

The
PALIMPSEST

IOWA'S POPULAR HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOLUME 65 NUMBER 1

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1984





Iowa State Historical Department
Office of the State Historical Society
The Palimpsest

PRICE — Free to members. Single issue — \$1
MEMBERSHIP — By application. Annual dues — \$5
LIFE MEMBERSHIP — \$150. HUSBAND AND WIFE JOINT LIFE MEMBERSHIP — \$200
ADDRESS INQUIRIES TO: State Historical Society, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, IA 52240

USISSN 0031 — 0360

The code at the bottom of the first column of each article in this magazine indicates the copyright owner's consent to reproduction of the article for personal or internal use. The consent is granted, however, on the condition that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee of \$1.00 through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. The consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

The Office of the State Historical Society and the editor are not responsible for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

THE PALIMPSEST is published bimonthly by the Office of the State Historical Society in Iowa City. It is printed in Des Moines and distributed free to Society members and exchanges. This is the January/February 1984 issue and is Number 1 of Volume 65. Second class postage paid at Iowa City, Iowa.

The
PALIMPSEST

© Iowa State Historical Department/Office of the State Historical Society 1984
Adrian D. Anderson, Executive Director

VOLUME 65 NUMBER 1

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1984

Mary K. Fredericksen, Editor

CONTENTS

Iowa in the 1880s
by Burton J. Williams 2

The State of the State: Iowa in 1885
by Mary K. Fredericksen 3

Sports and Games in Western Iowa in the Early 1880s
by Raymond A. Smith, Jr. 9

A Mercantile History of Sioux City in the 1880s
by William Silag 26

A Struggle for Office: The Sherman-Brown Imbrolio
by Loren N. Horton 33

Covers: (Front) Sioux City's Fourth Street, looking east from Pierce Street, in the mid-1880s (Album of Sioux City, 1888); (Back) the Iowa State Capitol Building in 1888. (SHSI)



The Meaning of the Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete, and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

Iowa in the 1880s

by Burton J. Williams

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Missouri Valley History Conference took place in Omaha, Nebraska, March 10-12, 1983. It was my privilege to serve as commentator for a session entitled "Iowa in the 1880s." Three papers were presented at this session: "The State of the State: Iowa in 1885," by Mary K. Fredericksen, of the University of Iowa; "Regional Growth and Urban Welfare: The View from Sioux City, 1885," by William Silag, of Iowa State University; and "Sports and Games in Western Iowa in the Early 1880s," by Raymond A. Smith, Jr., of Central Washington University.

All too often sessional papers dealing with a common theme, if published at all, appear in different journals at different times and the focus intended is lost to the larger audience, the reader.

This session provided a near perfect model in organizational structure in that the papers focused on an Iowa town, an Iowa region, and the state of Iowa as a whole. Consequently, the combined publication of these papers is most commendable. Such a thematic combination of published papers sees history written as it should be, from the bottom up, not from the top down. Truly local, regional, and state history constitute the bedrock upon which larger historical themes must be erected.

History is among the most difficult of disciplines, simply because it is unique. Contrary to

popular myth it does not repeat itself. It only happens once. In any set of seemingly similar circumstances there are innumerable variables, such as ideas, values, motives, time, place, a different cast of characters, and on infinitum. There is an all too popular tendency in this increasingly complex world to make sweeping generalizations with little if any factual substantiation. Generalization is akin to recognizing a forest but not knowing it is composed of trees. However, a closer look at history (the forest) at the local and state level (the trees), as the late James C. Malin once put it, will enable the historian to "if he will, come to grips with reality in its most elemental forms and more intimately than at any other level of space organization."

As for the quality of the published papers which follow the readers are left to judge for themselves. As commentator on these papers I fear I was not overly delicate in inserting the dagger of historical criticism between the literary ribs of the authors. I trust the authors will look upon my previous commentaries with a spirit of forgiveness and take some consolation from the fact that at least I did not twist the dagger.

The papers to which Burton J. Williams refers have all been modified and edited for publication in this issue of the Palimpsest. Even the title of William Silag's paper has been changed in accordance with a suggestion made at the conference.

— Ed.

The State of the State: Iowa in 1885

by Mary K. Fredericksen

In late 1884 representatives and exhibitors from the fair state of Iowa journeyed to New Orleans to attend the six-month World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition. This was the second important international exposition in which Iowans participated. Their overwhelming success at the first international exposition at Philadelphia in 1876 and the immediate benefits garnered by the state from its participation led to a high level of interest among Iowans in the 1884-1885 New Orleans exposition. The 1876 exposition had been followed by an increase in the state's population, and by increased investment and greater demand for its products throughout the nation. Hoping to gain similar commercial advantages in 1885 and boost the state's material prosperity generally, Iowans thought it was the simple "exercise of business sagacity that the state should be represented" at New Orleans.

What could be said about Iowa in 1885? What had its boosters to boast about? Exposition Commissioner Herbert S. Fairall claimed that it was a fairy land. It was a veritable garden spot among states and nations. Another Iowa representative proudly observed:

She is the twenty-ninth in the order of admission into the Union; in number of square miles she is fourteenth; in population the tenth, while in acres of tillable land her place is first. Think of that, ye seekers after homes! She leads every other State in the amount of corn raised, and is second in the number of hogs raised, second in cattle, second in wheat, fourth in extent of coal area, and fifth in the num-

ber of newspapers. In religious, educational and benevolent institutions, she stands among the foremost. In point of intelligence she is first, having a less percentage of illiteracy in comparison with her population than any other State.

Others commented on Iowa's manufacturing establishments. Iowa creameries, the number of which was greater than that of any other state, supposedly produced butter so sweet and healthful as to drive all fevers and ailments away, and to increase the beauty of the ladies. An extensive railway network existed in Iowa which included "more miles of rail to the square mile of land" than any other Western state. It was described as a land peopled by thrifty, energetic, and enterprising citizens. It was a land of promise. The sentiments of a *Clinton Herald* correspondent, based, of course, on geographical and statistical facts, suggested an almost utopian vision when he predicted that "within thirty years Iowa will hold the central position of population in the United States. [And] . . . within three or four decades the National Capital will be removed to the banks of the Mississippi River, not to St. Louis, however, but to some point in Iowa."

The population growth of the state had, indeed, been explosive up to the early 1880s. A 36% leap in total population between 1870 and 1880 (1,194,020 in 1870 and 1,624,615 in 1880), however, was followed by only a slight population increase — 8% — in

the following five years (1,624,615 in 1880 to 1,753,980 in 1885). Settlement of the last largely unsettled part of the state, the northwestern portion, had been hurriedly accomplished within little more than a decade — between the late 1860s and the early 1880s — despite setbacks and uncertain times for the pioneers. However much an historian might want to pin a date on the closing of the Iowa frontier, or to debate the range of possible dates for the closing of the Iowa frontier, it is clear that in the early 1880s life was different in Iowa. A more balanced economy and stable conditions made life more predictable on a year-to-year basis for Iowans. The rugged pioneer life with its emphasis on subsistence (or survival) that had persisted through the 1870s was disappearing. Settlers no longer lived on the marginal edge, with everything invested in and depending on the success of the current crop. A tangible sign of this change was the closing of land offices in northwestern Iowa towns in the late 1870s. There was little free land remaining in Iowa in the early 1880s. Whereas in 1870 the state board of immigration's greatest concern was attracting settlers to the land, in 1886 the new governor's concern was for settlement of the remaining lands by settlers of means. A great change had occurred in the sixteen-year period.

Agriculturally, Iowa by 1885 was characterized by diversification. Iowa's railroad network — extensive in northwest Iowa by the mid-1870s — had speeded the transition in the northwest from a subsistence economy to a commercial economy which complemented the agricultural pursuits of more developed portions of Iowa. The railroads, moreover, tied the regions of the state together economically and provided the means of marketing Iowa products outside the state. Diversification allowed for movement away from a dependency on soil-depleting small grain crops which often characterized newly settled areas,

Iowa Day!

MAY 13th, 1885.

PROGRAMME.

- 9.30 A. M.—GREAT IOWA BAND, Military Companies, Citizens and Visitors meet on Canal Street and proceed under command of Gen. Bentley, by boat to Exposition.
- 11 A. M.—Arriving at Exposition Wharf, procession marches through Main Building to Iowa Headquarters in Government Building.
- 11.30 A. M.—United States Commissioners and Assistants and visitors generally, under command of Major Clarke, form in body, join Main Procession, which will move to the Live Oaks.

UNDER THE OAKS.

- 12:30 M.—MUSIC—Iowa University Band.
ADDRESS—Herbert S. Fairall, U. S. Commissioner.
MUSIC—Dubuque Drum Corps.
Introduction of a Young Iowa Lady—Col. M. T. Owen, of Governor Sherman's Staff.
Presentation by the Iowa Lady to a Louisiana Lady of a Floral Tribute.
MUSIC—Eldora Band.
RESPONSE and ADDRESS—Director General E. A. Burke.
MUSIC—Decorah Drum Corps.
ADDRESS—Gen. C. S. Bentley.
ADDRESS—Major F. M. Clarke.
MUSIC—Osage Band.
SHORT SPEECHES—By U. S. Commissioners Mead, Holton, Seibring, Allen, Commissioner General Speed and others.
MUSIC—Consolidated Iowa Band, led by Capt. McCosh.

Hopkins' Printing Office, 22 Commercial Place.

The program for "Iowa Day" at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 13 May 1885. (SHSI)

toward agricultural pursuits more suited to the quality of the soil and the terrain. As Governor Larrabee argued in his inaugural speech in 1886:

The mines of California and Colorado have never been half as rich in their output as the prairie mines of Iowa, which have the additional advantage over the former that with proper care they will never become exhausted. We should strive to understand the character and capacity of our soil, and engage in that kind of agriculture which is best adapted to the production of the greatest wealth. It would be much to our advantage to

abandon the shipping of grain, and to direct our attention to stock-raising and the dairy.

Stock raising and dairy farming became highly successful and central features of Iowa agriculture in the early 1880s, as did the production of corn which provided feed for stock. By 1885 not only were the benefits of diversification in the form of a more balanced economy apparent, but the possibilities of further development seemed at hand. As a *Des Moines Register* booster observed: "We expect to raise more good corn, more hogs and more superior beeves than any other State. This is what we are here for and it is what this State was made for."

Iowa's cities and towns grew rapidly during the early 1880s as centers of finance, commerce, manufacturing, and as vital links in transportation networks. Civic boosters gave their attention to civic improvements as well as attempts to entice new industries to their towns. "Progress" was a continuing theme in the middle 1880s. Iowa newspapers regularly carried welcome news of technological advances: "There are now fifty-nine telephones on the Fort Dodge exchange"; "Marshalltown is talking of putting in the Edison system of electric light"; "Stuart is soon to have a steam fire engine"; "There is talk in Des Moines of mounting the immediate delivery carriers on bicycles"; and "It is proposed to run the street cars at Waterloo by electricity." Iowa newspapers also published barbs when a town failed to make improvements: "Des Moines streets are reported to be in horrible condition, and [we] suggest [the] necessity of ferries or suspension bridges on which to cross them." Hopes and dreams also found expression in the press: "Meriden looks for a boom in the spring, and expects to double in size before another season closes"; and "Carroll ought to have two or three dozen street lamps for the conve-

nience of pedestrians these dark nights. The town is certainly large enough to put on metropolitan airs and have its streets lighted."

Few if any Iowa towns could claim metropolitan status in 1885. Only two of them grew in phenomenal fashion between 1880 and 1885: What Cheer's population increased 390% (from 719 in 1880 to 3,524 in 1885), and Sioux City's population increased 159% (from 7,366 in 1880 to 19,060 in 1885). Ten Iowa towns had populations over 10,000 in 1885: Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Clinton, Council Bluffs, Davenport, Des Moines, Dubuque, Keokuk, Ottumwa, and Sioux City. Of these ten, only three had a growth rate of more than 40% between 1880 and 1885: Cedar Rapids (53%); Des Moines (45%); and Sioux City (159%). For the most part the first half of the 1880s was not a period of spectacular urban growth in Iowa. Towns generally increased in size, but gradually, much to the frustration of their civic boosters.

Iowa representatives in New Orleans could claim 6,900 manufacturing establishments for the state in 1885. The most famous were, undoubtedly, in the creamery and butter-making industries. At the exposition Iowa was recognized as the "Banner Butter State" of the Union and Iowa's product was judged to be the best creamery butter in the world. No longer was it acceptable to call it "wild western butter." The award represented rapid progress for an Iowa industry started only in 1872. The leading manufacturing city of the state was Dubuque with 100 factories. Business ventures of many kinds were either started or proposed in Iowa in 1885. These included a canning factory in Davenport, a packinghouse in Atlantic, a creamery in Algona, a woolen mill in Oskaloosa, a starch factory in Des Moines, an agricultural machinery factory in Keokuk, a barb-wire factory in Manchester, and a paper mill in Fort Dodge. Fort Dodge boosters issued a general plea for factories of any kind to

locate there. Competition for new businesses was fierce among Iowa towns and Marshalltown, whose civic leaders were especially imaginative at designing ways to attract business and capital, proposed the following scheme in late 1885:

Be it ordained by the city council of the city of Marshalltown, Iowa, that any person, corporation or company who will, after the passage of this ordinance, locate and operate a manufacturing establishment in the city of Marshalltown, Iowa, and employ within the city in connection with said manufacturing enterprise ten persons; that the city council in its equalization of taxes shall rebate the assessment on the property connected with or directly used in said enterprise 10 per cent of said assessment, and if over ten additional persons an additional 10 per cent., and in this ratio for each additional ten persons employed a rebate of assessment shall be made until said number of employees shall reach one hundred or over, when the entire assessment is to be rebated for the period of ten years, so far as municipal taxes are concerned.

The editor of the *Carroll Sentinel* could only note in response to Marshalltown's inventiveness, "The city of Marshalltown is teaching a

**Iowa Towns with Populations Over
10,000 in 1885**

	1880	1885
Burlington	19450	23459
Cedar Rapids	10104	15426
Clinton	9052	12012
Council Bluffs	18063	21557
Davenport	21831	23830
Des Moines	22408	32469
Dubuque	22254	26330
Keokuk	12117	13151
Ottumwa	9004	10506
Sioux City	7366	19060

lesson to all ambitious Iowa towns that can be noted with profit."

* * *

The population of this bustling state was 1,753,980 in 1885. 1,443,575 were native-born, while 310,405 were foreign-born. 47% of the population had been born in Iowa, 35% had been born elsewhere in the United States, and 18% were of foreign birth. The overwhelming majority of Iowa's foreign-born residents in 1885 (93.2%) had come from countries in northern and western Europe. Such had been the case since statehood. The Mediterranean countries had a very small representation in Iowa in 1885, though it was visible enough to cause comment and concern among some Iowans accustomed to German, Scandinavian, Irish, English, and Dutch immigrants. A noticeable break in the North European pattern of immigration occurred with the first sizable influx of Italian immigrants into Iowa in the early 1880s. The Italians arrived as mine workers, and the editor of the *Carroll Sentinel* did not seem encouraged by their presence when he wrote:

They do their own cooking, not a remarkably hard job, as it is estimated each lives on about fifteen cents a day. They are probably a little better than a Chinaman, but the degree of difference is not great.

Governor Larrabee was concerned in 1886 about the quality of the immigrants who were settling in the state and who would help build a future Iowa paradise. A reflection of a bit of Iowa snobbery can be seen in the remarks with which the Iowa Commissioner of Labor Statistics, E.R. Hutchins, concluded in his 1885 immigration report:

[Iowa], like all our States, has ever been ready to welcome to her soil the frugal,

industrious, healthful family; but with all her advantages, her unoccupied acres, her soil capable of yielding abundantly all kinds of cereals, her vast sources of coal — with all these, Iowa has no room for the shiftless and indolent pauper.

