

The
PALIMPSEST
SEPTEMBER 1924
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THE PURPOSE OF THIS MAGAZINE

THE PALIMPSEST, issued monthly by the State Historical Society of Iowa, is devoted to the dissemination of Iowa History. Supplementing the other publications of this Society, it aims to present the materials of Iowa History in a form that is attractive and a style that is popular in the best sense—to the end that the story of our Commonwealth may be more widely read and cherished.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

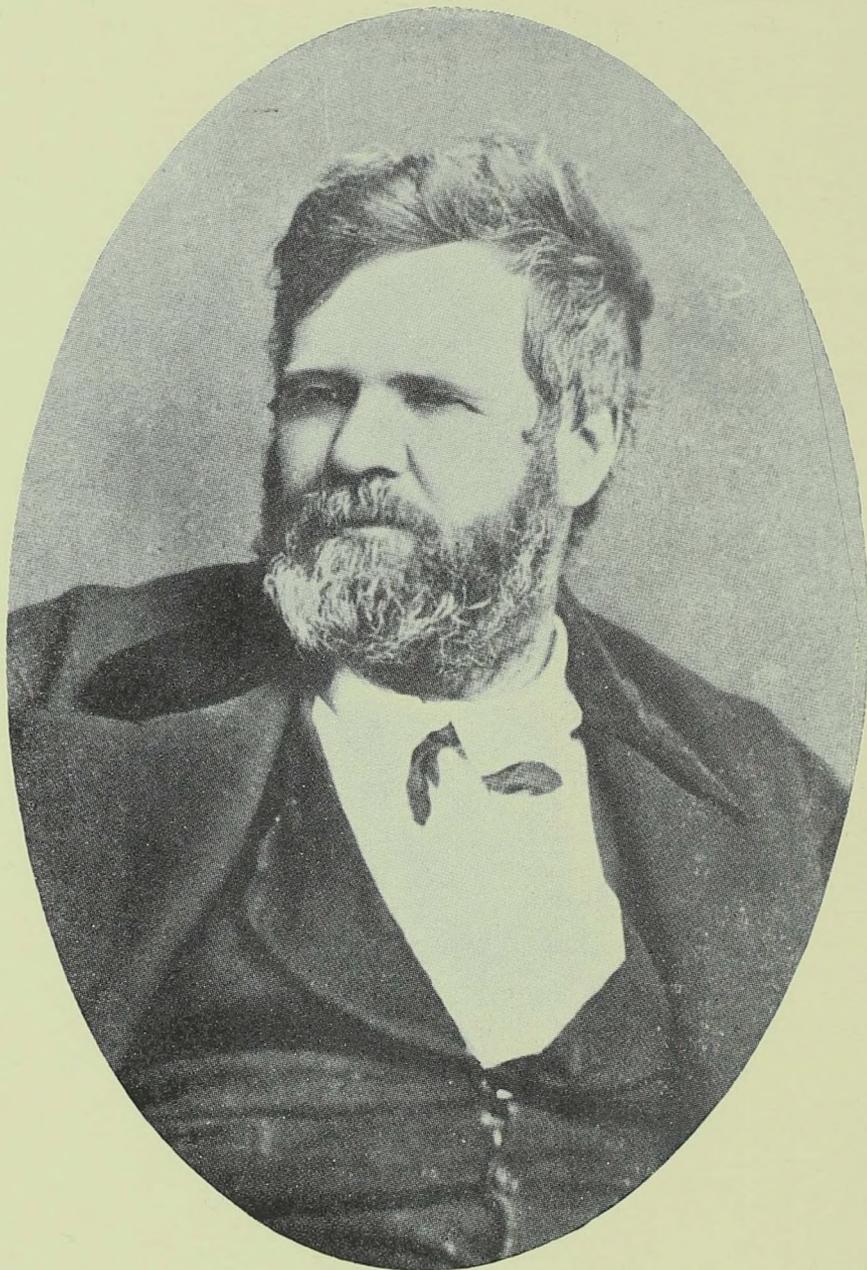
Superintendent

THE MEANING OF PALIMPSESTS

In early times palimpsests were parchments or other materials 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 records 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.

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Henry Clay Dean

THE PALIMPSEST

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Henry Clay Dean

Born of middle class parents in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on October 27, 1822, Henry Clay Dean became one of the historic characters of early Iowa. Comparatively little is known about his ancestry except that his people were of English descent. One of his forebears, Henry Dean, was Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Henry VIII, and some of his mother's ancestors appear to have been among the colonists who emigrated to America with Lord Baltimore.

Henry Clay Dean's later career was no doubt greatly influenced by his early training. What man's is not? He attended the common schools of the neighborhood and later graduated from Madison College in his native State. For a time he worked at the stone mason's trade learned from his father, taught school, kept books for a prominent iron manufacturer for his board and the privilege

of using his employer's library wherein he studied both theology and law. He was later ordained a minister in the Methodist Church and admitted to the bar.

