholesale business represented by over one hundred and fifty individual firms.⁵⁴

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, May 8, 1921.

⁵⁰*Davenport, 1874*, p. 18. There were other wholesale establishments besides those listed. None of the wholesale liquor houses, for instance, are listed.

⁵¹Weekly Davenport Democrat, March 28, 1872.

⁵²Owen, *Davenport City Directory*, 1878, p. 36.

⁵³Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 1882-1883, p. 35.

⁵⁴Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 655-762. Not all of these were exclusively wholesale houses.

Davenport already in pioneer times ranked high as a clearing house for grain. The business increased as the railroad net spread into the Northwest, and some of the largest elevators in the state were built in Davenport.⁵⁵ Much of the wheat was ground into flour by the local mills. Both flour and wheat were shipped to the East and to the South and some to Europe.⁵⁶ One grain firm, the Davenport Malt and Grain Company, dealt heavily in barley, much of which could be disposed of to the local breweries.

BANKING

The State Bank of Iowa with its branches bridged the gap between the private banks of the Pioneer Period and the systems of national and savings banks of the Middle Period. A branch bank of the State Bank of Iowa, known officially as the Merchants' Branch of the State Bank of Iowa, opened in Davenport in 1859. Its initial capital was \$50,000, soon increased to \$100,000. During the six years of its existence it paid in dividends to the stockholders about twenty per cent more than its capital stock, besides leaving a surplus of \$16,000. In 1865 it was merged with the Davenport National Bank, a strong institution with a capital stock of \$200,000. The consolidated bank used the bank building which had been erected and occupied by the Merchants' Branch.⁵⁷

When the National Banking and Currency Act of 1863 had been passed by Congress, the first application for a bank charter came from Austin Corbin of Davenport, of the private banking firm of Corbin and Dow, successors to Macklot and Corbin. The application was the first received in Washington, but since it had to be returned for some minor correction, the charter issued by the Comptroller of the Currency was No. 15 on the list of charters granted. Due, however, to the energy and resourcefulness of Mr. Corbin, the First National Bank of Davenport commenced business on June 29, 1863, in the marble building formerly occupied by the defunct banking firm, Cook and Sargent, two days earlier than any other national bank in the United States. The new bank's first quar-

⁵⁵*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Jan. 2, 1868; *Davenport, the Eastern Gateway of Iowa*, 1908, p. 18.

⁵⁶*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Jan. 2, 1868, Nov. 25, 1869.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, March 16, 1865.

terly statement of September 30, 1863, showed a paid-in capital stock of \$40,000. On October 29, 1863, the bank declared a dividend of 5 percent. The second quarterly statement of January 2, 1864, showed a paid-in capital stock of \$55,210 and undivided profits of \$3,525.06. By April 1, 1864, the deposits totaled \$577,526.97. This was a larger sum than was ever before on deposit in any single bank in the State of Iowa. Once more Davenport had become the most important financial center in Iowa. The *Daily Davenport Democrat* commented very appropriately: "The success which this bank is meeting is almost incredible to the financial community. The career of this institution has been nothing but increase and success." Later in the same year, 1864, the directors purchased the marble bank building for the sum of \$22,500.

The change in national banking regulations, it will be remembered, occurred at a time when the country was engaged in the last terrible years of the Civil War struggle, and the banking act of 1863 was not unrelated to the final success of that war. Davenport was patriotic and had rallied enthusiastically to support the Union. Young Davenporters had been among the first to enlist, and when the federal government asked for loans their fathers responded liberally. Acting as an agent for the government, the First National on May 28, 1864, sent to the treasurer of the United States a remittance for \$200,000, which was the proceeds of the sale of government bonds.

When the First National was organized, State Bank of Iowa notes were in general use. The circulation of these notes finally reached a figure close to \$1,500,000, the public had confidence in them, and they circulated without difficulty. But due to the restrictions and tax on the issuance of other than national bank notes contained in the Currency Act of 1863, the State Bank of Iowa shortly decided to suspend its successful operations. By an agreement made with the Merchants' Branch, the First National Bank of Davenport undertook to accept State Bank of Iowa currency at par, redeeming it in Greenbacks or national bank notes.⁵⁸

The bank experienced some difficulties in the seventies. In

⁵⁸*History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1882, p. 772; *The History of the First National Bank in the United States*, 1913, pp. 34, 39, 41.

order to keep its assets clear of doubtful values, the board of directors in 1877 instructed the officers of the bank to transfer \$25,000 from the credit of the surplus account to the credit of the profit and loss account, and then to charge into the latter account all items that might be in any way doubtful.

The duration of the First National's charter expired in 1882. Since the Banking and Currency Act of 1863 contained no provision for the extension of bank charters, and since the outcome of the legislation to remedy this defect then pending in Congress was uncertain, the directors early in the year 1882 decided to terminate the business under the present charter, but to continue under a new grant of powers. The bank accordingly underwent a process of voluntary liquidation. The assets of the old First National under charter No. 15 were sold to the new First National under a new charter, No. 2,695 without, however, any break in daily routine or business relations.

During the first twenty years of its existence the earnings of the First National totalled \$391,000. It paid to stockholders \$293,000 in dividends, besides setting aside \$50,000 as surplus and leaving \$48,000 in undivided profits.⁵⁹

On June 19, 1865, George H. French succeeded Austin Corbin as president. Mr. French in turn was succeeded by Ira M. Gifford, Hiram Price, and James Thompson.

The second national bank of Davenport, the Davenport National Bank, received its charter in 1865.⁶⁰ As we have seen, it took over the assets and liabilities of the Merchants' Branch of the Iowa State Bank the same year.

The third national bank, the Citizens' National Bank, was organized in 1867 with a capital of \$100,000 of which ten percent was paid-in. In a few years it was in "a very uncertain financial condition." Fortunately, Robert Krause, a local manufacturer and capitalist, came to the rescue at the solicitations of friends. With the assistance of Mr. Krause the institution was reorganized and established on a secure and permanent foundation, and henceforth paid dividends regularly. Popularly, this bank came to be known as the

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 42, 44, 46

⁶⁰*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Jan. 19, 1865.

“German Bank” and the “Little Bank on the Corner,” though it did a very large business.⁶¹

In addition to these three national banks, Davenport in 1870 had two savings banks—the German Savings and the Davenport Savings founded respectively in 1869 and 1870. The latter, however, was the direct successor of an older bank, the Davenport Savings Institution, founded in January 25, 1864. It used the same building as the First National and the lists of stockholders of the two banks were practically identical. It was a success from the start. At the end of the first year it held deposits to the amount of \$70,000 mostly in small sums belonging to laborers, mechanics, and people of small means. The rate of interest to depositors was 5 percent. In January, 1865, it declared a dividend of ten percent, and at the same time it increased its authorized capital stock to \$250,000, which permitted it to receive \$150,000 in deposits. The Savings Institution continued its prosperous career. At the close of 1868 it had \$205,273.59 of deposits and 1,100 depositors. But becoming embroiled in what is known as the First National Bank fight which involved an alleged illegal loan of \$51,000 for the purpose of controlling the First National, the Savings Institution in 1870 went into liquidation. The stockholders had to take a loss on their stock, but depositors were paid in full. The Davenport Savings Bank “rose on the ruins” of the Savings Institution, most of the stockholders of the former having taken stock in the new bank. Its authorized capital was \$600,000, soon increased to \$900,000.⁶²

Until the early seventies, savings banks in Iowa had been organized under the general laws of incorporation. A change in this respect occurred in 1874 when the General Assembly passed an act under which savings banks henceforth were required to incorporate. The Davenport Savings Bank was the first to conform to the new law.⁶³ The change necessitated a reduction in the amount of its authorized capital.

From 1870 to 1879 the Davenport Savings Bank paid interest to depositors at the rate of six percent compounded

⁶¹*Biographical History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1895, p. 103; *Der Demokrat*, May 5, 1887.

⁶²*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Jan. 12, 1865; *History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1882, pp. 774, 775; Richter, *op. cit.*, July 31, 1921; *Der Demokrat*, Jan. 14, 1869, Jan. 6, 1870.

