

## BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM IN IOWA

No other group of pioneers left a more permanent imprint on the written history of Iowa than did the editors and publishers of frontier days. They helped determine townsites, led in community affairs, and were the self-appointed guardians of the social, spiritual, and cultural growth of their neighborhoods. The clarion voice of the editor was heard in every Iowa community. Filled with the enthusiasm and confidence of youth, ambitious to grow up with the West and amass a fortune, few men were subjected to more heartaches and financial reverses than were these courageous frontier editors. Of the 222 newspapers established in Iowa between 1836 and 1860, fully 118 had slipped out of existence before the census of 1860 was taken. It is doubtful if any other pioneer enterprise encountered so many pitfalls.<sup>1</sup>

In the present era, when journalism is considered highly profitable, one may well wonder why the casualties should have been so great. Failure of subscribers to pay for their subscriptions and the inability of editors to collect what was due from advertisers were the two primary factors in the high rate of journalistic bankruptcy. Year after year the pioneer editor on every Iowa frontier called loudly on subscribers and advertisers to "pay up" their delinquent dues, but money was scarce and was urgently needed by most pioneers for the purchase of land.

Over-expansion made competition extremely keen and

<sup>1</sup> This article covers only the period from 1836 to 1870. The best summary of Iowa newspaper history up to the Civil War is David C. Mott's "Early Iowa Newspapers" in *The Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 161-233. For additional references on this subject see William J. Petersen's *A Reference Guide to Iowa History*, pp. 108-110.

often led to the establishment of several newspapers of the same political complexion in a single town. In August of 1857 Dubuque had seven papers, six of them dailies — *Times*, *Tribune*, *Express and Herald*, *Republican*, *North-west*, and *Demokrat* — the last named being German. At that time 3,939 families made up Dubuque's population of 15,000. In 1947 one daily — *The Telegraph-Herald* — took care of Dubuque's 45,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulties entailed in securing paper and other supplies by overland transportation or by Mississippi River steamboats often led to the suspension of publication for weeks and months. In the fall of 1864 both the *Bugle* and the *Nonpareil* at Council Bluffs apologized because the non-arrival of their paper stock by steamboat had caused them to issue only half sheets. At Guttenberg the editor of the *Journal* declared in 1859 that the failure of his paper to appear was due to the non-receipt of his stock from Dubuque. "We offer no apology for the nonappearance of our paper", a Marshall County editor declared, "We sent for paper in time, and had a large supply lying in Iowa City for weeks, but the incessant rains had swept the bridges away and rendered the roads impassable so that it was impossible to get it up from the city at an earlier day."<sup>3</sup>

Scarcity of journeymen printers, coupled with occasional strikes, should also be mentioned. Even in the panic year, 1857, a Dubuque editor complained: "We hope our patrons will bear with the lack of reading matter in our paper for a few days. All our journeymen became dissatisfied with some changes we deemed advisable to make, and left on Tuesday morning, forcing us to get out our paper with the

<sup>2</sup> Mott's "Early Iowa Newspapers" in *The Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 228, 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 29, 1864; *Council Bluffs Bugle*, December 1, 1864; *The Clayton County Journal* (Guttenberg), March 22, 1859; *Marietta Weekly Express*, July 7, 1858.

aid of one man. We have made arrangements with another set of hands, who will be at their posts in a day or two, notwithstanding a combination to injure the office and prevent *honorable* men from going to work."<sup>4</sup>

Finally, the scattered population with its attendant difficulty of mail delivery caused many resentful subscribers to refuse to pay for undelivered papers. Editors, moreover, were frequently destitute of news because of the failure of mail to arrive. Since most early editors were too busy to collect local items and only the largest papers had a reporter there was generally a paucity of such news. Failure to receive a Territorial or State printing contract or the local delinquent tax lists also proved a severe blow to many a hopeful editor and publisher. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that so many young journalists who sought their fortune on the frontier followed only a will-o-the-wisp.

Although times were universally hard during the first three decades of Iowa's history, several factors beckoned the young journalist westward to the Iowa frontier. The rapid increase of population and the presence of real estate agents booming their own particular townsites were cardinal factors. The rivalry between towns for the county seat made a newspaper an indispensable organ in such a fight. The need of a paper to serve as a political organ for each of the major political parties was well recognized. In addition, newspapers were frequently started to assist the third parties of the period from 1840 to 1860. When one considers that the intense competition served to drive journalists from the more settled areas and that strong financial inducements were offered them to come out west, it is not strange that the pioneer editors should sometimes actually overrun the frontier of settlement.

<sup>4</sup> *The Dubuque Daily Times*, September 24, 1857.

Viewed through the eyes of the frontiersmen, it was only natural that each community make every effort to secure its own newspaper. A newspaper served as the best medium for attracting other settlers on the frontier, aiding both the local community in which it was printed and the entire region round about on which that local community depended for its growth; in 1836 a Pittsburgh editor expressed amazement that only fifty years had elapsed between the planting of the first newspaper at Pittsburgh and the printing of the first paper in the Black Hawk Purchase beyond the Mississippi.

A newspaper likewise allowed merchants to advertise their products locally, thereby attracting settlers from all over the area into the bustling frontier town. In addition, it served as an advertising medium for nationally known products such as patent medicines, newspapers, magazines, stoves, sewing machines, plows, and reapers, and scores of other items. To pay his printers, and to buy paper, ink, and equipment entailed no small sum for those days.<sup>5</sup> To ferret out news, write editorials, attend every community function, and collect from tardy advertisers and subscribers was a heavy drain on the time and energy of an editor. It is not surprising that the casualties should have been heavy under such circumstances.