Perhaps it was the outcropping of an ancestral trait that Henry Clay Dean should have a bent for religion. At any rate soon after his ordination he was assigned to a circuit in the Virginia conference where he labored for several years — incidentally making for himself a name as a pulpit orator.

In 1847 he married Christiana Margaret Haigler of Randolph County, Virginia, and three years later came to Iowa, locating temporarily at Pittsburg on the Des Moines River in Van Buren County. During his early years in Iowa he moved from place to place — a typical Methodist clergyman — living for a time in Keosauqua, Muscatine, Middletown, West Point, and finally in Mount Pleasant where he resided until 1871 when he left the State.

Beginning with his apprenticeship on the Virginia circuit Henry Clay Dean's fame as an orator preceded him wherever he went. One of his contemporaries, Edward H. Stiles, referred to him as "the finest natural orator" he had ever heard. He was said to be "deeply learned", drawing "his inspiration from the richest sources of history and the classics." During his ministry in Virginia he once visited Washington. While there he asked permission to preach in one of the churches of the capital city — only to be refused by the minister in charge,

perhaps on account of his odd and somewhat uncouth appearance. Finally, having secured the use of an old church, he held the service and when the hour arrived "the dilapidated building" was filled to the extent of its capacity by the "largest assemblage of congressmen, senators, heads of departments, and leading citizens that had ever greeted a minister of the gospel in Washington City."

As a minister he appears to have been of the evangelistic type. An admirer tells of his holding meetings in an old courthouse "where sinners were nightly melted like old pewter and run up into christians bright and new." He must have been able to put his own strength of character into his appeals for he could win any kind of an audience, and his "eloquent and earnest appeals brought many into the fold of the church."

His career as a preacher was greatly influenced by the sectional division in the Methodist Church in 1844. Although he took his calling very seriously he thought more of the nation. This separation of the church into its distinct northern and southern branches he opposed with all his power for he considered it to be the first step in the dissolution of the Union—a course that could not fail to end in civil war. Feeling that an affiliation with either faction would appear to be sanction of the schism he finally retired from the pulpit.

After his retirement from the ministry Henry Clay Dean turned his allegiance to that most "jeal-

ous mistress" the law — a profession he followed until his death. His experience in persuasive oratory stood him in good stead and by sheer force of eloquence and his extraordinary personality, he "carried everything before him." Because of his oratorical ability and particularly his influence with a jury, he was frequently employed by the defense in some of the most important capital cases of the Middle West. "His arguments were ingenious and his eloquence unapproachable. He reached the hearts of jurors" and by his pleading "would melt the court to tears and win the sympathy of the audience."

As a jury lawyer Mr. Dean was not interested in the details and technicalities of the law, but as an advocate of the great fundamental principles of right and justice he had few equals. It has been estimated that no attorney in Iowa had in his day saved more men from the penitentiary or from execution.

One such case was that of the State of Iowa *vs.* Q. D. Whitman tried in the district court of Union County in 1875. Dean, being retained for the defense, made a masterly plea for justice and humanity. To combat the indictment of murder in the first degree the previous good character of the defendant, the reliability of his witnesses, the total lack of premeditation before the commission of the crime, and the hereditary taint of insanity in the accused were all marshalled before the court and the jury. Al-

though Whitman was convicted he was given a sentence of but seven years in the penitentiary at Fort Madison and was pardoned after serving about two years.

Dean's closing words to the jury indicate in a measure the force of his arguments. "It is urged that crime is greatly on the increase. This then is the greater reason why the State should not become the greater criminal in the inhuman punishment of an insane, helpless citizen. It is urged that courts have become inefficient. Then is this the greater reason that they should be just, and justice cannot inflict punishment upon insanity. It has been given out that mobs will deal death where juries refuse to inflict unjust punishment. To the wild beasts who make up mobs let all cruelty, all crime, all violence, be committed until the State may be able to assert her authority. But the dignity of the State, the purity of courts, the justice and supremacy of the law, must be asserted as the only hope of civilization, the only possible arrest of crime and the spirit of violence from whence it springs."

According to one authority Dean's greatest success at the bar "was achieved about the year 1867, when he saved the neck" of a man by the name of Trogdon who had without doubt committed one of the most brutal murders in Wapello County. "Dean set up the plea of imbecility" and was successful in securing "a sentence of life imprisonment"—thus cheating the gallows. In the course of his argument

to the jury Dean "exhibited the prisoner's head", dwelling upon its peculiar formation. Suddenly pointing to the head of the murderer, he exclaimed "A defect! A defect! A defect!" in such a fashion as to convince the jury that "the prisoner was not a responsible being." Dean's triumph was complete — his oratory carried the day. Even rather prejudiced observers agree that while he was not a great lawyer he was "unique, original, and sometimes spoke as if he were inspired."

