1911

Some sociological aspects of lynchings in Iowa

Paul Walton Black
State University of Iowa

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SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LYNCHINGS IN IOWA

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
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Political Economy and Sociology
in the
State University of Iowa

by
Paul Walton Black

Iowa City, Iowa
June, 1911
SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LYNCHINGS IN IOWA

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Chapter I

Introduction

It has been my purpose in making this study of Lynch Law in Iowa to find the causes and results and to so analyse and correlate them as to discover what each has contributed to this phenomenon. The causes and results have varied as changes have come in the relative amounts which have been contributed by the physical, economic, political and social environment. An attempt has been made to show how simple maladjustments of relationships within or between these elements of environment have caused the lynchings.

This investigation has aimed to show why and how the mobs have been formed, and if possible offer some suggestion that may lead to the amelioration of Lynch Law. It is to be hoped that the different causes that have suggested themselves have been given due place.

The study takes up Lynch Law with its inception in 1834 and continues to the present time although the last lynching occurred in 1908. The period has been treated as a whole for some purposes and for others it has been studied according to other divisions.
Lynch Law is particularly a social phenomenon of the United States which probably had its origin in the latter part of the eighteenth century.\(^1\) The practice of lynching has spread over the greater part of the United States since that time but this study has been confined to its appearance within the borders of the country which is now the state of Iowa.

The term lynching has had an evolution of meaning. In the early history of the lynchings in the State it included most summary proceedings, but of recent years the term is applied to that mob action which results in the death of the victim by hanging. Because of the change in the content of the term it has been necessary to select a definition that includes all the social phenomena which were considered under Lynch Law at any time. The definition that has been selected is as follows:

"Any collection of individuals assembled for any unlawful purpose intending to do damage or injury to anyone, or pretending to exercise correctional power over persons by violence, and without authority of the law, shall for the purpose of this act be regarded as a 'mob', and any

\(^1\) Cutler's Lynch Law (1905), p. 39.
act of violence exercised by them upon the body of any person, shall constitute a 'lynching'."²

The method of investigation has been to gather all the facts possible upon the cases and then from this data make an analytical and statistical study in order to deduce the laws under which lynchings have occurred. However before the data could be gathered the cases had to be discovered. In the discovery of the cases and the collecting of the facts about them both primary and secondary sources were used.

The primary sources for the cases of the period from 1834 to 1860 are the newspapers published in the State whose files are in the State Historical Libraries of Des Moines and Iowa City. All these papers were searched to find new cases and to add material to those already discovered. For the period from 1860 to the present time the Iowa State Register, The Burlington

2. 92 Ohio Laws 136. See also 93 Ohio Laws 161, sections 4426-4 to 4426-14 of the Revised Statutes and 93 Ohio Laws 411, sections 6903 of Title I, Part Fourth, Revised Statutes, Crime and Offenses.
Hawk-Eye, and the Iowa City Republican were used for the same purpose as the above. Local newspapers were used to give additional information. The census reports, records of the district courts, questionnaires, and personal letters of eye-witnesses or contemporary residents in the vicinity of the lynchings have also been of service.

The secondary sources of service in the investigation have been the Annals of Iowa, annals of counties, Iowa Biographical Series, Iowa Journal of History and Politics, county histories, History of Scott Township, Mahaska County, biographies, magazines, histories of Iowa, and personal letters. Various books referred to in the bibliography have been consulted dealing with the physical, economic, judicial, political, psychological, and sociological phases of this study.
Chapter II

An Analytical and Statistical Study of Attempted Lynching in Iowa

The discussion of this chapter has been confined principally to attempted lynchings. This separate chapter had been devoted to the analysis of the attempted lynchings because their discussion along with lynchings would not bring out the differentiation in the social phenomena that has been desired. The main difference between the phenomena of the attempted lynchings and that of the lynchings is not so much in kind as in degree of success. The minor differentiations have been shown in the following pages.

Number and distribution.

Sixty-eight attempted lynchings bees have been discovered. These have not been quite evenly distributed over the time space from 1834 to 1910. By the aid of Chart I the absolute number of attempted lynching bees can be seen. They have become increasingly prevalent as the years have passed since the first settlement in this country. Only two attempted lynchings occurred from 1834 to 1855 but after that time the frequency and number per year has for the most part increased. The close correlation of the fluctuations in the number of
Chart III

Attempted Lynching per Million of Population 1848 - 1910
lynchings with the economic panic periods is to be seen in the attempted lynching as well as in the lynchings.

In order to show the absolute number of the intended victims Chart II has been drawn on the same basis as Chart I. The value of this chart lies in the fact that it gives a chance to eliminate the cases where more than one attempt has been made upon the same person and also to show where the attempted lynching bees have had more than one intended victim. The charts show sixty-seven lynching bees of the sixty-eight, the date of one being unknown.

In order to show the relation of the number of attempted lynching bees to the population Chart III has been drawn on the basis of one attempted lynching per million population. In 1834 the rate was 200, in 1848 it 7.4 and in 1857 it was 10 per million. Since 1860 the rate per million has been much lower and runs fairly regular for the years in which the attempted lynchings have occurred. However, some years do not show any attempts. If the number of attempted lynchings be considered by decades it will be found that from 1830 - 40 they would average 20, from 1840-50, .7, from 1850-60, 13.2, from 1860-70, .7, from 1870-80, .6, from 1880-90,
### Chart IV

**CAUSES of ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart V

**RELATIVE IMPORTANCE of the SPECIFIC CAUSES of ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape and attempted rape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown and general principles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs Regulators and mobs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse-stealing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resisting officers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-treatment of wife and family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race prejudice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing accident with auto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
.4, from 1890-1900, .5, from 1900-10, 1.1 per million population. If the absolute number of the attempted lynching bees be considered by decades it will be found that they average 1, 1, 9, 6, 9, 8, 9, 24 respectively for the decades. The great increase in the past decade stands out with decided prominence.

Direct causes.

The direct causes have been grouped into social, economic and political causes. The causes of the attempted lynchings have been predominantly social. Fifty-eight bees have traceable social causes, seven have traceable economic causes and four have predominant political causes. On the basis of the direct cause or occasion these attempted lynching bees have been placed upon a chart. Thus Chart IV shows that the social causes are by far the most influential.  

A still further differentiation of causes is found in Chart V. Murder has caused 32 attempted lynchings; assault, 11; rape and attempted rape, 5; unknown and general principles, 5; liquor, 3; denunciation of Regulators and mobs, 2; theft, 2; robbery, 2; and 1 each respectively for adultery, horse stealing, resisting

3. Chapter IV, Table XI. Note the social causes becoming increasingly predominant. This is also true of the attempted lynchings.
Map I

LOCATION of ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS
1834 - 1910
officers, offensive speech, ill-treatment of the wife and family, race prejudice, and causing an accident with an automobile.

**Indirect causes**

An effort was made to get the exact place where the sixty-eight attempted lynchings occurred but this was not possible in all the cases. Of the forty-six that were located forty-three were in towns, two in the woods, and one on the prairie. After going over the number which occurred in the cities or towns it was found that about thirty-five cities and towns are either now in woody and rough districts or originally they were built in timbered country. Many of the towns are on rivers and streams. The thirty-five cases in the towns of originally wooded districts together with the two which are said to have been in the woods gives over fifty-three per cent of the whole number that can reasonably be said to have been geographically located in places potentially favorable to lynchings. As many of the places where the attempted lynchings have occurred as have been found have been indicated on the topographical Map I inserted. This is a map which shows the original forestry of the State and it is used here because of the phys-
ical conditions which it represents. In order to show the number of attempted lynchings for each county in which they occurred map II has been prepared. The counties along the rivers have been the ones where attempted lynchings have been most prevalent. A comparison of this chart with the similar one on lynchings will throw additional light on the question of demography. The average percentage of native born Southerners of these counties in 1856 was 11.67%. All the counties except six which have had attempted lynchings are the same as those in which lynchings have occurred. Twenty-nine counties have had attempted lynchings.

4. The writer is indebted to Professor B. Shimek of the State University of Iowa for the use of this map.

5. Chapter IV, Map II.

6. Census of Iowa for 1856. See nativity table at close of the report.
Chart VI
ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS by MONTHS
1834 — 1910

Chart VII
ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS by DAYS of the WEEK
1834-1910

Chart VIII
REASONS for FAILURE of ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS
1834 — 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resistance of soil and guards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape of intended victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersed by outside persuasion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance of intended victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersed by inside persuasion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance with demands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance of &quot;Law and Order Men&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicide of intended victim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fifty-six of the attempted lynching bees show the month of occurrence and from this data Chart VI has been worked out. The hot months show the highest expectancy. April and July each have seven while June and August each have six cases. The other months vary from two to five per month.

Only forty-nine accounts gave the day of the week upon which the attempted lynching happened. These facts have been reduced also to a chart (Chart VII) which shows that Wednesday is the day of greatest expectancy for such phenomena. There were four cases on Sunday, eleven on Monday, seven on Tuesday, thirteen on Wednesday, four on Thursday, eight on Friday, and five on Saturday.\footnote{7}

In every case, although the attempted lynching was begun in some cases during the day, they have happened under the cover of night. There has been a tendency toward occurrence at midnight or soon thereafter.

A number of reasons for the failure of the attempted lynchings have been found and represented in

\footnote{7. A possible explanation of this has been offered in Chapter VII, pp. 80, 81.}
Chart VIII. Thirty-six failures were caused by the strength of the jails and the efficiency of the police and official force, thirteen failed because of the escape of the intended victim, seven failed because of lack of leadership, four failed because of persuasion from members within the mob, two failed because of the resistance of the intended victim, and one each respectively failed because of persuasion from without the mob, compliance of the intended victim with the demands made of him, resistance of the "Law and Order Men", and suicide of the intended victim.

Some characteristics of attempted lynching mobs.

The estimates of the size of the mobs which attempted to lynch have been very high. Estimates as to the size were given in fifteen cases. These are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mob Description</th>
<th>Estimated Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pierce mob</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimes mob</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watkins mob</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown mob</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards mob</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson mob</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West mob</td>
<td>200--300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds mob</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reed, Green &amp; Shields mob</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junkin mob at Ottumwa</td>
<td>50--2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three men of Ottumwa mob</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief of Keokuk County mob</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custer mob</td>
<td>10---15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storms mob</td>
<td>700---1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington mob</td>
<td>300---400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table gives an average of about 330 persons per mob for attempted lynchings. 8

These mobs and the others whose size could not be obtained show a variety in composition. One mob was composed of saloon keepers, 9 three of farmers, 10 two of Vigilance Committees, 11 and one of the Regulators. 12 The nativity of two prominent men in the A. D. Storms mob was found to be Virginian and German. J. W. Bowen who led the mob of oakaloosa against Brown was Welsh.

8. The lynching mobs had a low estimate of 175 and a high estimate of 458 with an average of 316 persons per mob.


10. Appendix A, Richard Custer, April 15, 1856, Charles Arnett, December 19, 1900, J. A. Kuefner, August 8, 1910.


Excitement has characterized the community in which the mob has been formed and as a result the mobs have shown excitement in many cases. Spontaneous or instinctive likemindedness has frequently followed in cases of most atrocious crimes. In these cases the mobs have gathered spontaneously and shown evidences of uncontrolled emotions. Impetuousness, agitation, excessive loss of energy in frantic movements and unsteadiness characterize these mobs.\textsuperscript{13} Such mobs as these have been the most easily formed and if a leader has appeared the likemindedness has been easily induced and unified action followed.

Sometimes the community feeling has been sympathetically likeminded but artificial means were needed to get united action.\textsuperscript{14} In such cases likemindedness has been obtained through the shouting of significant expressions, gesticulation and persuasion through exaggerated word pictures.

In still other cases the rational element has

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Giddings' Inductive Sociology (1901), pp. 142 - 4.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Giddings' Inductive Sociology (1901), pp. 144, 145.
\end{itemize}
entered more strongly. Mobs that have been formed from Vigilance Committees, Regulators, and temporary organizations are types of this kind. Such cases are fewer in number than the others because here cool deliberation and rational foresight is necessary to perfect the organization. But of course in all forms of mob action the individuals act more or less instinctively even though some show rationality.

No little "yellow journalism" has been precursor of the attempted lynchings as well as the lynchings. All types of likemindedness have been enhanced by this means. Along with this might be classed the cases where wild and unreasonable stories have been told and spread through the community. The extraordinariness of

15. Giddings' Inductive Sociology (1901), pp. 154 ff.

16. Chapter VI, pp. 75, 76.

17. Instances of this are found in the cases of A. D. Storms, February 9, 1898, and Joe McCain, January 11, 1907. See Appendix A.
the story has not seemed to make any difference in its acceptance as truth.\textsuperscript{18}

A large number of the mobs lacked secrecy. A Classification was made in which the degree of secrecy was taken into consideration. It was found that probably forty per cent of the attempted lynchings failed because of lack of secrecy.

Only two cases show any attempted prosecution of the attempted lynchers.\textsuperscript{19} There are many causes for this but probably the most far reaching is political.

By way of summary and conclusion it may be said that the facts of this chapter do not portend much better conditions for the future. However, when the fact that attempted lynchings are increasing in frequency is considered with the fact that lynching\textsuperscript{20} are decreasing in

\textsuperscript{18} Appendix A, William and Isaac Barber, June 6, 1883.

\textsuperscript{19} Appendix A, Leon Lozier, January 19, 1894, and the two Paidee brothers, 1857.

\textsuperscript{20} Chapter VII, p. 79.
frequency, then the significance of this chapter becomes evident. With the increase of industrialism and the mental and social unification of the people the tendency has been to substitute punishment by the State for punishment by Lynch Law. Herein lies our hope for the future.  

21. Compare Chart I with Chart IX. This shows an increased number and frequency of attempted lynchings with a corresponding decrease in the lynchings.
Chapter III

An Analytical and Statistical Study of Lynchings in Iowa.