⁶³*History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1882, p. 775.

quarterly, and from 1879 on at the rate of five percent. The stockholders received large stock dividends. Of the bank's paid-in capital of \$90,000 in 1882, \$39,000 had been paid in stock dividends.⁶⁴

The German Savings Bank began its career with a capital of \$10,000. Its first president was Henry Lischer and the first cashier H. H. Andresen, who succeeded Lischer as president in 1893. Andresen had shown his ability as a financier before the founding of the German Savings Bank in his rehabilitation of the Davenport Fire Insurance Company, which was operated in connection with the bank until 1874, the stockholders of the two being the same.⁶⁵

Davenport business men experienced some of the financial storm and stress which agitated the country in the seventies. Some local mercantile houses failed. The National Fire Insurance Company, a local concern, was forced to liquidate in 1870 with heavy losses to the stockholders.⁶⁶ None of the banks, however, were forced to close, though there were large withdrawals of deposits in 1873.⁶⁷

When the Chicago banks suspended, however, it became difficult for the Tri-City bankers to do business in the ordinary way, and an emergency policy had to be adopted by which not more than \$100 in currency was to be paid to each depositor, who had at least that much on deposit, and who wished to make withdrawals. For sums above that amount only certified checks were given. These checks were receivable at par by all the banks of the three cities. It was only necessary to continue this arrangement for but a short time.

The run on the German Savings Bank in 1886 was not due to any weakening of its financial structure, actual or threatening, but to a chance misunderstanding between a hysterical bank customer and a disobliging teller. The customer had presented a check for cashing at the very moment that the bank was ready to close. The teller pushed the check back with the curt retort that the bank was closed. He did not add what he also meant: for the day, and the rumor at once

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 776.

⁶⁵Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 759; *History of Scott County*, 1882, p. 795.

⁶⁶Richter, *op. cit.*, July 31, 1921.

⁶⁷*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Dec. 18, 1873.

spread that the German Savings Bank was closed. A three days' run followed. On the third day extra tellers were employed to pay off the frightened customers and the senseless stampede came to an end.⁶⁸

Only one new bank, the Scott County Savings Bank, appeared between 1870 and 1889. It was organized in 1883. Its initial capital stock was \$50,000.

From 1889 to 1892 three large new banks were added: the Iowa National Bank in 1889, the Union Savings Bank in 1891, and the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank in 1892. All became stable and strong financial institutions. The abundance of funds for investment at that time may be judged by the fact that the \$100,000 capital stock of the Iowa National Bank was subscribed before the lapse of three days.⁶⁹

Besides national and savings banks there were all through this period individuals and cooperative organizations engaged in some phase of banking: pawnbrokers, private lenders, agents for investment companies, and building and loan associations. Of the last-named type, according to the reports of the State Auditor, Davenport had four near the turn of the century: Davenport Loan, Building, and Savings Association; Davenport Cooperative Bank Association; Merchants and Mechanics Loan, Building, and Savings Association; and Home Building and Loan Association. Local annals also mention Home Loan and Trust Company, Iowa Business Men's Building and Loan Association, and Home Protective Building, Loan, and Savings Association.⁷⁰ All three were building and loan associations. The pioneer building and loan association appears to have been the Davenport Loan, Building and Savings Association. It was incorporated in 1877 and re-incorporated in 1896. In the latter year the assets of the association were listed at \$432,868.48.

Outside of national, state, and savings banks, loan and trust companies were the most prominent financial institutions in the nineteenth century. In Iowa the first legislation concerning loan and trust companies is found in the Code of 1897. Two such institutions, however, had appeared earlier in Davenport—George M. Bechtel and Company in 1891 and

⁶⁸C. A. Ficke, *Memories of Fourscore Years*, 1930, pp. 227-229.

⁶⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 17, 1922.

⁷⁰Stone, *op. cit.*, 1897-1898, p. 626; 1898-1899, p. 669.

the German Trust Company in 1894. Both became strong institutions, especially the former, which in time counted among its clients practically every municipality and school district in the State.⁷¹

The early nineties in general were favorable years to banking in Davenport. A panic came and went in the country at large, but several new banks came and stayed in Davenport. The panic of 1893, like the panic of 1873, was locally serious, but not catastrophic. The general financial conditions of the country, however, caused the Davenport bankers—against the advice of the prominent Davenport financier, C. A. Ficke—to take the special precaution of requiring sixty days' notice of the intention to withdraw deposits. As Mr. Ficke had warned the bankers, there was "an avalanche of notices of withdrawal," amounting to \$3,000,000. Luckily, Mr. Ficke had then on hand a considerable number of mortgages to be sold to investors. These he advertised he would sell to depositors, who came to buy, to cancel their notices. Meanwhile the bankers persuaded others to withdraw their notices, and when the sixty days' period expired, the banks were able to meet all legitimate demands upon them.⁷²

One of the best indications of the growing strength of banking in Davenport in the nineties is seen in the appearance of the Davenport Clearing House Association in 1895 with Charles A. Mast as manager. The clearings for the first year totalled \$29,439,839, and \$42,412,634 for 1899.⁷³

Outside of Davenport there were only two banks in Scott County near the close of the century. One was located at New Liberty in the northwestern and the other at Walcott in the southwestern part of the county. Their capital stocks were respectively \$15,000 and \$30,000.⁷⁴ Their appearance heralded a trend which would soon provide every little town in the county of any importance whatever with neighborhood banking facilities.

MANUFACTURING

The Middle Period was a time of steady growth in manu-

⁷¹H. H. Preston, *History of Banking in Iowa*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1922, p. 326. Strictly speaking, of course, there were no State banks. They were all either national, savings, or private banks.

⁷²Ficke, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-259.

⁷³Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 758; *Der Demokrat*, March 8, 1900.

⁷⁴*Auditor of State, Biennial Report*, 1901, pp. 296, 318.

facturing. New plants were added, older plants increased production, new factory buildings rose, often to replace older ones destroyed by fires. The Civil War created new demands for a variety of manufactured products. During the sporadically prosperous times of the period there were increased demands for housing materials, house furnishings, and improved farm and factory machinery.

One of the most distinguishing features of manufacturing in the Middle Period was the trend toward centralization in the location and control of plants. In the early part of the period there was a good-sized flour mill at Blue Grass. At a later time there were machine shops at Eldridge and a cigar making establishment at Long Grove. Brick yards were most conveniently located near the source of the clay; and pearl button factories naturally found locations in the river towns, large and small. But with these exceptions all industries not distinctly neighborhood industries were being crowded into Davenport.

The individual proprietorship and partnership predominated in the early part of the period. As the period advanced the corporation gained steadily on both, especially in the control of the larger plants and these again tended to combine under more centralized control.

As an instance of the effect of the Civil War on manufacturing the Davenport woolen industry may be cited. In 1863 Joseph Shields opened the Shields' Woolen Mill which manufactured various kinds of woolen goods: cloths, cassimeres, satinettes, jeans, and stocking yarns. In November, 1864, this mill was "running early and late to catch up with orders that have been pouring in from the country all fall." To be able to supply the retail trade at the office of the mill, the proprietor had to cut off almost all his trade with the local merchants. The Shields' Woolen Mill had its ups and downs, however, in the years following the Civil War. In 1881 it became the Davenport Woolen Mill. It continued to operate until 1914.⁷⁵

The production of woolens ranked sixth among the eleven major industries in Davenport in 1870. The other ten major

⁷⁵*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Nov. 10, 1864; Richter, *op. cit.*, Dec. 18, 1921.

industries, according to the value of their products, were: sawed and planed lumber, flouring mills products, furniture, agricultural implements, men's clothing, carriages and wagons, printing and publishing, malt liquors, tobacco and cigars, and cooperage products. In all there were 341 manufacturing establishments in Scott County in 1870 giving employment to 1,951 people who produced goods valued at \$3,455,479. This was slightly in excess of the value of the products of the farms.⁷⁶

The situation was optimistic for manufacturing. The West was young and the business men of Davenport saw that the future possibilities were good. In 1874 the Citizens' Association published a brochure calling attention to Davenport as a growing center of industry. It was pointed out that there was no better point in the West for the distribution of manufactured goods, and that enterprises would succeed if provided with similar backing of capital as those have which "are now converting in this locality, the crude material lying around loose, or made easily available from neighboring localities, into agricultural implements of almost every popularly useful nature from the Massillon threshing machines to wooden rakes—into tubs, and pails, wash boards, paper, pumps, steam machinery, woolen goods, wagons, scales, iron works, etc."