It has been suggested by one Iowa historian that the early 1880s was a “calm, complacent, and comfortable” time in Iowa, or that “Iowa was one of several states filled with ‘corn, cattle, and contentment.’” But the heated political concerns and issues of 1884 and 1885 indicate that Iowa was neither calm nor complacent, regardless of amounts of corn or numbers of cattle. The prohibition issue was certainly divisive in Iowa during this period. The state militia was called out to quell troubles at the state capitol in 1885 when Governor Buren R. Sherman attempted to remove the state auditor from his office. Auditor Brown was charged by the governor with malfeasance, and the governor was soon taken to task by portions of the Iowa press for forcibly removing a one-armed soldier from office. Labor troubles surfaced at coal mines in Angus and What Cheer. These also required the militia’s presence, and raised heated questions about sliding pay scales and working hours. Continued high railroad freight rates in a time of declining prices for farm goods spurred Iowa farmers to press for rate reductions. And finally, politics became a definite two-party affair again as Iowa Democrats scored surprising victories in the elections of 1884, and their jollifications and celebrations continued into 1885, adding both character and color to the William Larrabee-Charles E. Whiting gubernatorial campaign.

While the dispute between Governor Sherman and Auditor Brown may have been the most entertaining issue for Iowans in 1885, the prohibition question was most hotly debated. Much depended on the determination of the legality of local option or licensing

formulae of various kinds. After 1855 the sale of strong liquors had been prohibited in Iowa, although municipalities had been allowed to either prohibit or license the sale of beer and wine. However, wide disregard of the law prompted a demand in the early 1880s to prohibit the sale of all intoxicating liquors. A constitutional amendment to this effect was passed by two Iowa General Assemblies, in 1880 and 1882, and it received popular ratification in 1882. However, a technicality in the wording of the amendment caused the state supreme court to set it aside. Iowa prohibition forces then secured the passage in 1884 of a law “for the prevention of intemperance, pauperism and crime,” which effectively would have prevented the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors and provided stiff penalties for violators of the act. The prohibition legislation presented serious problems to growing cities at the time. The following protest by Sioux City businessmen illustrates some of the difficulties:

We have labored long and industriously and given freely of our means and time to build up and help along the city, to get in capital, manufactories, and to aid and encourage all worthy enterprises both of a permanent and temporary character, that would work good for either the business prosperity or social and moral advancement of the city and its people, and at all times we have been heartily and promptly met and supported in all such enterprises by both labor and means by those who will be most seriously affected by the enforcement of this law.

That at this time we are laboring under a heavy burden brought on by the increased necessities of the city in its change from a thriving village to an important business center, and can ill afford to lose the revenues which may be had if the law is not enforced, and to lose the support and cooperation with which

we have brought the city to its present prominence, and to substitute in its place the dissension and bad feeling which result from the enforcement.

Prohibition legislation presented serious problems to cities which had long depended on licensing revenues as a source of municipal income. Council Bluffs found itself in a precarious financial situation in 1885 when "resolutions were passed ordering the dismissal of the fire department, city engineer's force and all laborers employed by the city, and the turning off of the gas in the streets and public buildings." The prohibition issue divided the Republican party, which was the party officially supporting prohibition in the elections of 1884 and the campaign of 1885. The Democrats took advantage of the Republican split and united behind a plan for local/county option and a statewide licensing scheme for intoxicating liquors. Indeed, the vehemence of the prohibition debate suggested anything but calm, complacency, and comfortable contentment on the Iowa political stage in 1885.

* * *

The Iowa booster spirit, however, so evident at the 1885 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition characterized

the mood of the state in that year. Iowans had great hopes and expectations for a prosperous future. And, in all aspects of life, there was a self-confident sense of the appropriateness and justness of Iowa's past success. In 1885 Iowans believed that the work of the pioneer was behind them. The majority of the land had been settled, the population growth had stabilized, and the time had arrived to settle down to the business of making the state a veritable paradise. An economy soundly based on both diversified agriculture and industry, combined with continuing improvements in Iowa's transportation networks and commercial centers held promise for continued economic growth in the future. Perhaps, in 1885, the actual potential for the development of our state which had recently emerged from the frontier era was not far off the mark predicted by the 1885 Exposition boosters. □

Note on Sources

State reports, censuses, and newspapers of the mid-1880s proved to be the richest sources of information for this paper. The best single source for the way Iowans viewed their world position was Herbert S. Fairall's exposition report, *Iowa at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial and the North, Central and South American Expositions, New Orleans, 1884-6*. The messages of Governors Buren R. Sherman and William Larrabee provided good information, as did the 1885 Iowa census, and John A.T. Hull's *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-80*. The *Carroll Sentinel*, 1884 to 1886, proved to be an especially enjoyable and informative newspaper.

Sports and Games in Western Iowa in the Early 1880s

by Raymond A. Smith, Jr.

At the end of the decade of the 1870s, western Iowa was clearly in a time of transition. Council Bluffs was the only major town in the area; it had a population of 18,063 in 1880. Des Moines, in the center of the state, was a bit larger with 22,408 residents, but Sioux City had a population of only 7,366. By 1880 the last of the Iowa frontier had disappeared although there might have still been a few acres which had yet to feel the prairie-busting plow. During the decade of the 1880s, however, changes occurred and patterns were set which would remain constant for almost the next century. Des Moines was to become the largest city in the state. Sioux City was to increase in size five times over in the 1880s and by 1890 it would be almost twice as large as Council Bluffs. Council Bluffs, unable to match the growth of its neighbor in Nebraska — Omaha — would have only 21,474 people in 1890 to Omaha's 140,452. And the little towns in western Iowa remained little towns in the 1880s and thereafter. Missouri Valley managed to double its size in the decade of the 1880s but it began at 1,154 and ended at only 2,797. Some towns like Dunlap, Bedford, and Hamburg actually declined in size.

Generally, the early 1880s were years when western Iowa towns were relatively small and had relatively stable populations. Only Sioux City's size would increase rapidly in the 1880s while Council Bluffs, in the course of the decade, would be noticeably surpassed in almost

everything except pride by *both* Sioux City and Omaha.

Western Iowa was essentially rural in the early years of the 1880s and would basically remain so in the years that followed (except for the presence of the three peripheral cities on the make: Sioux City, Omaha, and Des Moines). The sports and games of the region were those of a newly settled rural society at the moment of the frontier's passing. Urban and rural are not quite the proper terms in this setting. It might be better to refer to the sports and games of town and country in western Iowa.

But setting is only one factor which must be addressed in dealing with this subject. One might well ask what is meant by sports and games or amusements or entertainments or even by leisure. To cut through a great deal of possibly tedious argument, and also to be a little contentious, one might well define a sport as a competitive test of one's person or one's properties on which one not only can, but most generally will, make a wager. In short, a sport is something you can bet on. It would seem to follow, then, that a game is something generally not worth betting upon. One competes in games but without staking much if anything on the outcome. Thus a sport and a game may be the same thing simply done by different people under different circumstances. Professional football players engage in a sport while players on a city lot or in a city park or on a junior high school team really only play games. It might be

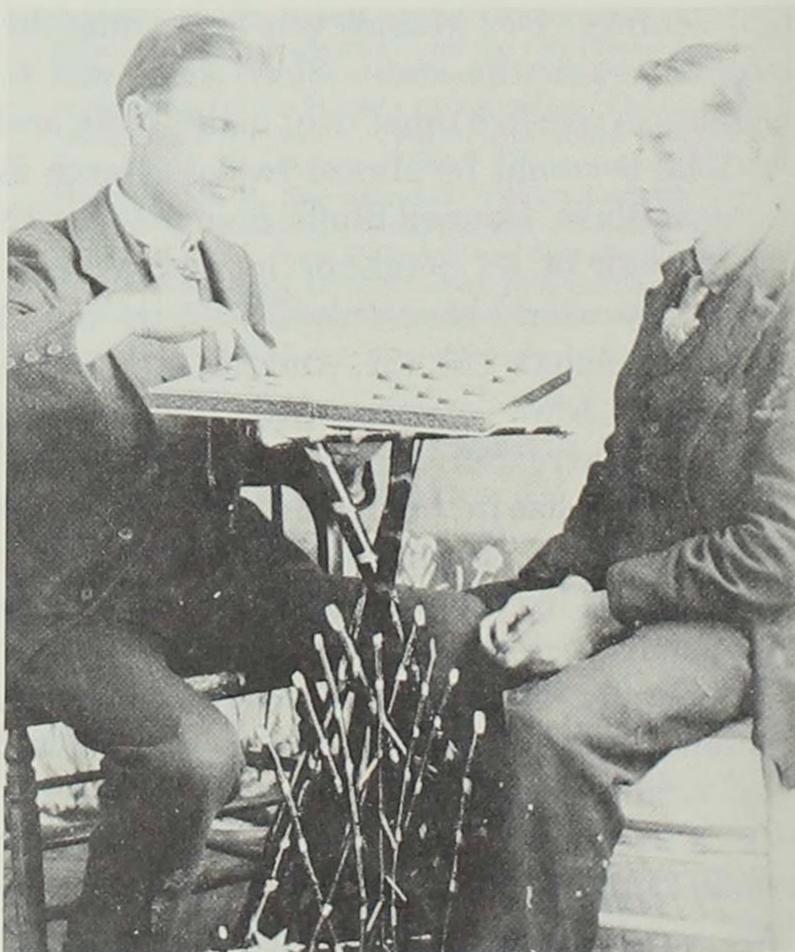
suggested that amateurs play games while professionals engage in sports. In the nineteenth century one definition of a professional was someone who performed before spectators who paid an admission fee.

The phrase "modern sport" is often used, but it seems that the adjective "modern" may have less to do with urbanization or the rise of spectator sports than with the felt need for the kind of organization and regulation which precludes any acknowledgement that gambling is a way of life for most Americans and that every sport is liable to be corrupted in an "open market, free enterprise, laissez-faire" environment. Pre-modern sports required little in the way of organization or regulations. Pre-modern sports generally involved a great deal of gambling. Moreover, pre-modern sports were generally tainted since they were engaged in by "sporting men." Modern sports tend to be highly regulated and strive for the maximum in essential cleanliness, or so their proponents would have us believe. If a modern sport is not clean, as boxing, for example, seldom ever was or is, then the demand for reform is on the lips of "sportsmen" everywhere. Note well that the use of "sporting man" has fallen from favor, but almost anyone will accept the cognomen, "sportsman."

The question then essentially becomes what sorts of competitive amusements existed in western Iowa in the period just after the close of the frontier? There were a number of agrarian sports and games traditionally associated with the rural scene. There was a great deal of shooting. Competitions included shooting at both live pigeons and glass balls and involved both individuals and clubs. Matches between towns were common as shooting clubs existed in many places. The culminating tournament each year was the state competition which in 1880 was dominated by competitors from Council Bluffs who took first, second, and fourth places in the tournament. The first prize

winner carried away a gold medal worth \$50 and a double-barrel shotgun worth \$200.

In addition to shooting there was also much hunting. There were nimrods aplenty who sought out ducks and geese, deer, and even wolves. For those who sought the more plentiful game of the prairies, Nebraska was close by. Wolf hunts were common in southwestern Iowa at the beginning of the decade but it took the English colonists in Woodbury and Plymouth counties to elevate the wolf hunt into a proper social affair. In 1882 one finds accounts of the Merville Fox Hounds with Mr. Patrick as master but, in mid-season, the Merville Fox Hounds became the Merville Wolf Hounds and the hunts were so successful in the winter of 1882-83 that plans were made for a kennel club to be formally organized, complete with uniforms for the hunters. It might be pointed out that hunting in western Iowa was slightly different than in Merry Old England. Each hunter following the Merville Wolf Hounds had to carry a claw hammer so that the lead man at



Checkers expert Ed. Berner and a friend from Newell, Iowa, match wits in a game. (SHSI)

any moment in the hunt could carefully take down any wire fences which might be encountered and the last man at that moment in the hunt was required to put the wire fence back up after the hunters had passed. (It doesn't sound much like those wonderful scenes from *Tom Jones*.)

There was a great deal of horse racing also in western Iowa in the early 1880s but horse racing was already popular as a spectator sport and was no longer capable of being characterized simply as an agrarian contest between local rivals.

There were a large number of sports indulged in in western Iowa towns (both large and small) in the early 1880s. There were the saloon games (or sports) such as billiards. There were a few bowling alleys scattered throughout the western half of the state. There were some games which might really have been sports if one accepts the earlier definition. The most prominent of the game/sports was checkers, which could be played for fair amounts of money and for titles of various kinds. In March 1880 a checker match for the championship of Iowa was played in Council Bluffs between a Mr. Baldwin and a Mr. Spencer. It was to be a fifty-game match although only twenty-two games were played before Mr. Spencer became ill and withdrew. At that moment the score stood Spencer 5, Baldwin 3, with 14 draws. In a return engagement the following year, Mr. Baldwin took the state championship, winning 13 games to Spencer's 3 in a twenty-five game match.

Town activities in the early 1880s included some roller skating, but this activity, which fluctuated wildly in its appeal throughout the last thirty years of the century, didn't seem to catch on among residents of the western Iowa slope. There were also a number of those heady individuals in the area who performed acrobatic feats of one kind or another, walking tightropes or slackropes between buildings.

There was a bicycle craze in Omaha and Council Bluffs in 1881 and 1882 which led to bicycle races in the latter year. There was, as one might expect, a bit of cockfighting and some rat-baiting. There was little boxing, however. The sport of boxing was in disarray and disrepute in the early 1880s, at least until John L. Sullivan won the heavyweight crown from Paddy Ryan in early 1882. Even then it was not until 1883 that Sullivan began to popularize the sport with his national tours on which he sparred with members of his entourage and challenged locals to join him in more serious exhibitions. On 14 December 1883 Sullivan's combination played the Dohany Opera House in Council Bluffs before a standing room crowd. There were occasionally local fights which might, at times, have been termed prizefights, but only one other sparring match, that between Billy Madden and William McCune in 1880.

Town sports, between 1879 and 1882, were highlighted by such questionable activities as footracing and pedestrianism. Footraces came in a variety of types. There were playful races associated with the celebration of the Fourth of July, including Fat Men's Races, Sack Races, Women's Races, and Children's Races. There were also challenge races which often led to a great deal of money changing hands. A typical description of such a challenge race appeared in the *Daily Nonpareil* of 4 June 1880:

AVOCA, June 3, 1880.—The foot-race here today between Mr. Stowe of Walnut, and Fred Fuller of Council Bluffs, was largely attended, fully eight hundred people being on the fair grounds. A good deal of money changed hands, pools selling rapidly with Fuller for the first choice. Fuller won the race in 10¼ seconds, beating Stowe easily by eight feet. The race was 100 yards, for \$50 and gate money.

Footracing was a sport full of peril for both bettors and racers, however. Salted races were common. By running heats, one could use a crude form of pressing with much misinformation scattered about, and terrible results could ensue. A *Hamburg Democrat* news item indicated the seriousness of the risks involved in the sport in the 1880s:

Many of our readers and citizens remember a foot racer named Cozad, who was here some years ago, and during his stay ran several races, one against a horse a short distance. The races were run on the ground now occupied by the fair ground and the Phelps farm. We had lost track of him for several years, but he turned up at Denver, Colorado, a month or two ago, induced friends to bet on his winning a race of \$18,000. The day arrived, the race was run, but Cozad acted in bad faith the same as he done here and other places; his backers lost, he threw the race. A friend who had lost \$9,000 on his winning stepped to the front and drawing a navy, shot him dead, remarking that he would not play his game on any one else. It appears that he had been making big money in that way for several years, and while east threw away several races in which friends had backed him heavily. It didn't pan out in Colorado. Sporting men want those they bet on to be square.