Number.

There were 157 lynching bees found as a result of this investigation which involved 315 different persons. These as well as the attempted lynchings have not been distributed evenly over the time from 1834 to 1908. In order to graphically represent the absolute number of lynchings per year since 1834 Chart IX has been prepared. This chart shows fluctuations in the lynching bees as does the chart of attempted lynchings. The following

22. The word "bee" is here used for lack of a better term. In the early days when a woman of a community had a quilt to make she invited her neighbors in to help her and this gathering was called a "quilting bee". The term was used in the fall when a number of farmers would gather at one of their homes and have a husking bee". A "lynching bee" includes the proceedings of one mob until it disperses, unless it remains longer than one day inflicting summary punishments each day, the the second day's proceedings is called another "bee". If on the first day no summary punishment was given it would not be termed a "bee" and the same with succeeding days.
Chart IX
ACTUAL NUMBER of LYNCHINGS
1834 - 1910
Chart X

NUMBER of PERSONS LYNCHED ANNUALLY

1834 — 1910
are the periods of greatest numbers: 1838-1841, 1848-1849, 1855-1860, 1863-1870, 1872-1877, 1883-1885, 1891-1895, 1900-1903, 1905-1908. Because of the lack of data as to the time when the lynchings occurred it was possible to chart only 138 lynching bees involving 189 victims. Thus the conclusions that have been based upon this data have been built upon 87.89% of the whole number of lynchings.

The number of victims in these lynchings have exceeded the number of lynching bees, and in order to show the absolute number of victims per year Chart X has been inserted on the same basis as Chart IX. This involves 189 different victims. One person, Charles Clute, was lynched in 1856 and again in 1857 so that it may seem that the absolute number of victims was 190.

Of the whole number of lynching bees 125 had 1 victim each, 25 had 2 victims each, 5 had 3 victims each, and 3 had 4, 10, and 13 victims respectively. These two charts show only 110 bees of 1 victim each, 22 of 2 victims each, 5 of 3 victims each and 2 of 10 and 13 victims respectively.

The lynchings whose dates are known have been charted on the basis of one lynching bee per million population. Since 1860 the census reports have been
Chart XI
LYNCHINGS per MILLION
of POPULATION
1880-1910
published every five years, alternating between the Federal and the State census. Prior to 1860 the census reports were published more frequently for this State during a part of the period of our study and during the remainder less frequently. Official estimates have been made for some of the very early years.23 Where official estimates have not been made and the census reports have not shown the number, the number has been calculated from the given reports upon the presumption that a uniform change took place between the reports. On the basis of one lynching per million the number of lynchings per million of population in 1834 was 400. This so far exceeded the rate of any other year that it could not be placed upon the chart so as to allow the number in later years to vary perceptably from the base line so it has not been charted. Thus Chart XI shows a decrease in the number of lynchings relative to the population. The fluctuations are here more noticeable than in Chart IX.

A further analysis and statistical study has been made on the basis of the counties as units. Table II shows the number of lynching bees and the number of

23. Census of Iowa for 1867, Table XI, pp. 102 - 105.
persons lynched by counties. There are at least 57 counties that have had lynchings and possibly 58, as the place where one lynching bee happened has not been discovered. This table records 21 counties with 1 lynching bee each, 13 with 2 lynching bees each, 10 with 3 lynching bees each, 5 with 4 lynching bees each, 4 with 5 lynching bees each, 1 with 6 lynching bees, 2 with 7 lynching bees each, 1 with 9 and 1 with 13 lynching bees. The average lynching bees for the counties where they occurred is 2.72 per county, while the average number of victims is 3.7 per county.

### TABLE II.

**NUMBER OF LYNCHING BEES AND PERSONS LYNCHED BY COUNTIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Bees</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Bees</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Counties</th>
<th>Bees</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Guthrie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Monona</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>gang (3)(?)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mills</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Kinds

The kinds or types of lynchings have been designated by the prevailing type of punishment in the lynching bee. Thus the most severe type of punishment has been selected as the significant one. Twelve general types or kinds have been selected which include all variations. Accordingly Chart XII shows a very high percentage of deaths from lynchings. 39.24% of the lynchings have proved fatal to one or more of the victims in each lynching. Table III gives the percent of each kind of lynching.

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF LYNCHINGS ACCORDING TO KINDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hanging until dead</td>
<td>32.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whipping</td>
<td>25.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretching</td>
<td>12.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarring &amp; feathering</td>
<td>6.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting to death</td>
<td>6.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulting</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banishing</td>
<td>4.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting &amp; wounding etc.</td>
<td>1.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egging</td>
<td>1.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death, otherwise</td>
<td>1.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drowning</td>
<td>.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducking</td>
<td>.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kinds that have the highest percentage, hanging and whipping, are the first two kinds of lynching used in Iowa, and it is interesting to note here that they have remained the characteristic types throughout the history of Iowa.24

---

24. See Table V.
### Chart XII
**NUMBER of LYNCHING BEES ACCORDING to KINDS 1834 – 1910**

- Hanging - death
- Whipping
- Stretching
- Tarring and feathering
- Shooting - death
- Assaulting
- Banishing
- Shooting and wounding, etc
- Egging
- Otherwise - death
- Drowning

### Chart XIII
**NUMBER of PERSONS LYNCHED ACCORDING to TYPES of PUNISHMENT 1834 – 1910**

- Whipping
- Hanging
- Stretching
- Shooting - death
- Assaulting
- Tarring and feathering
- Banishing
- Shooting and wounding, etc
- Egging
- Otherwise death
- Drowning
### Table V  Number of Lynching Bees and Persons Lynched According to Types of Lynching by Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bee Deaths</th>
<th>Lynching Deaths</th>
<th>Total Lynching Deaths</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1836</td>
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<td>1838</td>
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### Table VI  Kinds of Lynching According to Counties

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<th>County</th>
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<td>Chelsea</td>
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<td>Dorchester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The table represents data from 1834 to 1910.
By the same means of classification the number of victims have been represented by Chart XIII. Here if more than one type of punishment was used on a victim the most severe was selected. Whipping is first with hanging until death as a close rival. This chart has also been reduced to the numerical percentage basis in Table IV.

**TABLE IV.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Lynching</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whipping</td>
<td>32.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanging until death</td>
<td>26.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretching</td>
<td>11.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting to death</td>
<td>6.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulting</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarring and feathering</td>
<td>5.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banishing</td>
<td>4.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting &amp; wounding &amp;c</td>
<td>2.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egging</td>
<td>1.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death otherwise</td>
<td>.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducking</td>
<td>.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drowning</td>
<td>.46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to show which kinds or types of lynchings have been the prevailing ones during the different periods of time, Table V has been prepared. This table shows the number of lynching bees according to kinds by years, the number of persons lynched by each type of lynching bee by years, the total number of lynching bees by years, the total number of persons lynched by years, the total number of lynching bees according to kind for the whole time and the total number of persons lynched according to kind of lynchings for the whole time studied.
Because of the dates being unknown in a few cases a separate column has been given them. This table's value lies in the fact that it shows what types have arisen, and when they arose, together with their degrees of persistency. It demonstrates the fact that some types have arisen and vanished while others have become increasingly popular. Hanging and whipping, the two initial types, have remained with about the same degree of persistency throughout the whole time. The tendency has been to inflict increasingly milder punishments with the advance of the years.

A classification of the kinds according to the counties where they have occurred is shown in Table VI. This table has been based upon the number of appearances of the different kinds of punishments upon each individual even though repetitions of the same kind occurred upon the same person. Hanging resulting in death occurred in 38 counties, whipping in 23, stretching in 14, tarring and feathering in 9, shooting in 11, assaulting in 11, banishing in 11, shooting and wounding or shooting at in 4, egging in 3, death otherwise in 1, drowning in 2, and "ducking" in 2 counties. Cedar County is first in number of victims suffering death, there being eight.
The whipping post has occurred the greatest number of times in Keokuk county, there being eighteen victims of it. Madison county, with six stretchings, stands first for this type. Marion county has had three cases of tarring and feathering while Audubon, Cass, Cedar, Fremont, Hardin, Poweshiek, and Shelby counties have had two cases each of shooting to death. Monroe and Pottawattamie counties have each had three cases of assaulting, and Keokuk county has eight occurrences of banishing. Blackhawk and Henry counties have each had two cases where egging was used. The death by means unknown occurred in Linn county. Johnson and Polk counties have each had a visitation of drowning, while Cerro Gordo and Keokuk counties have each used "ducking" once.

A still further and final analysis of the kinds has been placed in Table VII. The number of lynchings bees and the number of persons lynched have been given according to the county of occurrence and according to the year in which they occurred.

The columns under the headings victims and bees will give the number of occurrences of each in each county by years. The counties of Boone, Cedar, Des Moines, Jackson, Keokuk, Linn, Madison, Mahaska, Muscatine,
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</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Data only approximate.
Pottawattamie, Scott, and Van Buren are those whose histories have been most continuously characterized by lynchings.

The attempt has been made in this chapter to show in as many ways as seemed practical for further consideration the number of lynchings and the number of different kinds of lynchings.
Chapter IV

An Analytical and Statistical Study of Lynchings in Iowa

Direct and Indirect Causes

It is the purpose of this chapter to make an analytical and statistical study of the lynchings in Iowa from the point of view of their causes. It is however not presumed that all the causes both direct and indirect have been discovered, but some of the more or less obvious ones have been studied. The direct causes have been economic, social and political in their nature. The indirect causes have been the physical, economic, political, judicial and social conditions of the country. The direct causes have been the occasions for lynchings, while the indirect causes have been the conditions of the environment that have been potentially favorable to the phenomenon of lynching.

Direct Causes.

Horse stealing, timber stealing, robbery, theft, counterfeiting, desperadism,\(^\text{25}\) claim jumping, liquor seiz-

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\(^{25}\) Cutler's Lynch Law, p. 168. This term has been borrowed from Cutler and expanded in meaning so that it includes all of the alleged offenses of the Bellevue gang of 1840. See Appendix B, Bellevue lynching, April 2, 1840.
### Chart XIV
**Classes of Causes of Lynchings 1834 - 1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>120</th>
<th>140</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart XV
**Number of Lynchings for Various Reasons 1834 - 1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horse-stealing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperodism</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claim-jumping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs Lincoln</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperheadism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber-stealing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor seizing, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affinity</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General principles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery-bank, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-treatment of wife, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spying</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs religious ideas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Counterfeiting</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office usurpation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of ill-fame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slander</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs soldiers</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incestedness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seduction</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealousy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race prejudice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-will-support</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ing, trouble over taxes and the survey, and indebtedness have been classed as economic causes. Murder, arson, rape, seduction, incest, affinity, keeping a house of ill-fame, adultery, assault, kidnaping, race prejudice, jealousy, dishonesty, lack of support of wife and ill-treatment of her and the family, slander and generally bad conduct have been classed as social causes. Spying, speaking against Lincoln, the government, the soldiers, and the established religious views, copperheadism, office usurpation, and informing on the Vigilance Committee have been classed as political causes. Under this classification of the causes on the basis of the appearance of each cause as a contributing factor to the lynchings, enumerating as many as could be found for each case, it was found that in 132 cases, or 53.65% of all economic causes predominated in 87, or 35.36%, social causes were most influential and in 27 cases, or 10.97% of all, political causes were most important. These statistics have been graphically represented in Chart XIV.

26. The corresponding chart and table classification is general principles.
A more differentiated classification has been made in which 35 causes have been enumerated in Chart XV in the order of the diminishing frequency of their appearance. The statistics upon which this chart has been made have been reduced to a percentage basis in Table VIII.

**TABLE VIII.**

PERCENTAGE OF VARIOUS DIRECT CAUSES OF LYNCHINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horse stealing</td>
<td>21.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>16.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>14.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperadism</td>
<td>6.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claim jumping</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs Lincoln</td>
<td>2.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperheadism</td>
<td>2.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber stealing</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor siezing etc</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affinity</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General principles</td>
<td>2.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs government</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery, banks etc.</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-treatment of wife</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spying</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs religion</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterfeiting</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office usurpation</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of ill-fame</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slander</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech vs soldiers</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indebtedness</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seduction</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealousy</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race prejudice</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-wife-support</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows several forms of theft which, if all were considered together, would compromise 40.34% of all the causes of lynchings.

**Indirect Causes**

**Physical**

The first settlers of Iowa built their homes along the rivers and streams. This was partly because they
thought that the prairies were not fertile since they bore no trees and partly because they wished to have water, building material and fuel near at hand. 27

The woods also furnished protection from the blizzards that were so fearful to the pioneers of Iowa. The movement was toward the northwest along the rivers and as a result the density of population was greatest here. Settlement had been made for only about fifty miles up the rivers in 1840 but by 1850 not only had settlement been extended far up the rivers from the east side of the country but it had been begun along the Missouri river and had spread toward the center of the State along the tributaries of this river. By 1860 about one third of the State was covered with a density of population of at least fifteen per square mile. 28


Various estimates have been made as to the amount of timber land the State originally possessed. Probably as good an estimate as could be found would be to say that one eighth was originally forest country.  

This portion of the State which was covered with timber coupled with other facts and conditions made environment potentially favorable for lynchings in Iowa. Thirty-nine accounts of cases state specifically that the lynching bees were held in the woods. Fifty-eight were held in cities or towns, three were upon the prairies, and thirty-one cases did not state whether they were in the woods, city or prairies. By the aid of Map IV of the original forestry of the State upon which round gold dots have been placed to indicate the place of the lynching bees it may be seen that a very large portion of them were held in wooded districts. Nearly all of the fifty-eight towns in which lynchings have occurred were originally built in or very near the timbered districts. These towns were for the most part built upon some river or stream where the land was broken and surrounded by timber. The thirty one cases whose data

Map IV

NUMBER of LYNCHING BEES by COUNTIES
gave no facts as to timber country did give however, sufficient data so that they could be placed upon the chart and it was found that the majority of them came in the originally wooded districts.