Henry Clay Dean possessed a lifelong interest in government and politics. As a campaigner he is said to have had few equals. Being a speaker of extraordinary talent and having an uncanny ability to remember people whom he had met, his services were much in demand during political contests. Indeed, it is claimed that he participated in every campaign from 1838 to 1887. Even his duties as a minister appeared to be no deterrent in this regard.

Shortly after coming to Iowa, he attended the Annual Methodist Conference which was held in Dubuque, the home of George Wallace Jones, then Democratic Senator from Iowa. While there he was entertained at the home of the Senator where Mrs. Jones's bounteous table delighted the minister who was "an enormous eater". During the conference the Know Nothings were very zealous in enlisting the support of the assembled clergy and Dean, among others, was elected to membership. The information was brought him by a fellow minister

with the suggestion that inasmuch as Mr. Jones was a Catholic it would be improper to be his guest any longer. Dean became highly indignant, denouncing Know Nothingism in "most uncompromising terms". Naturally this attitude pleased Senator Jones who induced Dean to preach a sermon the following Sunday condemning the secret order. It is needless to say that the orator of the day was never "initiated" into the organization.

After this episode Henry Clay Dean not only became an ardent Democrat but an untiring opponent of the Know Nothings for whom he felt a bitter hatred. Dean was primarily a man of action and so anxious was he to be instrumental in bringing defeat to his newly acquired enemy that he joined the supporters of Henry A. Wise, the Democratic candidate for the Governorship of Virginia who was being opposed by the Know Nothings. Thus, armed with letters of recommendation from Senator Jones and other influential Iowa Democrats, Dean hastened to the scene of the contest. And from subsequent events it may be inferred that the Democratic candidate considered his success in the campaign due in some measure to the efforts of the Iowan.

What may be considered a sequel to this affair occurred on December 4, 1855, when Henry Clay Dean was elected Chaplain of the United States Senate for the first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress. It appears that Senator Jones had remarked to a friend upon the occasion of Dean's

attendance at the Methodist Conference in Dubuque that he "would have Mr. Dean made Chaplain"—a promise which subsequent events saw fulfilled with the assistance of Senator A. C. Dodge and the Virginia delegation who were friends of Governor Wise. The acquaintance between George W. Jones and Henry Clay Dean became a lifelong friendship—a friendship the more interesting in view of the antipodal ideas which they held in regard to personal appearance, for Jones was fastidious in dress while Dean went to the very opposite extreme.

As a lecturer Dean "was among the ablest and most popular of his day." Having ability to speak on a variety of subjects, he seems to have been known especially for his "Mistakes of Ingersoll", "The Constitution", "The Declaration of Independence", and "The Extension of Popular Suffrage". His patriotism and devotion to the Union was intense and although an opponent of secession he "did not favor coercion as the best means" of settling the difficulty. In 1860 he favored Stephen A. Douglas, the candidate of the northern wing of the Democratic party, for the Presidency, and in his behalf "he made the most eloquent and earnest appeals of his life."

His attitude toward the Union leaders before and during the Civil War caused him much serious trouble, for he was mobbed, imprisoned without civil trial, and subjected to considerable verbal persecution. He was outspoken in his criticism of Stanton,

Seward, and even Lincoln in their policy of coercion — a practice which caused him to be denounced as a traitor. Active criticism of the administration during war time, especially if the critic be of the opposite party, is a dangerous pastime; but when one resorts to open ridicule, as Dean did in describing “the bloodless battle of Croton” and in belittling the conduct of the Home Guards, mob spirit is very apt to be turned loose.

As a result of these caustic and unwise remarks Dean had an opportunity to learn at first hand the lengths to which public passion may lead men. During the month of May, 1863, while on a journey from Quincy, Illinois, to Keosauqua to attend a meeting of the Democratic party, he had occasion to pass through Keokuk. It was at a time when public passions were inflamed and mob spirit was rife. The Keokuk *Gate City*, a Republican newspaper, was demanding his arrest, and according to his own version of the affair “nearly every Puritan paper in the State had joined in the general howl”. While he was visiting with T. W. Clagett, a Democrat who voiced the opposition to the war as editor of *The Constitution*, he was seized by a mob of about a hundred soldiers and citizens, arrested, and turned over “to the Sergeant of the Provost Guard.”

That Dean was mistreated subsequent to his arrest there can be little doubt. He was threatened with death in various ways — a typical display of mob spirit — reviled, searched, stripped, taunted,

tormented, and imprisoned in the common guard house. In his book on *Crimes of the Civil War* Dean graphically described his experiences. On being placed under lock and key he was informed "that the central idea of a military prison was to make it as nearly the very essence of hell as was possible. In this they made a capital success." The room used for the military prison, according to this account, "was about sixteen feet wide by forty-five feet long, with enough taken off the side to make room for a flight of stairs."