Between the census years, 1870 and 1880, one notes increases in the value of the production of sawed and planed lumber, agricultural implements, packed pork and sausage, foundry and machine shop products, bread and other bakery goods, malt liquors, and men's clothing. Carpentering is listed as a major industry in 1880. The number of establishments in the county has decreased to 241 and the number of people employed to 1,564, but the value of the product has risen to \$4,468,978.⁷⁷

The federal censuses for 1880 and 1890 show that there were substantial increases between those years in the production of bread and other bakery goods, flour and grist mill products, packed pork, tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes. The number of establishments in Davenport alone increased to

⁷⁶*United States Census, 1870, "Wealth and Industry,"* p. 663.

⁷⁷*Ibid., 1880,* p. 397.

475, the employees to 5,136, and the value of the product to \$10,357,232.⁷⁸

Between 1890 and 1900 there were large increases in the production of foundry and machine shop products, carriages and wagons, brick and building stone, packing house products, printing and publishing, tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes. The decline in sawed lumber production is noticeable. Of new and permanent lines one notes the production of pearl buttons and washing machines.

The number of establishments and employees in Davenport decreased between 1890 and 1900, but the value of the product increased over a million and stood at \$11,720,441 in 1900. Of the 4,410 laborers employed in 1900, 854 were women and 164 were children under sixteen years of age. The tobacco and cigar factories employed more women than men. Of the 416 establishments in 1900, 221 were classified as hand trades and these employed by far the greater percentage of the laborers and produced the greater part of the product.⁷⁹

Most of the branches of industry which gained any permanency during the Pioneer Period persisted through the Middle Period. Some changes there were due to passing time, inventions, changing tastes, fashions, and customs. Hoop skirts, for instance, were made in Davenport for a while after the Civil War.⁸⁰

Several distilleries operated during the Pioneer Period, but with the influx of the Germans, liquor production became quite exclusively the production of wine and especially beer. About 80,000 gallons of native wine were made in Scott County in 1871. In the early seventies the Davenport breweries made about 18,000 barrels of beer annually and about two-thirds of it was consumed locally. Malt production became an important side line to brewing. The number of breweries in Davenport increased from five in 1876 to nine in 1899. Most of the nine plants were under the control of the Davenport Brewing Company, organized in 1894 with a capital of \$500,000.⁸¹

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 1890, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census*, Pt. II, pp. 794-5.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 1900, "Manufactures," VII. Pt. I, p. cexlix.

⁸⁰*History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1882, p. 678.

⁸¹*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Jan. 11, 25, 1872; Finger, *Business Directory*, 1876, p. 5; Stone, *City Directory, 1898-1899*, p. 667; *Der Demokrat*, Oct. 25, 1894; Eibeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 435.

Other pioneer industries expanded and flourished—lumber production, flour milling, pork packing, brickmaking, cigar-making, broommaking, printing and publishing, the production of various metal goods, especially farm implements and steam engines. Brickmaking increased as the production of sawed lumber decreased. To flour milling were added such cereal industries as the production of oatmeal and glucose (corn sugar).

The pioneer miller modernized his mill with smutters and bolts. Instead of grinding meal, he now ground flour. The miller of the Middle Period introduced the roller system—stone rollers, metal rollers, and finally porcelain rollers—by which a finer grade and a greater amount of flour could be made from a given amount of grain. The Davenport mills were equipped with rollers in the eighties at the same time that the older proprietorships were changing to corporate concerns, requiring more capital.⁸²

Frequently the flour mills, and indeed other factory buildings, during the Pioneer and Middle periods, became the prey of devouring flames. This was the fate of J. M. D. Burrows' mills, the first in 1867, the second in 1870.⁸³ The more general use of brick and structural steel, however, tended to reduce fire hazards.

Firm names changed, but on the whole the firms themselves were very persistent. T. T. Dow and his associates built the Crescent Mills in 1868. The same company also built elevators both in Iowa and Illinois. The Crescent Mills, the Phoenix Mills, and the Farmers' Mills did a large part of the flour milling in Davenport for several decades. In 1891 the Davenport Milling Company operated all three of these mills. The city directory of Davenport in 1889, however, lists six different plants engaged in flour milling—Davenport Mills, Dithmarscher Rye Mills, East Davenport Roller Mills, Phoenix Milling Company, Riverside Milling Company, and Tri-City Roller Mills.⁸⁴

⁸²*History of Scott County, Iowa*, 1882, p. 782; *Album of City of Davenport*, "Appendix," p. 5.

⁸³*History of Scott Co.*, pp. 682-4.

⁸⁴*History of the First Natl. Bank in the United States*, p. 101; *Stone, City Directory, 1890-1891*, p. 568; *1898-1899*, p. 695.

The manufacture of glucose or corn sugar began in Davenport in 1872. Henry G. Weinert, a former Buffalo, New York, school teacher, had been making experiments on a stove in a little tannery in westend Davenport, and the versatile Davenport business man, Robert Krause, saw the possibilities of these results. A company was formed and a plant built and operated for about two years; but the business was still in the experimental stage. A new company was formed and a new plant built and operated also without being a commercial success. Still Mr. Krause and his associates stood by their guns, and success came after the organization of a third company and the building of a third and larger plant. In 1881 the Davenport Glucose Manufacturing Company employed one hundred people and processed 700,000 bushels of corn. Its products, superior for such purposes as the sweetening of fermented liquors in the process of their production, were sold in all the principal cities of the United States and some were exported to foreign countries.

The Davenport glucose plant was one of the first of its particular kind in the United States. In a few years there were a number of similar plants throughout the country and the business in general was being brought under centralized control. The Davenport plant was sold to the Glucose Refining Company or Glucose Trust in 1897 for \$700,000. It was then one of the largest in the United States. In 1900 it employed 500 men.⁸⁵

Saw milling firms, too, were fairly persistent though proprietors changed. The pioneer firm Renwick and Sons in the fifties, had become Renwick, Shaw and Crossett in the seventies, and this again in the nineties Weyerhauser and Denkmann. The Dessaint and Schricker firm of the sixties had become Schricker and Mueller in the seventies and Christian Mueller and Sons in the nineties. Lindsay and Phelps persisted throughout the period, becoming, however, Lindsay, Phelps and Company in the nineties.⁸⁶

Lumber production promoted the growth of woodworking industries—the manufacture of furniture, pianos, carriages, wagons, cooperage, washing machines, churns, ladders, boats,

⁸⁵Richter, *op. cit.*, Aug. 21, 1921; *History of Scott Co.*, p. 873; Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 1000; *Der Demokrat*, March 8, 1900.

⁸⁶*History of the First Natl. Bank*, pp. 114, 124.

boxes, trunks, brooms, brushes, and rag carpet looms.

Charles N. Newcomb of Hobart, New York, invented a flying shuttle rag carpet loom, which he manufactured in large quantities. In 1889 he located in Davenport and established a factory where he employed upwards of thirty people.⁸⁷

Amandus Woeber, a German who had learned his trade in Cincinnati, built the first carriage factory in Iowa. Woeber also turned out the famous horse cart, the Pilot. The most permanent local names in this branch of industry in the Middle Period are Woeber and George Hegenberger.⁸⁸

The most permanent name in the pork packing annals of the period is that of J. L. Zoekler. Other important names are John Ruch, Ranzow and Haller, and Henry Kohrs. Zoekler and Ruch in the season 1871-1872 packed over 4,000 hogs and the butchers over 1,000. The number packed the next season was somewhat larger. Kohrs was a Schleswig-Holsteiner who had come to Davenport in 1854 and for about a year clerked in a dry goods store. Then he opened a meat market which he continued twenty years. In 1875 he branched into pork packing and shipping. About 1898 he organized the Kohrs' Packing Company of which his son-in-law, W. H. Gehrman, became president.⁸⁹

The Tri-City Packing and Provision Company appeared in 1893. It built a plant to handle sheep, cattle, and hogs, obtained federal inspection, and established local retail markets for its products. Fire destroyed the plant in 1896, but it was rebuilt with doubled capacity. When its initial capital of \$100,000 was increased to \$2,000,000 in the late nineties, the company was a major factor in a boom in the packing business. The boom was short-lived, however, and had its serious aftermath with no profits and finally a sale to satisfy creditors.⁹⁰

Brickmaking, at first sporadic, was on a more permanent basis from the seventies on. Since the nature of the raw material made it practical to build the kilns near the clay pits, this industry tended to be scattered. Brick yards are mentioned at or near Long Grove, Buffalo, Davenport, and

⁸⁷*Biographical History of Scott County*, pp. 320-322.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 392-3.