A table also has been prepared giving the counties in alphabetical order with the lynching bees designated by the persons lynched. In this table (Table IX) have been noted the date and place of occurrence together with remarks that pertain to the topographical conditions surrounding the lynchings. Both Map III and Table IX show 135 lynchings. For lack of data showing the place where the others occurred they could not be placed upon the map. In connection with Map III, Map IV has been prepared to show the number of lynchings by counties and their position relative to the timbered districts. It can be readily seen that the counties of the most lynchings are the ones that are the most broken and traversed by streams.

It may be objected that the originally timbered districts may have been cleared before the lynchings occurred. This objection does not signify as much as it may seem for the broken country in which the original forests were located has not changed and it may be said in most cases that the forestry has not been altered sufficient-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Lynching bees and persons lynched</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>City or town</th>
<th>Woods</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>McKensie</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Corning</td>
<td></td>
<td>On woody river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audubon</td>
<td>Jellerson, Smyth, &amp; Wilson</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Audubon</td>
<td></td>
<td>On woody stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Hawk</td>
<td>Adams (2 bees)</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Waterloo</td>
<td></td>
<td>On woody Cedar river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>a miller</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mill on river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>Redmon</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Near Boonsboro on Des Moines river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>Burill, Mercer</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer</td>
<td>Farr, Warner</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Murphy's Grove ½m. south east of Waverly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer</td>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Tree in pasture 2 miles south of Waverly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer</td>
<td>McRoberts</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On woody river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cass</td>
<td>Anderson, Brown</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Wyota</td>
<td></td>
<td>9m. north east of Tipton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Clute</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>At home east of Lowden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Warner's Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Warner</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yankee Run river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Conklin</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2 miles south of Lowden at Martin Henry's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Soaper, Gleason</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Tipton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Thief</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Mechanicville</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edge of woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Kelso, Accomplice</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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ly to modify to any great degree the initial character it gave to the people. The timber afforded a ready place not only for the hanging of the victim but it also furnished a good place for whipping and, since it was usually along streams, also for drowning. Both the victims and the members of the mob were residents of the timbered country in many cases and as a result the lynchings were more likely to occur there than elsewhere. Granting that the timber had been cleared in the vicinity of the lynching of the cases where specific reference has not been made in the data that it occurred in the timber, yet a region with much timber would tend to mold the character of the inhabitants for generations after the timber had been cleared. It can now be seen that the extreme aggressiveness of the pioneers has remained a characteristic of the people, even down to the present time in some districts. These men who formed the mob of the early days were men who were fearless and impatient. The court proceedings did not expedite matters with sufficient rapidity and they were frequently found in a mob trying to give summary and speedy justice to the outlaws that were ravaging their property and threatening them with death. In the early history of Iowa when the country was sparsely settled little
could be done it seemed by the arm of the law to rid the country of its outlaws. The vast timber countries of which the "Big Woods" of Jackson county was an example were places of safety for the desperadoes. Attempts were again and again made by officers to catch the outlaws but each time they were baffled by the physical conditions of the country and it is no wonder that the pioneer used Lynch Law when the opportunity came to extricate himself from the ravages of the gang.

A study of the time of year that these lynchings occurred brought out the fact that climate, temperature and the weather probably affected the number of lynchings. Assault and battery, and murder and suicide have been shown to be more prevalent in the hot months. The high crimes or those whose punishment in the most severe appear in the hot months while the lighter offenses appear in the cooler months. Murder and horse stealing are very prominent causes of lynchings. It may be objected that horse stealing is not a high crime, but in the time when lynchings occurred for horse stealing it was considered about as great an offense as murder. This was due in part to the economic value of a

30. Dexter's Weather Influences (1904)
CHART XVI
MONTHS OF OCCURRENCE OF 116 LYNCHINGS 1834-1910

101 LYNCHINGS, by the DAY of the WEEK of their OCCURRENCE
1834 - 1910

CHART XVII
101 LYNCHINGS BY THE DAY OF THE WEEK OF THEIR OCCURRENCE 1834-1910

GRAPHIC CORRELATION OF LIFE SENTENCES AND executions WITH LYNCHINGS ON A BASIS OF ONE PER MILLION OF POPULATION 1865-1905
horse in the pioneer days. Stories of the frontier life show that hanging for horse stealing was probably as prevalent as hanging for murder. This is related to the hot season in that horse stealing was more prevalent then. The data of 116 lynchings whose month of occurrence was given has been placed in Chart XVI. A gradual increase has occurred in the number of lynchings from January to May when there was a rapid increase in June. July remained the same as June and then a rapid decrease occurred. The lowest number appeared in September and October and then there was a slight increase for November which remained the same for December and January. No obvious reason for the lowest number having occurred in September and October has presented itself to the writer. The difference between these two months and the three following has been so slight that its significance does not seem to be of great moment.

The fact that each kind of lynching has tended to occur in the hot months has been shown by Table X. June and July have been the months of the most cases of hanging to death, while April, May and June have had the most whippings. This table also shows that lynchings have been more prevalent in the latter part of the week than at any other time. Hanging and whipping show this
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<tr>
<th>KINDS of LYNCHINGS and NUMBER of VICTIMS</th>
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Note: The table above represents a detailed breakdown of lynching cases by kind, month, and day of the week, spanning from 1834 to 1910.
fact distinctly. Many of the less severe kinds are more prevalent in the first part of the week than some of the more severe types. Stretching as contrasted with hanging until dead comes at the first of the week. This table shows 101 lynching bees whose day of the week is fairly well established.

This table has been reduced to a chart which will show clearly the point discussed. It was found that there were 10 on Sunday, 12 on Monday, 14 on Tuesday, 18 on Wednesday, 11 on Thursday, 14 on Friday, and 21 on Saturday. Thus Chart XVII shows that at no time during the week was the number of lynchings less than on Sunday. The reasons why the lynchings have increased with the advance of the week probably lie in the decreasing effect of the moral, ethical, and religious influence of Sunday coupled with the physical life which is affected by the growing weariness of the body with the advance of the week and a consequent laxness in conduct.

31. An attempt was made to find the months and days of the week when the crimes were committed for which the offenders were lynched but as yet not sufficient data has been gathered to warrant any conclusions.
The completion of tasks are at the close of the week and the farmers gather in the cities and towns and as a result a mob could be more easily formed than in the earlier part of the week when everyone was about his business. Likemindedness could be obtained in the towns and cities with but little persuasion if the occasion came on account of the close proximity of the inhabitants.

**Economic.**

The economic conditions of a country have been too often disregarded as a factor influencing the number of crimes committed. The contentment of a people, their attitude of mind, the energy they possess, and in fact their whole life is greatly influenced by the economic condition of the country in which they live. Prosperity has brought a contentment to the people of the United States while bad economic conditions resulting in panics and depressions have brought distress on every hand. The influences of crises and depressions have been studied in their relations to lynchings and the results of this study are now to be considered.

A crisis is "the stoppage of the rise of prices; that is to say, the period when new buyers are not to
be found." A "panic is a storm in the mob mind caused by a crisis". A "depression is the period of stagnation following the crisis."

The imports of 1836 exceeded the exports by $50,000,000 which caused a heavy draft upon the Treasury of its gold and silver. From 1837 to 1839, 1000 failures occurred and the reports of 1841 show 33,000 more with an estimated loss of $440,000,000. These con-


ditions with contracts of about $300,000,000 in extension of canals and railroads brought on the panic of 1837. More distressing conditions came in 1839 with the separation of the U. S. Bank from the Government and the cessation of its operations as the National Bank. The money was withdrawn and placed in the State Banks and overspeculation resulted because of the ease with which money could be obtained. The depression that followed lasted until 1843. Chart XI shows that the years when lynchings were numerous were also the years of panics and depressions. Table XI shows that all the lynchings of the panic of 1837 and the following depression had direct economic causes. Theft, desperadism, claim jumping, counterfeiting and indebtedness were the prevailing causes of this period.

After 1843 conditions were improving constantly until 1857 except the short period of 1848 when there was a slight panic. This panic of 1848 will in part account for the increase in the number of lynchings for 1848 and 1849. The English panic influenced conditions in the United States and a liquidation of the bullion

of the Treasury of $14,000,000 resulted. This was a panic of capital.

The crisis of 1857 was marked by fluctuations in the prices which tended downward and finally with the failure of the "Ohio Life" the panic came. The failure of many banks followed and the panic was one of circulation. The panic was very severe and the consequent depression lasted until 1859. As would be expected the number of lynchings greatly increased and a higher rate per million was reached than any other time except in 1834, 1838, and 1840.

Prosperous times began again in 1860 and continued until 1863. With the opening of the Civil War one might expect more lynchings and an increase in crimes as causes of them but this was not the case. Probably the restless spirits who were seeking adventure were en-

37. Juglar's _ABrief History of Panics in the United States_ (1897), pp. 80-82.

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listed in the army and as a result no lynchings were found from 1860 to 1863. The issuance of paper money caused debts to be easily paid\(^3\) which aided materially in the prosperity and good attitude of mind during the early part of the War. The crisis of the War came and with it depressed conditions from 1865 to 1870. In 1877 and 1879 there were slight reactions.\(^4\) The fluctuations of the number of lynchings for this period correspond almost perfectly with the crisis and depression. The greater number of lynchings of this period had political causes. This is shown in Table XI.

The prosperous times from 1870 to 1873 came to a close with little warning by the failure of Jay Cook in September and the crisis was at hand. Banks and trust companies failed in large numbers and the con-

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40. Burton's *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depressions* (1903), pp. 286, 287.
sequent depression lasted until 1878. The lynchings of this period commenced with 1872 and fluctuated up and down until they finally ceased in 1878. No lynchings occurred from 1878 to 1882.

Unusually prosperous times opened with 1879 and continued for some time. Conditions began to indicate over speculation by 1881 and 1882. Railroads went into receivers' hands with the opening of the panic of 1883 and many failures resulted. The depression lasted until 1886. The lynchings increased and reached a high mark in 1883 and then gradually fluctuated downward until 1886 when there were no lynchings. The lynchings of 1887 and 1889 may be correlated with the large number of failures of these years, and especially so in 1889. There were 203 more in 1889 than there were in 1888.

The prosperity that followed 1889 was checked:


42. Juglar's History of the Panics of the United States (1897), pp. 138-144.
and a panic came in May, 1893. A change in administration and tariff reform had caused a loss of confidence in the prospects of investment and the panic was the result. More failures occurred than had occurred in 1873 and the severity of the panic was greater than at that time. The lynchings of this period began in 1891 and continued until 1895 reaching the highest number in 1893 and 1894. No lynchings occurred from 1895 to 1900. Again the fact that there were no lynchings in this period may be due to the fact that the war with Spain took away the restless spirits and less crime was committed.

Good conditions prevailed after 1895 until 1903 when the stock market suffered a severe drop in prices and the depression continued until 1904. One writer in 1903 wrote "1903 has been a period of continuous decline, almost uninterrupted, and practically unprecedented in character." The lynchings began to increase in 1900 and reached the highest point in 1901 after which they declined until in 1904 there were none.


44. *Independent*, November 12, 1903, (55:2666).
Again in 1907 a severe panic burst forth in all its fury and only the soundness of the financial system together with the aid of the Government at Washington saved the country from a long distress. As it was the depression following was only of very short duration. Here the lynchings fluctuate up and down from 1905 to 1908 reaching the highest point in 1907.

**Political, Legal and Judicial Conditions.**

The political, legal and judicial conditions as they have contributed to the crimes which have occasioned lynchings have been studied and they are taken up by periods in the following pages.

While the territory of which Iowa is now composed was a part of the national domain (1821-1834) there was little or no government. Settlement began, contrary to law, about 1829. In 1832 the squatters and miners were seen in the vicinity of Dubuque and Burlington and by 1833 the first attempt at local government was made. From 1833 to 1834 there was not a shadow of authority from the national government that could be

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utilized. During this time the O'Connor and Hoffman lynchings occurred. Appeal for interference in the O'Connor case was made to Illinois, Missouri, and the National Government but each replied that she had no jurisdiction over the case.46

The squatters organized claim associations and under these may be found the first rules for the Iowa pioneers. A short time after the Louisiana Purchase (1807) a law was passed whereby it was made a crime for anyone to settle in the newly purchased land until the land could be again bought from the Indians and permission given for settlement. This permission came in 1841 so all squatters of the districts of Dubuque and Burlington were intruders and law breakers who came in before that time. At this time squatters were granted the permission to settle in the territory and make such laws as they needed.47 Dubuque and "Desmoine" counties were soon organ-


ized (1836) but their government was insufficient to meet the needs, and therefore the claim associations were extended within these counties and westward as the settlement extended. The weakness in the government control under the national domain (1821-1834), Michigan (1834-1836), and Wisconsin (1836-1838) lay in the fact that all were too far removed to govern successfully. Since the pioneers were forced to govern themselves in fact they finally decided to attempt Territorial government. Thereupon when the first Territorial Legislative Assembly met at Burlington in 1838 nearly every State in the Union was represented and each man seemed to vie with his fellowman to secure the adoption of statutes patterned after those of his home state. Under such a policy the laws that were passed were of little service.48

The county system of organization came in at the beginning. This evidenced the strength of the Southern population of which something has been said under social causes. The county form of government is strict-

ly a Southern form and the township which is the New England form did not come in until 1851 when a compromise was made and the county and township system was adopted. The conditions were such that it may be justly said that there were not adequate laws to meet the needs of the people and the people had no recourse. Thus Lynch Law was instituted.

In the Territorial period it has been claimed very often that the gangs were so wide spread that they had men in office and when justice was sought it could not be obtained. Such was the complaint of Jackson county about 1840. The Bellevue War was probably brought about because of jealousy in politics. W. W. Brown and Col. Thos. Cox were old political enemies and it is claimed that Cox instituted the move to get rid of his rival. Many things point in that direction for two companies of militia were obtainable at the time of the attempted arrest of the Brown gang and it does not seem necessary that Cox should have scoured the country to gather men enough to mob Brown.