Pedestrianism was a fairly popular sport in Council Bluffs in the early 1880s. It was largely an indoor sport and also took a number of forms. A walking match took place in Omaha in 1879 which involved sixteen walkers and lasted four hours. In 1879 and 1880 Council Bluffs had a black pedestrian, General Forest, whose best race seemed to be a twenty-mile one. He generally raced for \$100 a side and was undefeated through 1880. Women pedestrians were also common in the last quarter of the nineteenth

century. The citizens of Council Bluffs had the opportunity to watch a Madame Dupree on several occasions in 1880 and 1881. Her finest local victory was undoubtedly in 1880 when she defeated a gentleman named Stewart in a fifty-hour contest by completing 185 miles and 22 laps to Stewart's 168 miles and 12 laps.

A footrace might draw a crowd, a pedestrian match or a sparring exhibition might occasionally fill a house, but there were three sports which were truly spectator sports in the early 1880s in western Iowa: horse racing; firemen's competitions; and baseball. The time was such that people turned out in great numbers for one sport that was still essentially an agrarian sport, for one sport which was (and continues to be) a true town sport, and for the national pastime (which is most often discussed as an urban sport).

Horse racing was connected with fairs, as at Avoca or Glenwood, or with holiday celebrations, such as the Fourth of July, or with meetings of a regular type, such as occurred in Council Bluffs or Atlantic or LeMars where some sort of Jockey Club or Trotting Association held sway. There was the Trotting Association of Avoca; there was the Botna Valley District Speed Ring Society; there was the Atlantic Driving Park and Fair Association; and there were the Jockey Clubs of Council Bluffs and LeMars. Similar organizations staged meetings in other western Iowa towns in the early 1880s. Meetings might last anywhere from two to four days. There were cases, however, where races were held outside the regular meeting dates because of challenges offered and accepted. Two of the most interesting challenges of the period involved a match race between two equestriennes, Mrs. Nellie Burke of Omaha and Miss Lizzie Pinneo of Colorado, which took place at the Council Bluffs Driving Park in early September 1881, and a pair of races between the trotters Elm-



Women equestriennes at the Iowa State Fair, c. 1890. (ISHD, Des Moines)

wood Chief and Hampton Girl in Sioux City in July and August of 1882. The women met in a ten-mile race, each rider limited to ten horses, with changes taking place at the end of each mile. There was supposedly a purse of \$5,000. Actually, Miss Lizzie Pinneo was substituted at the last moment for her sister, Miss Minnie Pinneo, and Mrs. Burke won the race easily. The crowd was estimated at 10,000 and the gate receipts totaled \$1,739.05.

The latter challenge, between Elmwood Chief and Hampton Girl, was for a trotting race of two-mile heats, best three out of five for \$2,000 initially. The August 1882 challenge grew out of races held in 1881 in which Hampton Girl had bested Elmwood Chief. There was much money bet on the 1882 race with the purse set at \$1,000 a side. It proved to be no contest, however, with Elmwood Chief winning in three straight heats before an estimated 2,000 spectators. The owners of Hampton Girl issued a challenge for another race, to be held under similar conditions, for a purse of \$600. That race was run about a month later with similar results but before far fewer

people. Shortly after her second defeat Hampton Girl was raffled off by her owners.

Council Bluffs was clearly the racing capital of western Iowa and perhaps of Iowa itself in the early 1880s. A driving park was planned and started in 1880 under the aegis of the Council Bluffs Driving Park and Agricultural Association and, in 1881, a very fine mile track was opened with a meeting which provided both flat racing and trotting. The track was often described as the finest west of Chicago.

With the sizable English colony in northwestern Iowa, horse racing at LeMars included not only flat racing and trotting but hurdle racing as well. Englishmen and others raced for such prizes as the West Fork Plate, or sought victory in the Hail Columbia Stakes, or the Grand International Hurdle Race.

But the popularity of horse racing was easily matched in the early 1880s by the popularity of firemen's sports. The big event of the year for firemen was the state tournament, which in 1879 took place in Cedar Rapids, in 1880 in Marshalltown, in 1881 in Council

Bluffs, and in 1882 in Muscatine. Western Iowa teams did well in all these state tournaments. Teams from Council Bluffs in the 1879 tournament included the Bluff City No. 1, the Rescue No. 3, and the Phoenix Team Hook and Ladder No. 2. The results were rewarding. As noted in the *Nonpareil*:

The teams went to the Tournament with full determination to put in their best licks, but they scarcely felt equal in a contest with the oldest and best fire organizations in the State, and the fact that Council Bluffs won the first prize and the State Championship belt, was an achievement altogether unexpected. The Council Bluffs boys not only did this but they also captured two other good prizes.

There were a variety of competitions for the firemen. In 1881, when the state competitions were held in Council Bluffs, the Iowa Firemen's Association included members from forty departments and eighty companies. Teams from outside the state participated as well. A quasi-professional team, the Bates Hose team from Denver, competed in Council Bluffs in 1881, and simply broke up after the tournament with its members going their own separate ways. A special match race was held that year between the host team, the Rescues of Council Bluffs, and the Rescue team of Decatur, Illinois. It was a special hose-team race for a purse of \$1,000. Unfortunately, the Iowans did not win. The Phoenix team from Atlantic won a second place prize in the hook and ladder trials in 1881 and it won that event



The champion Malvern Volunteer Fire Department Running Team, c. 1890-1895. (Allen Wortman Collection, SHSI)

"The Champion Second Nine of Calhoun County of 1901," at Farnhamville, Iowa. (SHSI)



in Muscatine in 1882. Crowds at these competitions tended to be very large. It was estimated that 15,000 were on hand as participants or spectators in Council Bluffs in 1881.

Finally there was baseball. Horse racing was provided in the early 1880s with a fairly permanent organization in the Council Bluffs Driving Park and Agricultural (or Fair) Association and in the Jockey Club. The initial investment in the Driving Park insured that in ensuing years there would be a certain civic involvement which would insure meetings and races. Organizations such as the volunteer fire companies gave a measure of continuity to the efforts of the firemen as well and thus their competitions remained popular year after year. Baseball, however, seemed to lack the solid and continuous backing which could put teams on the field year after year. Serious baseball had been played as far back as 1869 in the Council Bluffs area, for example, but it tended to be played intermittently. A team had been fielded in 1870. Another had been put together in 1872 which managed to stay together as the Council Bluffs Quicksteps until 1876. In 1879 Council Bluffs even managed to field a professional nine which played teams from Dubu-

que, Rockford [Illinois], and Omaha, without much success. Their lack of success may have been responsible for a falling off of baseball interest in 1880 but the fever struck other western Iowa towns in 1881. Atlantic and Glenwood ventured as far east as Des Moines to play, and then returned to southwest Iowa to vie for what they claimed was the championship of the state.

In 1882, however, baseball burst splendidly upon the scene with all sorts of teams. There were the Stars and the Scoopers from Sioux City, as well as the Our Boys and the Shoo Flies. There were teams representing Sergeant Bluff and LeMars and Sloan. There were the Malvern Moonshiners and the Silver City Efforts. There were teams at Dunlap, Glenwood, Dow City, and Woodbine. The *Nonpareil* described how a "baseball craze seems to have affected every young man and boy in Council Bluffs. These days when you see a number of boys assembled in one place it will be perfectly safe to conclude a game of baseball is in progress." Teams in 1882 not only represented towns but other organizations as well. A Union Pacific freight office team from Council Bluffs took on a similar team from Omaha; a pair of teams known only as the Coons and the

Pale Faces did battle; black employees of the Pacific House used a curve ball pitcher named Oscar Johnson to defeat the black employees of the Union Pacific depot; the Garry Owens played the Swamp Angels; the Ogden House played the Austins; the waiters at the Ogden took on the waiters at the Pacific; and the Omaha Telegraphers played the Council Bluffs Brass Pounders.

In 1882 the association team which represented Council Bluffs, the Bluffers, had a long, complex, and very successful season as they met teams from Glenwood, Omaha, Leavenworth, Dubuque, Kansas City, Quincy, in addition to the Spaldings of Chicago, the St. Louis Red Stockings, and the Leadville Blues. Interest among the fans was high, and the team played to good crowds. By 1882, obviously, baseball had caught on in southwestern Iowa. Passions ran high, as evidenced in the conclusion of a *Council Bluffs Nonpareil* account of a hotly contested game between the Union Pacifics of Omaha and the Council Bluffs team:

Umpire—Brandt.

Time of game—Two hours and ten minutes.

DIAMOND DUSTINGS.

If Brandt bet on the game he could not have been expected to umpire it fairly, and in that event his several unfair decisions are not to be wondered at.

.....
Brandt claimed \$5 for umpiring the game yesterday. If reports are true he made more than that betting.

The decisions yesterday were in favor of Omaha in almost every instance, and many of them bad ones.

.....
A game of 5 to 6 under such circumstances is nothing to be ashamed of.

Brandt acted as though he was umpiring the game under instructions from some one. At one time when a foul was

knocked in place of promptly calling foul, he told the catcher the ball was over 'his head,' thereby giving him a double chance to catch it.

Ah, wagers! Ah, sports! Ah, corruption! But then baseball was no freer of evil than horse racing, as the *Sioux City Journal* noted in 1882:

It must be confessed that heretofore the Sioux City track has not enjoyed the best reputation for square work, and simply because at races heretofore, there has been no close adherence to established rules, but a leaving of detail to the last moment, and then permitting them to be arranged by interested horsemen as the exigencies of the hour might seem to demand in the interest of those having the best opportunity to manipulate matters to their side.

And there were those paid runners, those professionals who sometimes proved to be of questionable morality themselves. Even the firemen were not safe. In a world of three-card monte, how many gamblers really believed in a fair shake?

Before closing this account of sports and games in western Iowa, however, there is one last area which must be touched upon: the connection between ethnicity and sports and games in the early 1880s. The connection is seen most prominently in the northwestern section of the state where a large English colony had been in existence since 1877. The Close brothers had holdings in Crawford, Woodbury, Plymouth, and Cherokee counties and it was their holdings which formed the base for the English colony. That colony laid a definite imprint on the sports and games in the area because the colonists brought their sports and games with them. The racing meetings in northwestern Iowa, especially at LeMars,

Office of the State Historical Society

CALL FOR SHSI BOARD OF TRUSTEES NOMINATIONS

All members of the State Historical Society of Iowa are encouraged to participate in the annual election process for the State Historical Society's Board of Trustees. Nominations are now being accepted for four positions on the board. The terms of Edgar V. Epperly (Second Congressional District), Glenda Riley (Third Congressional District), Louis A. Haselmayer (At Large), and George W. McDaniel (At Large) will expire on 1 July 1984.

The Board of Trustees works to further understanding of Iowa history and to promote activities that help Iowans better understand their heritage.

Trustees serve three-year terms and must be members of the Society. Any Society member may make a nomination. If you wish to make a nomination, send a one-page letter including the name, address, and a brief biographical sketch of the nominee to:

BOARD OF TRUSTEES NOMINATIONS

Office of the State Historical Society

402 Iowa Avenue

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Your nomination *must* be received before 16 March 1984.

William Cochran Leaves Society Staff

It is with deep regret that William Cochran's departure from the State Historical Society of Iowa's staff must be announced. As Administrator of the Society after July 1982, Bill worked closely with the staff of the Society and with Society members to insure that the programs of the State Historical Society were viable ones, that the Society maintained a high-quality public image, and that the Society's mission "to be a useful, responsive, cultural agency devoted to Iowa history" was best fulfilled.

A person well-known to Society members, Bill was actively involved in several major projects, including the planning and promotion of many of the Society's 125th Anniversary ceremonies, and the Society's two most recent annual banquets — in Des Moines in June 1982 and in Ames in June 1983. Members will also remember Bill's frequent contributions to *News for Members*.

During the spring of 1982 the Society published Bill's "The Public Library and Local History" as number 15 in its series of *Technical Sheets*. Its publication coincided with Bill's survey of local history materials available in Iowa public libraries, the results of which will, hopefully, be published in the near future, despite his unexpected departure from the Society.

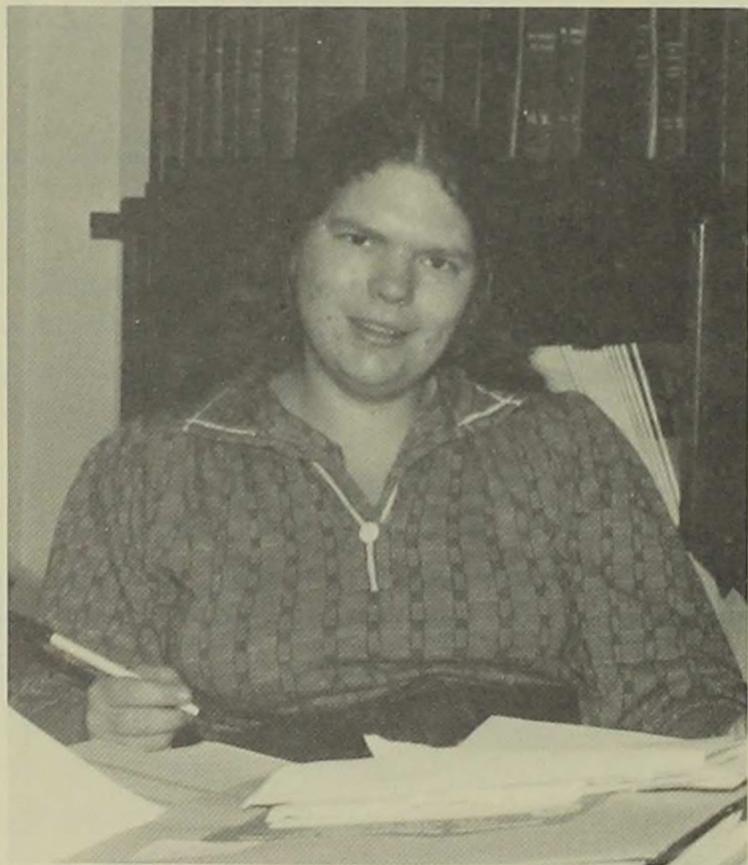
Bill received his master of arts (library science) degree from the University of Iowa in December 1983. The staff at the Society wishes him all the best.



Roger B. Natte Would Like to Hear From **You!**

The chairman of the Society's Board of Trustees, Roger B. Natte, would like to hear from longtime Society members as part of an effort to learn more about the Society's supporters and the history of the Society itself. If you have been a member of the Society for longer than forty years would you take a moment to drop Roger Natte a short note or a postcard? Let him know who you are and how long you've been a member. Contact Roger B. Natte at 2340 19th Avenue North, Fort Dodge, Iowa 50501.

Director of Publications Named for ISHD and *Annals of Iowa* Moves to Iowa City



Christie Dailey, editor of the *Annals of Iowa* since 1980, has been named director of publications for the Iowa State Historical Department. In her new position Christie assumes the responsibilities associated with the production of all department publications. These responsibilities include everything from supervising the program area's budget, marketing efforts, and contracts for the printing of department publications, to being actively involved in the design and editing of all department publications.

As director of publications, Christie will insure the continued high level of quality publications Society members (and people familiar with the work of the Iowa State Historical Department) have grown to expect, whether in the department's regular magazine publications (the *Annals of Iowa*, the *Palimpsest*, and the *Goldfinch*) or in special publications such as books, informational brochures, or guides to

department library and museum collections.

As part of the reorganization of the Iowa State Historical Department publications program area, Christie relocated her office from the Historical Museum in Des Moines (home for the *Annals of Iowa* for ninety years) to the State Historical Society's Centennial Building at 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City. The location of department publications staff at one site should benefit the ISHD, as it will eliminate the duplication of tasks inherent in separate publications activities and allow for comprehensive planning and administration of the department's program area. "A united annual plan can be enlarged to consider the wide scale of historical interests of the state's citizens and can produce a variety of publications to meet differing needs," suggested Christie in thinking about the ways the department's program can better serve Iowans.