The influx of journalists into Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley was recognized at an early date. In 1837 a Quincy editor observed:

It is actually astonishing to witness the number of newspapers which have been established in the far west, during the past year or two. Scarcely a town of any note, either in the interior of the

<sup>5</sup> The editor of *The Franklin Record* (Hampton), of May 27, 1861, made himself very clear on this point. "It takes paper, ink, and labor to run a printing office, for all of which money has to be paid, and dealers in the above articles will not furnish them and wait for six months to two years for their pay."

country, or on the navigable waters of the states of Illinois, and Missouri, or in the Territory of Wisconsin [Iowa], but it has its newspaper, and not one of these less than Imperial, and most of them Double Medium in size. Is not this a most certain sign that the west is increasing in population and intelligence, in a degree, unexampled in the history of any other country in the world? Notwithstanding the hard times upon every class of mechanics, and the scarcity of money all over the Union, we see, by almost every mail, a prospectus for a newspaper in some of the flourishing towns farther west, or farther north. The west, at the present time, is at least twenty or thirty years in advance of the population, in point of newspaper intelligence. When the eastern states were of the age that the western states are now, although their population was much more dense, the number of their newspapers, and the sources by which they derived information, were not so great by one half as that of the western states at the present period. Is not this sufficient to convince every reasonable man, that it will not be many years, until the western country will be equal in almost every respect, to the older states of the Union. However much the eastern periodicals may boast their superiority over western productions, and however light western periodicals may be esteemed at the east, the time is not far distant when they will vie with their eastern contemporaries in every particular, and the east will begin to perceive, that notwithstanding their boasted advantages, theirs is a land whose "story had long since been told".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Quincy (Ill.) *Argus*, quoted in the *Iowa News* (Dubuque), December 2, 1837. *The Census of 1860* (Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics), p. 321, reveals this unparalleled spread in the Upper Mississippi Valley States and shows a relatively slower development in three comparable southern States:

POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS IN THE U. S. IN 1860

| State       | Daily | Bi-Weekly | Tri-Weekly | Weekly | Total |
|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|--------|-------|
| Illinois    | 23    | 1         | 6          | 228    | 258   |
| Missouri    | 15    | -         | 3          | 122    | 140   |
| IOWA        | 9     | 2         | 2          | 106    | 119   |
| Wisconsin   | 14    | -         | 8          | 127    | 149   |
| Minnesota   | 4     | -         | -          | 43     | 47    |
| Louisiana   | 4     | 2         | -          | 62     | 68    |
| Arkansas    | -     | -         | -          | 34     | 34    |
| Texas       | 3     | -         | 3          | 65     | 71    |
| U. S. Total | 372   | 74        | 84         | 2,694  | 3,226 |

While conditions might vary slightly as to time and place, or as to business and editorial ability, the financial difficulty encountered in maintaining the pioneer press was almost universal on the Iowa frontier. Casualties were just as heavy along the Missouri slope in the 1850's and 1860's as in the Black Hawk Purchase in the 1830's and 1840's. Nor were the losses merely sustained in the thinly settled areas; between 1836 and 1860 fifteen newspapers were started in Dubuque County, ten of which had passed out of existence before the census of 1860 was taken. Of the sixteen newspapers started in Scott County during this same period, only three remained in 1860.<sup>7</sup>

Even in the territorial capital one of the editors, thoroughly exasperated, published the following appeal:

We have an inveterate hatred to *dunning*. It goes hard with us to do so: but there is no alternative, but to *dun* or be *undone*. It is well known that we did not, as we should, get our pay for the public printing, at the adjournment of the Legislature, and are, therefore, left to the resources alone of our patrons. Our subscription is large and growing daily; our job work and advertising increasing rapidly and becoming very considerable, but from none of these sources do we get any money. All is credit, credit, credit. This we can't stand — for we are obliged to cash nearly every thing, and almost every one knows that the expenses of a printing office are very heavy — and here particularly so. But we have other expenses besides — our rents, our victuallers bill, tailor's bill, and unfortunately our doctor's bill, and dozens of others, must all be incurred and paid. The money due us is generally in small sums, and could easily be paid — but when added together it becomes considerable. Drops make the ocean. Our friends will, we trust, take our case into consideration.— Our Agents are particularly requested to make collections as soon as possible and transmit the money.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Mott's "Early Iowa Newspapers" in *The Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 228, 229.

<sup>8</sup> *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette* (Burlington), March 3, 1838.

It was neither mere dishonesty nor thoughtlessness that caused newspaper bills to go unpaid. The first settlers on the frontier were often hard pressed to pay for their land and meet the ordinary expenses of living. As early as 1838 a Dubuque editor pricked up his ears when he learned that a lyceum had chosen as its topic: "Is it expedient for printers to starve to death to oblige their subscribers?" "We await the decision of this question with great anxiety," the editor concluded, "not that we shall 'give up the ghost' if the affirmatives carry the day, but we wish to see the matter settled and a precedent established, as the impression seems to be gaining ground that a newspaper is an article you may pay for or not, as best suits your purpose."<sup>9</sup>

In 1841 a Muscatine editor approached the end of his first volume with many subscriptions still unpaid. In desperation he wrote: "Two numbers more will complete the first volume of the Herald, when those subscribers who commenced the first number, and have not paid their subscriptions, will, according to our terms, be indebted \$4. Feeling too sensibly that the times are hard, we are disposed to share them equally with our patrons, and now offer to give receipts for the first and second volumes, upon payment of \$6, on or before the close of the present volume. We have now labored near a year, never dunning, and we think we are not looking for too much when we ask our subscribers to meet us half way, that for the next year we may go on our way rejoicing. We are in pressing need of a little [money], and we hope our patrons will try and accommodate us." Apparently not too many subscribers availed themselves of this offer for the same editor promised an enlargement of the paper if his patrons paid up; otherwise, the paper would cease publication.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Iowa News* (Dubuque), April 14, 1838.

<sup>10</sup> *Bloomington Herald* (Muscatine), October 8, December 31, 1841.