49. *Annals of Jackson County, Iowa* (1906), No. 3, p. 28.

50. *Annals of Iowa* (1906), No. 2, pp. 51-76.
Legal laxness was complained of in the early State period. The lynching of William B. Thomas at Montezuma was attributed to laxness in law enforcement. The rise of the different Vigilance Committees of Cedar, Jackson, Clinton and adjoining counties about this time were outgrowths of the general feeling that the law was not only not enforced but it was inadequate.51

During the War time there were a large number of lynchings caused indirectly by political conditions. Crime after the War increased and it was hard to get justice in cases where questions of the War were involved. Political feelings could not help but influence the court decisions and often caused miscarriage of justice. Moreover, the return of the soldiers caused a general tendency toward legal laxness and out of this feeling in part grew the lynchings of the time. To undertake rigid law enforcement was not a wise thing because it was all that the State Government could do to keep the State in the

Union as it was and a rigid enforcement of the laws would have made things worse. An instance of this was in the case of the Skunk River War where hundreds were bound over to appear before the grand jury but never appeared. It was neither wiser nor possible at that time to prosecute them.

Prior to 1870 the citizens had more chance to know of all the court cases in a more or less intimate way but after this time the interests of the people became so complicated in the increased industrialism that they could not know them so well. This has been especially true of the rural population in spite of the fact that there are better means to get the information, if


53. Mathew Donehey, the sheriff of Washington county, now a resident of Iowa City, Iowa, who was present in official capacity, stated to the writer that not a one of the ones bound over to appear at the next term of court, ever was brought up for trial.
the time permitted, of recent years than at any previous time. Therefore there have been some special cases that have been prolonged in the courts and have been advertised by sensational journalism which have influenced the citizens to lynch when the occasion came and it has not been so much a knowledge of legal laxness in general. The James Cullen lynchers used as a slogan "We will have no more Busse cases." It was felt that Busse's wealth had caused a miscarriage of justice and the people were unwilling to allow Cullen to do likewise with his wealth. The Perrego case was charged with the cause of the McKenzie lynching. Even the Coroner's jury brought in their verdict charging this case with having caused it. The jailor was in a way responsible for this lynching for he had sufficient warning to have warranted his summoning aid adequate to protect the prisoner.

The additional expense of the regular court proceedings over Lynch Law seems to have been a factor in causing some lynchings. This can be said of the panic and depression times more than of others.

54. Register and Leader, January 10, 1907.

55. Iowa State Register, April 5, 1887.

56. Burlington Hawk-Eye, April 5, 1887.
The repeal of the capital punishment in Iowa in 1872 which did not come back until 1878 has been charged with being the cause of at least one lynching, that of Charles Howard at Des Moines. Howard had been tried and convicted and was awaiting sentence and in all probability would have received the full limit of the law but it was felt that he ought to be hanged and so it was done. The talk of appeal probably had something to do with hastening the lynching for there was a distrust of the courts on account of the probability of his being able to be freed from the charge. It was neglect and lack of foresight on the part of the zouaves that they did not remain at the Court House and prevent the lynching for they had ample warning that a lynching had been planned.

A study has been made of the life sentences of the State of Iowa since 1866 which includes legal exe-

57. The History of Polk County, Iowa (1880), 518-535. See also Des Moines Homestead, December 18, 1874.

58. Register and Leader, October 19, 1910. "Col. Steve Cate Recalls Hanging."
cutions and life sentences to the Penitentiary. The result of this investigation has been placed in Chart XVIII where a correlation of the life sentences has been made with lynchings in the State. This chart is based on one lynching per million and upon one life or death sentence per million. In order to show the gradual rise and fall in the number the curves have been smoothed. It may be readily seen that in general the curves correspond with each other. Evidence is found in this chart of the facts mentioned before that the lynchings of recent years have not been caused by lack of criminal convictions for here it is seen that the lynchings rise and fall with the increase and decrease of the number of life sentences. Then if there is anything in the claim that lynchings have come from legal laxness it must be because of the much advertised cases of miscarriage of justice and not because such cases were in the majority.

59. The data were gathered from the records of the County Courts through questionairres and personal research. The Clerks of the Courts in most of the counties and the Wardens Barr and Saunders rendered valuable information for which the writer is indebted.
over, in recent years another explanation must be sought. This chart may well be used to show the influence of the panics and depressions for they are clearly marked. On account of smoothing the curves however the highest fluctuations have been pushed forward a year or more from what they would be if the chart had not been smoothed.

Social.

With much difficulty, on account of correspondents not wishing in most cases to commit themselves, a large number of names of mob leaders and men prominent in the mobs were gathered. However of this number only forty can be of service because the nativity of the others could not be obtained. As much of the life of these men prior to their coming to Iowa was learned as possible so as to understand better why they instead of some others were not the mob leaders. Table XII shows the nativity of these forty men by percentage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern States</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England States</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle States</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Northwest States</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign countries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table XII includes the Davis, Cohee, Bellevue, Heckle, Wilkinson, Bunker, Brandon, Thompson, Kephart, Millslagle, and the Ross-Clearer lynchings. Of these eight eleven mobs show Southern leaders but no trace could be found in the other three.

A further study brought out the fact that some of the men who were not born in the South were some time residents of the South which acquainted them with the Southern ways of doing things. The man who led the Brandon mob was not a native of the South but his father was a Virginian and his grandfather a North Carolinian. One of the leaders of the Bellevue lynching was not a native of the South but he lived in North Carolina for ten years and superintended a plantation after which he came to Illinois and then to Iowa in 1833. The Thompson mob leader was born in Pennsylvania but he later moved to Kentucky and married a native of that state. In view of these facts Table XIII has been prepared showing the change in the percent when the full Southern influence has been considered.
TABLE XIII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth or residence in</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern States</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England States</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle States</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Northwest States</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign countries</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the section just preceding this it was shown that the Southern influence was so strong that the institutions were begun on the Southern plan. Realizing that the initial impetus of a country remains for a long time with the people, and knowing that people do not easily break with their past a further study of the nativity has been made to show if possible the per cent of Southerners in Iowa in her early history. Thus Table XIV shows the counties in which lynchings have occurred together with the number of lynchings, the number of persons lynched and the percentage of native born Southerners in 1856. 60

Table XIV does not show the number of men who have been born elsewhere but have resided in the South and for that reason the per cent of people who were Southerners in Iowa at the close of the report.

60. Census of Iowa for 1856. See table of nativity.
### TABLE XIV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTIES</th>
<th>BEES</th>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>% SOUTHERN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appanoose</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audubon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackhawk</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerro Gordo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decatur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Moines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubuque</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floyd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fremont</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grundy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guthrie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardin</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>12.505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keokuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTIES</td>
<td>BEES</td>
<td>PERSONS</td>
<td>% SOUTHERN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monona</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gang (3?)</td>
<td>9.565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscatine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocahontas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottawattamie</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poweshiek</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Buren</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapello</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ern in spirit probably runs very much higher. Considering the Southern influence in imposing the county form of government it may be said that prior to 1856 the Southern influence was much greater than at that time.

A large number of Iowa settlers recorded in the Census Returns of 1856 came from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. These states in turn had a large Southern element in their early settlement and even by 1860 it was found that if the Southern influence contributed from these were taken into account the percentage of Southerners in Iowa would have been increased materially. It is an impossible task to find out the real Southern influence...
in Iowa but it certainly is true that it had a much greater influence than the census returns of the different years indicate.

According to the Census Returns of 1856 of Iowa it was found that the counties that have had no lynchings had an average percentage of native born Southerners of 9.08% while the counties that had lynchings had an average of 11.93% Southern born population. Furthermore, if the counties of one lynching each, two lynchings each, three lynchings each, four and more lynchings each, respectively be considered, the average percentage of native born Southerners in them exceeds the average native born Southerners of the counties that have had no lynchings.

In more than general way Iowa has had Southern influence. When Iowa was attached to Indiana (1804-05) Indiana had a native born Southerner as a Governor. When she was attached to Missouri (1805-31) she certainly was under Southern influence. The first officer of the Galena mines, Col. Willoughby Morgan, was a Vir-

ginian and later prominent miners of Dubuque were Southerners.62 "The inhabitants of the mining region of Galena were mainly people from Kentucky, Tennessee and southern Illinois, a region inhabited largely by people from the former states."63

Governor Robert Lucas, the first Territorial Governor (1838-1841) was a native of Virginia, and the second, Governor John Chambers (1841-1845), was a native of New Jersey, but he spent the time from 1792 to 1844 in Kentucky with his wife and family, and the third and last, Governor James Clark (1845-1846), was a native of Pennsylvania but he too spent some time in the South as he was in Missouri for a sufficient length of time to imbibe the Southern spirit.64 Many other prominent men of the early history could be mentioned, among whom


64. Herriott's Did Emigrants from New England First Settle Iowa? (1906), p. 27.
was Governor Kirkwood, a native of Maryland\textsuperscript{65}, but these will suffice to show the prominence of men of southern birth, extraction or residense in this State.

In a general but very dramatic way, the Southern, spirit was manifest during the Civil War. The State of Iowa was for a long time oscillating between two opinions and it was feared by Governor Kirkwood that Iowa would turn to the South. He organized companies in the southern tier of counties to quell the rising spirit but it did not suffice and tier after tier of counties had to be placed under the care of soldiers. Governor Kirkwood's letters to Washington calling for aid portrayed his aroused attitude in the most critical period of Iowa's history.\textsuperscript{66} The organization of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Skunk River War\textsuperscript{67} are other evi-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{65} Herriott's \textit{Did Emigrants from New England First Settle Iowa?} (1906), p. 28.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Adjutant General's Report, State of Iowa, (1864 - 1865), pp. 837-914.
\item \textsuperscript{67} Lathrop's \textit{Life and Times of Samuel Kirkwood, Iowa's War Governor}, pp. 240-244. Also \textit{The Burlington Hawk-Eye}, August 29, 1909, and \textit{The History of Keokuk County, Iowa} (1880), pp. 443-448.
\end{itemize}
dences of the strong feeling for the Southern cause. There seems to be no other solution to the early history of the State and to this period except it be explained by conceding the proposition that Iowa has had a very large amount of emigration from the South.68

The direct causes, economic, social and political, and the indirect causes, physical, economic, political, legal and judicial may not include all the elements that have contributed to lynching but the evidence seems to indicate that what has been discussed under these heads has in a very large measure caused the lynchings in Iowa.

68. For more details on the influence of the Southerner in Iowa see Herriott's Did Emigrants From New England First Settle Iowa? and Macy's Institutional Beginnings in a Western State.
Chapter V.

The Victim.

In the accounts of the lynchings very little was given as to the past history of the victims which if given might enable the subject to be dealt with more successfully. The nature of the crime that each committed or was suspected of having committed indicates in a way the character of the victim but conclusions based upon this could be only tentative. Some accounts give some facts as to the character of the victim and an attempt has been made to classify the 215 victims in order to obtain some tentative conclusions as to the kinds of criminals that have been victims of mob law in Iowa. It will have to be admitted that some of the classifications are in a way arbitrary, but in all cases where it was possible good reason could be given for making the classification as it has been made. Table XV gives the number of each kind of criminals and the percentage in each.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds or classes of criminals</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political criminals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminals by passion</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instinctive criminals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional criminals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual criminals</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional criminals</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offenders of ethical standards</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable innocent victims</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Under the class "Political" criminals have been grouped such victims as copperheads and those who were evidently committing crimes in order to overcome the forces allied for the preservation of the union. The criminal by "Passion" were those who in a fit of passion committed the crime for which they were lynched. Some of them were evidently fairly good citizens except when in a fit of passion. "Instinctive"

69. Ellis' *The Criminal*. Classification, ch.1.

70. The classification includes persons whose acts were such that officers in enforcing the law were lynched, and such persons as offended the moral and ethical standards of a certain class in such a way as to cause them to be lynched.

71. The victims of this class are such as the data show to have been innocent men, lynched through mistake.
criminals in this table are those who were considered prone to commit crime from a very early age and lacked a moral standard that considered it wrong to commit such acts. Here "Occasional" criminals were those who were the victims of the environment in which they lived and especially the one in which the crime was committed. Some of the victims show evidences of being drawn into crime by threats or persuasion and such have been called "Occasional" criminals. Little distinction can be drawn between the victims that should be placed under the class of "Habitual" criminals and the class of "Professional" criminals because of the lack of data showing whether the victim was in the habit of committing crime from time to time or whether he was dependent upon his criminal life for a living.

It may be tentatively concluded that of the victims of the Iowa lynchings, only about 80% may be reasonably considered of the criminal type.

In some instances the victims were taken from the officers during the trial and thirty-three were taken from the jails of the hands of the officers before the trial had been given. This implies that in at least forty instances the victims would have been given a hearing in one of our regular courts of justice. In all other
cases so far as the data show the victims must be considered as taken when at large by the mob and lynched. A few of the victims were tried in the courts and cleared prior to the lynching on the same charge from which they had been cleared in the courts. One lynching happened after conviction and before the sentence of the victim.72

Something may be said in characterization of the victim. One case records the victim as having tattoo marks on his body. A large percent of the habitual and professional criminals listed in Table XV show insensibility to pain. In the throes of agony they would show no sign of turning traitor to their comrades and the outward signs of pain were scarcely noticeable in a great number of cases. They were characterized by the coolness with which they took their fate and their apparent unconcern as to the outcome of the ordeal. Some however showed a repentant attitude at the lynching and tears were sometimes seen in the

eyes of the victim.73

The results of the lynching upon the victims may be seen in the charts of the kinds or types of lynchings. In most cases the mob succeeded in either freeing the country of the victim by death or banishment, or coercing the victim into complying with the demands of the mob. The mob as a means of justice cannot be defended but it can be said that the mob has done a service to Iowa in that it has succeeded in freeing her from one of the most noted gangs of the Middle West.74

73. The case of Edward Soper is a good illustration of this point. See Appendix B, Edward Soper, July 3, 1857.

74. For further information see Appendix C.
Chapter VI.
The Mob.

There have been three kinds of mob action in the Iowa lynchings, namely, (1) spontaneous mob action, (2) mob action induced by artificial means, (3) mob action under the leadership of a permanent organization.