⁸⁹Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 116, 776-7; *Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Feb. 1, 1872, Nov. 27, 1873.

⁹⁰H. H. McCarty and C. W. Thompson, *Meat Packing in Iowa*, 1933, p. 25; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1896, p. 438.

Le Claire. Towards the close of the period the individual proprietorships gave way to large companies such as LeClaire Brick and Tile Company and Davenport Brick and Tile Company.⁹¹

Cigar making in this period was everywhere distinguished by its large number of small, scattered establishments. To this Scott County was no exception. Establishments might sometimes be found in the small towns such as Long Grove, but most of them were scattered through the City of Davenport, where there were at least fifteen in 1868 and upwards of thirty-seven in 1889. The Davenport plants maintained by Nicholas Kuhnen, Otto Albrecht and Company, and N. P. Jacobsen each employed a large number of men and women, and were the largest plants outside the trust.⁹²

Throughout the Middle Period shoes and clothing were manufactured in Davenport. The shoemaker, however, tended to become either a shoe dealer or a shoe repairer. The tailor shop changed less, though new and large competing establishments appeared. In 1875 Robert Krause established a clothing factory which turned out pants, vests, jeans, suits, shirts, and overalls. Isaac Rothschild, the largest exclusive retail clothier in Davenport and Iowa, a few years later employed thirty-five men in his merchant tailoring department. Several other manufacturers specialized in shirts only.⁹³

Various food products were produced on a large scale. French cheese, vinegar, pickles, confectionery, crackers, bakery goods, and macaroni. In the early days of the period there was a large number of bakers in Davenport. Everything turned out was hand work. Henry Korn, a Kur-Hessian (German), was one of the first of them to see the value of machinery and improved methods. He also saw the potential market for the popular bakery products of Europe and accordingly set about to introduce them such as *zweiback*, Holland rusk, and Vienna toast. These became very popular and toward the close of the century Korn and Sons were dis-

⁹¹*Iowa Geological Survey*, IX, 496-501.

⁹²Root, *Davenport City Directory, 1868-1869*, pp. 23-24; Stone, *City Directory, 1888-1889*, pp. 381-82.

⁹³"Appendix," *Album of the City of Davenport*, p. 13; H. Pfade, *Davenport City Directory, 1885-1886*, p. 333.

tributing bakery goods to a growing trade in Davenport and its environs.⁹⁴

The most important branches of manufacturing using largely imported raw products were the implement plants and machine shops. Already in the Pioneer Period Davenport had become famous for its plow works, and in the Middle Period the Davenport Plow Company and the Eagle Manufacturing Company kept up the tradition. In the later sixties Raff, Cock, and Company manufactured reapers, mowers, cane mills, horse rakes, and cultivators. In the seventies LeClaire Foundry and Machine Shop turned out threshing machines, corn and cob mills, horse powers and steam engines. Several iron foundries operated from time to time. The Davenport Machine and Foundry Company was started as a small concern in 1887. It specialized in the manufacture of steam engines and in the designing and building of machinery. After a few years the company added a department for the fabrication of structural steel and ornamental iron work for buildings. A new foundry was added in 1895 and a new machine shop in 1901.⁹⁵

It is sometimes said that to know modern Davenport is to know the Bettendorf brothers—William P. Bettendorf and John W. Bettendorf. William, the older brother, first gave proof of his superior mechanical ingenuity when employed in a plow factory in Peru, Illinois, by designing a power lift for sulky plows, which was used by several plow manufacturers. Turning his attention next to the improvement of vehicles from farm wagons to railroad freight cars, he invented a metal wheel with a malleable iron hub and a steel underframe for farm wagons, besides machinery to manufacture them. Together with his brother he began in 1886 to manufacture metal wheels in Davenport. In 1890 the two brothers incorporated the Bettendorf Metal Wheel Company; and, after having disposed of their interests in this company and a new series of inventions to George H. French and his associates, formed the Bettendorf Axle Company in 1895. After two disastrous fires, both occurring in 1902, the Bettendorf Axle

⁹⁴*Biographical History of Scott Co.*, pp. 338-340.

⁹⁵Root, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 179; *Iowa Factories*, IV, No. 3, pp. 8, 9.

Company decided to move its plant to Gilberttown, three miles east of Davenport. Thus was launched the biggest manufacturing industry of the present century in Scott County. The name of the town was appropriately changed to Bettendorf and the new factories there at once put the town on the map.

A Davenportier visiting in Pittsburgh was asked where he lived. Having told the inquirer, the latter replied: "Ah, Davenport! That's close to Bettendorf, is it not?"⁹⁶

A new industry, the manufacture of electric washing machines was under way in the late eighties. In this industry the H. F. Brammer Manufacturing Company was a pioneer. The company had no difficulty in disposing of its product for the demand was strong and growing. Neither were competitors slow in realizing this. Other companies built competing plants and in a little more than a decade Davenport was turning out two-thirds of the electric washing machines sold in the United States.⁹⁷

The years 1879 and especially 1894 were difficult years for industry in general and not the least for manufacturing. Several Davenport plants closed temporarily in 1894. Others were in financial difficulties and some were forced to liquidate.⁹⁸ Fortunately, the upturn in industrial affairs was not long in coming and coincident with it was a renewal in the increases in capital stocks as well as in the incorporation and consolidation of a number of manufacturing concerns.

THE PRESS

Unlike the situation in many other counties the smaller towns in Scott County in the Middle Period did not succeed in maintaining permanent local newspapers. Sporadically, ambitious printers and editors struggled for existence at Dixon, Buffalo, Waleott, Princeton, and LeClaire, but they did not long survive. Scott County people continued to depend almost exclusively upon the Davenport papers for local and general news.

It was natural that it should be so. Davenport was more

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 1912, No. 2, pp. 25-32; Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 753-758. II, 366-371.

⁹⁷*Davenport, the Eastern Gateway of Iowa*, 1908, p. 16; Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 3, 1922.

⁹⁸Richter, *op. cit.*, Jan. 8, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, March 15, May 17, July 12, Dec. 20, 1894.

than an administrative center. Its churches, its multitudinous societies, its industries, and general life drew and held the attention and thought of the whole countryside.

Davenport, as we have seen, had a well-established printing and publishing business before the Civil War. The political complexion, however, of its weeklies and dailies was then unsettled. After the Civil War it was different. Then the political lines could be more definitely drawn. Both of the major political parties always had their spokesmen, but the Democratic newspapers exerted the greatest influence and ran the longest subscription lists. Of the Democratic papers again, the German weekly *Der Demokrat* had a larger circulation than any other. In 1899 it was over 13,000. This paper also issued bi-weekly and daily editions.⁹⁹

In 1870 another German weekly and daily newspaper *Das Banner* began to appear. It did not prosper. A successor to it was "flung to the breeze" under the name of *Sternen Banner*—the German for Starspangled Banner. The *Sternen Banner* was published about eight years by Henry Matthey and Son. It strove to be independent at a time when only party organs were in demand, and naturally did not long prosper. In the early eighties the daily edition was discontinued. It began to be whispered that the *Sternen Banner* might more properly be called the *Sterbe Banner* (Dying Banner). Luckily a purchaser was on hand. In 1884 it was sold to Adolph Petersen, a young Schleswig-Holsteiner with a few savings, but plenty of grit, who had founded the *Iowa Reform* the same year, bearing the challenging motto: *Ohne Wahrheit, keine Freiheit* (Without Truth, no Freedom). The *Iowa Reform* was soon published in both weekly and biweekly editions. Like *Der Demokrat*, after the Civil War, it presented a Democratic front of an independent order, but of a more conciliatory nature.¹⁰⁰

The English Democratic paper the *Democrat and News* had become the *Davenport Democrat* in 1864. After the purchase of *The Gazette* in 1887 it published both a morning

⁹⁹*American Newspaper Annual*, N. W. Ayer & Son, 1899, p. 287; *Davenport Times*, May 3, 1924.