Iowa newspapers were also filled with pleas to their delinquent subscribers to bring in potatoes, flour, chickens, and other produce if cash could not be secured. As winter approached the demand for food and wood was sometimes pathetic. In 1859 a Sioux City editor declared: "We are ready now to receive an unlimited number of young chickens on subscriptions. Also a few pigs, eggs, roasting ears, onions and such like *sass*." The following week he was able to thank his numerous friends for the many "specimens of the products of their farms and gardens," expressing the wish that none of his benefactors would "ever know the hardships of a poor devil of an editor's life."<sup>11</sup>

Apparently a rival Sioux City editor was equally bad off. Early in August of 1861, the *Register* announced, "We must have money or the machine will stop." A week later "tomatoes" were wanted in payment of subscriptions; a month later "potatoes" were an acceptable bargaining medium. In mid-October this same editor called on delinquent subscribers who had promised to pay in wood to bring it along at once. By November the editor was prepared to take anything. "Farmers and others who have promised us corn, oats, potatoes, flour, beeswax, tallow, dryhides, furs, skins, or anything else that we can eat or

<sup>11</sup> *Sioux City Eagle*, July 30, August 6, 1859. The plight of this particular editor was revealed a week later: "We believe we have not made a *business* call on our patrons during the entire two years which we have been publishing the *Eagle*, notwithstanding the greater portion of that time has been the severest test newspaper men have ever had in this State. We do not now propose to *dun* our patrons; but allow us to say that there are quite a number who have been advertising with us for two years, with whom we have had no settlement during that time. As the second year of the *Eagle* is about to close, we are desirous of squaring up with all, and those who have not time to call on us, will be waited upon shortly. We trust all those who know themselves indebted will call upon the 'Captain' without further delay. We don't need money very bad; but then we want to become *better acquainted* with our patrons."



drink, are respectfully solicited to 'come this way,' as we need our pay. That's what's the matter."<sup>12</sup>

When Charles Aldrich arrived at Webster City in May of 1858 to set up *The Hamilton Freeman*, he found lush times prevailed with potatoes selling at \$3.50 per bushel. But the panic of 1857 quickly cast its withering blight on the land, and in the fall of 1858 potatoes went begging at ten cents per bushel. "I saw wheat sold in Webster City for twenty cents per bushel", Aldrich recalled years later. "Corn was sometimes a drug at eight and ten cents. In fact, during the days of ten cent corn, it was often burned for fuel, and was actually cheaper for this purpose than either coal or wood! . . . Times grew bluer and bluer all through that year and 1859, and there was little improvement until prices were raised by the war. I used to see farmers come to town bare-footed, who subsequently became prosperous and well-to-do. They went bare-footed because they could realize nothing from their farms. . . . Those were days of real pioneering — roughing it in downright earnest. . . . A Farmer in one of those years, who had taken two copies of the *Freeman*, wanted to pay me in wheat at twenty cents per bushel, but I told him I had rather he would owe me, for I could realize nothing from the wheat. I finally took it, however, and it was at last destroyed by worms."<sup>13</sup>

Much the same condition prevailed in an adjoining county, where a Hampton editor recorded:

<sup>12</sup> *Sioux City Register*, August 10, 17, September 21, October 12, November 9, 1861. Throughout the winter of 1845-46 the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* of Iowa City contained its advertisement for twenty-five cords of wood in payment of subscriptions to the *Reporter*. "Bring that which is well seasoned and convenient to use in a stove, not old scraggy logs, so knotty that the Devil can't split them."

<sup>13</sup> Charles Aldrich's "Early Journalism in Iowa" in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IX, pp. 404, 405, January, 1893.

A person who is so lost to good principles as to cheat a publisher out of a few hard-earned cents, deserves the reprehension of all honest men.—Some days ago we paid the, to us great sum of \$2 to a man for eight bushels of corn. As an editor was never yet known to be possessed of a greater sum, the transaction nearly or quite left us strapped, but we consoled ourself with the soothing idea that if we had no money, we had in said maize a short supply of material for keeping soul and body together a few days longer; but, judge of our feelings when, on going after the proceeds of our contract, we found that the corn had been sold to two other persons, one of whom had gained possession of the property.

To our mind, this is meaner than stealing a mouse's tail from a blind kitten. The name of the individual in question is Norman Lisk, and the citizens of St. Clair County, Missouri — whither he has emigrated — should look out for him.<sup>14</sup>

Probably the extreme plea was made by a Clinton County editor on the eve of the Civil War: "We will take on subscriptions old clothes, old barrels, crockery, crates, rags, cigar stumps, old chews of tobacco, cats and dogs, rags, old iron, pieces of glass, pigs feet, pieces of broken jars, lead pencils, spoiled meat, second hand toothbrushes and toothpicks, worn out boots and shoes, hoops, old socks, broken furniture, refused oysters, sour bread, cold buckwheat cakes, frozen potatoes, rotten apples, superannuated sour k-r-a-u-t, chips, slop buckets, post holes, cow's hoofs and horns, ashes, soap grease, tripe, old stovepipe hats, and in fact almost any old trash that can be picked up in back alleys."<sup>15</sup>

A Dubuque editor declared the *Wheeling* (Virginia) *Times* was "perfectly right" when it attributed the plight of the editor to overcrowding and failure to pay for subscriptions. According to the *Times*:

There is a mania for publishing newspapers in this world of ours, that is more fatal than the small pox, the cholera, or the yel-

<sup>14</sup> *The Franklin Record* (Hampton), March 12, 1860.

<sup>15</sup> *DeWitt Standard*, January 23, 1861.

low fever. Ninety in a hundred meet their destruction in it; yet as fast as one dies another takes his place, gets inoculated with the writing fever, thinks of gold and glory, turns newspaper publisher, drags on a worthless life, half fed, half clothed, toils day and night, heart-sick and weary; the public slave, wielding an engine, which properly restricted, would move the world, or make its inhabitants tremble.

The press cannot be free or useful while it is trammelled with poverty and dogged with duns. . . . We move that the printers of the United States divide off in halves, and "jeff" to see which shall go to digging ditches or picking stone coal for a living. It would improve the situation of both halves mightily. We look upon every new paper that is started, very much as we do upon every new murder that is committed. We think, there is another man lost to everything useful; lost to himself, lost to the world, and doomed to a purgatory from which salt cannot save him. We think that the last days of that man will be worse than the first! — but all must live and learn. We have become a little hardened to the business, but if we had life to go over again, we would rather adopt the trade of fishing for minnows with a pin hook, than that of publishing a paper in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

The physical discomfort endured by editors during cold winter months made the delivery of wood necessary if the typesetter was to successfully set up his paper. On December 26, 1859, the editor of the *Franklin Record* (Hampton) wrote:

The disagreeableness of handling type when the mercury is far below cypher can be fully appreciated only by a compositor. The little bits of metal *will stick* to the fingers of the unhappy typesetter, let the piece he is engaged upon be the product of the warmest imagination . . . We are aware that the mind has a vast influence over the body; but these cold mornings its ethereal influence will not by any means supply the place of a stove filled with wood.