Instantaneous mob action comes through the stimulus of the outrage that has been committed. A leader or group of leaders is usually necessary, but they are found upon the demand of the occasion.

The most of the instances of spontaneous mob action show a heterogeneous membership. There are two senses in which these mobs are heterogeneous, namely, in the sense of the frontier condition and in the sense of a unified population in a comparatively old community. In either case mob action is more easily obtained than under any other condition. Each individual of which the mob is composed is a bundle of sensitive matter which responds consciously and unconsciously to all the stimuli of the environment however slight the stimuli may be. It makes little
difference as to the heterogeneity of the mob for every individual has a race history that is sufficiently like all the others that the same stimulus brings out similar responses in the instincts. The degree of quickness of the spontaneous mob action will depend largely upon the proximity of its members. If the stimulus for a lynching be an atrocious murder the news passes quickly through the town or country or both and every individual is agitated and the nerves vibrate and become more sensitive to the environment. These bundles of agitated matter are as sensitive as a photographic plate and no stimulus passes without leaving an impression, though many of them are received unconsciously. Action is in such times in terms of instinct and not of rational deliberation. The previously highly dynamic bundles of energy are instinctively moved to the center of disturbance, and if the murderer is found he is destroyed as an enemy. What has happened is simply this. The atrocious murder has exploded, so to speak, the energy bound up in these individuals and the lynching is the result of the explosion. The so-called unrelently mob cannot do otherwise as
the surplus energy has been so excited that it must find expression. The individuals who are members of the mob become highly suggestive by reason of their agitated condition and as a result, the less highly organized ones become the led and the more highly organized ones become the leaders. The interstimulation causes the action to increase in acceleration and in most cases if there be members of the mob who are not agitated at the beginning they will probably be swept into the psychic malestrom. The units of the mob are no longer the same as they were when not in the mob and a new organization arises to meet the situation. This situation is one that means immediate danger to each individual and the response is one of self preservation.

The leader in the mob becomes a very important member of the mob for it is he that suggests to the mob what shall be done. It is here that the question of nativity shows itself with all its power. In the case of the atrocious murder everyone in the mob is moved more or less by instinct. There is an inhibition of the rational processes which generally follow stimulus and each individual is thrown back upon his own life's history and that of his family and race. Now
in such a condition the more probable action would be to follow the lines of habit or the tendencies of heredity which have been given to them by their ancestors. Lynching is a Southern phenomenon and when mobs form with native born Southerners in them or sons of native Southerners among them, the natural thing to expect is that the mob action will be influenced by this Southern element. When native Southerners or their sons become aroused they are a veritable "Fury" and in most cases their action in a mob is the most prominent. It was found that 37.5% of the mob leaders were Southerners and it may now be seen how the institution of the South should become the instrument for the occasion here in Iowa. And it also seems reasonable that after the institution had once been established the ease with which lynchings occurred would be enhanced. To add to the favorableness of the conditions it has been shown that the lynchings have occurred in times when crimes indicated more danger to self-preservation and thus the irritability was greater.

The mobs induced by artificial means are those which were delayed in action for some time after the stimulus had been given and which had to be aided in formation by advertisement and leadership. The stimulus
was productive of the likemindedness among the people, but was for some reason not sufficient to cause spontaneous action as the mob action had to be induced by talking about it in the community and exaggerating the atrocity of the crime, and often, incendiary articles in the newspapers were used consciously or unconsciously to aid in getting the mob action. In some cases the mobs of this kind have been formed by notices and after it had gathered, speeches, symbols, and threats were used to mold the minds into a unit so that the lynching could be carried out.

Different communities are differently affected by crime. In some well organized communities a lynching could only be induced under the most favorable conditions and through a long series of artificial means. In prosperous times, for instance, a mob could not be formed as easily as it could in depressing times, and, if formed in prosperous times, the probability of its failing would be greatly increased. It has been demonstrated that religious revivals have been more numerous and successful in distressing economic conditions and likewise crime has

75. Giddings' *Inductive Sociology* (1901), pp. 142-145.
increased in these periods.

Some of the mobs of Iowa have been well organized and carried out with military precision. These were in nearly every case instigated and carried out by some permanent organization whose purpose was law enforcement. Such organized mobs show thought and are not as primitive as the kinds just mentioned.

In 1837 a claim association known as the "Confederation" was organized in Scott county to define the rights of the squatters. Other claim associations were organized soon after and it was under these organizations that some of the first lynchings were held. In 1857 the Vigilance Committees were organized over the State. Regulators, Thief Detecting Societies, Mutual Protection Associations, and Law and Order Men were also organized. All of these organizations extended their societies over the State and they worked together to detect and punish the criminals. The Vigilance Committee finally became a State organization with State officers, but for twenty-five years it has been disbanded for lack of work.

The data gathered show twenty-six lynchings by Vigilance Committees, six by Regulators, and one by the Law and Order Men. Mobs composed of such organizations

76. Davenport's *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (1905), pp. 6, 7; See also chart XVIII.
have shown the greatest secrecy. These organizations were based on compacts. They had their constitutions and by-laws which show the permanency of the societies.

The well organized mobs show most of the real Lynch Courts. In the spontaneous mobs the actions are so quick and impulsive that time is not given for even a mock trial. Some of the mobs of the second class, however, have had Lynch Courts, but 62.2% of the Lynch Courts have been found in the mobs with some permanent organizations as prime mover in them.

Only eighteen mobs can be classed among the well organized mobs which have had a permanent organization behind them.

The Lynch Court resembles the regular court in its proceedings. Much depends upon the occasion, however, as to the degree of perfection with which orderly procedure is followed. One of the most perfect examples of the Lynch Court is found in the O'Connor lynching in 1834 at Dubuque. Another that closely resembles the regular courts was the Bellevue Lynching of April 2, 1840. Here the whole assembly sat as jurors and rendered the verdict.

77. Giddings' Inductive Sociology (1901), pp. 154 ff.
In summary it may be said that the mobs of the early days in Iowa had a larger percent of the permanent organizations as a basis than those of recent years, however, the mobs of recent years which were successful were very frequently organized temporarily. As the unity of the people and civilization advances the mobs will be increasingly unsuccessful. This is shown by the decrease in the number of lynchings with the increase of attempted lynchings.
Some of the most important facts that have been brought out in the previous pages have been condensed so as to get a clear grasp of their significance. The attempted lynchings and the lynchings have been correlated in the points of the greatest significance and the results of these correlations have been given in the following pages.

Chart XIX shows the combined number of attempted lynchings and lynchings by years on the basis of one per million population in the State of Iowa. It is easily seen here just the amount of this kind of social phenomenon that has prevailed in Iowa since its settlement. The panic and depression periods stand out even better here than in either Chart III or Chart IX, for the real attitude of the people can be seen better here. This chart shows the more gradual fluctuations, as would be expected, in the panic and depression periods. Only sixteen years show an absence of the phenomenon of a lynching mob during the seventy-
Chart XIX

Combining and Attempted Lynchings

Basis of one per million of population 1838 - 1910
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Kinds</th>
<th>Kinds</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seizing</td>
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<td>Speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>vs Lincoln</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>vs government</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>vs soldiers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs religious ideas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copperheadism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office usurpation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuring vs Vigilants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse-stealing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber-stealing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery-bank, etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterfeiting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperdism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claim-jumping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liqueur selling etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indebtedness</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder and attempted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seduction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affinity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of ill-fame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adultery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race prejudice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealously</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dishonesty</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-wife support</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-treatment of wife etc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General principles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slander</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two years here chartered. If the whole time be considered from 1834 there have been nineteen years that show no appearance of the lynching mob. This chart most certainly suggests two things, namely, that the panics and depressions have a close relation with lynchings, and that lynchings have been decreasing with the development of the country.

The kinds of lynchings and their causes have been correlated to show what causes have tended to result in certain kinds of lynching. As the attempted lynchings had no result except failure they could not be correlated here. Table XVI shows graphically these correlations. It was found that horse-stealing tended to result in death by hanging. There were twenty-three cases of lynchings by hanging for horse stealing. Next to this number was whipping for horse stealing, which occurred nine times. Death by shooting happened seven times and stretching seven times in the early days. It seems that horse stealing was considered as high a crime as murder, for murder resulted also in twenty-three deaths by hanging. There were two deaths by shooting for murder and three whippings and
Map VI
LYNCHINGS and ATTEMPTED LYNCHINGS
by COUNTIES

[Map showing lynching and attempted lynching by counties]
four stretchings. Theft in general resulted in a greater number of lighter kinds of punishment. Only two cases resulted in death by hanging and one by shooting, while there were twelve each of whipping and stretching for theft.

Map V shows the geographical and topographical position of the combined attempted lynchings and lynchings. This is a combination of Map I and Map III. A very small number of the lynchings or the attempted lynchings whose place of occurrence is known have occurred in prairie districts.

Map II and Map IV have been combined and Map VI is the result. This shows the number of lynchings and attempted lynchings by counties. Again it is seen that the counties with the greatest number of lynchings are along the rivers in the midst of the broken and the woodland districts. Polk county is the first in point of numbers with Wapello second, Keokuk third, Dubuque and Jackson fourth, Jones, Madison, and Pottawattamie fifth.

Chart XX shows the variations of the lynchings and the attempted lynchings by months of the year. July has the most occurrences, there being thirty-one of that month. June had thirty. This chart brings
out the fact that the hot weather is connected in a very close way with the amount of crime of a country.

The day of the week on which lynchings and attempted lynchings have occurred have been shown on Chart XXI. Here Wednesday shows the greatest number. It has been shown in Chart VII that the attempted lynchings had a tendency to occur in the middle of the week. It was revealed in Chart XVII that the lynchings tended to occur in greater numbers at the last of the week. The only explanation which seems reasonable is this. The conditions which depended upon the work of the farmers would be better at the end of the week than at the first part of it. The moral influences of Sunday are farther removed as the week advances and the tired condition of the body tends to make for conditions potentially favorable to successful attempts at lynchings.

This thesis may be summed up in the five propositions that have been deduced tentatively from the data which have been gathered.

The causes of the lynchings tend to become
Chart XXI

Variations of Lynchings and Attempted Lynchings

By the Days of the Week

1894 - 1910
increasingly social in their nature.

The severity of the kind of lynch law employed varies directly with the reputed severity of the criminal cause.

Lynchings tend to increase directly with the rise in temperature and depressing weather conditions.

Lynchings tend to be increasingly successful with the nearness to the end of the week.

Lynchings tend to decrease in direct proportion to the good conditions in the economic, political, judicial, legal, and social environment and are inversely proportional to the heterogeneity of the population, the amount of Southern blood in the population, the degree of brokenness of the country and the amount of timber land in the immediate vicinity of the commission of the crime conducive to lynchings.

Thus, it has been seen that the mobs of Iowa have been a natural outgrowth of the condition prevailing. Although mobs are not to be considered as an advisable mode of punishment, yet under some conditions one could not look back and say that they did not result in better conditions in many cases. A word might be said indicative of amelioration of the conditions potentially favorable to lynching.
Many objections have been made in general and particular as to our legal procedure and the claim has frequently been made that bad legal and judicial conditions have caused many of the lynchings in Iowa. It has been the complaint of some that cases which have been appealed from the lower courts to the higher have suffered a reversion of decision on technicalities when the evidence has been conclusive of guilt. This evident defect in our system of justice is not so much the result of poor laws as it is to the misconception of justice. Thus lynchings are probable where the conditions are favorable to a miscarriage of justice. The change of venue has been used to the advantage of persons who were evidently guilty and as a result several lynchings have occurred from this complaint. In the early days of Iowa the allied forces of the outlaws were so numerous that it was frequently said that the gang would nearly always secure one or more of the jurymen in a case where one of the gang was on trial. This fact made the citizens skeptical of the courts and when a change of venue was granted it caused an uproar and frequently a lynching of the accused.
A three-fourths majority has been suggested as a means to eliminate the difficulty just mentioned. This might aid in the matter as it would remove the necessity of getting a unanimous verdict and in the end it would probably eliminate the implicated or bribed jurymen. It is very probable that justice would be miscarried in fewer cases if this could be instituted, except in cases of capital offenses where it is generally agreed that there should be a unanimous verdict for conviction.

If we had a perfect system for giving justice it could hardly solve the Lynch Law problem. It might aid in solving it, but the problem of Lynch Law lies deeper than any mere system of justice. We have fairly good laws and many of them, and they have not served to decrease crime. Heredity and environment are both responsible for the Lynch Law that we have. If the crime which occasions the lynchings could be removed, then the lynchings would be eliminated also. If there is anything in the theory that the motor processes precede thought and the environment acts upon the individual in such a way that reflection is far removed from the stimuli in point of time, then we can hope to take what heredity has given us and aid in an artificial way the evolutionary processes by creating a more ideal environment, and in the end

probably ameliorate the crime that has been the cause of the lynchings.

If this be not true, there seems no solution to the problem, and we will forever combat the laws established by the Eternal with no effect. The experiments of Chicago, Denver, and the State of California give hope to this way of ameliorating the crime, and the ultimate solution of the problem of the lynching phenomenon.
Appendix A

A Short History with References to the Sources of Attempted Lynchings in Iowa.

Patrick Brennan

Patrick Brennan clubbed John O'Morra on the head so severely that he died from the wounds and the officers of Lynch Law attempted to arrest him, but he escaped. 79


Patrick O'Connor

Dubuque county, May 19, 1834.