Christie will continue to edit the *Annals of Iowa*, the ISHD's quarterly journal of history, in addition to handling her duties as director of publications. The *Annals* contains scholarly studies of Iowa, regional, and midwestern history. It serves both an academic audience and people interested in local and regional history generally.

Christie brings to her new position considerable experience in the local history field. Her academic background includes a B.A. degree in museum studies from Michigan State University and an M.A. degree in history from Iowa State University.

"Woodworking in the 1870s" Workshops

Living History Farms, Des Moines, is hosting a series of three-day workshops during February and March 1984 for anyone interested in late nineteenth century woodworking. "Woodworking in the 1870s" involves three-day apprenticeships, guided by master cabinetmakers, in the restored 1870 carpentry shop at Living History Farms. Participants are invited to build their own small dovetailed cases while learning nineteenth century methods of wood joinery. Each class will be limited to six students. The workshop schedule is: (Session 1) February 2-4; (Session 2) February 9-11; (Session 3) February 16-18; (Session 4) February 23-25; (Session 5) March 8-10; (Session 6) March 22-24; (Session 7) March 29-31. There will be a charge of \$35.00 per student. For more information about "Woodworking in the 1870s," contact Veneta Worthington, Education Coordinator, at (515) 278-5286.

Have You a Lecture About a Famous 19th Century Woman?

The Iowa Chapter, Victorian Society in America, is organizing a series of lectures about famous nineteenth century women. The lectures will be given in Des Moines in late 1984 and early 1985. Expenses and honoraria will be paid. Anyone interested in presenting a paper should send a prospectus and vita to Patrice K. Beam, P.O. Box 78, Indianola, Iowa 50125, by February 15, 1984.

CALENDAR OF COMING EVENTS, 1984

- January 21 Iowa Chapter, Victorian Society in America, Des Moines
 March 8-10 Missouri Valley History Conference, Omaha, Nebraska
 March 10 Iowa Chapter, Victorian Society in America, Council Bluffs
 March 15-16 Center for Great Plains Studies Eighth Annual Symposium, "European Influences on the Visual Arts of the Plains," Lincoln, Nebraska
 April 4-7 Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, California
 April 11-13 Rocky Mountain Regional Conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, Phoenix, Arizona
 April 13-14 Dakota History Conference, Madison, South Dakota
 April 14 ILHMA meeting, Des Moines
 April 25-29 Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Loren N. Horton's Winter Schedule of Public Lectures

Loren N. Horton, historian and field services representative for the Iowa State Historical Department/Office of the State Historical Society, regularly maintains a busy schedule of public presentations. Society members are more than welcome to attend all of these lectures. Admission is free. For more information about any of the following lectures, contact Loren N. Horton at the State Historical Society, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240. Or give him a call at (319) 338-5471.

- January 21 "Life on the Mississippi," Iowa Chapter, Victorian Society in America, Des Moines
 January 25 "Iowa's Architecture," Iowa Valley CC, Marshalltown
 January 26 "Interpreting Historical Photographs," Senior Citizens' Center, Marshalltown
 January 31 "Migration Patterns on the American Frontier," Iowa City Genealogical Society, Iowa City
 February 2 "Iowa History Through the Civil War," Public Library, Davenport
 February 15 "Iowa's Architecture," Public Library, Davenport
 February 21 "Iowa's Architecture," Muscatine CC, Muscatine
 February 25 "Interpreting Iowa's Past Through Its Material Culture," Public Library, Davenport
 February 28 "Iowa History Through the Civil War," Hawkeye Institute of Technology, Waterloo
 March 13 "Iowa's Architecture," Hawkeye Institute of Technology, Waterloo
 March 15 "Interpreting Historical Photographs," Muscatine CC, Muscatine
 March 28 "Interpreting Historical Photographs," Poweshiek CHS, Montezuma
 April 19 "Architecture of the Mississippi River Valley," Federated Womens' Clubs, Davenport

Public Archaeology Programs: Society Members Invited

A number of fine public archaeology programs are being sponsored by the Iowa Archaeology Society, and funded by the Iowa Humanities Board and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Members of the State Historical Society are encouraged to attend these programs — and to bring your friends too. Admission is free.

- February 8 "In Search of Ancient Peoples in Iowa," by Gary Valen, Science Building, Central Iowa Community College, Fort Dodge, 7:00 P.M.
 February 19 "Land is a Feeling," by Robert Bunge, Sanford Museum and Planetarium, Cherokee, 2:00 P.M.
 February 25 "Fieldwork in a Foreign Land: An Archaeological Project in East Africa," by Tom Chadderdon, Anthropology Lab, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, 7:00 P.M.
 February 28 "Archaeology of the Southwest. The Anasazi," by Duane Anderson, Putnam Museum, Davenport, 7:30 P.M.
 March 13 "Exploring Buried Buxton: Archaeology of an Abandoned Iowa Coal Mining Town with a Large Black Population," by David M. Gradwohl, Sanford Museum and Planetarium, Cherokee, 2:00 P.M.
 March 20 "Uncovering the Past in Clayton County," by Clark Mallam, Osborne Conservation Center, near Elkader, 7:30 P.M.
 March 24 "The Cherokee Sewer Site: An Investigation of One of the Earliest Indian

- Sites in Iowa," by Richard Slattery, Anthropology Lab, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, 7:00 P.M.
- March 25 "Frontier Iowa," by Roger Natte, Shelby County Historical Museum, Harlan, 2:00 P.M.
- March 27 "Geology and Man in the Quad-Cities Area," by Richard Anderson, Putnam Museum, Davenport, 7:30 P.M.
- April 9 "Exploring Buried Buxton: Archaeology of an Abandoned Iowa Coal Mining Town with a Large Black Population," by David M. Gradwohl, Brenton Student Center, Simpson College, Indianola, 7:30 P.M.
- April 11 "Upper Paleolithic Cave Art from the Caves near Les Eyzies, France," by Loree Rackstraw, Science Building, Iowa Central Community College, Fort Dodge, 7:00 P.M.
- April 24 "The Charles W. Cooper Site: An Oneota Outpost in the Central Illinois River Valley," by Duane Esarey, Putnam Museum, Davenport, 7:30 P.M.
- May 29 "Cahokia: The Ancient Capital of the Midwest," by Melvin Fowler, Putnam Museum, Davenport, 7:30 P.M.

H. Roger Grant to Speak at Oelwein

H. Roger Grant, a frequent contributor to the *Palimpsest*, will give a public lecture at Oelwein on Thursday, 8 March 1984. Grant is a professor of history at the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, and his new book has just been published by Northern Illinois University Press, *The Corn Belt Route: A History of the Chicago Great Western Railroad Company*. Grant's lecture, "Oelwein and the Chicago Great Western Railroad," will be given at the Oelwein Public Library at 7:00 P.M. An autograph party will follow.

AASLH Gives Prestigious Local History Achievement Awards to an Iowan and an Iowa Foundation

On 3 October 1983 Dr. Robert R. Hardman of Cedar Falls and the Living History Farms Foundation of Des Moines won national awards for their work in state and local history.

Dr. Hardman won a Certificate of Commendation for producing the multimedia productions "Ice Harvesting" and "Ice Cutting on the Cedar."

The Living History Farms Foundation won an Award of Merit for excellence in the field of preservation and interpretation of the technology of Midwest agriculture and rural life.

The American Association for State and Local History conferred the awards at its annual meeting in Victoria, British Columbia. The association's awards program is the nation's most prestigious competition for local history achievement.

A national selection committee, chaired by Michael J. Smith, director of the Putnam Museum in Davenport, Iowa, and composed of leaders in the history profession, reviewed 143 nominations. Thirty-seven awards of merit and fifty-five certificates of commendation were awarded to individuals, institutions, and historical organizations across the United States and Canada.

Nominations originate at the local level and are screened at the state and regional levels by a national network of judges. Only those nominations approved in these preliminary competitions are considered for national honors.

The American Association for State and Local History, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee, has given awards to local historians and historical agencies since 1944. A nonprofit educational organization with a membership of more than 8,000 individuals and institutions, AASLH works to advance knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of local history in the United States and Canada. It publishes books, technical leaflets, and *History News* magazine and holds seminars, workshops, and other educational programs for professional and volunteer workers in the field of state and local history.

Dr. Loren N. Horton will represent AASLH at an official awards ceremony to be held for the presentation of Dr. Robert R. Hardman's Certificate of Commendation and the Living History Farms Foundation's Award of Merit.

Meet Carol Scott, the Society's New Membership Clerk

Carol Scott is the person Society members deal with when it is time to pay annual dues, change addresses, or order Society publications. She is the Society's membership clerk. It is a job with a variety of responsibilities, although the most important part of the job is keeping the membership records up-to-date.

Carol joined the staff of the State Historical Society in August of last year and has proven to be a valuable addition to the staff. She corresponds with lowans curious about the Society and its role in disseminating Iowa history, maintains the up-to-the-minute inventory of Society publications — both old and new, handles the Society's cash deposits, and makes certain that outgoing and incoming mail is processed efficiently.

Carol will be a key person in the changeover from the Society's reliance on the University of Iowa's computer system to the new State Historical Society computer system. She will also be the person most directly affected by the changeover, perhaps. Carol will be able to process any changes in the membership records or publications inventory immediately, and take best advantage of a new computerized billing system to be implemented shortly.

A native of Columbus Junction, Carol graduated from Columbus Community High School in 1981. Between the date of her graduation and the time she joined the Society's staff, Carol worked in the bookkeeping department of Peoples National Bank, Columbus Junction, and studied accounting at the American Institute of Commerce, Bettendorf. While Carol does not currently plan to pursue a college degree in accounting she enjoys working with figures — and handling money.

Carol admits to having known very little about the State Historical Society of Iowa before joining its staff, but she enjoys her job so far, even with the lengthy, daily commute between Columbus Junction and Iowa City. She finds the job challenging and likes working with Society members.

In her spare time, Carol enjoys reading historical novels, bowling, playing softball, and eating pizza. She is also busy making plans for her May wedding.



New Research Fees Adopted by ISHD/OSHSI

The Iowa State Historical Department/Office of the State Historical Society has adopted a new research fees schedule. The new research rates became effective on 1 January 1984. Responding to out-of-state genealogy reference letters will now cost \$5.00 as compared to the old rate of \$3.00. The fee includes up to one-half hour of staff research time and up to five photocopies. The cost of all library staff research time after the first half hour — based, of course, on staff availability — will be \$6.00 an hour, compared to the old rate of \$4.00 an hour.

Symposium on the History of Soil and Water Conservation

The Agricultural History Society, University of Missouri-Columbia, and the Soil Conservation Service will hold a multidisciplinary Symposium on the History of Soil and Water Conservation at Columbia, Missouri, May 23-26, 1984. Among the speakers will be agricultural economist Sandra Batie, agronomist Chris Johannsen, historian Harold Pinkett, Canadian research officer J.W. Morrison, and British experts on conservation in Africa Norman Hudson and Michael Stocking. For program and registration information contact Susan Flader, Department of History, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri 65211, or Douglas Helms, P.O. Box 2890, Washington, D.C. 20013.

New Search for Iowa County Land Ownership Maps and Atlases

The Iowa county land ownership maps and atlases on the following list are believed to exist but they have not been located yet. Michael Conzen, an associate professor of geography at the University of Chicago, has developed the list based on George A. Ogle's register. Ogle's company was active in making land ownership maps at the turn of the century and in order to prevent duplication of another company's mapmaking efforts, and as part of a marketing strategy, he developed a register which listed where and when land ownership maps were made.

The State Historical Society's library staff is in the process of organizing the pre-1940 land ownership atlases for a microfiche project. The staff is actively looking for the following maps and atlases and would like to borrow any that you might have so that they might be included in the filming project. If you know of the whereabouts of any of the maps and atlases on the list please contact Map Librarian Nancy Kraft at the State Historical Society of Iowa. — Nancy Kraft

Iowa Maps and Atlases Believed to Exist, But Not Yet Located

County	Date	Map/Atlas	Company
Adams	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Allamakee	1914	Atlas	Webb Pub. Co.
Audubon	1883	Map	Davy, Gillen & Chandler
Audubon	1914	Map	Audubon Advocate, Audubon, IA
Black Hawk	1886	Atlas	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Black Hawk	1901	Map	Waterloo Courier, Waterloo, IA
Boone	1891	Map	J.A. Worcester, Boone, IA
Boone	1912	Map	Kenyon Co. & News Republican, Boone, IA
Boone	1916	Atlas	Anderson Pub. Co.
Bremer	1907	Map	Bremer Co. Independent, Waverly, IA
Bremer	1913	Map	Bremer Co. Democrat, Waverly, IA
Buchanan	1910	Map	Midland Map Co., Knoxville, IA
Buena Vista	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Buena Vista	1895	Map	F.A. & F.G. Harriman
Buena Vista	1927	Map	American Litho. Co., Des Moines, IA
Butler	1875	Map	Townsend & Palmer
Butler	1906	Atlas	Times Republican, Marshalltown, IA
Calhoun	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Calhoun	1906	Map	B.E. Stonebraker + Rand, McNally, Rockwell City, IA
Carroll	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Cedar	1895	Map	Coulton Smith, Mt. Vernon, IA
Cerro Gordo	1881	Map	Shepherd, Co. Auditor, Mason City, IA
Cherokee	1883	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Cherokee	1895	Map	J.S. Pingrey, Cherokee, IA
Cherokee	1903	Map	Kenyon Co. + Cherokee Times
Cherokee	1907	Atlas	Geo. A. Ogle + Co., Chicago
Cherokee	1917	Map	Cherokee Times, Cherokee, IA
Clarke	1907	Atlas	P.C. Hennessey + Co.
Clarke	1922	Atlas	R.W. Ritchie, Osceola, IA
Clay	1926	Atlas	W.W. Hixson + Co., Rockford, IL
Clinton	1894	Atlas	Turner
Clinton	1908	Atlas	McGrath Abstract Co.
Crawford	1904	Map	Denison Review
Dallas	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Davis	1891	Atlas	Geo. A. Ogle + Co., Chicago
Delaware	1883	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Delaware	1915	Atlas	G.W. Anderson, Mason City, IA
Dickinson	1898	Map	Beacon Newspaper, Spirit Lake, IA
Emmet	1910	Atlas	Vindicator + Republican, Estherville, IA
Franklin	1894	Map	F.G. Harriman, Hampton, IA
Greene	1880	Map	Andrew Watts
Greene	1914	Map	C.C. Vail
Grundy	1897	Map	Simpson + Co.
Grundy	1904	Map	W.W. Gaston, Reinbeck, IA
Guthrie	1881	Map	Allen & Co., Council Bluffs, IA
Guthrie	1916	Atlas	G.W. Anderson