In this room the more permanent personnel consisted of some fifty men "of almost every conceivable grade, gathered from every rank of society, and charged with every manner of offence known to the laws of God and man." As may have been expected some of them "even in sickness" were "lawless and ungovernable". Then, to "add to the interest of this society", every evening the patrol "would gather up the beastly drunk and tumble them in." Here Mr. Dean was kept for "fourteen long and loathsome dreary days and nights" before being "unconditionally released".

Partly as an outgrowth of his persecution — for such it was, since practically all who knew him well vouch for his loyalty to the Union — Henry Clay Dean undertook to collect data and compile a book entitled the *Crimes of the Civil War*. One volume of five hundred and thirty-nine pages was published in 1869. Further treatment was contem-

plated in a second volume but the manuscript was destroyed when his entire library of four thousand volumes burned. The book was written in a partisan spirit and shows an intensity of feeling that is rather remarkable, particularly in a man whose training had been to "turn the other cheek". In later years, however, he appears to have regretted the publication for he once expressed the wish that every volume could be consigned to the flames.

Mr. Dean and his family left Iowa in 1871, taking up their residence in Putnam County, Missouri, just across the line from Centerville, where he had purchased about eight hundred acres of land which he called "Rebel Cove". There he spent his last years "reading and writing", with occasional public appearances, defending some alleged criminal in the courts or making addresses.

One such public address was delivered before the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City on June 29, 1874. It was the occasion of the seventeenth annual meeting of the Society and the subject of his discourse was "The Philosophy of the History of the Louisiana Purchase"—a superb oration rich in historical allusion and powerful in diction. The closing paragraphs when read fifty years later reveal something of the man.

"I am not old — yet I am older than the railroad and magnetic telegraph; older than your state. I have seen but little, yet I have seen the triumph of the republic system in America — it will yet triumph

in Europe. I have heard evil prophecies of the government, and each party and statesman is restive lest the government should die with him. . . .

“I have seen statesmen, soldiers, philosophers, and public leaders swept down like leaves in a burning forest, yet the republic still lives, outliving them all. For more than half a hundred years I’ve seen yon sun rise over the mountain forests, pass through floating clouds, and bathe his golden plumage in the mists of the ocean.

“Each year rising upon lands more beautifully adorned, a people more thoroughly enlightened and more jealous of their liberty, science more carefully studied and more thoroughly understood, each year expanding the area of liberty and extending the lines of free thought. Centuries may he travel in his course, but he will never set upon the rights of man or outlive the government of God, which is pledged to justice, truth and liberty.”

Later, in 1885, Dean was asked to speak at the meeting of the Tri-State Old Settlers’ Association held in Keokuk. There at the gathering of his contemporaries from the States of Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa; there in the city where he had suffered his greatest humiliation he responded to the toast “The Pioneer Preachers”. These vanguards of civilization, he declared, “have done more than all the politicians to reform the people. It was the churches, not political parties, that abolished slavery. The pioneer preachers did the work.”

That he should have been asked to speak at such a gathering appears remarkable, particularly if credence be given to the accounts of his activities during the Civil War in which he had been reviled in every way known to partisan journalists during a period when "force" rather than "elegance" determined epithets. But no reference to former experiences, which no doubt a visit to Keokuk brought to mind, marred his speech. Indeed, in the calm of his later years, there must have been much of regret for the misunderstanding kindled by his attitude and activity during the Civil War.

Henry Clay Dean died at his home, "Rebel Cove", on February 6, 1887, survived by his wife and seven children. On that day a picturesque character — a character unique in the annals of the church, the law, politics, and oratory — was lost to Pennsylvania the State of his birth, to Virginia the home of his apprenticeship, to Iowa his battlefield, and to Missouri his final resting place. Indeed, if devotion to a cause be a proper measure of a man's service, then Henry Clay Dean belonged to the whole Union, for the hope and prayer of his life was that there might be "No North, no South".

GEO. F. ROBESON

Iowa at the Centennial

Almost half a century has elapsed since Iowa participated for the first time in a World's Fair. When news first reached Iowa of a proposed Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia it aroused only a mild interest in the event, and the General Assembly of 1874 adjourned without taking any action in support of the project. As additional information about the stupendous plans for commemorating the century anniversary of the nation's birthday reached Iowa, however, interest grew, and in 1875 a voluntary organization of citizens began to raise money "to secure a creditable representation of the industries, agricultural and mineral resources, and educational advantages and facilities of Iowa". The Sixteenth General Assembly which convened in January, 1876, preceding the opening of the Exposition in May, passed an act appropriating twenty thousand dollars for an exhibit, and directed that the Executive Council of the State should take charge of the enterprise and appoint a manager with as many assistants as might be necessary. The citizens' organization turned over the money it had raised to the Iowa Commission and immediate steps were taken to prepare an exhibit which would arouse the interest of prospective settlers and show the world how prosperous Iowa was.