¹⁰⁰Montagne & Curtis, *Davenport City Directory, 1870-1871*, p. 43; Richter, *op. cit.*, Nov. 6, 1921; *Weekly Davenport Democrat*, March 21, 1872; *25 Jahre Gala-Ausgabe der Iowa Reform*, July 12, 1909.

and an evening edition and also a weekly edition. The morning edition was discontinued in 1897.¹⁰¹

The Republican press was represented successively by the *Gazette*, the *Journal*, the *Tribune*, and the *Republican*. Only the *Republican* was published near the close of the century. In 1886 E. W. Brady founded the *Times*, which had prohibition leanings, but was otherwise independent in politics. The *Democratic Leader* began to be issued in 1891, ably conducted by Professor Joseph E. Halligan. All of these last-named papers were published in both daily and weekly editions and attained subscription lists of several thousand subscribers for each edition.¹⁰²

The Davenport printing presses also poured out a steady stream of literary, cultural, occupational, technical, temperance, and religious periodicals. Immediately after the Civil War there were several soldiers' papers such as the *Picket Guard of the Grand Army of the Republic* and the *Western Soldiers' Friend*. Other journals pleaded the cause of the laboring people and prohibition. The *Blue Ribbon News*, the fourth prohibition paper in Davenport, was changed to the *Northwestern News* in 1878 and published continuously from then on. Of the religious papers the monthly *Episcopalian Iowa Churchman* began to be published in 1877 and the weekly *Iowa Catholic Messenger* in 1892. *The Medical Missionary*, *Religion Old and New*, *Cathedral Messenger*, and *Congregational Monitor* had briefer careers.¹⁰³

The best press representative of that intellectually radical element—native and immigrant—which was so prominent in Davenport, was the *True Radical* (1867-1869). "At the height of its prosperity it enjoyed a good circulation, and had many interested readers. One of its chief peculiarities was its reprints of scarce free-thought literature. Rousseau's *Confessions of a Savoyard Curate*; Pitt's *Letter on Superstition*; Sir W. Drummond's *Oedipus Judeacius*; Laurence's *Essay on the Functions of the Brain*, and other rare tracts were published in full in its columns. It finally declined and

¹⁰¹*Iowa Historical Record*, XV, 485.

¹⁰²Downer, *ibid.*, I, 887-888; *History of Scott Co.*, p. 601; Richter, *op cit.*, Oct. 29, 1922; *American Newspaper Annual*, p. 237.

¹⁰³Rot. *op. cit.* 1867, p. 21; 1868, p. 33; Stone, *City Directory 1890-91*, p. 594; 1894-95, p. 649; 1898-99, p. 725; *History of Scott Co.*, *op. cit.*

died of a combination of fatal disorders, but was in many respects one of the brightest and most interesting papers ever printed in this country.¹⁰⁴

There were "facile quills" and "trenchant pens" behind the Davenport newspapers, both the English and the German. The *Gazette* lived long because it breathed the invigorating influence of the Sanders Brothers and Edward Russell. D. N. Richardson made the *Democrat* one of the leading newspapers in the state. He was progressive rather than aggressive. "He wrote to be understood, and few have ever been so successful in charming the reader while imparting information. His style of writing was direct, simple, strong. He disliked personalities, and it is not remembered that a bitter, denunciatory, or spiteful article ever came from his pen. No spoken or written word of his was intended to give pain. He did not write until he had informed himself, and then his weapons were reason, candor, and fact."

After a trip around the world in 1885-1886 he published *A Girdle Round the Earth* of which the gifted daughter of George H. French, Miss Alice French (Octave Thanet), wrote: "I know of no other book of travels (unless I except dear old credulous Sir John Mandeville) so spontaneous. The manner of the book's making partly accounts for this. It is his home letters wherein he reflected the mood of the hour and the sky, with no thought of a larger circle than the ones he loved and missed and a few friends who would 'want to hear.' The abounding humor and the delightful gaiety were simply the natural expression of the man's nature."¹⁰⁵

Gustav Donald, Dr. Aug. P. Richter, and Adolph Petersen, followed the earlier German pioneer editors; and, like them, fought in season and out of season for what they considered the liberties and rights of the individual and the community. To them the Clark Prohibitory Law was ever and always "that infamous Law;" prohibition they looked upon as hypocrisy and foolish oppression. In their incessant struggles to make Davenport "the freest city in America," they were buoyed up by the hope and belief that their cause was a worthy one and that young fighters would replace the old

¹⁰⁴*History of Scott Co.,* *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵*Iowa Historical Record, op. cit.,* pp. 481-495.

who fell. At the death of Jens Peter Stibolt in 1887, the longtime editor of *Der Demokrat*, Gustav Donald expressed this sentiment strikingly in the following stanza:¹⁰⁶

“Wo immer müde Fechter
Sinken im ehrlichen Strausz,
Da kommen neue Geschlechter.
Und kämpfen es wacher aus.”

PUBLIC UTILITIES

The Davenport Gas Light and Coke Company, which began to distribute gas for lighting purposes in 1855, had not greatly succeeded in boosting its sales. The amount used was limited because the price was high and the service unsatisfactory. Moreover, the company had financial difficulties. After a forced sale of the plant for \$125,000, the company was able to finance the construction of new buildings and the installation of new and modern equipment at a cost of about \$65,000. The price of gas was then reduced from \$5 to \$4.50 and the meter rent of twenty-five cents was discontinued. These changes were made in 1872. The price of gas was further reduced in 1877 and again in 1888—in the latter year to \$1.75, providing bills were promptly paid.¹⁰⁷

These various reductions had been made possible by the improvements in the quality of the product as well as its production. Water gas, for instance, was introduced simultaneously with the price reduction in 1888. To some extent the reductions also seem to have been due to the threatened competition of other gas companies and the rising electric light industry. There were two other gas companies in Davenport in 1881 besides the Davenport Gas Light Company, as it was now usually called. These were the Iowa Gas Light Company and the Shepherd Vapor Gas Company,¹⁰⁸ neither of which, however, are mentioned in the city directories after 1882.

Electric lighting began to shed its beneficent rays on Davenport on February 5, 1881, the particular occasion being a

¹⁰⁶*Annals of Iowa*, XVII, 243-269, 357-390; Eiboeck, *op. cit.*, p. 386; *Der Demokrat*, Jan. 8, 1891.

When the tired warrior
Falls in honest struggle
New generations will arise
And diligently fight on.

¹⁰⁷Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 4, Nov. 27, 1921, Sept. 3, 1922.