Guthrie	1927	Atlas	W.W. Hixson + Co., Rockford, IL
Hamilton	1883	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Hamilton	1911	Map	Freeman Pub. Co., Webster City, IA
Hardin	1903	Atlas	Gardner + Co.
Howard	1898	Map	M.W. Smith, Reedsburg, WI
Humboldt	1915	Atlas	Snyder & Pritchard
Ida	1900	Map	G.W. McWilliams, Ida Grove, IA
Iowa	1900	Atlas	Huebinger Map Co., Davenport, IA
Jefferson	1894	Atlas	Geo. Walg, Fairfield, IA
Jefferson	1894	Map	Geo. Walg, Fairfield, IA
Johnson	1881	Atlas	J.H. Beers & Co., Chicago
Keokuk	1902	Atlas	Richardson + Kullien, Sigourney, IA
Lee	1902	Map	Hunter + Van Valkenberg, Rockford, IL
Linn	1872	Atlas	Harrison + Warner
Linn	1881	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Linn	1922	Atlas	Anderson Pub. Co., Des Moines, IA
Lucas	1896	Atlas	Kace Pub. Co.
Lucas	1912	Map	Midland Map Co., Knoxville, IA
Lyon	1888	Atlas	C.H. Scoville, Omaha, NE
Lyon	1902	Map	"local man"
Madison	1893	Atlas	unknown
Mitchell	1887	Map	E.E. Prime
Mitchell	1898	Map	S.G. Gardner, Osage, IA
Mitchell	1901	Map	Ellsworth + Graves, Osage, IA
Monona	1896	Map	Barton Bros.
Montgomery	1925	Atlas	W.W. Hixson + Co., Rockford, IL
O'Brien	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
O'Brien	1899	Map	W.H. Bloom
O'Brien	1901	Map	"Bell," [Primghar?]
O'Brien	1904	Map	West Engineering & Pub. Co., Humboldt, IA
Osceola	1889	Atlas	Geo. A. Ogle + Co., Chicago
Osceola	1896	Map	Sibley Herald, Sibley, IA
Plymouth	1884	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Plymouth	1897	Map	Sentinel, LeMars, IA
Plymouth	1919	Atlas	R.H. Fuller, Emmetsburg, IA
Pottawattamie	1915	Atlas	Rand, McNally + Co., Chicago
Poweshiek	1878	Map	E.E. Tucker
Poweshiek	1914	Map	Kenyon Co., Des Moines, IA
Sac	1883	Map	Chandler, Gillen + Davy, Chicago
Sac	1896	Map	Ott, Ferris + Parks
Sac	1908	Atlas	Geo. A. Ogle + Co., Chicago
Scott	1911	Map	Kenyon Co. + Daily Times, Davenport, IA
Scott	1924	Atlas	Sac Sun, Sac City, IA
Shelby	1899	Atlas	Geo. A. Ogle, Chicago
Shelby	1905	Map	"Foley"
Shelby	1927	Map	American Litho. Co., Des Moines, IA
Sioux	1883	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Sioux	1895	Map	Alton Democrat, Alton, IA
Sioux	1901	Map	Orange City Herald, Orange City, IA
Tama	1909	Atlas	Midland Map Co., Knoxville, IA
Taylor	1914	Map	"Surveyor"
Wapello	1915	Map	S.H. + F.H. Burton, Ottumwa, IA
Washington	1911	Map	Seymour Leader, Seymour, IA
Webster	1883	Map	Warner + Foote, Minneapolis
Webster	1895	Map	C.A. Snook, Ft. Dodge, IA
Webster	1922	Map	Reynolds + Prosser, Ft. Dodge, IA
Woodbury	1897	Map	R.S. Ripple, Sioux City, IA
Worth	1904	Map	Walters, Ft. Dodge, IA
Wright	1905	Map	W.A. Monroe, Clarion, IA

Information about any of these maps and atlases will be most welcome. Please contact Nancy Kraft, Map Librarian, State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

And So They Came

A new history of Bloomfield Township, Winneshiek County, has recently been published. *And So They Came* covers the period from early settlement to the present day and includes chapters about the businesses, farms, churches, schools, and cemeteries of the township. For more information about the book, contact Milton Koenig, RR 1 — P.O. Box 57, Castalia, Iowa 52133.

CALL FOR SHSI BOARD OF TRUSTEES NOMINATIONS

All members of the State Historical Society of Iowa are encouraged to participate in the annual election process for the State Historical Society's Board of Trustees. Nominations are now being accepted for four positions on the board. The terms of Edgar V. Epperly (Second Congressional District), Glenda Riley (Third Congressional District), Louis A. Haselmayer (At Large), and George W. McDaniel (At Large) will expire on 1 July 1984.

The Board of Trustees works to further understanding of Iowa history and to promote activities that help Iowans better understand their heritage.

Trustees serve three-year terms and must be members of the Society. Any Society member may make a nomination. If you wish to make a nomination, send a one-page letter including the name, address, and a brief biographical sketch of the nominee to:

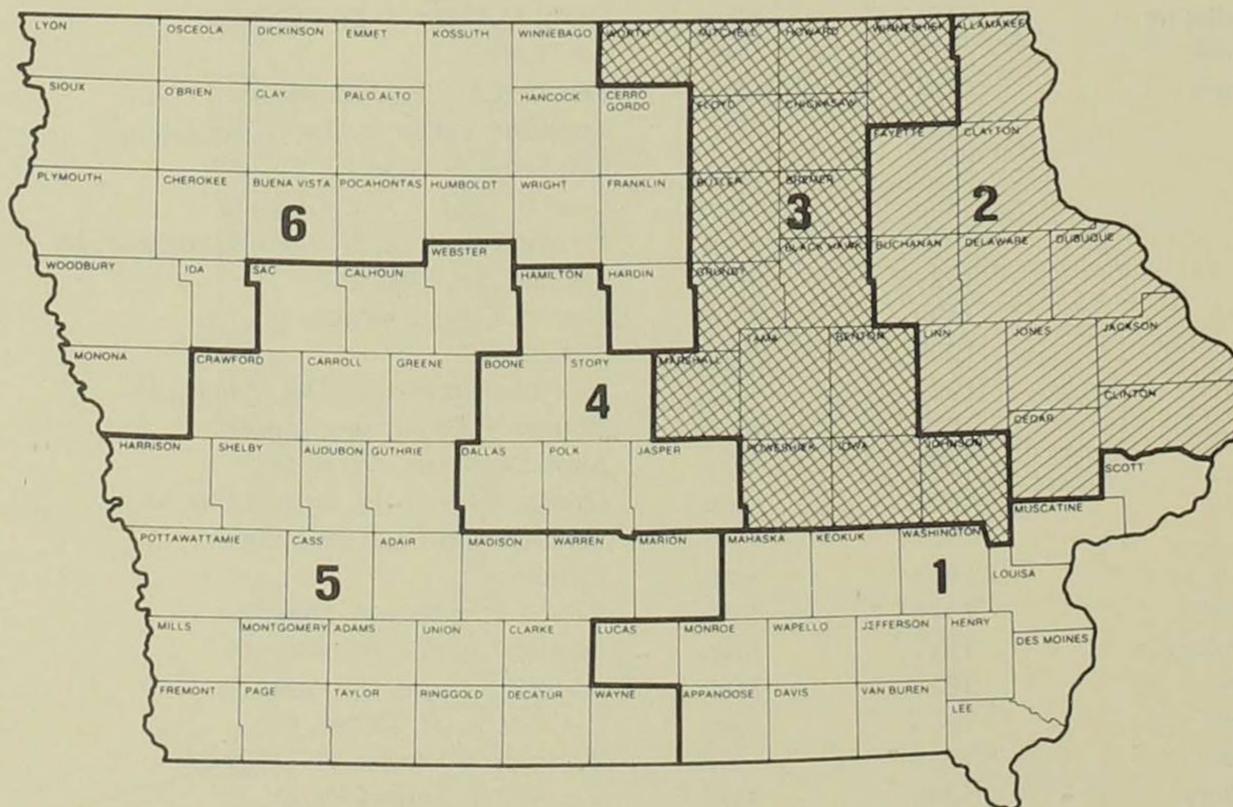
BOARD OF TRUSTEES NOMINATIONS

Office of the State Historical Society

402 Iowa Avenue

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Your nomination *must* be received before 16 March 1984.



often had hurdle races in addition to flat races and trotting races. Certain races were limited to horses owned and ridden by English colonists. Paper chases on horseback had been introduced by the English early on, but they quickly gave way to wolf hunts and stag hunts which proved almost as enjoyable as fox hunting for the colonists. Moreover, the English colony brought cricket with them to northwestern Iowa. There is evidence that a cricket club had been established in Council Bluffs as early as 1863 with W. H. M. Pusey as president. But serious cricket was played in northwestern Iowa in the early 1880s with teams from West Fork, LeMars, and Portlandville. Teams from Minneapolis and St. Paul offered competition to the LeMars Cricket Club at this time. (In a slight digression, it might be pointed out that cricket was not as rare as one might think in the American West. In the mid-1880s the Butte Cricket Club was issuing challenges to the Salt Lake Cricket Club and clubs existed in Omaha and Kansas City in the 1890s. Cricket seems to have sprung up in places where there was a large influx of Englishmen who simply brought the game with them. In Butte, for example, the game was played by English miners. It would be interesting to know how much the demise of cricket was caused in the second generation by the peer and schoolyard pressures which might have been exerted on the sons of cricket players. In any case, baseball was certainly the national pastime and cricket was not a serious contender for any such honors in the 1880s or 1890s.)

As a second indication of the impact of ethnic background on sports and games, one can note that Turnvereins were organized in both Sioux City and Council Bluffs in 1882. It was not the English alone who brought their games with them from the old country.

The late 1870s and the early 1880s were a time in western Iowa when the frontier was gone and when the adjustment was being

made to a society with a basically agricultural focus serviced by a number of relatively stable and relatively small market towns scattered through the area with three larger distribution and manufacturing centers on the periphery (Des Moines, Sioux City, and Omaha/Council Bluffs). In such a configuration of forces, sports and games developed in no consistent pattern. Agrarian sports continued to interest agrarian people even if those agrarian people found themselves living in small towns or even moderately sized cities. Town sports developed perforce and town spirit thrived on the competition which resulted from town teams whether they were made up of firemen or baseball players. But at the same time the larger cities were developing the spectator sports which would be more neatly a part of urban development. Baseball was in the forefront, and the early 1880s were not far from those moments when minor league baseball would take firm root in urban America, particularly in the West.

In the period prior to the 1880s there had been more hunting, more shooting, and more horse competitions of one kind or another in western Iowa. In short, there were more sports and games of interest to men and women close to the land. Western Iowa, however, moved steadily away from such agrarian sports in the early years of the twentieth century toward sports and games which were more highly organized, more "modern", and which reflected the increasing impact of urban values on the rural scene. □

Note on Sources

Most of the information in this paper was drawn from newspapers of the period, with particular use being made of the *Council Bluffs Daily Nonpareil* (1879-1882) and the *Sioux City Daily Journal* (1881-1882). The *Eleventh Census* (1890) was used for population data. Roscoe L. Lokken's *Iowa Public Land Disposal* (Iowa City, 1942) and Earle D. Ross' *Iowa Agriculture: An Historical Survey* (Iowa City, 1951) were consulted about the end of the frontier in Iowa. Jacob Van der Zee's *The British in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1922) provided information about the sports and games of English colonists in northwestern Iowa.

A Mercantile History of Sioux City in the 1880s

by William Silag

On the first day of 1885, editor George Perkins of the *Sioux City Journal* wrote, "A city, like an individual, does not and can not live to itself alone [but must] grow in the growing needs of its environment." For Sioux City it was the needs of "the magnificent territory included in northwest Iowa, southern Dakota, lower Minnesota, and Nebraska across the Missouri River that has made Sioux City what it is today."

Magnificent indeed, the territory stretched nearly one hundred miles north and two hundred miles west toward the Rocky Mountains. Sioux City stood south and east, the apex of a triangular range covering one hundred twenty thousand square miles. Long barren, the territory's agricultural possibilities remained untapped till the western railroads drew the Upper Missouri region into the mainstream of national commerce in the 1870s. None of this

had been inevitable, Perkins reminded his readers New Year's morning: "the natural advantages, admirable and undeniable as they are, would never have lifted it to the important position it now holds without the concurrent agency of its businessmen, who have had the wisdom to see, and the energy to seize upon and profit by these advantages."

Perkins was partially correct, though economic forces from outside the community figured heavily in the local success story of the 1880s. Sioux City's businessmen had been unusually tenacious in their effort to forge transportation links between the Upper Missouri region and the centers of American trade. Beginning in 1855 and continuing through the era of the Civil War, local businessmen had underwritten twenty-five years of relentless promotion — advertising, political lobbying, and investment in dozens of transportation projects — much of it quite costly to the municipal treasury and to the individual merchants

© Iowa State Historical Department/Office of the State Historical Society 1984 0031—0360/84/0102—0026 \$1.00



involved. Yet in 1880 Sioux City numbered barely seven thousand people, not even half the populations of similarly situated Missouri River towns such as Kansas City and Omaha, whose growth Sioux Citians sought to emulate. These older cities had long since established themselves as entrepôts of western agricultural commerce. Their hinterlands, having filled quickly in the wake of trunk-line railroad service soon after the Civil War, already contributed mightily to the nation's commodity markets. They had been spared delays in railroad construction, poor harvests due to pests, and the untimely effects of a national business crisis in slowing the rate of rural settlement, all of which contributed to the late and somewhat sluggish start of Sioux City's growth as a regional market center in the 1870s.

Economic prospects in the Upper Missouri improved considerably in 1880 when a consolidation of several of the city's northern feeder lines into the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul railroad system relieved Sioux City businessmen of an enormous financial burden and permitted them to concentrate on other commercial interests. The consolidation gave Sioux City a place in James J. Hill's Great Northern Railway network, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Slope. As editor Perkins noted at the time, "the importance of this system, or the magnitude of its prospective busi-

ness, can hardly be overestimated," for the Great Northern made Sioux City the hub of commercial traffic moving into and out of the northern prairie. It strengthened the city's hold on the wholesaler's market of the Upper Missouri country, which had been threatened periodically by commercial agents from St. Paul and even Omaha during the 1870s, and eventually would also bring tens of thousands of farm families, producers of grain and livestock, into Sioux City's rural hinterland.

Until the late 1860s Sioux City's wholesale market extended in long thin bands along the Missouri River and its tributaries to the north and west of the city serving army outposts and Indian agencies. Completion of local railroads feeding into regional trunk lines during the 1870s doubled the potential size of that market and enabled local supply houses, including those headed by long-time Sioux City merchants Henry Booge, D.T. Hedges, and Edwin Kirk, to seek out customers for their groceries, hardware, and dry goods among the pioneer retailers of hinterland towns in northwest Iowa. In addition, at least a dozen new wholesaling firms appeared in Sioux City to take advantage of the rising demand for farm and household supplies in the enlarged trade area.

For a few years Sioux City's claims on this



A Mercantile History of Sioux City in the 1880s

by William Silag

On the first day of 1885, editor George Perkins of the *Sioux City Journal* wrote, "A city, like an individual, does not and can not live to itself alone [but must] grow in the growing needs of its environment." For Sioux City it was the needs of "the magnificent territory included in northwest Iowa, southern Dakota, lower Minnesota, and Nebraska across the Missouri River that has made Sioux City what it is today."

Magnificent indeed, the territory stretched nearly one hundred miles north and two hundred miles west toward the Rocky Mountains. Sioux City stood south and east, the apex of a triangular range covering one hundred twenty thousand square miles. Long barren, the territory's agricultural possibilities remained untapped till the western railroads drew the Upper Missouri region into the mainstream of national commerce in the 1870s. None of this

had been inevitable, Perkins reminded his readers New Year's morning: "the natural advantages, admirable and undeniable as they are, would never have lifted it to the important position it now holds without the concurrent agency of its businessmen, who have had the wisdom to see, and the energy to seize upon and profit by these advantages."