Between the Missouri and Tennessee buildings on State Avenue the Iowa Commission erected the Iowa Building, a comfortable, two-story, home-like structure of wood. It had four commodious rooms on the first floor furnished in the ornate style of that day — one room was fitted up as a ladies' parlor, another as a reception room for men, a third as a reading room, and the fourth as an office. Four rooms on the second floor were used as sleeping quarters for the manager and his assistants. Such services as finding boarding places for Iowa visitors during their visit to Philadelphia, delivering mail and telegrams, and countless other helpful acts were performed by those in charge of the building. By August 27th, over seven thousand Iowans had registered at the Iowa headquarters.

But while the Iowa Building compared favorably with the other State homes at the Centennial it was the exhibit of the Hawkeye State in Agricultural Hall which attracted and held the attention of every visitor. The Iowa display occupied a conspicuous place in the Hall and was enhanced by a border of thirty-five, upright, glass cylinders, six feet long and six inches in diameter, each one mounted on a square wooden pedestal and surmounted by a glass globe on which appeared the name of a county. These tubes contained vertical soil samples six feet in depth from thirty-five counties representing every section of the State. So interested was the Swedish Commission in this display that one of these tubes

was later shipped to Sweden to show prospective emigrants the rich quality of Iowa soil.

Within the space allotted to Iowa seventy-four varieties of corn, arranged in attractive designs, and an extensive display of vegetable seeds, grasses, wheat, rye, oats, and barley were a convincing testimony to the agricultural wealth and possibilities of the State. In the agricultural display, too, were attractive samples of butter from the Manchester Creamery to which was granted a gold medal as first prize by the Butter and Cheese Association.

Nor was farm machinery manufactured in Iowa missing from the display. Plows, a hay rake, a seed drill, a fanning mill, hay scales, a wheat dryer, a cultivator, a clod masher, and a wine mill made a modest yet interesting exhibit, while a fine display of wines from the famous White Elk Vineyard of Lee County undoubtedly won its share of attention. In Machinery Hall a steam engine, a steam boiler, draw-cut sausage choppers, a wagon, and specimens of wagon springs were exhibited by Iowa firms.

In the Mineral Annex the Iowa display showed a reproduction of the geological stratification of the State arranged in twelve cases with glass fronts. Lead ore from Dubuque, coal from different counties, and building stone afforded glimpses of the mineral wealth of the State, while an extensive collection of archeological remains suggested the days of the mound builders in the Mississippi Valley.

A collection of maps, charts, geometrical and

freehand drawings, examination papers, slates, and copy books in the Educational Annex represented the work of Iowa school children, while a display of statuary by Vinnie Ream in Memorial Hall led a correspondent to write: "Her collection appeals strongly to the hearts of observers by the telling expression of the statues and the delicacy, fineness, and precise clean cutting of her chisel."

Perhaps, however, the showing made by Iowa in Pomological Hall during the month of September redounded to the credit of the State as much or more than any other part of its exhibit. The Exposition was then at the height of its popularity. All the hotels of Philadelphia were crowded to their utmost capacity, filled with beds and cots from sky parlors to basement. Railroad trains, horse cars, hacks, omnibuses, buggies, wagons, and carriages were taxed to capacity in trying to get the crowds of be-whiskered gentlemen and fine ladies with enormous bustles to and from the Exposition grounds.

Thousands of people passed daily through the huge exhibition halls of steel and glass. When the Iowa exhibit of fruits was reached, the visitor invariably paused to marvel. During the earlier days of the Exposition the Iowa display had consisted of wax casts of some three hundred varieties of fruit. While these wax models — colored, shaded, tinged, spotted, or streaked so as to be almost indistinguishable from real fruit — made an attractive picture, nevertheless friendly jibes had been made by rival

States. Now all was changed. Down the center of Pomological Hall, seven pyramid-like tables each thirty-five feet long were heaped high with plums, quince, pears, and apples — all clearly and attractively labelled. Spurred on, it is said, by the size and quality of the Iowa exhibit the California managers sent daily telegrams for more and better specimens, but to Iowa the judges gave the highest awards for the largest and best display of fruits.

September 7, 1876, which was designated as Iowa Day at the Centennial Exposition, found about two hundred Iowans gathered in the forenoon at the Judges' Pavilion to hear C. C. Nourse of Des Moines deliver an address on the history of Iowa. Judge Nourse was introduced by the Secretary of the Centennial Commission, and in spite of din and confusion outside the building he held the attention of his audience for nearly two hours.

Iowa's participation in the Centennial Exposition led a Philadelphia reporter to write: "Perhaps Iowa more than any other State west of the Mississippi is deserving of attention by the people of the East." Indeed, the showing made by Iowa at Philadelphia in 1876 exceeded the expectations of even the promoters of the enterprise, and the twenty thousand dollars appropriated by the General Assembly was returned many-fold to the State by the new settlers who were attracted by the Iowa Centennial exhibit.