We are aware that nothing so grates on a man's nerves as to be *dunned*, but could these subscribers who owe us wood, see us shivering they would not wonder at our importunity.

<sup>16</sup> *Iowa News* (Dubuque), December 2, 1837.

Since Hampton is one of Iowa's northern towns, and since it lay on the frontier where homes had been hastily erected and wind and snow whipped through the cracks and crevices of the scattered log cabins and flimsy frame houses, it is not surprising that the same wail should be heard the following winter. "WOOD! WOOD! WOOD!", cried the *Franklin Record* on October 11, 1860. "If some of our many subscribers who have promised us WOOD, do not respond to the call *very soon*, the RECORD will have to 'dry up' until a milder 'spell of weather' comes on. The atmosphere is altogether too frigid to think of 'sticking type' without a fire, and our conscience will not allow us to STEAL any more. What say you, sir, shall we have the wood? We would also state in this connection that our cow is woefully in need of a 'nubbin' of corn, or other nutritious substance, with which to sustain life, and a small quantity of milk, for the 'little fellers' during the coming winter."

At Council Bluffs the same conditions prevailed, and the *Bugle* was not slow to call for aid. "We have not seen any of 'That Wood,' nor 'Them Pertaters,' nor anything else which some of our subscribers promised to 'fetch the next time they come in.' Why don't you bring your truck in, Mr. Delinquent? Hey, we are talkin' to *you*, sir!" When these appeals failed the editor resorted to the following technique:

THIS IS NOT FOR THE LADIES TO READ.

Next week we shall commence attaching to *The Bugle* a statement of each subscribers indebtedness for the paper. If not paid up, their paper will be discontinued and their account will be sent to an officer for collection.

If any Lady should through a mistake read this notice, if her husband be a subscriber to *The Bugle*, she may call his attention to it.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *The Council Bluffs Bugle*, October 27, November 3, December 29, 1864.

Poetry was frequently resorted to as a device to stir up the tardy subscriber. In 1857 a McGregor editor tried his hand, not very successfully, at poetry.

It is pleasant to sit with one's wife,  
 By the light of a brilliant taper,  
 While one's dear companion for life  
 Looks over the family paper —  
 And now and then reads a song or story,  
 A marriage or death, tragedy gory.

\* \* \* \*

Oh! happy is the man who is blest  
 With a wife that can tastefully read,  
 Who will give a newspaper no rest,  
 Till its items have all gone to seed —  
 Who exclaims now and then, as she picks up the taper  
 My dear won't the printer want PAY for his paper? <sup>18</sup>

It was a common practice in those days for newspapers to offer club subscription rates, a device which was usually fairly successful in outlying towns. On February 28, 1861, the Dubuque *Weekly Times* made the following offer. "Any person sending us a Club of Ten Subscribers for the *Weekly Times* will receive one copy for a year in payment. For a Club of Twenty-Five, he will receive one copy of the *Daily* for six months, and for Fifty, the *Daily* for one year. Price of subscription \$1 each, always in advance."

Sometimes editors received help from an unexpected source. On June 13, 1861, the *Weekly Times* received an order for seven copies of the *Daily Times* from a "smart" 12-year-old East Waterloo boy. "He says he can sell them before the mail is opened, and he'll do it," the Dubuque editor records. "We have between forty and fifty

<sup>18</sup> *The North Iowa Times* (McGregor), December 23, 1857. On November 14, 1861, the Dubuque *Weekly Times*, after congratulating itself upon being a "pay-as-you-go institution", printed a poem to prove that the "hardest row any unfortunate mortal ever hoed is that of a country Editor" doing business on a credit plan.

regular *Daily* subscribers there, aside from twelve copies sent to one firm. Yet this lad sees the way clear for speculation. Good for D.W.E. May he have a homestead of his own before he is eighteen."

The trials of pioneer editing are reflected in club subscriptions. On October 6, 1860, the *Sioux City Register* tried to extricate itself from its economic dilemma with the following offer: "We will give ninety cents a bushel for wheat in exchange for the *Sioux City Register*. To a club of ten subscribers we will send the *Register* for one year for 20 bushels of wheat; club of 15 for 25 bushels; and to a club of 20, to one address, for 32 bushels. Who will raise the first club upon the above terms?" Truly there was no device left untried by which new subscribers might be secured — for cash, for credit, for wood or fodder in advance, by club or at the end of the year.

Next to delinquent subscribers the editor was plagued by non-paying advertisers. These could be divided into two groups — the tardy local advertiser, and those vendors of patent medicines, newspapers, and magazines who advertised on a regional or even national basis. Unfortunately those in the latter category often demanded and secured rates on their yearly inserts that were ruinous to editors. Although the total amount of advertising might depend on several factors, many well-entrenched Iowa newspapers with energetic editors sometimes had over fifty per cent of their space devoted to advertising.<sup>19</sup>

At the time it began, the average Iowa newspaper was likely to fill only about one-fourth of its columns with advertising. The *Du Buque Visitor*, for example, had only five of its six columns on page three given to advertising

<sup>19</sup> Although a gradual increase in advertising was noted after 1850 *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk) seems to have averaged less than 25 per cent in its large 9-column paper during 1873.

and the bulk of this was local in character. Subsequent issues, however, contained advertisements of merchants and professional men in Peru, Mineral Point, Galena, and Saint Louis. E. Lockwood, Emerson & Crider, Wheeler and Loomis, George S. Nightingale, Quigley and Butterworth, Davis Gillilan, and O'Ferral & Cox were prominent advertisers. Philip C. Morhiser claimed to render general satisfaction as a house, sign, and ornamental painter.

C. H. Gratiot offered for sale dry goods, boots and shoes, silk and fur hats, Tuscan and straw bonnets, guns, axes, shovels, spades, hay forks, rakes, bed cords, plough lines, manila rope, lump sugar, tin ware, and liquor. "The Cheapest Must Prevail", declared A. Levi, whose groceries and provisions, despite his nationality, included mess and prime pork. Baptiste Lapage sold all kinds of "Confectionery — Nuts, Oranges, Lemons, Raisins, Apples, Pies, Fruit, Crackers, and Wines" in his Main Street store. John M. David did expert tailoring. The medical profession was represented by R. Murray, Horatio Newhall, and F. Andross.