Patrick O'Connor came to Galena, Illinois, in the spring of 1832 and began work in the mines there. He was injured and had to have his leg amputated. Before this time he had been cheerful, but after this misfortune he became morose and quarrelsome. He was finally driven from Galena because of the crimes that he had committed. He then went into partnership with George O'Keaf in the Dubuque Lead Mines. One night when O'Keaf had returned to his home he found O'Connor locked in the house, and when asked to open the door,
O'Connor seemed irritated and gave an uncivil reply. O'Keaf attempted to open the door by force, but he was shot and killed by O'Connor while attempting to do so. This outrageous act aroused the people so much that an attempt was made to lynch O'Connor, but the by the persuasion of some of the older citizens the mob was dispersed. This was on May 19, 1834.

Mill's Story of the earliest hangings in Iowa, in the Register and Leader, September 25, 1910.

George Kirkman
Polk county, about 1848.

Some time in 1848 the barn of Mr. Zinsmaster of Polk county was burned and the suspicion rested upon George Kirkman, the father-in-law of Zinsmaster. Kirkman bore a bad reputation in the community and the fact that trouble had arisen between him and Zinsmaster, which had caused their separation, made the suspicion more strong against him than it would have been otherwise. A mob gathered and would have lynched Kirkman if it had not been for some of the older members of the mob who persuaded them to desist and disperse.
Sheriff of Davenport
Scott county, Sept. 5, 1855.

The sheriff of Davenport was suspected of having seized some kegs of liquor of A. Offergeldt, September 5, 1855, and stored it in Justice Blood's office. A mob came, armed with pitch-forks, shovels, and all kinds of tools as weapons and demanded the liquor. Speeches were made and finally the mob was persuaded to disperse. 82


Richard Custer
Washington county, April 15, 1856.

On the night of April 15, 1856 a mob attempted to lynch Richard Custer. Custer resisted and in order to succeed the mob began to tear down the house. When this was attempted Custer opened fire and shot John Deweese, the mob leader, and killed him. Custer then made his escape from the house and was not found again by the mob. This incident was in Marion township, Washington county. 83

83. Correspondent # 1120.
Canada McCullaugh
Cedar county, 1857.

Canada McCullaugh, a resident of Cedar county, became loud in his denunciations of the Vigilance Committees in 1857 and the Committee thought to coerce him by threats, but this was impossible, and finally an attempt was made to lynch him. The Committee found him fortified in his cabin and was baffled. He threatened to shoot the first one who attempted to advance to molest him. Both McCullaugh and the mob were armed, but the Committee from Big Rock of Scott county thought it unwise to face this unerring marksman. 84


Two Pardee Brothers
Boone county, spring, 1857.

With the depressing economic conditions of 1857 it became intolerable for so much stealing to be carried on in the community. Finally the suspected family, the Pardees, were ordered out of the country. The order was not obeyed and the farmers of Boone county at last collected and attempted to lynch him. The attack was anticipated and the mob found them fortified. A wagon was prepared with bundles of oats with which to burn them out,
or this plan failed. In attempting to move this to the house and throw the bundles on, one man was shot and others wounded. The mob retreated to the woods and after a short parley decided to wait until morning to resume the attack. When the mob came to the Pardee home, the next day, they found the Pardeos gone.85

85. Correspondent # 11033.

86. Register and Leader, Aug. 22, 1909.

Jarrett
Jackson county, April 12, 1857.

Jarrett of Jackson county, the alleged accomplice of David McDonald in the Ingles murder confessed to the truth of the report, and when the Vigilance Committee heard of it, they attempted to lynch him, but he was fortified for resistance and would not consent to surrender except on condition that he be taken by the constable and allowed a fair trial.87 A mob gathered at Eleazer Mann's on the night of April 12, 1857 where he was supposed to be confined and would have lynched him but for the quick work of the officers who took him out the back door and escaped with him.88


William B. Thomas
Poweshiek county, April 17, 1857.

William B. Thomas, alias "Comequick", when on trial at Mobtezuma, came near being lynched on April 17, 1857 by a mob that had collected because of the delay in the courts. The efficiency of the extra guard prevented the lynching. Addresses were made by Judge Stone and others and the mob was finally dispersed.

89. Daily Whig, May 18, 1857.

Woman and two Men
Cedar county, June 25 (?), 1857.

A woman and two men were chased from Cedar county about the 25th of June 1857 by the Vigilance Committee because they had been charged with harboring horse thieves. One of these passed through Burlington only a few hours in advance of the Committee.

90. The Daily Hawk-Eye, July 1, 1857.

Two Men
Cedar county, July 31, 1857.

On July 31, 1857 the mob took two men from Mechanicsville, Cedar county, and were about to lynch them, but the "Law and Order" men prevented it.
Some trouble arose between J.W. Brown and Mr. Bowen, a saloon keeper, and on the night of August 3, 1857 as Bowen and his gang was passing down the street they stopped under the window of Brown's office. Bowen here proposed to lead the gang and kill Brown. He sprang to the door intending to force his way in. Brown called out to him that if he entered he would enter at the peril of his life but this did not baffle him. Brown warned him again and when he did not heed his warning he shot and fatally wounded him. 92

Leonard Brown
Polk county, 1860.

When Leonard Brown was prosecuting some saloon keepers in Des Moines in 1860 the saloon forces were angered and a mob of about eighteen attempted to lynch Brown but he escaped unharmed. 93

93. Correspondent # 1110.
A Thief
Keokuk county, 1863.

Some time in 1863 a thief had been prowling about Keokuk county when he came upon a number of horses hitched in the woods near a school house. The evidences of the Vigilance Committee, about a hundred strong, served to frighten him into leaving the country. 94


Benjamin McComb
Wapello county, Aug. 31, 1864.

Benjamin McComb, who was tried in Ottumwa for a double murder and later convicted, was set upon by a mob, Aug. 31, 1864 but because of the doubling of the guard force the mob was defeated in its purpose. 95

95. Daily State Register, Feb. 21, 1885.

Copperheads
Poweshiek county, Oct. 1864.

In Oct. 1864 the draft men went out to get some copperheads south of Grinnell; about fourteen miles, and
were so fiercely resisted that one officer was mortally wounded. When they finally returned to Grinnell with the copperheads, the public spirit ran so high that the mob which had gathered came near lynching them.

96. Iowa City Republican, October 5, 1864.

Reed, Green, and Shields
Dubuque county, about March 10, 1865.

A mob of four hundred gathered at Dubuque about March 10, 1865 to meet the officers who were returning with Reed, Green, and Shields as prisoners. Demands were made that the prisoner be hanged, but the officers finally succeeded in getting the prisoners safely lodged in jail.


Three Men
Jackson county, 1867.

Not long after the Conk murder trial (1867) in Jackson county, three men were taken to the jail in Andrew on charge of murder. A well laid plot was employed to lynch the prisoners. Pickets were placed out about the town so that no rescue of the prisoners could be made, but when
the sheriff became aware of the plot he sent his little boy as if to go after cows in the evening and thus run the picket. By morning a posse had come from Maquoketa which arrived before the mob came. The prisoners were taken to the third story, the approach to which was a narrow hallway, and there they succeeded in defending them. The mob which arrived at nine in the morning was defeated in its purpose. 98


Hiram Wilson

Lucas County, July 6, 1870.

When the mob returned from the woods near Chariton with Hiram Wilson who attempted to murder Sheriff Lyman, 99 some of the citizens attempted to lynch him. A second attempt on the same day, July 6, 1870, but it likewise failed. 100

100. Chariton Democrat, July 12, 1870.

A.M. Darley

Buena Vista county, January 17, 1875.

Rev. A.M. Darley used such vulgar language in his addresses that it became intolerable to the people. The great excitement that arose was the cause of the attitude toward lynching. This was January 17, 1874 in Buena Vista county. 101

Samuel E. Watkins
Monona county, June 27, 1877.

In the night, June 27, 1877, a mob raided the jail at Onawa with the intention of lynching Samuel E. Watkins, confined there on charge of murder, but the efforts of Sheriff Walker were successful in preventing the lynching.

102. Daily State Register, June 27, 1877.

Reuben Proctor
Warren county, Nov. 12, 1877.

A well organized mob attempted to lynch Reuben Proctor who had attempted to kill Miss Agusta Cading, but the result was a failure. The mob collected at the Indianola jail on Monday night, November 12, 1877, and attempted to force the jail door, but several hours of hard work convinced the mob that they must fail. However, if they had remained a little longer they would have succeeded, but they did not know how weak the door had become in the course of the attack. The mob was armed and good order was maintained even in retreat. It is said that the mob was composed of members of the Vigilance Committee.
Henry Weese

Lee county, March, 1878.

Some time in the latter part of March, 1878,
Henry Weese was confined in the Ft. Madison jail on charge of murder. A mob of about a hundred came to the jail and demanded the prisoner, but the mob was persuaded to disperse. The mob was reputed to have been composed of citizens of Jefferson township, Lee county.

104. Correspondent # 2304.


A Tramp

Greene county, July 15 (?), 1878

"At Grang Junction a few days ago a tramp attempted to commit an outrage on two little girls, 6 and 7 years, whom he had enticed off in the weeds, but was frightened off by parties who discovered his designs, and narrowly escaped lynching." This was about July 15, 1878. 106

106. Iowa State Register, July 19, 1878.
Henry Abel

Washington county, July 2, 1879.

Henry Abel, who had just been released from the penitentiary, was paying his respects to Miss Haskins in Washington county, when an interference upon the part of the parents caused him to murder her father and mother. Lynching parties searched for Abel, but they did not find him. This was on July 2, 1879.

107. Iowa State Register, July 3, 1879.

William Teets

Louisa county, July 3, 1879.

William Teets was pursued by aroused citizens because he killed Lon Slater, whom he suspected of having secretly married his mother-in-law. This was about July 3, 1879 in Louisa county.

108. Iowa State Register, July 10, 1879.

Jerome West

Jones county, October 1, 1880.

Jerome West, an ex-convict, was caught and placed in the penitentiary at Anamosa for murder. The mob that attempted to lynch him, October 1, 1880, evidently thought that he was placed in the county jail and this may have been
the reason why the mob action failed.

109. Iowa State Register, October 13, 20, 1880.

Weise, Gwine, and Errickson
Polk county, April 14, 1882.

John Weise, John Gwine, and Chas. D. Erickson of Polk county were arrested for the murder of Mayor Stubbs of Polk City. An attempted lynching failed because the prisoner had been taken to Des Moines for safe keeping.110

110. Burlington Hawk-Eye, April 18, 1882.

Leonard Brown
Polk county(?), July 1883.

At the time of the murder of Mayor Stubbs, Leonard Brown of Polk county was set upon by a mob of his neighbors for speaking against mob action.111 This was in July 1883.112

111. Correspondent #1110.
112. Iowa State Register, June 8, 1883.

William and Isaac Barber
Bremer county, June 6, 1883.

The mysterious murder of Steams resulted in the arrest of William and Isaac Barber. They were sought by
the mob and had to be shifted from one place to another for safe keeping. The mob came to the jail of Bremer county but found no prisoners there. This was June 6, 1883.113

113. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, June 8, 1883.

Robert Moore

Cerre Gordo county, Sept. 17-18,1884.

Robert Moore of Freeport, Ill., came to the Fair at Mason City and on Sept. 17, 1884 he insulted a married woman and was knocked down by her husband. He was finally put in the guard house by the soldier, but he was treated pretty roughly by the crowd before the soldiers could get him away from the mob. At midnight a mob gathered at the guard house and attempted to lynch Moore, but the officers were successful in preventing it.114

114. Iowa State Register, Sept. 19,1884.

James Reynolds

Decatur county, Aug. 2, 1887.

Aug. 2, 1887 a mob of about one hundred came to the jail at Leon and attempted to lynch James Reynolds who had been confined there for assaulting Mrs. Lewis Noble. The mob found the door open and Reynolds absent. He had been removed because of the fear of lynching. On the
next morning after the attempt to lynch him the sheriff
unwisely brought him back and loosed him on a $5000
bond. He then made assaults on three other women. Lynch-
ing then seemed inevitable.\footnote{115}

\footnote{115}{\textit{Iowa State Register}, Aug. 3, 1887.}

Frank Pierce

Des Moines county, June 30, 1888 & 1891.

John Harvey was shot by Frank Pierce in 1888 and
an attempt was made to lynch him at that time, but the
effort failed. On June 30, 1891, Pierce was about to un-
load some garbage in a graveyard in Burlington, but was
prevented by E.H. Wishard who had instructions from
the mayor to prevent such acts. Pierce carried three revol-
vers and opened fire on Wishard and shot him. Pierce was
arrested and brought to the police station where a mob of
about five hundred awaited to lynch him. The attempt
failed because of the resistance of a strong guard of
militia using blank cartridges.\footnote{116}

\footnote{116}{\textit{Burlington Hawk-Eye}, July 1, 1891.}

Edward Walton

Wapello county, Oct. 16, 1893.

Edward Walton was arrested for the murder of
Melinda Amelia Cook and was brought to Ottumwa in a carriage. A mob attempted to lynch him as he was brought in, but the officers by a hard struggle succeeded in getting him to the jail. The mob remained in town all day and lynching was freely talked. 117

117. Iowa State Register, Oct. 17, 1893.

Leon Lozier
Pottawattamie county, Jan. 19, 1894.

The well-known sprinter of Council Bluffs, Leon Lozier, was arrested for the assault of Madelane Anderson, five years old. As he was being taken to jail a mob followed and threatened to lynch him. Sherill Hazen spoke to the mob and the Dodge Life Guards were called out to protect the jail. After several speeches the anger abated and the mob dispersed. The mob leaders were arrested. 118

118. Iowa State Register, Jan. 20, 1894.

Tramp
Pottawattamie county, May 31, 1894.