¹⁰⁸Schmidt & Jacobsen, *Davenport City Directory*, 1881, p. 305.

ball of the Turners, a German gymnastic society. Several electric light companies obtained franchises from the city council in the eighties and nineties—the Fort Wayne “Jenney” Electric Company in 1885; Peoples Electric Light Company in 1888; the Thomson-Houston Company of Connecticut, and the Electric Illuminating Company of Chicago in 1890; the Davenport Power and Light Company in 1893; and the Davenport Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Steam Heating Company in 1896, the last named of which absorbed the Davenport Gas Company and reorganized in 1900 as the Davenport Gas and Electric Company. Local capitalists financed the Peoples Light Company while other local utility companies were owned or financed mainly by out of state capitalists. The Old Colony Trust Company, for instance, became the trustee of the Davenport Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Heating Company already in 1896.¹⁰⁹

The city council had granted exclusive powers to the Davenport Gas Light Company, but in giving franchises to the electric light companies it was distinctly stated that the powers were not exclusive. By granting a number of franchises, there was more certainty of competition and fair prices, according to the economic thinking of the time. Perhaps the council did not anticipate that it might also result in a rapid consolidation of the public utilities. This was what actually happened. As we have seen the Davenport Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Steam Heating Company absorbed the Davenport Gas Light Company, which already before this took place had purchased the franchises of the Fort Wayne Company and the Electric Illuminating Company, paying \$17,520 for the former. The Davenport Power and Light Company also purchased the franchise of the Thomson-Houston Company.¹¹⁰

Electric lighting had to pass through a crucial experimental stage before it became generally satisfactory. The streets of Davenport were first lit up by electricity on February 1, 1886, by the Fort Wayne “Jenney” Company. The agreement for street lighting called for eighty lamps of 2,000 candle power

¹⁰⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, Feb. 26, Sept. 3, 1922; *Revised Ordinances of the City of Davenport of 1893*, pp. 60-62, 66-85; *Ordinances of 1898*, pp. 355-369; John Moody, *Manual of Corporations and Securities*, 1903, p. 781; *Der Demokrat*, July 23, 1896.

¹¹⁰*Revised Ordinances*, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 74, 82; *Der Demokrat*, Dec. 2, 1886.

each, of which thirty-five were to be placed on towers 125 feet high and the others on poles not less than twenty-four feet high, all at an annual cost of \$13,075. The schedule of lighting was to be the Philadelphia schedule in accordance with which the time for lighting was according to the rising and setting of the moon. At other times when the moon was obscured the lights might be turned on at the request of the mayor or chief of police. The agreement was to be in force for a period of five years.¹¹¹

Electricity proved fairly satisfactory for outdoor lighting, but less so for indoor use. Consumers complained that the indoor lights did not burn steadily, and that defective wires caused fires. In 1891 several merchants and hotelkeepers discontinued the use of their electric lamps.¹¹²

A new agreement for street lighting was made with the Electric Illuminating Company to begin to be effective in 1891. This provided for seventy-five electric arc lamps of 2,000 candle power each to be placed on poles seventy-five feet above the surface of the streets; and twenty incandescent lamps of thirty-two candle power each, placed on poles fifteen feet above the surface of the streets. This new system entailed an annual expense of \$17,125 for five years.¹¹³

The system was somewhat changed in 1896 when the Davenport Consolidated Gas, Electric Light, and Steam Heating Company assumed responsibility for lighting the streets. According to the franchise granted this company the same year, the streets were to be lighted by 400 arc lamps, arranged on eight or more circuits, the lamps to be of the latest and best type, single carbon, high tension, direct current and of 2,000 candle power each, as defined in the franchise. Fifty of these were to be lighted from dark to daylight on the all-night plan, and the others according to the Philadelphia moonlight schedule corrected for this latitude.

During the first five years of the twenty-five year period for which the franchise was to run, the price per 2,000 candle power lamp was to be \$56; and at the end of each later five year period there was to be a general price adjustment; for all

¹¹¹*Rev. Ordinances*, no. 64-66: *Album of the City of Davenport*, p. 31.

¹¹²Richter, *op. cit.*, Oct. 15, 1922.

¹¹³*Rev. Ordinances*, pp. 68-70.

prices, whether to public or private consumers, should at all times be fair and reasonable as compared with those of other cities in Iowa and Illinois.

The franchise fixed the price per 1,000 cubic feet of gas to private consumers at a rate not to exceed three-fourths of one cent per hour for each sixteen candle power lamp when measured by a correct meter or when the company made a flat rate of not more than sixty cents per month per lamp of sixteen candle power, burning from dark to twelve o'clock; nor more than seventy-five cents per month per lamp of sixteen candle power, burning from dark to daylight; nor more than \$8 per month for 12 o'clock lamps, or \$10 per month for all night lamps of 2,000 candle power.¹¹⁴

The prosperous years after the Civil War brought the street railways. The city council in 1865 granted franchises to two street car companies, neither of which built any road. Local capitalists incorporated the Davenport City Railway in 1867. The incorporators were A. C. Fulton, John L. Swits, Ira M. Gifford, Thomas Scott, C. E. Putman, Joseph Shields, H. R. Claussen, B. B. Woodward, and James Armstrong. The city council granted this company a twenty-five year franchise "to lay and operate" a street railway on Third Street from the intersection of the western boundary of the city with Third Street to the River Road and from there on the River Road to the eastern boundary of the city. The franchise prescribed the manner in which the capital was to be raised: "Said company shall keep its books for subscription of stock open and free to the citizens of Davenport at least thirty days, and open the same within three months from the passage of this ordinance, and no person shall directly or indirectly subscribe for more than five hundred dollars of said stock till after the expiration of said thirty days."

Only animal power was to be used to draw the cars, and at least eight trips were to be made each way per day. For the first five years the fare was fixed by the franchise at ten cents for each trip, and thereafter at five cents; but an amendment in 1876 raised this to not to exceed eight cents except for cars running after 9:30 P. M., when ten cents might be

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 355-369.

charged. City officials when on duty had the privilege of free rides. At the expiration of the twenty-five years the city had the option of purchasing the railway at its actual cash value or extending the franchise.

Horse cars commenced running on the eastern section of the line on March 2, 1869. This section was one and a half miles in length and cost \$29,000 including construction and equipment. The western section, two miles in length, was completed the next year.¹¹⁵

Another group of Davenporters incorporated the Davenport Central Railway Company in 1870, and obtained a franchise the following year similar to one granted to the Davenport City Railway Company. The incorporators were James Renwick, Walker Adams, D. N. Richardson, W. A. Remington, Edwin Smith, George H. Parker, P. H. Worley, J. A. Le Claire, Chauncey Krum, Thos. Scott, W. K. Haight, Wm. Renwick, and O. S. McNeil. The new company built the Brady Street Line, which gave the city street car service between Second Street and the Fair Grounds. The steep grade on the Brady Street made the track dangerous especially when the rails were slippery. Once the car slid down dragging the horses with it. One was so badly injured that it had to be killed.¹¹⁶

A third company, the East and West Davenport Railway Company, received a franchise from the city in 1877; and a fourth, the Davenport and Rock Island Street Railway Company, in 1885. The terms of the franchises were similar to those of the first two street railway companies.¹¹⁷

These four companies gave most of the central and outlying parts of the city the benefits of a street car system with cars running during business hours according to regular schedules.

The business, however, was never very profitable. Some sections of the lines which had been built through the thinly settled portions of the city "did not even pay for their horse feed" and had to be discontinued. The service in general deteriorated because tracks and cars were not kept in good

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 1893, pp. 297-301; Richter, *op. cit.*, June 12, 1921.

¹¹⁶*History of Scott Co.*, p. 790; Richter, *op. cit.*, Aug. 21, 1921; *Rev. Ordinances*, 1893, pp. 305-08.

¹¹⁷*Rev. Ordinances, ibid.*, pp. 309-15.

repairs. In the middle eighties scarcely a line was making more than a bare living.

Urban transportation at this time was becoming unsettled throughout the country because of an impending change in the motive power of street cars brought about by the rapid improvements in the production of electricity for light and power. Cheaper and more effective electric power, it was seen, would soon replace horses with motors, and incidentally hasten the consolidation of the small horse car lines into large city systems. Davenport was the first city west of the Mississippi to feel the impact of these new developments.

In the electrification of the city's street car lines, local men and capital again took the lead. A local physician, W. L. Allen, had inherited some stock in the Davenport Central Railway. As the other stockholders in this company did not share his interest in electrification, he bought their stock and prepared to electrify the road. He visited several cities where street cars were run by electricity and concluded that the system used in Richmond, Virginia, would be best for Davenport, both cities having steep as well as level grades. Under a new franchise granted to the Davenport Central in 1888, the company set to work to relay tracks and to build trolley lines and a power house. The first electric street cars in Davenport were tested on the steep grades of Brady Street on August 9, 1888, and climbed the hill without any mishap. The formal opening of the first electric line occurred a few days later with Mayor Ernest Claussen, members of the council, and the directors of the company as passengers on a car making a trip on the rebuilt line. Dr. Allen and his associates soon built another electric line in Davenport and also built electric lines in other cities.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile outside capital had been attracted. A New York firm sent a representative in 1887, who proposed to buy up all the horse car lines in the Tri-Cities and operate them under one corporate head. Though this particular company was not able to carry its plans through, another such company did.¹¹⁹

Next Mr. C. B. Holmes of Chicago appeared. He bought all of the remaining horse car lines in the Tri-Cities for \$268,000

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 336; Richter, *op. cit.*, Sept. 3, 1922; Downer, *op. cit.*, II, 63.