Subsequent issues of the *Visitor* devoted ever increasing space to advertising. A charge of one dollar was made for a single insertion of a "square" or less. Each subsequent insertion cost fifty cents, while yearly advertisers were granted liberal discounts.<sup>20</sup>

When the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* was started at Iowa City on December 4, 1841, it contained only two small business notices by Attorney M. Reno and Dr. H. Murray. Six months later, on June 4, 1842, about one-fourth of the paper was devoted to advertising. A year after its inception, eleven out of the twenty-eight columns in the *Reporter* were filled with advertisements. When the editor started

<sup>20</sup> William J. Petersen's "Du Buque Visitor" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-128, April, 1936.

the first issue of the fifth volume on February 11, 1846, nine of the *Reporter's* twenty-eight columns were devoted to advertising and an additional four columns were filled with notices by the postmaster general asking for bids to carry the mails on the numerous routes established in Iowa. During this same year the *Iowa Standard* of Iowa City contained approximately the same proportion of advertising, neither paper hitting near fifty per cent, despite large inserts from such towns as Cedar Rapids, Bloomington, Burlington, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. A decade later, during June of 1856, the *Daily Evening Reporter* had twenty of its twenty-four columns devoted to advertising.<sup>21</sup>

Although many Iowa newspapers contained over fifty per cent advertising during the 1850's they were still plagued with the nonpayment of bills. On September 15, 1858, the Iowa Editorial Association was organized at Cedar Falls. The temper of the convention toward delinquent subscribers and unfair advertising rates is attested by the following resolutions:

*Resolved:* That owing to the innumerable losses occasioned by the system of credit for newspaper subscriptions . . . we will from this time forward demand payment in all cases in advance;

*Resolved:* That after the completion of all contracts of the kind now in force we will publish no patent medicine advertisements for less than the full regular price. . . .

*Resolved:* That for the publication of all legal notices, sheriff sales &c, we will charge the same prices as for other work, and that for the publication of tax sales of delinquent lands, we will demand the full price now allowed by law, which is thirty cents for each description published; and that ten lines of nonpareil, twelve lines of minion and fourteen lines of brevier, shall constitute a square. . . .

*Resolved:* That we will no longer submit to the impositions con-

<sup>21</sup> This material was compiled from files of the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* and the *Iowa Standard* in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.



stantly practiced upon the Western Press by eastern advertising agents in the dictation of prices and hereafter will insert no advertisement for any of them at less than 25 per cent discount from our usual rates.<sup>22</sup>

That advertising was highly prized is demonstrated by the *Cedar Valley Times* of Cedar Rapids which devoted twenty of its thirty-two columns to advertising during September of 1858. Boasting the largest circulation of any newspaper "in the Cedar Valley and adjoining country", the editor addressed the following note to merchants and businessmen: "Now is the time to advertise in order to secure the Fall trade. The *Times* being the most widely circulated paper in this portion of the State has no superior as an advertising medium. Many business men do not seem to fully appreciate the advantages of having their names constantly before the public in the advertising columns of the newspapers."<sup>23</sup>

The *Times* might well stir uneasily for a little later it noted that the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* had observed a decline in advertising as a result of the Panic of 1857 and quoted from the *Bulletin*: "Discontinuing to advertise is like taking down one's sign. It is a sort of intimation of retirement from business, and the public treat it as such. Or they may regard it as evident that something has gone wrong in the business which requires privacy or investiga-

<sup>22</sup> *The Vinton Eagle*, September 25, 1858. The second Editorial Convention was held in Oskaloosa on September 28th, the last day of the State Fair.

<sup>23</sup> *The Cedar Valley Times* (Cedar Rapids), September 8, 1859. The editor went on to quote the opinion of the *Utica* (N. Y.) *Observer* on this subject. In another column the editor inserted the following praise for a new advertiser: "*Patronize your own Mechanics*. Our readers, particularly those who deserve anything in the furniture line, will be interested in the advertisement beginning with the sensible motto which heads this paragraph. Messrs. Patterson & Fordyce have the reputation of being excellent workmen and prompt and reliable men. We advise all concerned to call and examine their work and satisfy themselves in regard to the matter."

tion. Whatever construction may be put upon it, the result is disastrous. True everywhere."<sup>24</sup>

In the years that followed, advertising continued to play an important rôle in newspaper finance. In March of 1865 John P. Irish's *The State Press* devoted 56 per cent of its space to advertising; in March of 1875 this same paper contained 57 per cent advertising. The average number of firms offering their wares and services through the columns in one number of the *State Press* in 1865 was 86. Of these advertisements, seventeen were for drugs; eight for professional services; seven for dry goods and clothing; and six for real estate and land agencies. Foodstuffs, breweries and saloons, books and magazines, each accounted for four. There were three legal notices and three hotel advertisements. There were two advertisements each for furniture, farm implements, undertaking concerns, insurance, livestock, and banks. Finally, there was one advertisement each for printing, photographic materials, saddles, barber service, music, tobacco and cigars, war claim agency service, nursery goods, and jewelry. Indian medicines, stomach bitters, and health preserver pills were among the more popular items advertised, just as they had been for more than a generation.<sup>25</sup>

While subscribers and advertisers were of primary concern to editors, other economic problems were equally serious. The investment in a press and equipment was no small item and generally two or more persons participated in the venture. In 1840 the *Iowa Sun* at Davenport represented a total investment of \$1,000 while the *Iowa News* at Dubuque represented a capital investment of \$1,500. The two Burlington newspapers had a total valuation of

<sup>24</sup> *Cedar Valley Times* (Cedar Rapids), September 29, 1859.