BRUCE E. MAHAN

The Honey War

The Territory of Iowa had no sooner been organized than a controversy over the location of the southern boundary arose with the State of Missouri. A strip of land several miles wide was claimed by both Iowa and Missouri, though Iowans were in actual possession. The contested region consisted of rich agricultural land, and in what is now Van Buren County, Iowa, the presence of numerous bee trees was an additional attraction. The collection of the honey stored in hollow trees by swarms of wild bees was no doubt profitable and involved little expenditure of capital and labor. Various untoward events engendered ill feeling on both sides of the line, but the most irritating incident was the act of a Missourian who chopped down three of the coveted bee trees. That was one of the immediate causes of the so-called comic opera conflict commonly known as the "Honey War" or the "Missouri Boundary War".

To secure the proper setting for the Honey War it is necessary to begin in 1816 when J. C. Sullivan, acting on instructions from the United States District Surveyor, ran a line known as the "Indian boundary line" or the "Sullivan line". When Missouri became a State in 1821, that part of the Sullivan line which extended westward from the Des

Moines River was accepted by Missouri and the United States government as the northern boundary of the new State. In 1824 a treaty between the United States government and the Sauk and Fox Indians creating the Half-breed Tract provided that the northern boundary of this tract should be a continuation of the northern boundary of Missouri from the Des Moines River to the Mississippi.

No serious question in regard to the location of the northern boundary of Missouri was raised before 1837, but by that time many settlers were moving into northeastern Missouri and what later became southeastern Iowa. It was natural that the Missourians should covet the rich land north of the Sullivan line. Their eagerness to secure possession of the bee trees was accentuated by their desire to enlarge the Half-breed Tract lying between the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers. If the Missouri boundary line were moved northward it would have the happy effect, for the Missourians, of giving Missouri land speculators a larger area for their activities.

Influenced by citizens thus interested in the relocation of the northern boundary of Missouri, the legislature of Missouri, in 1837, ordered the line to be resurveyed — a task which was performed by J. C. Brown. This line was about nine miles north of the Sullivan line at the eastern end and about thirteen miles north at the western end. The area between the two lines contained over twenty-six

hundred square miles. Late in 1838, the Missouri legislature passed a law officially claiming the "Brown line" as the State boundary.

The justification for claiming the Brown line as the true boundary was based on the definition of the northern boundary of the State contained in the Constitution adopted by the convention of 1820. According to this definition, the boundary was to be a line running through the "rapids of the river Des Moines". Though these rapids were generally supposed to be the Des Moines Rapids in the Mississippi River above the mouth of the Des Moines River, Brown, in making his survey, sought for the rapids in the Des Moines River. About sixty miles above the mouth, at the Great Bend, near the present town of Keosauqua, he found a riffle which he claimed was the "rapids of the river Des Moines", mentioned in the constitutional description of the boundary. Proceeding on this assumption, he began his survey at that point and ran his line due west.

In the late summer of 1838, the United States government appointed a commissioner to determine the true boundary between Iowa and Missouri, but as Missouri refused to coöperate nothing was effectually settled. So when Missouri officially undertook to extend her jurisdiction north to the Brown line, it was inevitable that trouble should arise. By the end of July, 1839, trouble had developed to such an extent that the citizens of Van Buren County felt called upon to complain to Governor Robert Lucas

that Missouri officials had come into the disputed area to assess property for the purpose of taxation. Lucas was not slow to answer the appeal for aid. On July 29, 1839, he issued a proclamation calling on all officials to uphold the Territorial laws and to maintain the jurisdiction of the United States against every encroachment.

The Missourians read this proclamation with great indignation, and in Clark County, which adjoined Van Buren County on the south, a meeting was held, resolutions adopted, and a pledge taken to maintain unsullied the dignity and honor of Missouri. The Missouri Governor, Lilburn W. Boggs, was also aroused to wrath and, on August 23, 1839, he issued a counter proclamation. While needless collision was to be avoided, the Missouri officials were enjoined to use their full power to enforce the jurisdiction of Missouri in the region to which the State had officially laid claim. About a month later, there appeared another proclamation by Governor Lucas, denying the claims of Missouri and again ordering Iowa officials to enforce the authority of the United States as far south as the Sullivan line.

Encouraged by these proclamations, the local authorities on both sides of the border prepared to perform what they regarded as their duty. About the middle of October, 1839, Uriah S. Gregory, better known locally as "Sandy", the sheriff of Clark County, Missouri, entered into the disputed area for the purpose of collecting taxes. He not only failed

in his purpose but was warned not to return. Thereupon, Gregory returned to Waterloo, the county seat of Clark County, and reported that he had been obstructed in the performance of his duty.

Meanwhile, Henry Heffleman, the sheriff of Van Buren County, wrote to Governor Lucas for advice and was instructed to use his own judgment in seeing that the laws were enforced. Shortly afterward delegations of citizens from Van Buren and Clark counties held a conference in which they attempted to arrange a compromise. The Clark County delegates proposed that the disputed area be subjected to a joint jurisdiction until Congress should decide what was the true boundary; but this proposition was rejected by the Van Buren County delegates. In mass meetings held about the last of October, the action of each delegation was approved by the people of their respective counties.