Perkins was partially correct, though economic forces from outside the community figured heavily in the local success story of the 1880s. Sioux City's businessmen had been unusually tenacious in their effort to forge transportation links between the Upper Missouri region and the centers of American trade. Beginning in 1855 and continuing through the era of the Civil War, local businessmen had underwritten twenty-five years of relentless promotion — advertising, political lobbying, and investment in dozens of transportation projects — much of it quite costly to the municipal treasury and to the individual merchants

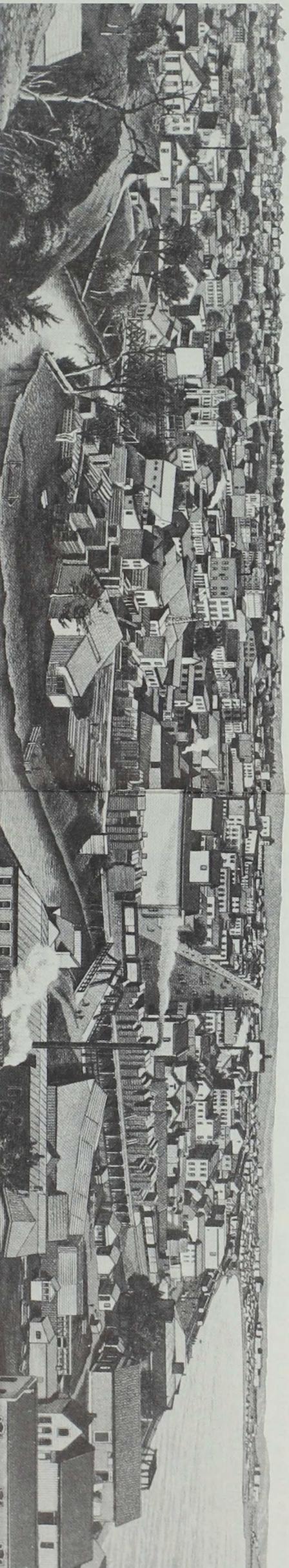
involved. Yet in 1880 Sioux City numbered barely seven thousand people, not even half the populations of similarly situated Missouri River towns such as Kansas City and Omaha, whose growth Sioux Citians sought to emulate. These older cities had long since established themselves as entrepôts of western agricultural commerce. Their hinterlands, having filled quickly in the wake of trunk-line railroad service soon after the Civil War, already contributed mightily to the nation's commodity markets. They had been spared delays in railroad construction, poor harvests due to pests, and the untimely effects of a national business crisis in slowing the rate of rural settlement, all of which contributed to the late and somewhat sluggish start of Sioux City's growth as a regional market center in the 1870s.

Economic prospects in the Upper Missouri improved considerably in 1880 when a consolidation of several of the city's northern feeder lines into the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul railroad system relieved Sioux City businessmen of an enormous financial burden and permitted them to concentrate on other commercial interests. The consolidation gave Sioux City a place in James J. Hill's Great Northern Railway network, stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Slope. As editor Perkins noted at the time, "the importance of this system, or the magnitude of its prospective busi-

ness, can hardly be overestimated," for the Great Northern made Sioux City the hub of commercial traffic moving into and out of the northern prairie. It strengthened the city's hold on the wholesaler's market of the Upper Missouri country, which had been threatened periodically by commercial agents from St. Paul and even Omaha during the 1870s, and eventually would also bring tens of thousands of farm families, producers of grain and livestock, into Sioux City's rural hinterland.

Until the late 1860s Sioux City's wholesale market extended in long thin bands along the Missouri River and its tributaries to the north and west of the city serving army outposts and Indian agencies. Completion of local railroads feeding into regional trunk lines during the 1870s doubled the potential size of that market and enabled local supply houses, including those headed by long-time Sioux City merchants Henry Booge, D. T. Hedges, and Edwin Kirk, to seek out customers for their groceries, hardware, and dry goods among the pioneer retailers of hinterland towns in northwest Iowa. In addition, at least a dozen new wholesaling firms appeared in Sioux City to take advantage of the rising demand for farm and household supplies in the enlarged trade area.

For a few years Sioux City's claims on this



© Iowa State Historical Department/Office of the State Historical Society, 1984 0031—0360/84/0102—0026 \$1.00

market went unchallenged, for neither Fort Dodge nor Omaha wholesalers expressed much interest in the territory. In 1872, however, the opening of the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad brought commercial travelers from Minneapolis and other western cities into Plymouth, Sioux, and Cherokee counties, a development that infuriated *Journal* editor Perkins. Sioux Citians, including such suppliers as Booge and Hedges, had helped finance construction of the northern rail line and now, ironically, it threatened to become their undoing. Perkins chastised local wholesalers for permitting such an invasion and admonished them to repel the intruders with a more aggressive pursuit of the hinterland trade.

Statistics of commerce for these years are hard to come by, but it would appear from local newspaper advertisements that the Sioux City men managed to regain control of most of this market soon after the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad entered the Upper Missouri country in 1880. The immediate effect of the CM & StP's absorption of the region's smaller carriers was a reduction of freight rates for Sioux City jobbers, which enabled them to claim they could undersell their Minneapolis and Omaha competitors in most lines of merchandise. By 1885 they had secured a strong position in a market that would grow from about 100,000 people to more than 400,000 by 1900.

Sioux City's pioneer wholesalers carried diverse inventories; a merchandiser such as Henry Booge offered retailers everything from farm machinery to soda crackers. As the number of hinterland retailers increased, however, each wholesaler in Sioux City tended to specialize in one or two areas of trade that had proved particularly successful and let newcomers handle the abandoned lines of merchandise. Milton Tootle, for instance, gradually divested himself of a large grocery

operation in order to concentrate on a more profitable dry goods business. Other Sioux City dealers began to specialize in hardware, boots and shoes, and drugs. By the mid-1880s hefty profits were made in every line of trade. As wholesale grocer Conrad Schenkberg discovered, increases in the demand for goods often outran a merchandiser's ability to build up an inventory. Schenkberg opened his business in 1882 and enjoyed sales of \$350,000 in the first year, \$450,000 the next. When interviewed in 1885, he said that he expected the annual figure to reach \$650,000, but noted that "if we had double the capital we could easily double our business. We have all we can do."

Wholesale houses already employed a total of 412 men in 1881, about 20 percent of Sioux City's entire labor force, and paid in wages nearly \$200,000. In addition, local merchants gave work to an indeterminate number of artisans, express agents, depot clerks, and professional men who involved themselves in one way or another with the rising tide of wholesale merchandise shipped through Sioux City on its way to consumers in the city's hinterland. In the 1880s the traffic included feed grains, furs and hides, coal and stove wood, agricultural implements, liquor and wine, saddlery, dry goods and notions, boots and shoes, hardware, sewing machines, books and stationery, crackers, china, and crockery. Each of these products was the specialty of at least one local mercantile house. Commission merchants, commercial agents, and general dealers added a potpourri of other items to Sioux City's wholesale trade, helping to build up an annual sales volume that topped \$6 million as early as 1881. And the future beckoned, as an investor's guidebook noted that year: "the need of more commercial houses is the crying need of the city. The field is large, and the harvest is plentiful, but the laborers comparatively few."

Although trade statistics are not completely reliable, figures compiled for city directories in the 1880s show that between commercial

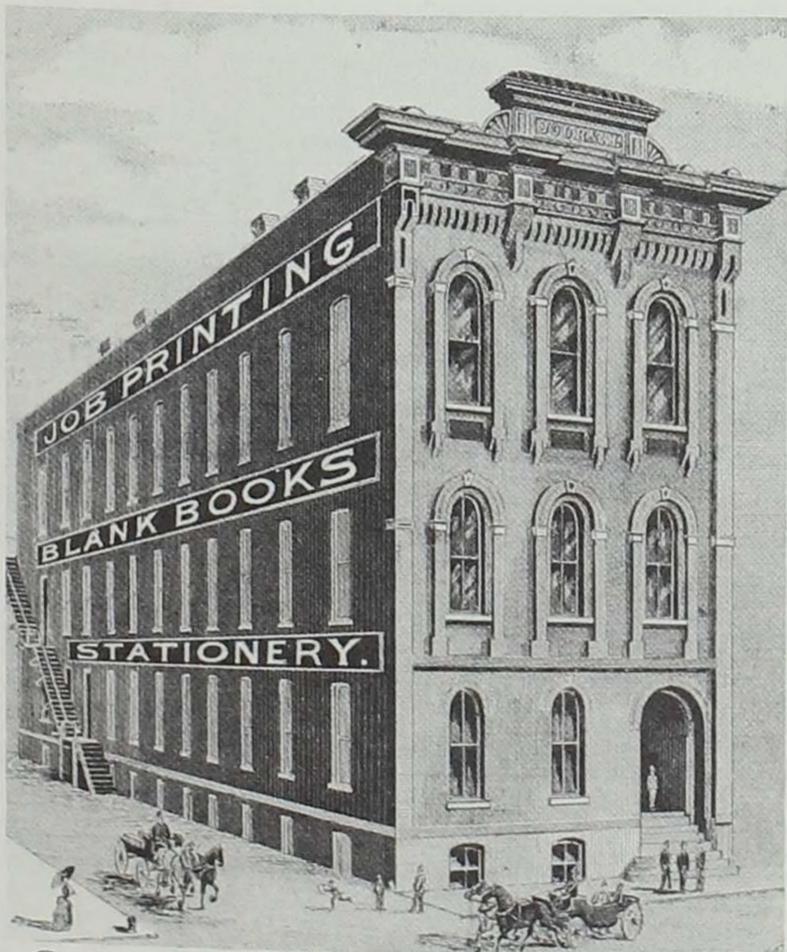
agents and general dealers, Sioux City's annual wholesale trade volume approached \$25 million by the end of the decade. This booming business benefited the local economy in several ways. It kept hundreds of men working throughout the year, enriched their employers, and provided capital for investment in a variety of other business enterprises. Railroad extension projects typically consumed some of the merchants' profits, but so too did a number of manufacturing plants built in Sioux City to take advantage of its excellent location in an increasingly important consumer market. Factories ranged in size from the tiny shop of George Douglass, inventor of "Dr. Douglass's Portable Combined, Turkish, Russian, Electro-vapor and Sulpher Bath," to the mammoth Paris Stove Works, built at a cost of \$500,000 and employing 400 workers. Other industries producing goods for sale by the region's retailers included the Sioux City Plow Works, Pech's Pump and Windmill Company, a soap factory, the Sioux City Pottery Works, an over-

all manufactory, and the Sioux City Vinegar Company. All told, more than a hundred factories were established in Sioux City during the 1880s, at least half of them seeking to exploit the consumer markets established in the city's hinterland by local wholesalers.

The mercantile trade by itself spawned enough manufacturing activity to rank Sioux City among the industrial leaders of the trans-Mississippi West before 1900. Yet wholesaling and the factories serving it constituted only half the business community built by Sioux City merchants to tap the resources of the Upper Missouri. While local merchandisers secured the region's consumer market, dealers in agricultural commodities looked for ways to bring regional grain and livestock into Sioux City mills and stockyards for processing. Like the wholesale houses, the processing firms had been active for years before the population boom of the 1880s, creating a system of collecting and marketing that enabled farmers in the Upper Missouri country to leap into commercial production almost immediately when they began harvesting.

No enterprise better symbolizes the rising influence of Sioux City business interests over the entire Upper Missouri country than the meatpacking industry. Beef and pork processing made Sioux City Iowa's fastest growing manufacturing center after 1880; in ten years the old steamboat port became one of the industrial capitals of the trans-Mississippi West. High returns from local packing plants attracted the attention of investors in New York and competitors in Chicago and lured some of Sioux City's businessmen into realms of high finance and corporate intrigue unimaginable to the pioneer butchers who founded the industry a few years after the Civil War.

Meatpacking in Sioux City dated back to the first years of railroad service in northwestern Iowa. Begun by butcher James Booge as an auxiliary of his brother's wholesaling business,



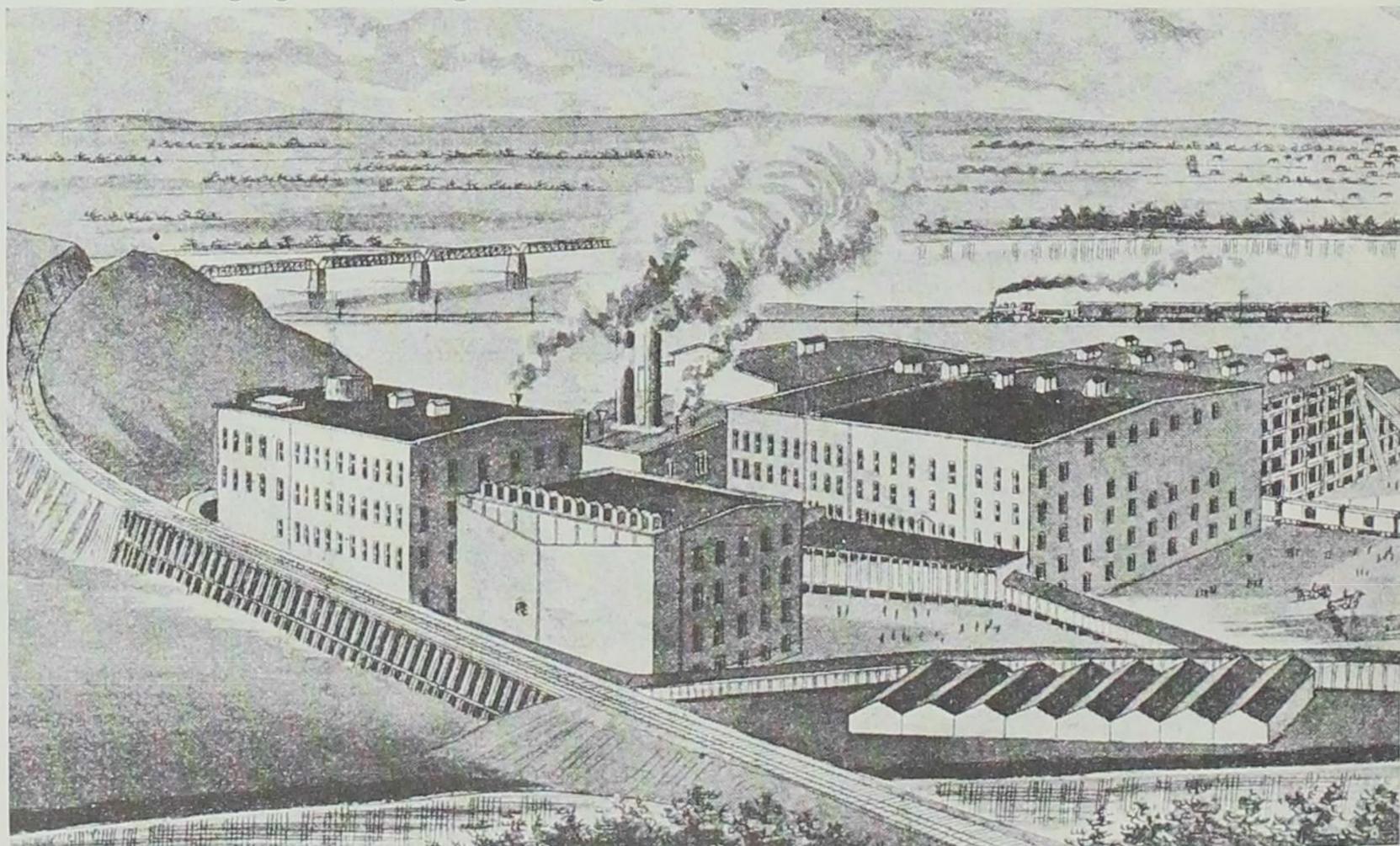
George Perkins' Sioux City Journal building.
(Sioux City Illustrated, 1888)

the town's first slaughterhouse was simply a small shack beside Perry Creek near the central business district. Booge's business grew quickly in its first years and forced him to move to larger quarters several times. His success also drew other butchers into the field. In 1879 Sioux City's 150 packinghouse workers produced dressed beef and pork valued at \$1.5 million. Seven firms shared the market that year but Booge's plant accounted for more than 90 percent of the city's total output of meat products.