<sup>25</sup> From files of *The State Press* (Iowa City) for 1865 and 1875 in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

\$3,200. Thus, the four printing establishments in the Territory of Iowa employing fifteen men had a capital investment of \$5,700 in 1840, or less than \$1,500 per plant. If this sum seems trifling when compared with the modern costly printing equipment and structures it should be remembered that 160 acres of farm land could be purchased at that time for \$200. In other words, the investment of the average Iowa printing plant in 1840 was equal to the purchase price of seven 160-acre farms.<sup>26</sup>

When Charles Aldrich came to Iowa in 1857 he agreed to print *The Hamilton Freeman* at Webster City only after the citizens had agreed to pay him \$500 and guarantee him 500 subscribers. Returning to New York City he purchased his little printing outfit at the foundry of James Connor & Sons.

I selected long-primer for the reading matter, because it was quite large, and as I expected to set most of the type myself, I could not afford to use anything smaller. The advertising type was nonpareil, the smallest then in general use in newspapers. A new No. 3 Washington handpress, and a limited selection of job type completed the outfit. The whole cost about \$700, and was paid for — probably for the reason that a printer going clear out into Iowa to start a paper would have found it an utter impossibility to obtain credit! This freight was shipped to Dubuque, where it arrived early in May. I was there some days ahead of it, and while waiting its arrival engaged as a compositor on the old Dubuque Tribune . . . I earned enough to pay our expenses while waiting. When the goods finally came they were reshipped by rail to Dyersville.

Aldrich proceeded overland with his family by buggy, his press following after him in a wagon drawn by three yoke of oxen. He arrived in Webster City three or four weeks before the press, acquired a one-story 16 x 16 foot house of native lumber, and had the first edition set up be-

<sup>26</sup> *Compendium of the Sixth U. S. Census* (1840), p. 352.

fore his press arrived. Had Aldrich been inclined to do so he could have bought an improved Delaware County farm with home, machinery, and stock for just a little more than he paid for his press!<sup>27</sup>

By 1860 there was a tendency for printing establishments in the larger cities to represent a larger investment than was necessary in 1840; Davenport's three papers were capitalized at \$17,350; Des Moines's three at \$14,500; and Burlington's three at \$12,600. Since most of these papers had steam rotary presses and were issuing dailies the investment was considerably higher than in the small town weeklies. There was more variation in the small towns. The *Franklin Record* (Hampton) represented an investment of \$600; the *Afton Eagle* in Union County, \$1,200; and the *Republican Intelligencer* (Charles City) was valued at \$3,000. Measured in terms of farm land values, an editor had to be sure of a goodly number of subscribers and advertisers who paid cash if he expected to make a business success of his venture.<sup>28</sup>

Fortunately for the average pioneer editor, the cost of his home or business establishment was relatively small. Indeed, the typical newspaper plant of yesteryears stands in sharp contrast to the handsome structures that house our modern printing establishments. The *Du Buque Visitor* was printed in a two-story log cabin twenty by twenty-five feet in dimensions, erected for a residence in 1834 by Pascal Mallet. The Fort Madison *Patriot* was printed over Captain Browne's store on Water Street. The first edition of the *Bloomington Herald* was issued on October 27, 1840, from a primitive press in a humble cabin. Four days earlier William Crum printed the first issue of *The Iowa*

<sup>27</sup> Aldrich's "Early Journalism in Iowa" in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IX, pp. 399-403; *Delhi Republican*, May 8, 1856.

<sup>28</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States* (1860), Manufactures, pp. 146-163.

*Standard* in the second story of the building occupied by Howland & Brady on Front Street, Muscatine.<sup>29</sup>

At Iowa City the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* was usually located "over" somebody's store or shop, despite the fact that it enjoyed the Democratic patronage. This was not always the safest place, for in 1855 the building crashed, burying men and equipment in the twisted debris. Out of this tragedy arose the *Daily Evening Reporter*.<sup>30</sup> In 1859 a Hampton editor watched with impatience the slow construction of his building. "Our new office-building which has been 'going up' for the last six months will soon be completed — we hope. Since last March the building has been raised, lathed and plastered, and we confidently expect to move into it sometime in the year 1860, if not sooner. However, we will not anticipate for fear of a disappointment."<sup>31</sup>

Although the newspaper office was usually exceedingly humble, it vied with the tavern, the general store, and the post office as a public meeting place. While this had certain advantages it also had definite disadvantages which were frequently alluded to in the press. One Iowa editor quoted with approval the comment of an Illinois newspaperman:

We have of late found it almost impossible to get sufficient time by ourselves to write a respectable portion of editorial. Our friends have recently taken such a wonderful liking to us, that they appear determined that we shall never feel sorrow because of solitude. This is certainly very kind in them, but it is not exactly

<sup>29</sup> Petersen's "Du Buque Visitor" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XVII, p. 119; John E. Briggs's "The Fort Madison Patriot" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XIX, p. 99; James Fox's "Crum and the Standard" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XXI, p. 322; Edith May Bell's "The Bloomington Herald" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. XXI, pp. 331-333.

<sup>30</sup> Clarence R. Aurner's *Leading Events in Johnson County Iowa History*, Vol. I, p. 560; Mott's "Early Iowa Newspapers" in *The Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, p. 190; *Daily Evening Reporter*, May 28, 1856.

<sup>31</sup> *The Franklin Record* (Hampton), July 11, September 5, 1859.

justice to our subscribers, nor to ourselves, to take from us that time which should be devoted to the duties of our station. We are at all suitable times very glad to see our friends, but in candor we must say that there is a proper time for everything, and we should think, not exactly in place to visit an editor when he is engaged in his editorial duties.<sup>32</sup>

Less charitable was the following tart criticism:

Some people think a printing office is a public resort, and making it a loafing place, talk, crack jokes, etc., in direct opposition to all rules. These things we *can* bear, although not always with a very good grace but we are continually annoyed by persons visiting our sanctum, and carrying off exchanges, before we have had a chance to read them, and never so much as saying "by your leave". Under the circumstances, we certainly think we have the best right to a first perusal, and some of the offenders may get a cross word whispered to them some day.<sup>33</sup>

A Hampton editor called upon his visitors in 1859 to observe the following "Printing Office Rules" unanimously adopted by the "craft" in self-defense.