The situation on the southern border became more and more tense as further developments were awaited. In his second annual message to the Legislative Assembly on November 5, 1839, Governor Lucas said that the dispute might "ultimately lead to the effusion of blood." The climax was reached when the Iowa bee trees were destroyed. This act occasioned great excitement in Iowa for it seemed to be an act of wanton malice. An Iowa constable sought to arrest the offender, but the miscreant succeeded in crossing the line to Missouri and safety.

This incident inspired a local satirist, John I.

Campbell of Palmyra, Missouri, to write some verses which were published in the Palmyra *Whig*. The poem, which was intended to be sung to the tune of Yankee Doodle, was in part as follows:

THE HONEY WAR

Ye freemen of the happy land,
Which flows with milk and honey,
Arise! To arms! Your ponies mount!
Regard not blood or money.
Old Governor Lucas, tiger-like,
Is prowling 'round our borders,
But Governor Boggs is wide awake —
Just listen to his orders.

Three bee-trees stand about the line
Between our State and Lucas,
Be ready all these trees to fall,
And bring things to a focus.
We'll show old Lucas how to brag,
And seize our precious honey!
He also claims, I understand,
Of us three bits in money.

Now, if the Governors want to fight,
Just let them meet in person.
And when noble Boggs old Lucas flogs,
'Twill teach the scamp a lesson.
Then let the victor cut the trees,
And have three-bits in money,
And wear a crown from town to town,
Anointed with pure honey.

Shortly after the bee trees had been chopped down, Gregory, the Missouri sheriff, was arrested by Heffleman, the sheriff of Van Buren County, when he attempted to collect taxes in the disputed area. This arrest, which occurred on November 20, 1839, was the signal for activity south of the border. A special session of the Clark County court was held on November 23rd, and orders were issued to General David Willock and General O. H. Allen to muster the militia under their command in order to assist the civil authorities in maintaining the jurisdiction of Missouri over the disputed area.

Public meetings were held at which efforts were made to stir up a high pitch of feeling against the Iowans. In response to the summons of General Willock, over two thousand men began to gather for the Honey War. By December 7, 1839, General Allen had the Lewis County regiment on the march toward the seat of war without tents or blankets and imperfectly supplied with arms and ammunition. Near Waterloo on the Fox River they were joined by the Clark County contingent and pitched camp in the snow.

On the Iowa side of the border there was also a bustle of activity. The United States Deputy Marshal, G. A. Hendry, had arrived in Van Buren County and had taken charge of affairs. Special investigators were sent into Missouri to learn the true situation there. When reports were brought back confirming the rumors of military preparations

on the part of the Missourians, Hendry made ready to meet the expected invasion. On December 6, 1839, Governor Lucas issued orders to the commanders of the Iowa militia to muster their men to aid the civil authorities, if necessary, in maintaining the territorial integrity of Iowa.

The Deputy Marshal immediately made requisitions for these troops to serve as a *posse comitatus*. Though little enthusiasm was manifested for the war at first, recruits were soon "drummed up" and started on their way to the border. "Death to the invading Pukes" was the resounding war cry that stirred the martial spirit of the Iowa pioneers. It was the slack season of the year and as usual money was scarce, so the Iowa militiamen were probably actuated more by the hope of remuneration from the government than by the patriotic appeal to defend their rights against Missourian aggression. In the expectation of receiving pay from the public treasury, however, the volunteers of 1839 were doomed to disappointment despite the best efforts of the Territorial Assembly and Augustus Caesar Dodge to secure an appropriation of \$30,000 from Congress for that purpose.

It was a motley "army" that assembled at Farmington, from Burlington, Bloomington, Davenport, and even as far north as Dubuque. Each man followed his own taste in the matter of a uniform, and the assortment of weapons was as ludicrous as it was miscellaneous.

Old Zion Church in Burlington served as headquarters during the mobilization, and the capital city of Iowa Territory was alive with the rattling of drums, the whistling of fifes, and the blowing of bugles. A company called the "Grays" was formed with James W. Grimes, later a United States Senator, as captain. S. C. Hastings, later a prominent judge, formed a company of dragoons at Bloomington. When the men were finally assembled, Captain Hastings took a position behind his men, threatened to run the Indian spear with which he was armed through any man who attempted to desert, and gave the order to march. It is said that in one county a small company was organized and equipped with a train of six wagons to carry supplies. As the commander was "determined to keep up the spirits of his men", he loaded five of the wagons with whisky.

In Scott County the men who became fired with the spirit of combat and joined in the preparations for war gathered at Davenport within sight of Fort Armstrong. On the appointed day these valiant soldiers assembled for a grand review. In the ranks were to be found men armed with blunderbuses, flintlocks, and quaint old ancestral swords that had probably adorned the wall for many generations. One private carried a plough coulter suspended over his shoulder by means of a log chain, another had an old fashioned sausage stuffer for a weapon, while a third shouldered a sheet iron sword about six feet long. Such men were "weeded out" and dismissed,

but they did not go home until they had conducted a charge on the "regulars" whom they utterly routed. Before the latter could be reassembled, peace had been declared and their services were not required.