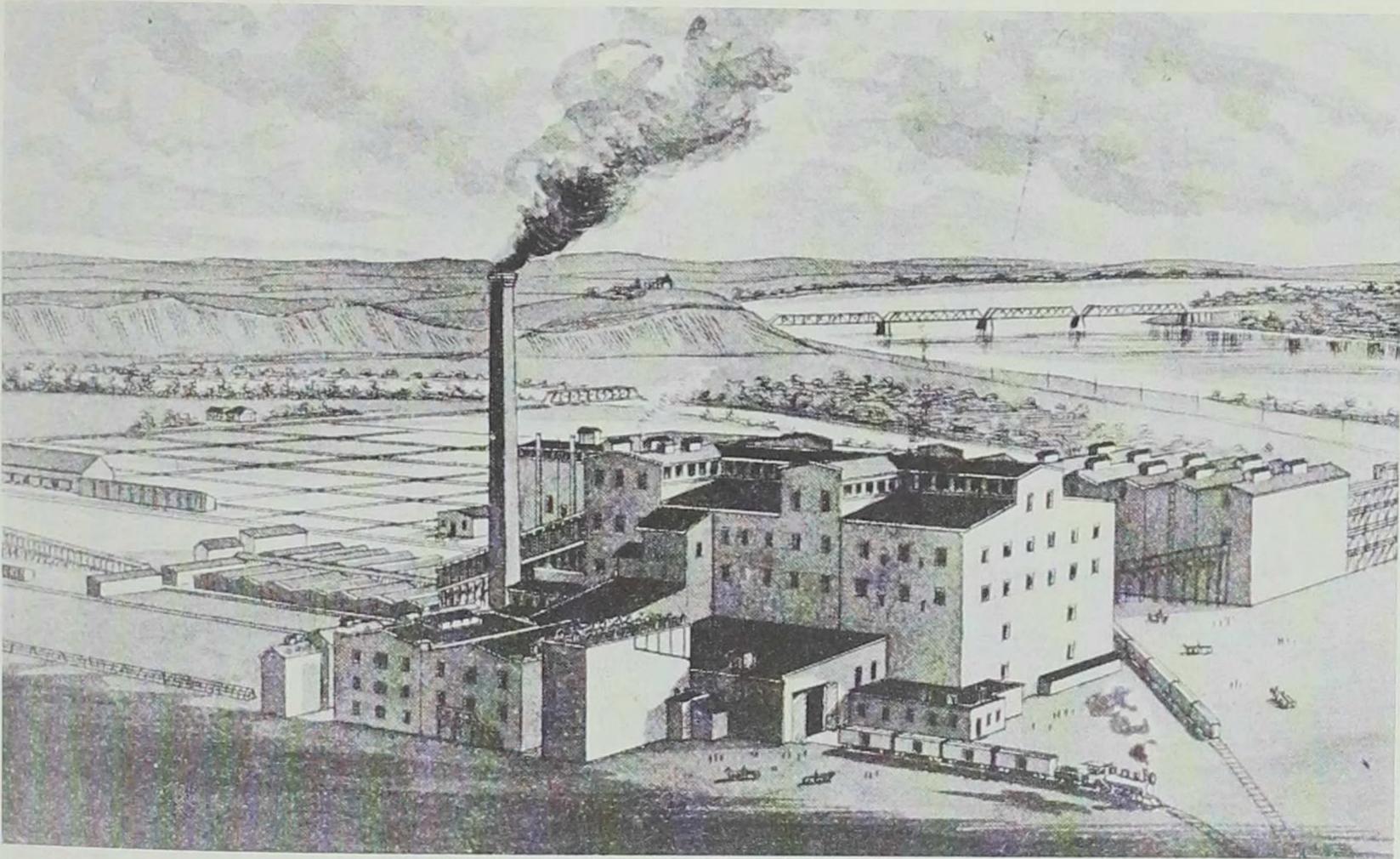
As spectacular as his firm's growth had been in the previous decade, this was only the beginning for James Booge. In 1880 he announced a major expansion of his company's operations and the relocation of the plant to a spacious site on the city's south side. The new factory cost \$250,000 to build and covered ten acres on the flatlands between the Missouri and Floyd Rivers. When it opened in 1881, 350 workers manned the company's receiving pens, killing floors, and hanging rooms; wages averaged \$6

per day. A few years after completion of the new plant, Booge incorporated his firm in order to finance further additions to the facility prompted by steadily rising orders for its meat products. By the mid-1880s Booge handled 2,000 hogs and 300 cattle per day most months of the year; in 1885 his slaughterhouse could barely keep up with receipts in the busy winter season. The outlook on the demand side was equally favorable. Not only was the market for western meat growing, but recent technological advances in the industry, notably refrigerated railroad cars, assured western beef and pork packers that their product could be transported safely in bulk to eastern markets.

Chicago processors, the long-time leaders of the industry, watched the Sioux City meat market closely. Several of them were considering extensions of operations to take advantage of the increasing beef and pork production of the western prairie. In northwestern Iowa alone, the dollar value of animals for slaughter totaled \$5.7 million in 1884, double the



Silberhorn Packing Company's Plant. (Sioux City Illustrated, 1888)



Booge Packing Company's Plant. (Sioux City Illustrated, 1888)

amount of five years earlier. Moreover, new cattle and hog farms in Nebraska and Dakota promised to accelerate the growth of the region's livestock herds. The Chicagoans made no secret of their interest in Sioux City; through 1884 and 1885 the Iowa city buzzed with rumors of the imminent arrival of the Swifts or the Cudahys.

As it happened, however, the first of the Chicago firms to build in Sioux City was a relatively small corporation headed by William Silberhorn. Late in 1885 the Chicagoan announced plans to build a slaughterhouse adjacent to James Booge's plant on the city's south side. Completed two years later at a cost of \$750,000, the new facility boasted a capacity of 3,000 hogs, 1,000 cattle, and 500 sheep per day. There is no evidence to suggest that Silberhorn's arrival in Sioux City caused Booge any trouble; the livestock market of the Upper Missouri region was large enough for both of them and it continued to grow. Indeed, at least a few investors believed that it was growing fast

enough to support still another packinghouse, for in 1888 a company headed by Edward Haakinson, a prominent Sioux City livestock dealer, entered the local packing industry. Haakinson's Union Packing Company occupied buildings recently erected and then abandoned by a British packer, Robert Fowler, who became seriously ill before he moved into his new quarters and abruptly decided to leave the business. Fowler sold Haakinson a half-dozen buildings, including a six-story killing house, a five-story packing plant, a four-story dressing room, a smokehouse, an icehouse, and an office building.

Booge, Silberhorn, and Haakinson did a combined business of \$7.6 million in 1889, enough to rank Sioux City fifth among the nation's meatpacking cities. Together they employed some 600 men in factories and stockyards that filled an area of 1,500 acres on the Missouri River flats. They leased the holding pens that surrounded their slaughterhouses from the Union Stockyards Company, a sepa-



Sioux City's Pierce Street, looking north from Fourth Street, in the mid-1880s. (Album of Sioux City, 1888)

rate corporation formed in 1884 by wholesaler D.T. Hedges, shipper Fred Evans, and Ed Haakinson, who served as the company's chief of operations in its first few years. Competitors in theory only, Sioux City's meatpackers divided seats on the stockyard's board of directors among themselves and through this organization guided the development of Sioux City's processing industries until business crises in the 1890s forced local packers to sell their plants and equipment to Chicago processing corporations.

Until then, at least, the regional economy centered in Sioux City made enormous progress. Largely through the efforts of local wholesalers and manufacturers, the people of the Upper Missouri region joined the mainstream of American commerce. While Sioux City's processors took farm produce from the

hinterlands for sale in consumer markets in the United States and in Europe, its merchandisers brought the world's goods to retailers scattered through the region. As the volume of their trade increased, so did the size of their community, up by thirty thousand people during the 1880s. And by then, this much was clear: the welfare of these urbanites relied heavily on the prosperity of the region's farmers and retailers, the source of Sioux City commerce. □

Note on Sources

This article, which is based on information from state and federal censuses, local newspapers and business directories, and commercial publications issued in Sioux City during the 1880s, is a revised version of a chapter of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "City, Town, and Countryside: The Ecology of Urbanization in Northwestern Iowa, 1850-1900" (The University of Iowa, 1979). Copies of the dissertation are on file at the State Historical Society in Iowa City and at the Sioux City Public Museum.

A Struggle for Office:

The Sherman-Brown Imbroglia

by Loren N. Horton

The following article by Loren N. Horton, "A Struggle for Office: The Sherman-Brown Imbroglia," was not presented as a paper at the Missouri Valley History Conference. The subject is so closely related to the three previous articles, however, that an editorial decision was made to publish it in this issue.

— Ed.

Charges of malfeasance, criminality, corruption, and crookedness in high public office have been part of American life almost from the beginning of our nation. A discussion of the subject might begin with a consideration of General Washington's expense accounts. It might end almost anywhere. No one seems to have been above suspicion. A recent study of charges of misconduct in previous presidential administrations contained comment on almost every presidential administration except that of William Henry Harrison, whose tenure in office was only a month in length.

But of all the periods in our history when corruption was a major issue, none was more noted than the period ushered in by the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant. It was an era which a pair of wits, Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, dubbed "The Gilded Age." The term described the years in the latter half of the nineteenth century when there was great industrial expansion, an enormous amount of financial chicanery, much political wire-pulling, and clearly, a lot of cor-

ruption in high places. It was a time when some people in high office were certainly purchasable.

Corruption appeared on all levels and in all branches of government. County treasurers were known to abscond with county funds. Magistrates, legislators, elected and appointed officials alike, felt the temptation at times to listen to the alluring promises of individuals who approached them with offers of passes or positions or even money. Such individuals offered whatever they believed it would take to secure the passage of some desired piece of legislation or to block the passage of undesired bills. Bosses, such as William Marcy Tweed, ran political machines which allowed them to control cities and even states.

Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner's *The Gilded Age* was published in 1873 but the "Gilded Age" in a more general sense lasted well past the Grant administrations. The *Crédit Mobilier*, a magnificent scheme for huge profits for the visionaries who built the first transcontinental railroad, was certainly a piece of Gilded Age finagling. And it might be suggested that the 1876 presidential election was a high moment in Gilded Age politics. In that election the will of the electorate was probably thwarted and the election taken from the man who had won. It may have been given to the loser because he was willing to dicker for it if necessary. Or consider the case of Chester A. Arthur. Arthur's poor management practices got him removed from his position as collector of customs in the New York Customs House in



1878 but he was elected vice-president in 1880 and he became president in 1881 after the death of James A. Garfield.

The frequency of disclosures of corruption in high places in the last quarter of the nineteenth century dulled the sensibilities of the public who became inured to such charges. Moreover, they could not always be certain that the charges were not being made by unscrupulous people who sought to gain political advantage by blacking their opponents in some particularly vicious manner. Lemuel Bolter, running against an incumbent Republican, Colonel Sapp, in an 1876 Iowa congressional race, found himself charged with being a fugitive from justice from Michigan where he was supposedly wanted for incest. The charge was made a bare week before the election. In many cases it is impossible to tell at this time whether particular charges of corruption or criminality leveled at an individual in the nineteenth century were based on an honest attempt to root out immoral or criminal behavior, or whether they were put forth for simple electoral benefit.

* * *

Neither Iowa nor Iowans were free from the period's penchant for accusations of political corruption. One of the major scandals during the Grant administration concerned an Iowan, Major General William Worth Belknap, who made a hasty and voluntary exit from President Grant's cabinet on 2 March 1873. As Grant's secretary of war, General Belknap was accused of receiving cash payments from a man for whom he had arranged a partnership with the post trader at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. Belknap's resignation did not prevent him from being impeached but the fact that he was no longer a member of the cabinet

Opposite: The auditor's private room in the Iowa State Capitol Building, 1885. (SHSI)

led to his acquittal since a number of senators based their vote on a lack of jurisdiction.

But the most flamboyant episode in Gilded Age shenanigans in Iowa occurred in 1885 and 1886 when the governor of the state, Buren R. Sherman, became involved in a lengthy and notorious dispute with the Auditor of State, John L. Brown. The protagonists were both elected Republican officials, both veterans of the Civil War, and both rather unspectacular gentlemen who would long ago have been forgotten had it not been for their battle over the policies and procedures of the state auditor's office. That battle received much attention from Iowa's newspaper editors in 1885 and 1886. There were pro-Sherman papers, most prominent among which was the *Iowa State Register* where Ret Clarkson called the shots. There were the pro-Brown papers such as the *Fort Madison Plain-Dealer* or the *Osceola Sentinel*. And there were a few papers which either straddled the fence or called for a pox on both men. The heat which the controversy generated was intense but what did it all mean?

* * *

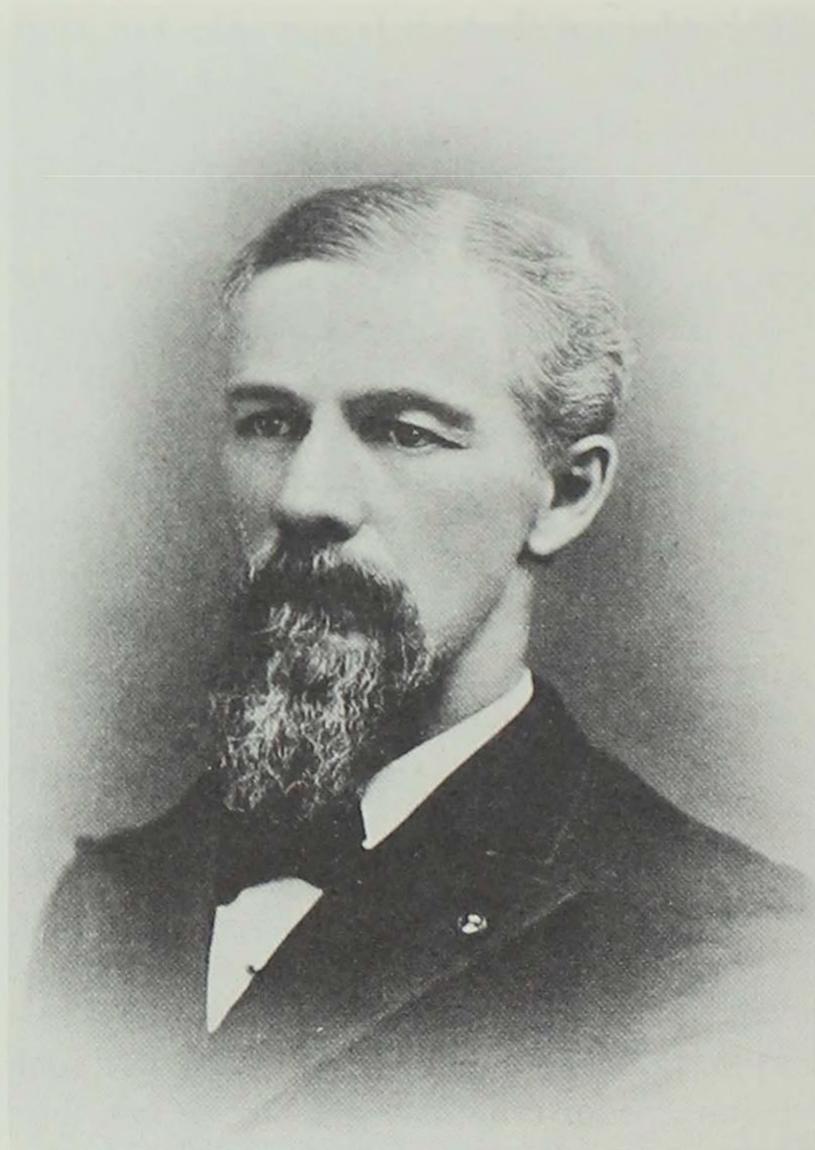
Originally from New York State, Buren Robinson Sherman settled in Vinton, Iowa, in 1860, and then almost immediately went off to war as a private in Crocker's Brigade. Severely wounded at Shiloh, he was later discharged with the rank of captain. In the aftermath of the Civil War, Sherman had all the attributes necessary for a successful political career in Iowa: he was a wounded Civil War veteran, a lawyer, and a Republican. His first victory at the polls was election as clerk of the district court in Benton County. In 1874 he was elected Auditor of State, a post to which he was twice re-elected. He served two terms as governor of the state, having been initially elected in October 1881. Biographers have described Governor Sherman in a variety of ways. One pointed to his rare combination of good-fellow-

ship and an aptitude for details in business affairs. His obituary in the *Annals of Iowa* included the statement that "he was a man of pronounced views upon the various questions in agitation during his career — one who had warm, devoted friends and bitter enemies." Without malice, perhaps it is safe to agree with the individual who simply admitted that Sherman "can scarcely be named among the great governors of Iowa."