- |                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Enter softly.             | 7. Don't smoke.                  |
| 2. Sit down quietly.         | 8. Keep six feet from the table. |
| 3. Subscribe for the paper.  | 9. Don't talk to the printers.   |
| 4. Don't touch the poker.    | 10. Hands off the papers.        |
| 5. Say nothing interesting.  | 11. Eyes off the manuscript.     |
| 6. Engage in no controversy. |                                  |

Gentlemen observing these rules, when entering a printing office, will greatly oblige the printers, and need not fear the devil. The ladies who sometimes bless us with their presence for a few moments, are not expected to keep the rules very strictly — indeed it will be agreeable to us to have them break the ninth rule as often as they can make it convenient.

Boys, unless accompanied by their fathers, are particularly requested to keep their hands in their pockets.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Warsaw (Ill.) Signal* quoted in the *Bloomington Herald* (Muscatine), February 11, 1842.

<sup>33</sup> *The Oskaloosa Herald*, June 7, 1866.

<sup>34</sup> *The Franklin Record* (Hampton), June 27, 1859.

Historians frequently lament the absence of local news in the Iowa pioneer press. Pioneer editors were frequently chagrined at the lack of local news items contained in the contemporary press. In 1861 a Dubuque editor said the country exchanges were virtually "barren" of local items:

If there is a runaway, accident, law-suit, elopement, bit of choice scandal, big hog butchered, horse-race, revival, fire, murder, lynching, theft, seduction case, picnic, donation party, spelling school, snow storm, hard freeze, or anything else, let us know of it through your columns, and we, with your patrons, will read your paper with interest.<sup>35</sup>

Of course it was not always easy for the country editor to find spicy or exciting items, especially when farmers were busy in the fields. According to a Hampton editor:

In these times when every body having a residence in town is out, and the farming community "stay on their farms" industriously tilling the soil, there are few situations more disagreeable than scribbling, setting type and managing generally the affairs of a country printing office. Under such circumstances we feel much like committing suicide, or flattening out and drying up completely to save ourself from the yawning, gaping and stretching influence of *ennui*. We almost have a mind to incontinently disappear down a gopher hole, or do any other unheard of act. To crown all we find ourself sitting with pen all charged with ink, musing for a subject on which to decant. No go — not the faintest glimmer of an idea creeps over us and we begin to fear the great Mrs. Grundy who, to her honor be it said, reads the RECORD attentively every week will be defrauded of the ever expected leader. We bring our vision to bear vacantly on some spot on the wall whereon our devil has drawn many quaint devices and written many scraps of poesy and range all subjects from poetry to building pig pens and fail to get a thought. *In extremis* we think of extending the column of local items, but here too we are doomed to fail; nothing unusual has happened during the week. Won't somebody punch some other body's head? Or somebody run off with somebody's feminine gender? To any enterprising individual

<sup>35</sup> *The Weekly Times* (Dubuque), January 24, 1861.

who will get up a sensation of this kind — yes, we will bestow on him a year's subscription, besides putting his name in print.<sup>36</sup>

On every Iowa frontier, and in almost every decade, this quest for news persisted. "News, news, news!", wailed a Clinton editor years later. "It's enough to give a man the blues, nobody married, and nobody dead, nobody broken an arm or a head. Nobody came to talk of the 'scraps', no one got boosy to start any scraps; no one to run in for taking a 'horn', nobody buried and nobody born. Oh! for a racket, a riot, a fuss! Somebody come in and kick up a muss; some one to stir up the peace laden air, somebody's comet to give us a scare. Somebody thumped within an inch of his life, some one to run off with another man's wife, some one to come in and pay up his dues, anything, anything, just so its news."<sup>37</sup>

On the banks of the Big Muddy, a Sioux City editor rejoiced that at least one item still afforded news — the weather. On the eve of the Civil War, with Missouri guerrillas having cut telegraphic communications with Council Bluffs and Sioux City and the whole country in a furor, this editor calmly wrote:

What a boon is weather — what a theme for locals — what an inexhaustible source of editorial information the weather furnishes. Its endless changes give endless variety of philosophy — description, information, invention, humor, poetry. When all other news items are exhausted and something is needed to fill out a column, there is still this prolific theme to fall back upon, which can be had in quantities to suit the emergency. Now, when mails fail and "the wires are down" the State of the weather is decidedly interesting. Although the scissors are idle there is much for the pen to chronicle: — Snow on Sunday — snow on Monday — snow on Tuesday — snow up to the hour of writing. There has been wind from the East — wind from the West — wind from the North

<sup>36</sup> *The Franklin Record* (Hampton), April 16, 1860.

<sup>37</sup> *Clinton Weekly Age*, October 6, 1893.



— wind from the South. We have snow banks in the streets and snow banks in the Heavens; dogs around the sun and “dorgs” around town. For the past week we have had a lively time out of doors, and altogether owing to the animated state of the weather.<sup>38</sup>

Although there was a dearth of local news in many Iowa newspapers, Charles Aldrich found plenty for his enterprising Webster City paper. Years later he wrote:

During the five years in which I published *The Freeman*, I saw few dull days. Local news seemed to be abundant, but we only had one mail a day, and railroads were still indefinite institutions of “the good time.” I started out with the idea of having a local department in the little paper, separate and distinct from the news and politics. But the second week, when I came to make up the forms,” all the reading matter was local except less than a column! I therefore abandoned the attempt to have a separate local department, and the locals went in with the other matter as came most convenient in the general arrangement. Many of the farmers made it a rule to come to the printing office every time they were in town, and from them I always obtained the news transpiring in their neighborhoods. It was a free reading-room for all.<sup>39</sup>

During the Civil War the editor of the *Sioux City Register* determined to give up the fight on the western frontier and return across the State to Dubuque. Among the assets which he was happy to pass over to his successor he enumerated “some Patent Office reports — a few empty bottles — an antiquated harmless pistol — a well worn pair of scissors and *several* fights, which we regret to say prior engagements prevent us from attending to.” He concluded with the following editorial valedictory:

Having determined to remove to Dubuque, it becomes necessary to dissolve our connection with *The Register*. The position of Editor is one of honor and responsibility, and has its trials and

<sup>38</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, January 26, 1861.

<sup>39</sup> Aldrich's “Early Journalism in Iowa” in *the Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IX, p. 413.

pleasures. In the conflict of interests, local and political, it is impossible to be outspoken and independent without incurring censures and jealousies. We are content with the "Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was," and earnestly desire the restoration of the National authority everywhere. In advocating this it has been our purpose to avoid the dangerous standard of excellence set up by the radicals of all schools.