The tramp that brutally assaulted Mrs. George Smith on May 31, 1894 was pursued by a mob bearing ropes
and evidences, that if caught, he would have been lynched.\footnote{Iowa State Register, June 1, 1894.}

\begin{footnote}
Oreando Wilken and C.W. Crawford.

Madison county, March 6, 1895.

Oreando Wilken and C.W. Crawford robbed the bank at Adel on March 6, 1895 and succeeded in getting some distance with their booty.\footnote{Iowa State Register, March 7, 1895.}

They were pursued by a mob and C.W. Crawford was captured in the woods, while Wilken was shot as he merged from the burning barn in which he was hiding. A mob later came to Adel and wanted to lynch Crawford but they were persuaded to dispense.\footnote{Dallas County Record, March 8, 1895.}

\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}
\textit{Man}

Wapello county, April 4, 1896.

A twelve year old girl was assaulted in Ottumwa, April 13, 1896, and the city was so wrough up that a mob collected at a hotel and waited the results of the search for the offender by the police. A rope was procured for use if the right person could be found. The officers returned soon with a man, but the girl was unable to identify him
as the one who had assaulted her, and the mob finally dispersed without success.122

122. *Iowa State Register*, April 14, 1896.

Three Men

Wapello county, Aug. 28, 1896.

The three men who were arrested for entering a house in Ottumwa and assaulting a girl, were sought by a mob of about three hundred and would have been lynched if the sheriff had not been on his guard to prevent it.123

123. *Iowa State Register*, Aug. 29, 1896.

A.D. Storms

Des Moines county, Feb. 9, 1898.

The murder of Mrs. Fannie Rathbun and her daughter Mary caused no little excitement when the bodies which had been dead about a week were found at their home on 1616 Godge St., Burlington, Ia. A.D. Storms was arrested as principal in the crime and several others as accessory. Proof of Storm's guilt seemed certain. And, besides, he had confessed that he was guilty. Advertisements were scattered about town for a mass meeting at Patterson's barn on Summer street on Tuesday evening, Feb. 9, 1898. This caused a
great mob to collect. Charles Gallagher and W.A. Pruden seemed to be the leaders. Gallagher led the forces and Pruden carried the rope. They organized at the barn and proceeded to the jail. As they went down the stores closed and the mob increased to more than a thousand persons. Meantime the police in citizen's clothes had mingled with the mob, and found out their purposes. Word was sent to the jail and Storms was taken quietly out of the back door and driven away in a closed carriage. He was taken to Mediapolis, then to Anamosa. The mob arrived at the front of the jail only a few minutes after Storms had been taken out of the back door. The Sheriff appeared at the door and told the mob that Storms was not in the jail. They would not take his word and sent parties through the jail to see if Storms could be found. They did not find him and thinking that the Sheriff might have hid him in his own house, they invaded it and broke open the closets, and entered the sick room of his daughter, who was critically ill, but without success. This is a good example of what a mob will do when determined. The innocent suffer with the guilty as far as they are concerned. Scouting parties patrolled the streets of the city up until midnight after the main body of the mob had
dispersed. At one time they were within one block of the closed carriage which contained Storms. It was lack of secrecy and perfection of the mob organization that caused the failure.

124. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, February 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 1898.
125. Saturday Evening Post (Burlington), February 5, 12, 1898.

Daley

Madison county, April 4, 1900.

The two men, Daley and Brewor, who were confined in the jail at Winterset on charge of assault of Cunningham, broke jail leaving a confession of their crime. A mob collected at Pete Cunningham’s and he was put in command. Signals were decided upon and the men set out in line, fifty feet apart, to look for Daley and Brewer. A long search was made, but the trail of Daley was lost. Brewer was caught, however, and stretched for a confession as to the money which had been taken from Cunningham when he was assaulted and robbed.

126. Winterset Review, April 11, 1900.
127. Winterset Reporter, April 26, 1900.
128. Winterset Madisonian, April 12, 19, 1900.
Alva Brooks (colored)
Monroe county, November 24, 1900.

Alva Brooks was arrested for rape and brought to Albia. Such a mob collected that it became unmanageable and Company G of the Iowa Guards was called out. Their presence stopped all proceedings of Judge Lynch.

129. Iowa City Weekly Republican, November 28, 1900.

Chas. Arnett
Webster county, December 19, 1900.

Chas. Arnett, a prisoner in the jail at Ft. Madison, was scared into confession of his guilt by the yelling of a mob of farmers who evidently had come to lynch him. The mob lacked organization and leadership, and as a result it failed in effecting its purpose.

130. Iowa City Republican, December 19, 1900.

Harry Hartman
Cherokee county, Dec. 9, 1901.

Harry Hartman was taken from the jail at Cherokee to Lamars for safe keeping. He had been arrested on the charge of murder and this transfer of the prisoner was made to avoid a lynching which was expected.

131. Pocahontas Democrat, December 10, 1901.
Seymour Washington (colored)

Polk county, September 1, 1901.

On September 1, 1901, Miss Ada Ware was crossing the fields toward Valley Junction, when two negroes assaulted her, demanding that she should consent to their advances. She screamed and ran home. Her father mounted a swift horse, rode to town, and laid the matter before the sheriff. A mob of about four hundred gathered to see the negro suspects brought in by the officers. Miss Ware was able after a time to identify one whose name was Seymour Washington. He was hurried to the jail, while an excited mob gathered about the jail yelling "lynch him". Ropes were called for, and the jail was the object of flying missiles for some time. As soon as possible the sheriff made a dash with Washington, placed him on a car and took him to Des Moines for safe keeping. 132

132. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, September 5, 1901.

Edward Davidson

Wapello county, February 1902.

The twelve year old daughter of William Gallagher, living two miles north-east of Eddyville, was criminally assaulted by Edward Davidson of Pikay. He was arrested and brought to Eddyville some time in February, 1902, and when preparations were made to lynch him the plot was discovered by the officers and he was taken to Ottumwa for safe keeping. 133

133. The Rolfe Reveille, (Pocahontas), Feb. 21, 1902.
Man

Appanoose county, Dec. 21, 1903.

Near Salem church in Appanoose county, December 21, 1903, a man shot his wife and escaped. A mob formed and searched for him all night and at dawn they found him dead. He had committed suicide to prevent being lynched, as he doubtless would have been if the mob had found him alive, judging from the attitude of the mob in the search.

134. Register and Leader, December 22, 1903.

Two Negroes

Pottawattamie county, Dec. 30, 1903.

Two women of Council Bluffs were assaulted, robbed, and suffered vilation of their persons by two negroes on December 28, 1903. A mob of about five hundred attacked the jail where they were confined, but the extra guard force about the jail succeeded in keeping the mob at bay.

135. Daily Nonpariel, December 30, 1903.

Harry Thompson

Woodbury county, April 18, 1904.

The persistent disturbance of the police by Harry Thompson of Sioux City caused the mayor, John Bunn, to have a warrant issued for his arrest. When the warrant was read to him he resisted, escaped, procured weapons and shot Mayor Bunn.
A mob of a hundred or more collected and would have lynched him, but Sheriff Hagan succeeded in getting him aboard a train and took him away. 136


James Frazier Price (colored)
Boone county, November 19, 1904.

James F. Price shot and fatally wounded Thomas Albright, and then escaped to the woods, followed by a mob of armed men, November 19, 1904. Lynching was freely talked in the community. Reports were received to the effect that Price had been cornered on a sandbar, but the report was not confirmed so far as our data show. 137

137. Iowa State Register, November 20, 1904.

Victor Lee
Henry county, August, 1905.

Public sentiment ran so high against Victor Lee, for it was reported that he was sending his wife to the insane hospital to get rid of her. When he took her to the train a mob would have lynched him if he had not been well guarded by the Sheriff. 138

A Des Moines policeman, in arresting a boy of twelve years, shot and wounded him. He then dragged the boy to the station, followed by a mob which desired to lynch him but there was no mob leader. The mob remained for some time before it was dispersed.

139. Register and Leader, September 27, 1905.

Robert Hyde and accomplice (colored)

Polk county, July 16, 1906.

Robert Hyde and another negro pushed a white woman off the sidewalk in Des Moines on the night of July 16, 1906 and a mob collected, took a rope from a street car and would have hanged them if the police had not had reinforcements from other quarters. The claim is made that the mob consisted of many soldiers from Fort Des Moines. The mob which grew to be about five hundred strong did not disperse until very late that night.

140. Register and Leader, July 17, 1906.

Joe McCain

Kossuth county, January 11, 1907.

The assault on the twelve year old girl of Michael Hubbard of Algona aroused the community to a point where a
lynching was feared. The lynching at Charles City a short time before made the community more susceptible to suggestion. It took some time for the excitement to subside sufficiently for the danger to be passed.


Thomas Grimes (colored)
Henry county, January 22, 1907.

Thomas Grimes was arrested and confined in the jail at New London and on Tuesday night, January 22, 1907, a mob came to the jail and demanded Grimes. Grimes had been secretly taken out and sent to Mt. Pleasant and as a result the mob action failed.


E.W. Lindsey
Jasper county, November 9, 1908.

E.W. Lindsey, charged with the assault on an eleven year old girl, was arrested and put in jail at Prairie City. Because of the rumors of lynching he was transferred to Newton for safe keeping.

143. *Register and Leader*, November 9, 1908.
Ray Edwards (colored)
Wapello county, January 25, 1908.

On the night of January 24, 1908, Ray Edwards criminally assaulted Mrs. Clara Erwin. Edwards was arrested and placed in the Ottumwa jail. A mob came to the jail and demanded Edwards. The officers extinguished the lights, and sent in a riot call to the police headquarters. The sheriff met the mob and said that Edwards had been taken to Albia. A committee was appointed, however, and the jail was searched, but Edwards was not found and the mob had to disperse in defeat. 144

144. Keosauqua Republican, January 30, 1908.

John Junkin (colored)
Wapello county, February 28, 1909.

The murderer of Clara Rosen, John Junkin, was removed from the Ottumwa jail to Des Moines because of an impending lynching. He was also threatened by a mob at Burlington when he was being taken to Ft. Madison. 145

145. Register and Leader, February 28, 1909.

John Junkin (colored)
Wapello county, February 21, 1909.

The already bad state of affairs was made worse by the assault upon Mrs. C. M. Johnson, by another negro. This
was the sixth assault in Ottumwa within the two years previous and as a consequence the people were much wrought up about it. Little had been done to punish the offenders it was felt and it was not strange that a mob of about two thousand persons should move in the streets of Ottumwa on February 21, 1909. A mob of about fifty from this number went to the jail and demanded Junkin but he had been taken to Albia. A committee was sent through the jail to make sure that he was not there and the mob then dispersed.\textsuperscript{146}


John Junkin (colored)

Wapello county, March 11-12, 1909.

Again when Junkin was brought to Ottumwa a mob followed him to the jail seemingly wishing to lynch him. They yelled about the jail for some time before they dispersed.\textsuperscript{147}

147. \textit{The Burlington Hawk-Eye}, March 12, 1909.

John Junkin (colored)

Appanoose county, June 1, 1909.

Immediately following the death sentence of John Junkin at Centerville, a mob attempted to lynch him, but the officers fought their way to the car line and took him to Fort Madison.\textsuperscript{148}
Because J.A.Kuefner's automobile caused a team to run away and cut itself on a wire fence and injure slightly the occupants of the vehicle a mob gathered and were threatening to lynch him. Word was sent to Des Moines for aid and officers made a flying trip in an automobile to rescue the man who had caused the accident. The trouble might have resulted in a lynching had not the officers been prompt.
Appendix B

A Short History of Lynchings in Iowa

with

References to the Sources.

Leek

Dubuque county

A man named Leek stole a canoe from Thomas McCraney and loaded it with lead and took it to Rock Island to sell. He was caught and tried in Judge Lynch's Court, found guilty and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes. The victim was tied to a black-jack tree and whipped and when released he was promised another whipping if he was caught in the court again.


Jack Hinter

Polk county.

Jack Hinter was a fine looking fellow but his looks did not prevent him from falling under suspicion by his neighbors. He was thought to be a horse thief and was arrested and brought before Justice F.R. Prentice, but was not found guilty. Later a mob came and took him to Four Mile, where he was tried in Lynch Court. Prominent citi-
defense and the prosecution as well, but the mob was relentless and he was finally abandoned by some of the mob, who left in disgust at the obstinancy with which they held for conviction. No one seems to know just what happened to Jack Hinter that night, but a rope was found missing from an old well in the vicinity a short time afterwards, and Hinter was not to be found. Whispers went about that Jack Hinter died that night and that he was secretly buried, but the data show no absolute proof of this rumor.

152. The History of Polk County, Iowa (1880), pp. 518-535.

Ecklor
Grundy county

"Mr. Nelson had in his custody at one time years ago a man by the name of Ecklor who was taken from him by a mob and lynched. Ecklor would have died had he not receiv ed relief." 153

153. Correspondent # 2302.

"Fox and Long Gang"
Poweshiek county.

In an old log cabin north of Montezuma there would often be a gang of men gathered, supposedly horse thieves, who
often had tools repaired at Roger's blacksmith shop. These tools were such as counterfeiters would use and when the citizens became fully aware of the situation they determined to get rid of the gang. A grand mass-meeting was held and the leader and three of his sons were caught, given a trial, found guilty, and sentenced. The leader was shot to death that same day.

Another one of the gang was captured a little later and he was taken out and shot also. This resulted in frightening the gang so much that they left the country.


Wilcox
Jackson county.

A fellow named Wilcox, who lived near Iron Hill, Jackson county, became too talkative to the married women of the community and the Vigilance Committee took him out and gave him a coat of tar and feathers. He was left in this conditions by the mob and commanded not to be seen in those parts again. He disappeared and was not heard from again.

Thief
Polk county

A thief was captured at Mitchellville and constable Sims of Des Moines was sent after him. When Sims was returning with him, and had reached the Fair Grounds, a mob of men took him from the constable. A rope was thrown over his head and soon the thief was dangling from a tree. He was raised up and down several times to induce a confession, which after a time was made and the thief was then turned over to Sims.