The "army" that was mustered in December, 1839, to defend Iowa from an invasion of Missourians numbered about twelve hundred men. It was very generously supplied with officers, for there were four generals, nine general staff officers, forty field officers, and eighty-three company officers. There were less than eleven hundred noncommissioned men, organized roughly into thirty-two companies, and only about five hundred of these reached the camp at Farmington opposite Waterloo.

While this force was being mustered, cooler headed men on both sides of the border were directing their efforts to prevent open hostilities. On December 4, 1839, the Clark County court appointed a committee to go to Burlington to confer with the Iowa Legislative Assembly with the purpose of re-establishing friendly relations. The Missourians proposed that both sides suspend civil control but exercise criminal jurisdiction jointly in the disputed area.

The Iowa law-making body could not agree to such a plan but drew up some resolutions requesting Governors Lucas and Boggs to suspend hostilities until Congress decided the boundary question, and a committee was sent to Clark County to present the resolutions to the authorities there. Upon their ar-

rival on December 12, 1839, a special session of the Clark County court was held, speeches were made in which friendship was professed by both sides, and, finally, the court issued an order to disband the Missouri militia.

This sudden ending of the war found Missouri militia marching toward Clark County. When the news reached these troops that their services were not needed they decided to demonstrate their opinion of the entire affair before they returned home. Believing the two Governors to be responsible for the whole trouble they halved a haunch of venison and labelled one part "Gov. Lucas of Iowa" and the other "Gov. Boggs of Missouri". Both were then hung up and riddled with bullets, after which they were taken down and buried with mock military honors. On the way home the men indulged in much "rough and wild sport".

Meanwhile, the Iowa militia assembled on the border were at a loss to understand why the expected invasion of the Missourians did not materialize. To solve the mystery, the Iowa commander, General Jesse B. Brown, acting on instructions from Deputy Marshal Hendry, sent a delegation to Waterloo to learn the intentions of the enemy. This delegation, consisting of A. C. Dodge, James Churchman, and J. A. Clark, soon returned with the news that the Missouri militia has disbanded and that the war was over.

It did not take the Iowa army long to start for

home. On the way other troops marching to the war zone were told the glad tidings. The homecoming was attended with much rejoicing and celebration. An eye-witness stated that he had never seen "a wilder set of men and a greater carousal than there was in the City of Burlington" on the night when the troops arrived. Amid such scenes the Honey War came to an end.

The close of the Honey War, however, left the boundary dispute as far as ever from adjustment. Fruitless attempts were made to settle the question in Congress, but as time passed it became more and more evident that the final decision would have to come from the United States Supreme Court. After Iowa was admitted into the Union as a State, an "agreed" case was arranged with Missouri and the matter was brought before the Supreme Court. In 1849 that tribunal decreed that the Sullivan line was the true boundary, and commissioners were appointed to resurvey and remark the line. The completion of their work and the acceptance of their report by the Supreme Court in 1851 ended the dispute that had continued for over a decade concerning the location of the southern boundary of Iowa.

ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON

Comment by the Editor

THE ORIGIN OF NAMES

Henry Clay Dean. How many American statesmen have, like Henry Clay, left a record of their popularity in the names of the youth of their generation! A horde of namesakes is the fate of all who achieve public notice. The patronymic of every President from George Washington to Calvin Coolidge has been exploited by political adherents in quest of suitable names for their sons, while the fame of military heroes, great writers, and even notorious prize fighters is likewise perpetuated. Most of the Deweys finished college two or three years ago, and the sons of baseball fans will soon be explaining that Ruth has changed its gender. Since mothers vote it is quite likely that many a boy will bear the anomalous name of Calvin Woodrow.

Historically, given names preceded surnames. Men were called Erik or John or Harry, and only the need of distinguishing between generations gave rise to the surnames of Eriksson, Johnson, and Harrison. Some Scandinavians still preserve the old custom of christening their sons according to the root of the family cognomen. Thus Erik Eriksson's sons may all be named Erik. This sys-

tem worked very well in the old days before the law took notice of a man's every act and possession — when the business of living was simple. But later the need of precision demanded that the records should distinguish Sam on the hill or John the smith from the other Sams or Johns thereabout. So it came to pass that geographical features and the prevalent trades became the surnames of people.

Place names, in turn, are often derived from the names of prominent people. Take the counties of Iowa for instance. More than two-thirds of them bear the name of some notable personage, while the same would probably be true of the cities and towns. The ninety-nine counties had all been created before 1860, and the memory of every President up to that time, except Tyler, Fillmore, and Pierce, has been perpetuated in the name of an Iowa county. Statesmen, early settlers, and Indians seem to have been the most popular source of place names in Iowa.

J. E. B.

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