In local matters we have not hesitated to expose and condemn certain speculations in this region in Swamp Lands — new counties — and in military matters, because they are detrimental to the public interest and must, if persisted in, work irreparable injury to this locality. Truths however unpalatable, should be timely told, and we trust that these schemers will be followed by a public sentiment which they cannot mistake and dare not disregard.<sup>40</sup>

The editor of the *Central Iowa Citizen* at Oskaloosa made his farewell comment in the following manner: "Good-bye! Suspended! Fizzled! Busted! Petered! Collapsed! . . . Gone up the spout generally! Grand Finale."

Despite the many difficulties and hardships on the Iowa frontier there were many advantages that served to attract men to the profession. The following widely printed poem enumerates not a few of these:

I WISH I WAS AN EDITOR

I wish I was an Editor,  
I really do indeed;  
It seems to me that Editors  
Get everything they need.

They get the biggest and the best,  
Of everything that grows,  
And get into the circusses,  
And other kinds of shows.

When a mammoth cheese is cut,  
They always get a slice  
For saying Mrs. Smith knows how  
To make it very nice.

<sup>40</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, November 15, 1862.

The largest pumpkin, longest beet,  
 And other garden stuff,  
 Is blown into the sanctum by  
 An editorial puff.

The biggest bug will speak to them,  
 No matter how they dress  
 A shabby coat is nothing if  
 You own a printing press.

At ladies' fairs they are most hugged  
 By pretty girls who know  
 That they will puff up everything  
 The Ladies have to show.

And thus they get a "blow out" free  
 At every party feed;  
 The reason is because they write  
 And other people read.<sup>41</sup>

A contrary view was recorded in another Iowa paper, under the caption, "WHO WANTS TO BE AN EDITOR?"

Some people think it is a "big thing" to be an editor. Well perhaps it is — but we don't see it. A fellow is dead headed into circuses and concerts, and rides on some of the railroads free, but that one fact destroys nearly all of the pleasure. When we had to scrimp for a week to get a dollar to buy a seat at the opera the delight experienced was proportioned to the sacrifice of the money it cost us.— When you can ride on a railroad for nothing you don't care a snap about going at all; and so on. An editor occasionally gets presents, but they are nine times out of ten articles that are of no sort of use to him or to any one else.

In his paper he may say forty good things unapplauded, but if he happens through some carelessness or mistake to get off an obnoxious paragraph he catches — from the entire community. If he omits anything he is lazy. If he speaks of things as they are, people are mad. If he glosses over — smooths down the rough points, he is bribed. If he calls things by their proper names, he is unfit for the position of editor. If he does not furnish his readers with jokes, he is a mullet. If he does he is a rattle head, want-

<sup>41</sup> *Sioux City Eagle*, July 30, 1859; *Corydon Monitor*, July 26, 1866.

ing stability. If he condemns the wrong he is a good fellow, but lacks discretion. If he lets wrongs and injuries go unmentioned he is a coward. If he upholds a public man he does so to gratify spite — is a tool of a clique, or belongs to the "out". If he indulges in personalities he is a blackguard — if he does not, his paper is dull and insipid.

They put Job through a pretty hard course of sprouts according to Holy Writ, but there is no record of his being obliged to serve as an editor of a daily paper. That would doubtless have been more than even his patience could have withstood. He probably, in such a case, would have taken the advice of friends — cursed and died.<sup>42</sup>

In this day of almost hourly radio newscasting, with most homes taking two or more newspapers, one can smile with sympathy at the following comment of a Clintonian of 1874 who longed for his grandfather's newspaper.

No change in the manner of doing anything more strongly marks the peculiar genius of this time than the metamorphosis . . . of newspapers. Looking at the old issues we see no head-lines! No special correspondence! No personals! No jokes! No reports of amusements; much less criticism; much less puffs; much less book notices; much less market reports; much less court decisions. O, easy-going, non-news devouring, low pressure long ago! O, lolling, lazy, limp, luxurious, lounging, ante-telegraphic days! How many exhausted editors and gagged readers sigh for your return, and long to exchange, at least for one short day, (say Monday,) the same old bliss of ignorance for this overburdened load of universal intelligence. We are like bees caught in the rain, over-loaded with honey; and such honey!<sup>43</sup>

Pioneer journalism persisted in Iowa until some years after the disappearance of the last frontier in northwestern Iowa. The frontier of 1870 found Lyon County and portions of three adjoining counties still beyond the frontier of settlement. The intrepid journalist was still dem-

<sup>42</sup> *The Weekly Times* (Dubuque), November 21, 1861.

<sup>43</sup> *The Clinton Age*, December 4, 1874.

onstrating his qualities as a trail-blazer. On July 25, 1871, the *Rock Rapids Journal* was established by C. E. Bristol, the first newspaper printed in Lyon County. Only thirty-five years had elapsed between the founding of the *Dubuque Visitor* in 1836, on Iowa's first frontier, and the establishment of the *Rock Rapids Journal*, on Iowa's last frontier. During these thirty-five years the persistence of pioneer journalism had been a powerful factor in the development of the Hawkeye State. In a historical and descriptive sketch of Lyon County published for immigrants in 1873, S. C. Hyde declared that the *Rock Rapids Journal* had "performed a good work in making known the superior inducements which this region offered to immigration."<sup>44</sup>

By 1870 there were 233 newspapers and periodicals of all classes in Iowa with a total circulation of 219,090. Of this number 22 were daily newspapers with a total circulation of 19,800, and 196 were weeklies with a combined circulation of 187,840.<sup>45</sup> By 1880, most of Iowa's modern newspapers were well established and relatively few editors were suffering the vicissitudes of pioneer days. It is only by studying the yellowed pages of the pioneer press prior to 1870 that the historian can piece together the trials of frontier journalism in early Iowa.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY IOWA

<sup>44</sup> *Compendium of History Reminiscence and Biography of Lyon County, Iowa*, p. 41; S. C. Hyde's *Historical Sketch of Lyon County, Iowa* (1873), p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> *Ninth Census of the United States* (1870), Population and Social Statistics, pp. 481-485.