¹¹⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, July 30, 1922.

and sold them for twice the amount to a Chicago syndicate, which thought it had come into possession of a bonanza, but it proved to be something quite different. The syndicate planned extensive improvements, secured new franchises, and built new lines to shut out competitors. For a while things were humming. But some of the new lines did not pay well, and the service generally suffered. The street car business was still unsettled. Companies combined and recombined until the Tri-City Railway Company in 1897 emerged as the controlling company of most of the street car lines giving the people of the three cities a continuous, efficient, and economical street transportation system.¹²⁰

Serious accidents on the electric lines were very rare. The worst one occurred in 1890 when a car slid down the hill on Brady Street and struck a train, killing one and wounding several of the passengers.¹²¹

The horse cars had begun to cross the government bridge in 1888. Electric cars crossed the bridge for the first time on May 5, 1894.¹²²

As a means of fire protection the City of Davenport had felt the need of public water works before the Civil War. But the cost would be large and not enough capital was available until several years after the war. The city first tried to finance the undertaking itself and voted to issue \$300,000 worth of bonds. These, however, could not be sold because the indebtedness of the city had already reached the legal maximum of five percent of the total valuation.¹²³

Luckily there were two noble Scotchmen at hand, the brothers Michael and Peter Donahue, who had been in the public utility business in San Francisco, California, where they and two other brothers had built and operated the first local gas light works. Michael Donahue became the chief stockholder and president of the Davenport Water Company which incorporated under Iowa laws. It received an exclusive franchise from the city in 1872, to run for twenty-five years, but the city reserved the right to purchase the works at the

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1922; *Rev. Ordinances*, 1898, pp. 379, 387, 389.

¹²¹Richter, *op. cit.*, Oct. 8, 1922.

¹²²*Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1922; Downer, *op. cit.*, I, 999.

¹²³*History of Scott Co.*, p. 790; Richter, *op. cit.*, July 10, Aug. 14, 1921.

expiration of fifteen years. The city was to pay \$80 per hydrant annually as soon as there were 200 hydrants ready for use. This price would be reduced to \$50 after five years, and after another five years to \$40. The franchise exempted the company from municipal taxes. In return for this privilege the company was to furnish free water to the public schools and other public buildings. Consumers' water rates were not to exceed those charged in other cities similarly situated.¹²⁴

Peter Donahue superintended the construction of the works, which consumed the greater part of the year 1873. On January 1, 1874 the water works were ready for use. As completed they consisted of a cofferdam in the Mississippi, a reservoir and a pumping station on the shore which was connected with the cofferdam by a conduit and by pipes with the homes and places of business of the water users. The water mains measured fourteen inches in diameter, and the water could be pumped to points three miles distant and to a height of 175 feet.¹²⁵

The initial cost of the water works was more than a half million dollars. Within a decade, however, the company added a second reservoir and pumping station, and later other improvements and extensions brought the total cost of the plant up to well over a million dollars. By 1884 the company had twenty-six miles of mains and 247 fire hydrants. Water was distributed to 700 customers and there was "a good steady increase of attachments."¹²⁶

The franchise was renewed in 1889, this time for a period of twenty-six years. A later supplementary ordinance prescribed the method of fixing the maximum price to water consumers in case of complaint that the current rate was excessive. When such a complaint in writing was signed by fifty consumers of water and presented to the council a committee of three was to be appointed to investigate the charges. If this committee found the charges of the complainants well founded "then the said Council shall have the right and authority to fix a maximum rate which shall not be less than the prices charged by other water companies in other cities similarly situated."¹²⁷

¹²⁴*Rev. Ordinances*, 1893, pp. 495-501; Richter, *op. cit.*, May 28, 1922.

¹²⁵*History of Scott Co.*, pp. 790-92.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*; Holland, *Directory and Business Record of the City of Davenport*, 1884-1885, p. 70; Richter, *op. cit.*, Oct. 15, 1922.

¹²⁷*Rev. Ordinances*, 1893, pp. 502-508, 511.

Walcott built municipal water works in 1897 at a cost of \$6,000. The water was pumped from a well, and distributed by means of a pressure tank through one and a half miles of mains. The cost to consumers was four dollars per year. Eighteen hydrants provided water in case of fires.¹²⁸

The telephone entered Davenport in 1878. The next year an exchange was installed serving thirty-six subscribers. The annual rates varied from \$48 to \$72 for business houses, and for residences from \$24 to \$48.

In 1881 the Western Telephone Company of Chicago consolidated all the local telephone systems in the West where the Bell telephones were in use. This included Davenport. The same year the city council authorized this company to erect poles, string wires, and maintain a system of local telephones. Hitherto telephone wires had been stretched from housetop to housetop. The franchise was to run for twenty years and was not exclusive. It gave the city the free use of five telephones to be placed at such points as the council might designate.¹²⁹

The system installed by the Western Telephone Company embraced connections with Rock Island, Moline, and Milan in Illinois. To all of these places Davenport subscribers might telephone without extra charges. Farther out the Davenport exchange circuit included forty-one towns and cities.¹³⁰

Similar privileges to those granted to the Western Telephone Company were secured by the Postal Telegraph Cable Company in 1891 and by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in 1896. All three companies were responsible for damages due to carelessness of employees, as well as for damages resulting from "the erection, placing and maintaining of such poles and wires under the permission given."¹³¹

The founders of the City of Davenport were public spirited enough to think of public squares. Early Davenport had three, on one of which the court house was built. More squares were added as the city grew. The city purchased Central Park in 1885 for about \$13,000. The old fair grounds also were pur-

¹²⁸*Census of Iowa*, 1905, v. 818.

¹²⁹Richter, *op. cit.*, Dec. 11, 1921; *Rev. Ordinances*, 1893, pp. 486-488.

¹³⁰Schmidt, *City Directory*, 1882-1883, pp. 39-40.

¹³¹*Rev. Ordinances*, 1893, pp. 489-491; 1898, 374-375.

chased by the city and used as a park. A state law of 1889 made a more extensive park system possible.¹³²

Public sewers began to be thought of as necessary municipal improvements in the seventies. Some were constructed in 1878. An ordinance divided the city into thirteen sewerage districts.¹³³

The macadamizing of the streets had begun before the Civil War. By 1886 Davenport had about twenty miles of hard-surfaced streets and the mileage increased steadily throughout the century. Street sprinkling was introduced in 1885 and paving in 1889.¹³⁴

The city retained the right of ownership to the river banks, portions of which were improved as a levee or landing place for river craft in 1859 at an expense of \$12,000. A later ordinance set aside "all income, rents or profits arising from the grounds lying between Front street and the Mississippi River" as a fund to be known as the Levee Improvement Fund. This was to be used for "the purpose of improving the public roads along the river front south of Front street and the water adjacent thereto, and for no other purpose."¹³⁵

BUSINESS MEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

The Board of Trade, dating from 1857, was reorganized in 1870 and again in 1880, in the latter year with about one hundred members. The re-organized society provided rooms for its members where groups and individuals might meet for discussions and the transaction of business. More attention was given to the promotion of strictly local business, and fees were reduced to admit more of those who had no interest in grain milling, produce, and meat packing.¹³⁶

This, however, was not satisfactory to the representatives of these larger interests and accordingly they withdrew in 1882 and formed the Produce Exchange with a membership of fifty-two. The initiation fee was set at \$30 and the annual fee at \$15. The Produce Exchange received daily telegraphic

¹³²Richter, Sept. 10, 1922.

¹³³*Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1921, Jan. 1, 1922; Rev. Ordinances, 1893, pp. 430-449.

¹³⁴*Album*, p. 6; Richter, June 11, Sept. 10, 1922.