On the other hand, John Lee Brown came to Iowa a bit later than Governor Sherman. He fought in the Civil War in the 70th Indiana Infantry under Colonel Benjamin Harrison. He was wounded at the Battle of Resaca in 1864, and lost an arm as a result. Following the war, he had a short career as a school-teacher, as a county recorder, and finally he came to Iowa in 1870. His political interests led to his election as constable in 1871, an appointment as justice of the peace in 1873, and finally, his election as auditor of Lucas County in 1875, a post he held for six years. He became Auditor of State in January 1883. Brown was very neatly described by one of his contemporaries as a "very upright and a downright man, and did not depend upon his suavity of manner for his success in life." He was a man of temper, a man difficult to get along with, and, in the opinion of his opponents, "a crank."

Neither man showed any magnetism or even much imagination. In the aftermath of their 1885-1886 set-to, neither man would ever be elected to political office again, and it can probably be said equally of Brown as it was of Sherman that "His after-life was without especial incident."

The struggle between the governor and the auditor seemed to have had a pair of causes. It perhaps began when the executive council, which included Auditor Brown, took up the question of reappointing a Major Anderson to the Board of Railroad Commissioners.



Governor Buren R. Sherman. (SHSI)

The railroads opposed the reappointment of Anderson and pressured Governor Sherman to appoint Judge J.W. McDill in his stead. A deadlock resulted among the council members when Governor Sherman refused to reappoint Anderson and continued to push for McDill. The deadlock was finally broken but Auditor Brown voted against McDill to the end and even filed a protest in which he stated that McDill's opinions on railroad matters "as evidenced by his former rulings as a railroad commissioner, are not in accord with the demands of the public interests." Brown lost in the council and his relations with the governor were sadly impaired.

Those relations soured even further when Auditor Brown began to take seriously certain duties which devolved upon him as insurance and bank commissioner. He set out to "secure a thorough examination of every insurance com-

pany doing business in the state that [had] not been examined within five years." Auditor Brown hired as examiner H.S. Vail, and his examinations did not prove favorable to many companies. The companies complained and they had powerful individuals who were prepared to act upon their complaints. Charges were made that the auditor had demanded and received "excessive and illegal [examination] fees" from the insurance and banking companies, and that "funds [had] been retained by [the auditor's] office or those connected with it, which should have been paid into the State Treasury, and that other irregularities existed in connection with [the] Auditor's office." Some people suggested that perhaps Auditor Brown's difficulties actually resulted from the simple fact that the carrying out of his official duties in strict fashion was not totally appreciated by the governor, who was also the president of the Globe Insurance Company, or by the Clarksons, who owned a great deal of stock in that company.

When Brown asked for Governor Sherman's approval of his bond on 2 January 1885, the governor requested the auditor's fee book. As an ex-auditor, the governor made a perfunctory examination of the fee book, then sent a clerk to examine it in more detail, and finally appointed a three-man commission to examine the books of a number of state offices. The committee spent some time in the insurance room pouring over the fee books and then wrote a report which provided the basis for the governor's suspension of the auditor on 3 March. The governor's notice to the auditor began:

Having failed and refused to produce and fully account for the public funds and property heretofore under your control as Auditor and failed and refused to make reports of your official acts as such officer, as required by law, therefore your official bond as a re-elected officer is

not approved and your said office is now hereby terminated.

The governor notified Brown that he was no longer to exercise any of the powers of his office and that he was to turn everything pertaining to the office over to Jonathan W. Cattell. Cattell had been, curiously enough, Governor Sherman's predecessor as Auditor of State, and thus a third auditor entered the fracas. Whatever differences had existed between Sherman and Brown now grew into what the *Sioux City Journal's* editor described as a "Chinese tussle," a "scandalous row," and an "inconsequential mole-hill of difference of opinion" which was being transformed into a "mountain of scandalous development."

In almost comic opera fashion, Brown refused to give up his office, Cattell sought a court order to compel him to do so, and the court, on 17 March, announced that the statutes under which the governor had issued the suspension order were constitutional, but that the court had no jurisdiction in the case. Governor Sherman then acted with boldness and seized the auditor's office with the help of the state militia. The takeover of the auditor's office by force was graphically described by the *Iowa State Register*:

The manner in which the Guards were gotten over was a source of wonder to a great many as they were not seen coming over and when needed seemed to "grow out of the earth," as one spectator expressed it. They went over to the new Capitol in citizens' dress, and there were uniformed, equipped and marched to the scene of action. This was done to avoid the crowd that would have been drawn by their marching over in line. . . . Adjutant General Alexander marched up the head of the stairs at the head of a squad of the Governor's Guards. Approaching the

group [outside the auditor's office] the General addressed Mr. Brown: "I have an order here from Governor Sherman directing me to take possession of this office [and to remove all officials other than Catell from the auditor's office]." . . . General Alexander then ordered the boys to take possession of the office, when Brown and Stewart [the deputy auditor] both stepped into the door and shoved back the men. They were quickly seized by several pairs of strong hands and carried struggling as best they could back into the hall. The door was found to be locked and first the butts of their muskets were used and these proving insufficient a ten pound sledge was brought, and in the hands of Sergeant Parker it soon caused the door to yield.

Auditor Brown and his deputy put up a bit of resistance, the office doors were battered in, and the auditor was arrested by the sheriff.

By this time the newspapers of the state were having a field day. Nor was it only Iowa newspapers that felt obliged to comment upon what was coming to be known as "The Iowa Imbroglio." Nor would the affair fade away. Was the governor "justified in removing from a State office, by military power an officer duly elected by the people"? Auditor, or ex-Auditor Brown, took to the courts himself in April to test the constitutionality of the law under which he had been suspended. By this time certain Republicans were becoming nervous about the effect of the struggle on the party itself in an election year. One snippet from a newspaper in western Iowa summed it all up in the following fashion:

There are some envious people who think that the Sherman-Brown controversy has resolved itself into a count of the I's in two small potatoes. Certain it is that the great republican party of Iowa will take no

hand in the Pickwickian quarrel.

But finally on 12 May 1885, the Supreme Court of Iowa declared the statute under which Brown had been suspended was indeed constitutional and further the "legality of all things done under it." The end had certainly come to this unseemly quarrel between Governor Sherman and Auditor Brown. Or had it?

* * *

Perhaps one might say that the struggle between Governor Sherman and Auditor Brown had ended but there was a long and involved postscript to the affair. That came about when William Larrabee was elected governor in November 1885. Governor Larrabee issued an executive order declaring Brown's bond to be approved. He was restored to office on 23 January 1886. Those who were outraged by the governor's act initiated an investigation into Brown's actions by a Joint Committee of the General Assembly. The committee report concluded that all had not been handled well or correctly in the auditor's office during Brown's tenure there. The main areas of concern included Brown's failure to keep records detailed or itemized enough, or to report to other state offices with the "accuracy and particularity" the law required. The House of Representatives voted articles of impeachment against Auditor Brown.

It was a lengthy trial and one conducted in an age of oratorical flights, yet one must feel, in reading the 2,610 pages of trial documents, that most of the stops were pulled out. Judge Nourse, speaking for the defense, gave a three-day opening statement! The individual who stole the oratorical show at the impeachment trial, however, was a twenty-seven year old member of the House of Representatives, Robert G. Cousins, who assisted in presenting the case to the Senate. In almost inspired fashion, he presented his portion of the case:

I know, sir, that in a case of this kind where the State is one party and the respondent is the other, the private feelings, and all the chivalry and all the sympathy attaches to the accused. I know that the State is regarded as great and strong and wealthy. She simply stands with marble hand pointing to the violated statute. In her behalf no tears fall, and no sympathy is enlisted. All the sympathy and all the chivalry is on the side of the defense. And for my part I had rather be, in fact it is my nature to be, rather in favor of, and to be engaged in the defense of those who are accused, and those who are unfortunate, than to be engaged as a prosecutor. But, sir, I conceive that in this day and age the time is well spent by any man, young or old, standing in defense of the public morals of his State, standing in defense of the doctrine that in order to be safe we must exercise eternal vigilance, even in times of peace, or we cannot perpetuate our free institutions and our republic.

And he concluded with ringing phrases:

You may build your Capitol of granite, and pile it as high as the Rocky Mountains, if it be founded on or mixed up with iniquity, the pulse of a girl will, in time, beat it down.

The editors of the state carefully tracked the lengthy trial proceedings and filled their papers with expressions of concern about the nature of the protagonists, the mounting costs of the trial, and the effect of the proceedings on Iowans generally. The consensus seemed to be that Brown was not guilty of intentional wrongdoing, but that he was so unpleasant an individual that no one much cared that he was in trouble. The *Union Star* declared that it was obvious that "Brown had been bull-headed and

pig headed, indiscreet, refused advice and performed acts unbecoming to the office he held." Few editors bothered to support Sherman either, but most believed that he had been out of line in calling out the militia to evict the auditor from his office. The cost of the impeachment trial was estimated at \$40,000, a sum that seemed to exorbitantly exceed the importance of the issues involved. Indeed, the *Carroll Sentinel's* editor suggested that the trial was extended longer than necessary in order for the attorneys representing each side to collect larger fees: "We think we can see Judge Nourse and Galusha Parsons nudge each other and say: 'Here are two geese; you pluck one and I'll pluck the other.'" To add greater perspective to the costs of the impeachment trial, the *Indianola Herald* pointed out that "it will take about 200,000 bushels of the farmers' corn, the product of 5,000 acres of rich Iowa soil to pay the expenses resulting from the most infamous conspiracy ever concocted in a free country to ruin an honest official." And in terms of the overall benefit of the trial to the state, the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* summed it up aptly: "If some able bodied man would go out to Des Moines and kick the stomach and gall out of Brown, and wear out Sherman's pants at the seat with a slipper, thereby saving the State from further disgrace and ruin, he would be doing the State a great service." There was strong feeling that little good had come from the lengthy proceedings. It seemed to be much more a personal quarrel than a matter of public concern, and the citizens of the state were paying a high price for the quarrel. The *Boone County Republican* caught the spirit of many Iowans with the following editorial:

When it will end nobody knows and but few would care, were it not that the unfragrant hoe-down is being carried on in the name of the State and at the expense of the people. Nothing not already an old story in the columns of the press is being

developed, except an additional manifestation of six dollars a day avarice on the part of senators whose greatest concern seems to be the profit they are to obtain from the vomiting that heaved them out of the belly of obscurity into public notice as members of a so-called court of impeachment, the record of which in future years will serve to revive only the memory of a plague. . . . In trying to make a record of this uncommon exhibition consciencious [sic] reporters and faithful proof readers have been driven to the verge of insanity. To write about it in detail as a matter in which there are pros and cons worthy of serious consideration, would require all the patience of Job unmolested by even a solitary boil, as well as the utter obliviousness of the fact that citizenship in Iowa should carry with it an honorable prestige.

* * *

But it ended with a victory for John L. Brown. He was not found guilty on a single one of the thirty articles of impeachment. The vote varied from article to article but he was exonerated. He was reinstated in office on 29 July 1886, and served out the remainder of his term. John L. Brown was the only prominent state official suspended from his duties by an Iowa governor in the nineteenth century. Moreover, he was the only prominent official to be impeached by the Iowa State House of

Representatives in the nineteenth century. Perhaps Iowa was freer of corruption than other states in the Gilded Age. But then perhaps one has to consider the manner in which appointments were made by governors in the period, or perhaps one has to look carefully at what we would today refer to as "conflict of interest." In the Brown-Sherman affair, one can understand the case of poor practices which was made against Auditor Brown and one can agree that there was a certain ambiguity in the manner in which certain fees or charges were handled. It may not seem very important, however. The case against the auditor, even to contemporaries, seemed a bit too contrived. Perhaps Governor Sherman and Auditor Brown were best described by the *Sioux City Journal* as "small men in office whose supreme fear is lest their importance be not recognized or the majesty of their personal notions overlooked." □

Note on Sources

Thanks to Sheralee Connors, Michael J. Carlson, and Debra Rolston for their help and research assistance in preparing the material for this article. The bulk of the documentary information on the Sherman-Brown controversy was found in the *Report of Joint Committee Appointed to Investigate Office of Auditor of State* (Des Moines, 1886), and in the three-volume *Journal of the Senate of the Twenty-first General Assembly of the State of Iowa, with Reference to the Impeachment of John L. Brown, Auditor of State* (Des Moines, 1886). Reference was also made to a large number of 1885 and 1886 Iowa newspapers. We selected newspapers representative of Iowa towns and cities of all sizes, and representative of all political parties as well. The controversy aroused a great deal of editorial comment at the time, and the story was well known. The context of corruption on the national and regional scene was drawn from information in a variety of general history books about the United States during the period from the Civil War to the end of the nineteenth century.

CONTRIBUTORS

BURTON J. WILLIAMS is a Professor of History and Dean of the College of Letters, Arts and Sciences at Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Washington. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Southern Illinois University and his Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. He is the author of *Senator John J. Ingalls: Kansas' Iridescent Republican* and editor of *Essays in American History in Honor of James C. Malin*. Williams also co-edited *Washington: Readings in the History of the Evergreen State*. Professor Williams is presently finishing a new book, *Kansas: A History of Mid-Way U.S.A.*, to be published by the University Press of Kansas.

RAYMOND A. SMITH, JR. is a Professor of History and Humanities at Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Washington. He received his B.A. from Washington State College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University. He was born and raised in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Smith co-edited *Washington: Readings in the History of the Evergreen State*, and has been a frequent contributor to the *Palimpsest*. His article "James Norman Hall's *My Island Home: An Overdue Review*" appeared in the September/October 1983 issue of the *Palimpsest*. He is presently engaged in a comparative study of the territorial experiences of Iowa and Washington.

WILLIAM SILAG received his B.A. degree from Cornell University and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Iowa. A person well-known to Society members, Silag served as editor of the *Palimpsest* from 1979 to 1982, and also directed the State Historical Society's publications program during that time. Silag served as a member of Iowa State University's history department faculty during the 1982-1983 academic year, and is currently engaged in research for a long-planned book.

LOREN N. HORTON was born near Hopeville, Iowa, received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, and his Ph.D. degree from the University of Iowa, Iowa City. A frequent contributor to the *Palimpsest*, Horton has authored numerous books, articles, and technical sheets. His article "A Place in the Sun: Iowa Politics at the Turn of the Century" appeared in the November/December 1983 issue of the *Palimpsest*. He also edits the Material Culture Handbook series and the Iowa History Sources series published by the Iowa State Historical Department. At the present time Horton is an historian with the Iowa State Historical Department and serves as chief of its Educational and Community Services program area, and as Field Services Representative.



THE PALIMPSEST is published bimonthly by the State Historical Society in Iowa City. Second class postage paid at Iowa City, Iowa. Postmaster: send address changes to State Historical Society of Iowa, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

USISSN 0031-0360