¹³⁵*Album*, *ibid.*, Rev. Ordinances, p. 189.

¹³⁶Richter, Jan. 22, March, 1922; Holland, *Directory and Business Record of Davenport*, 1884-1885, p. 27.

market reports from Chicago, New York, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Liverpool, sometimes at intervals of fifteen minutes. The members furthermore had free access to the leading daily newspapers and prices current from the principal markets, which were kept on file at the headquarters of the exchange.¹³⁷

Besides the regular business men's associations, Davenport at times felt the need for more outright boosting organizations and such appeared from time to time—the Citizens' Association in 1874, to promote manufacturing especially, and the Advance Club in 1885, with more general boosting aims. Within two years Robert Krause, the president of the latter, reported that the club had been successful in reviving the Davenport, Iowa, and Dakota Railroad, and that through the club's encouragement several factories were being built, besides having secured the promise of the enlargement of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad shops. As a result of these improvements there was a big increase in employment and in the building of homes.¹³⁸

In the later eighties the Board of Trade was succeeded by the Business Men's Association, which opened headquarters in the Masonic Temple in 1888. In the early nineties the retailers began to move towards cooperative goals through the formation of the Retail Merchants Association.¹³⁹

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Both employers and employees in Davenport began to consider the possibility of a shorter work day in the later sixties. A group of workmen organized the Eight Hour League in 1866 with a membership of 235. Two years later the city council introduced the eight hour work day for municipal work. At the same time the federal government experimented with the new institution among the mechanics working on the Island. Neither of these attempts succeeded, but the question of the shorter work day was raised from time to time, and slight gains were made by the members of some trades before the close of the century.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷Holland, *ibid.*; *History of Scott Co.*, p. 789.

¹³⁸*Album, op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

¹³⁹Stone, *City Directory, 1888*, p. 107; *1894-1895*, p. 728.

¹⁴⁰Root, *City Directory, 1866*, pp. 208-9; Richter, May 15, June 12, 1921.

Though the regular work day of most mechanics remained ten hours, many workers put in a greater number of hours per day. The employees of the street car company in 1884, for instance, worked fifteen hours per day for seven days per week.¹⁴¹

Regular craft unions appeared in the seventies. The typographers were among the very first to organize. Then came the cigarmakers, the coopers, tailors, butchers and drovers, machinists and blacksmiths. In the eighties the tempo of organization quickened and it continued to be lively during the nineties. The city directory for 1898 lists fifteen unions of skilled laborers, several of which included workers in Rock Island and Moline. The various unions of the Tri-Cities cooperated through the Tri-City Labor Congress.¹⁴²

The Knights of Labor organized their first local in the United States in 1869, but the order did not spread to the West until the early eighties. In Davenport a local was formed in 1884 with a membership of 139. Two years later there were two locals—one American and one German, but only one in 1894.¹⁴³

Socialism followed closely in the wake of the Knights of Labor. The cigarmaker, Peter Knickrehm, figures as the first "avowed" Socialist in Davenport. Local annalists mention him only to denounce him for the part he had in instigating and directing the cigarmakers' strike in 1886¹⁴⁴

For more than a decade after the Civil War labor conflicts rarely developed into strikes, an exception being the coopers' strike in 1872. According to a local paper fifty to sixty "journeymen coopers woke up early August 26, 1872, and found themselves all on strike" for higher wages. The workers had been getting fifteen cents per barrel and appear to have

¹⁴¹First Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the State of Iowa, 1884-1885, p. 265.

¹⁴²Finger, *op. cit.*, 1876, p. 283; Morrissey & Bunn, *Davenport City Directory*, 1880, p. 22; Pfade, *City Directory*, 1885-86, pp. 36-7; Stone, *City Directory*, 1898-99, pp. 811-12.

¹⁴³First Report Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 55; *Tri-City Directory*, 1887, p. 25; Stone, *op. cit.*, 1894-95, p. 723.

¹⁴⁴Richter, Aug. 20, 1922.

demanded eighteen cents. This action brought "the business of barrel making to a dead halt" for the time being.¹⁴⁵ The later issues of the paper do not mention the outcome of this dispute.

The tension between employer and employee increased during the eighties. The employees in the large cigar factory of Nicholas Kuhnen and other similar establishments struck in 1882 and again in 1886. The question in controversy was a demand for a slight increase in pay. Mr. Kuhnen employed upwards of 300 men, women, and youths, who were as well paid as any in the city, and who worked under conditions which compared very favorably with those in similar establishments. But Mr. Kuhnen sold his product at top prices, and the strikers for that reason considered their demand for a small increase in pay, fair and just. The strike, which was directed by Peter Knickrehm, lasted several weeks and at times became quite acrimonious. The Tri-City Labor Congress backed the strikers and appointed a boycott committee to direct that part of the contest.¹⁴⁶

Strikes increased in frequency during the nineties. The causes of them were opposition to reduction in wages, demands for shorter hours and higher wages, recognition of the unions, use of union labels, and the abolition of the company store where the worker had to trade out a part of his pay. The employers sometimes fought back with lockouts, blacklists, and strike breakers, and won most of the disputes. But in some instances the workers gained minor increases in pay, and throughout the period there was a definite tendency towards the reduction in hours.¹⁴⁷

Iowa labor statistics show that wages on the farms of Scott County in 1886 on the average were \$20 a month for men hired by the year, in addition to board and lodging. The average pay per day in the busy seasons was \$1.75. In Davenport the mechanics received from \$2.00 to \$4.00 per day during the later eighties; and the workers in the sawmills, which em-

¹⁴⁵*Weekly Davenport Democrat*, Aug. 29, 1872.

¹⁴⁶Richter, July 2, Aug. 20, 1922; *Der Demokrat*, Nov. 23, 1882, Jan. 21, 1886.

¹⁴⁷*Der Demokrat*, March 9, 16, 1899, May 17, 1900; *Fifth Biennial Report Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1892-93, pp. 287, 290; *Report of 1899-1900*, pp. 284, 292, 306-7, 320-21, 326, 328, 330, 338.

ployed a large percentage of urban workers, received from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day.¹⁴⁸

Work was scarce in the nineties. The year 1894 particularly was a bad year for labor everywhere and Davenport was no exception. In January the city council took the special precaution of providing for the registration of the unemployed who wanted work. The workers may have regarded this merely as a beneficent gesture, for a few days later the representatives of thirty-two trade unions notified Mayor Henry Volmer and the council that they would call upon the city authorities and demand work.¹⁴⁹

Both in the eighties and the nineties some of the slack in employment was taken up by large public works projects such as the rebuilding of the federal government bridge, and, above all, by the construction of the Hennepin Canal, in which Davenport had always taken a lively interest. The Davenport manufacturer, George H. French, was looked upon as the father of the Hennepin Canal. The construction of the canal was pushed vigorously in 1894, when the work was carried on night and day with three shifts of laborers.¹⁵⁰

From pioneer times on, the urban workers had felt the need of a varied program for improving their conditions. Like the locals of the Grange, the labor unions sought to encourage private and public education. The workers in Davenport had their own library in the later sixties. Periodicals were thought of, though this did not result in any well-established labor press, but the Workmen's Industrial Home Association flourished throughout the later nineties. Every labor union was entitled to membership.¹⁵¹

The organization of the Iowa Federation of Labor in 1893 made the labor unions more effective in local and state affairs, and the annual celebration of Labor Day also served to focus attention upon the importance of the rural and urban wage earner in the economy of the state and the communities. Rock Island celebrated Labor Day for the first time in 1889 and Davenport in 1890.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸*Report of Bureau Labor Statistics, 1884-85, p. 336; Report of 1890-91, p. 183.*

¹⁴⁹*Der Demokrat, Jan. 11, 1894; Downer, op. cit., I, 998.*

¹⁵⁰Richter, March 26, July 23, 1922; *Der Demokrat, May 19, 1887; Der Demokrat, May 10, 1894.*

¹⁵¹Richter, May 15, 1921; *Der Demokrat, April 5, 1894, Jan. 12, 1899.*

¹⁵²Richter, *op. cit.*, Oct. 8, 1922.

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