Lucias or H. Seeley
Washington county

Lucias Seeley was thought to be at the head of a gang of horse thieves and cattle thieves, and one night a mob took him and shot him to death in the woods. This incident happened near Brighton.

157. Correspondent # 1120.

A miller
Boone county

A miller started up a mill in Boone county in the early days when horse thieves and outlaws infested the regions
of that county, and no sooner had this miller got settled
than he was ordered to get out of the country. The thieves
considered that he had come too close to their place of
concealment. The miller paid no attention to the warning
and one day as he passed along by a thicket his attention
was called to a thicket from which a noise had come. Turning
to see what was there he received a bullet in his whiskers.
Another followed and plowed a patch of his whiskers off
together with a patch of flesh. He took the hint and ran
at full speed for shelter. He never returned to that

158 district again.

158. Register and Leader, August 22, 1909.

Man
Dubuque county.

A notorious wife beater was caught by a mob one day
in Dubuque and after giving him a coat of tar and feathers, he
was sent across the river into Illinois by the mob.

159. The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,

Two Men
Fremont county.

Two horse thieves of Fremont county were caught by
a band of farmers and sentenced to be shot in McKisick's Grove.
The graves were dug and the coffins placed in readiness before the victims were shot. The names were not given. 160

160. Correspondent # 2271.

Patrick O'Connor
Dubuque county, June 20, 1834.

Patrick O'Connor was born in Cork county, Ireland 1797, and came to the United States in 1826. He came to Galena, Illinois, in 1832, and began work in the mines there. 161 He became an object of public charity because of an accident in the mines, from which he had to have one leg amputated. This made him morose and disagreeable. Trouble arose between him and John Braphy and resulted in his attempting to kill Braphy. O'Connor fled from Galena to the Dubuque Lead mines where he went into partnership with George O'Keaf. O'Keaf came from Dubuque one day and found that O'Connor had locked him out of his house, and was not in the mood to hurry about opening the door. O'Keaf thereupon attempted to force the door and was shot dead by O'Connor. This was May 19, 1834. The news of the murder passed quickly about and a mob collected and would have lynched O'Connor at this time if it had not been for strong persuasion to allow a more orderly procedure. 162
There was no legal court at this time in which he could be tried, so on May 20, 1834, a court was formed in the best manner possible. A judge was chosen. A prosecuting attorney, a counsel for the prisoner, twelve jurymen with a foreman, and six marshals of the day were also selected. O'Connor knew that they had no law by which they could try him save Lynch Law. At any rate the case proceeded and O'Connor was convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hanged, June 20, 1834, at one o'clock. This jury was composed of six Americans, three Irishmen, one Scotchman, one Englishman, and one Frenchman. The Lynch Court was held in the presence of about one thousand persons and the verdict seemed to meet with general approval. O'Connor's friends appealed to the governors of Illinois and Missouri, and received the reply in each case no jurisdiction could be exercised in Dubuque. An attempt was made to get pardon from President Jackson, but Jackson replied that he had no jurisdiction over that territory.

Rumors passed about that a mob would rescue O'Connor on the day of execution and preparations were made to prevent the prisoner from being taken from them. Accordingly on the twentieth of June the city turned out to see the execution. The prisoner was brought out and
the blacksmith broke off his irons and he was placed in a cart and was driven to the mound for execution. The proceedings were all orderly and the prisoner was allowed to speak. He confessed to the murder and seemed to be remorseful for his action. The assistance of the minister was given. A doctor was employed to examine the victim so that there could be no question but that the prisoner was dead. During the process of execution the guards of soldiery formed a square and only the officers of execution were allowed within this square.164

When he hung there about thirty minutes he was cut down and placed in the coffin that had been brought with them and he was buried.165


164. *Tuttle's) An Illustrated History and Durrie's) of the State of Iowa,* 1876,p.87.

William Hoffman
Dubuque county, July, 1834.

The lynchings that occurred at the Dubuque Lead Mines about 1834 were in some cases very unjust as little investigation as to the criminal's guilt was made. One William Hoffman, an old soldier of about fifty, was accused of appropriating to his own use a bank note of his friend's, worth $20. Emerald Isle, formerly his friend and now accuser, was also a soldier. Both wore uniforms. A mob gathered to settle the matter. Isle said that he had been drunk one day and was unable to take care of his money and that he had given it to Hoffman to keep until he sobered up, and instead of returning it that he had kept it. The matter was discussed for some time, and then a Lynch Court jury was empanelled to hear the case. A judge was appointed and then the accuser was brought forward to make his accusation. The proceedings were very irregular and the accused had no show of justice. With a wild sweep they rushed upon him and tied him to a wagon wheel and a big fellow was selected to lay on the lashes. He did it well, in fact so well, that Hoffman fainted under the blows. The fiendish mob at this point yelled "give him another five". Just then Isle came rushing up and
begged them to cease whipping him for he had found the money. He then remembered that Hoffman had given it back to him. Hoffman was loosed by a fellow Kentuckian who cut the cords that bound him to the wheel. Hoffman left the country and was not heard from again. During the process of the infliction of the whipping, Hoffman amazed the crowd with a speech. He told them that he was a Kentuckian and a soldier. This seemed to soften the attitude of the mob and when Isle came up, they were moved to let him go. 166


James Irwin
Louisa county, 1838.

James Irwin, an Irishman, was accused of jumping a claim about 1838 in what is now Louisa county and was given a severe whipping. 167

167. Correspondent # 10036.

Two Counterfeiters
Johnson county, 1838 or 1840.

About 1839 or 1840 two men stopped at the old Gilbert Tradinghouse for dinner and paid their bill in
counterfeit money and received good money in change. These two had passed some of the worthless paper on a man at the Wapsipinico that same morning and it was soon discovered. The amn of the "Wapsie" started in pursuit of the men and called others to his aid as he went along, and he soon had quite a mob. The counterfeiters were caught after a short search. They claimed that they did not know that they had passed in the bad money. However the mob made a thorough search of the men and finally found a search of counterfeit money in the saddle pads of the smaller one of the two. The mob took breakfast and then proceeded to hold a cession of Lynch Court. The men were tried and found guilty. The smaller one was sentenced to fifteen stripes on his bare back with a cowhide whip, and the other ten stripes on his back without removing his shirt. William DeVault was appointed to administer the lashes and he satisfied the court with the manner of laying them on.168

168. The History of Johnson County, Iowa. 1883, pp. 211, 12.
Cleck

Des Moines county, March 14, 1840.

One of the early land buyers of Des Moines county was a fellow named Cleek who came to Burlington in March 1840. He went down town one night at the notorious Exchange, and fell in with a gang of bad characters. They suggested to him that they all go up to the Tontine and play billiards. This suggestion was acted upon and they set out. Instead of stopping at the Tontine, they passed on and before Cleek had hardly realized it they were out in the country. Now Cleek was known to have considerable money on his person and when they were well out from town the gang charged Cleek with stealing $10 from his landlady and that he must give up the money and confess the crime. Cleek denied having done it. One Andrew Jackson, who had been his partner in gambling, removed Cleek's coat and placed it on a stump some distance from the gang and it is thought that at this time the pockets were rifled of their heavy burden of money. The gang had brought another fellow with Cleek, but he made his escape in the fray. Cleek was pushed to a tree and tried. The gang then tried to get him to confess by whipping him over the back with heavy clubs. When they had satisfied themselves with whipping him they took the ten dollars that Cleek offered them and let him go. The amount they stole from him that night was about $100.  

169. Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, March 19, 1840.
Bellevue Lynching

Jackson county, April 12, 1840.

Prior to 1840 Bellevue was noted as the headquarters of a gang of outlaws. W.W. Brown was said to be the head of a gang and was well known in that part of Iowa territory. Rivalry grew up between him and Col. Thos. Cox, a Kentuckian by birth, and these two political bosses were responsible in great part for the lawlessness in the early history of Bellevue. Brown was a more diplomatic man than Cox in many ways and gained more political power. The history of the Bellevue War was made principally because of Cox's attempt to gain the upperhand at any cost. It is a question whether the Bellevue War could be rightly termed a lynching. If it were a lynching it was clothed under the mantle of law, for warrants were sworn out by proper authorities so far as we are able to learn, and the events of April 1, 1840 then would in this case be the outcome of a resistance of arrest. What really was the Bellevue lynching occurred on the next day after the battle in serving the warrants of arrest. To orient the reader a very brief history of the Bellevue War will be given and then the Bellevue lynching will be narrated.

There is no doubt that there was a large amount of stealing done about Bellevue before the Bellevue War
and this had much to do with the War. Times were hard and the frontiersman was poor and could not well lose his stock or food supply. There were contrary opinions as to Brown's guilt, but the majority think that he was guilty of being at the head of the gang of outlaws. Edward Bonny, a detective, stated that Brown was guilty in 1847.\textsuperscript{171} When the warrants were sworn out it seems that Cox went over the country getting volunteers to help mob Brown\textsuperscript{172} and those who refused were "marked men". It does not seem necessary that the country would need to be canvassed for men to mob Brown when there were companies of militia within Jackson county at the time of the Bellevue War. The claim is also made that Cox and his men were intoxicated which was an uncommon condition for them.

When Sheriff Warren came with the warrants for the arrests of the gang Brown showed resistance. A meeting was held at the store of J.K. Moss in which Cox had much to say.\textsuperscript{173} It was from this meeting that Cox went out and solicited aid in the country. The mob was armed and after much parleying with Brown and his men (and no settlement being made) the line of Warren's and Cox's forces advanced upon the Brown Hotel where Brown and his men were fortified and shooting opened. It was a bloody affair. The Sheriff had four men killed and seven wounded,
and the gang had three killed and several wounded. Six of
the gang escaped and thirteen were captured.  

A meeting was held and it was decided that on
the next day they would have a mob trial in which the whole
body of citizens present would have a vote in convicting
and sentencing the captured members of the gang. This
Lynch Court opened at 10 a.m. April 2, 1840. It was agreed
by the prisoners that they should abide by the decision
of the assembly. Cox made a speech against the gang and
Christester made a speech in defense of the gang. Anson
Harrington also made a speech disapproving of any action
that would let them go free. When it came to a vote they
used white and red beans for voting. The white beans were
for hanging and the red ones for whipping. When the ballot
was counted there were forty-two red and thirty-eight white
ones.  

A motion was then made and carried that the deci-
sion be made unanimous for whipping. They received their
whippings. The highest number of lashes was thirty, and
the lowest number four.  

The prisoners were then placed
in a boat with three days rations and started down the Miss-
issippi River with commands never to return on penalty of
death.

In the spring of the district court the acts of
the mob were investigated and they declared the Bellevue
War legal but the lynching followed illegal, however they
gave it moral support.  

The name of the men whipped are
as follows:- John Long, Aaron Long, Richard Baxter, Granville Young, Birch, Christester, and seven other whose names are not recorded. The men who composed the mob and were prominent in the proceedings were later prominent in the affairs of the State. 178

170. Annals of Jackson County, Iowa
No. 2, 1906, pp. 77-84.

171. Annals of Jackson County, Iowa, No. 2, 1906,

172. Annals of Jackson County, Iowa, No. 2, 1906,
pp. 95-96.

173. Annals of Jackson County, Iowa, No. 2, 1906,
pp. 57-76.

174. Reid's Thomas Cox, in Iowa Biographical

175. Gue's History of Iowa (1903) vol. 1, pp. 231-50.

176. Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot, April 6, 9, 1840.

177. History of Jackson County, Iowa (1879)
pp. 358-407.

178. Reid's Thomas Cox, pp. 149, 54.
Debtor

Johnson county, Sept. 4, 1841.

Lynching became so frequent about 1841 that most any cause was sufficient for lynching. A man of Johnson county was in debt and those whom he owed sought to obtain their money by lynching, so four or five took him out on Sunday night Sept. 4, 1841 and gave him a good beating and drubbing. Those implicated were brought to trial, and received a request to appear at the next term of the district court. 179

179. The Iowa City Standard, Sept. 10, 1841.

Col. William Johnson

Jackson county, March 1843.

William Bennett was a frequenter of the country about Brown's Hotel in Bellevue in 1842 and 1843. He was planning to lay out new towns in Iowa Territory. Col. William Johnson came from Canada in 1843 and also began to plan on laying out towns in about the same district. Jealousy and animosity grew up rapidly between them. Johnson was planning to lay out the county seat of a new county,
and Bennett wanted to do the same thing at a place where Quasqueton later sprang up. Bennett got his gang together and went over to banish Johnson. The gang loaded Johnson's possessions on a wagon, took Johnson out to a tree, tied him there and gave him a good flogging. Johnson got out a warrant for the arrest of Bennett and when the sheriff attempted to serve it, Bennett resisted and retreated to the prairie, armed with a brace of pistols accompanied by the rest of the gang. They suffered severely from the cold and some of them even lost their lives in the cold weather. Johnson was forced by circumstances to leave Jackson county, and he went to Mahaska county where he was killed probably because of the trouble over his daughter's marriage. However it is surmised by some that Bennett and his gang followed him up and killed him.180


L.J. Smith
1845.

L.J. Smith received a coat of tar and feathers for jumping a claim in 1845. No other data is given on this case.181

181. Correspondent # 6006.
Frisby and Smith
Keokuk county, 1845.

The Vigilance Committee got hold of Frisby and Smith who were causing trouble over a claim in Keokuk county and they sentenced them to be tied to a pole and ducked in the bottom of a mill pond through a hole in the ice, and then taken out and a warm coat of tar and feathers spread over their heads and bodies. Frisby tried to commit suicide by stabbing himself with a long dirk. The sentences were softened and Smith received only the coat of tar and feathers. They were banished with commands never to return.  

182. Correspondent # 1081.

Jacob Majors
Marion county, July, about 6, 1846.

In the early history of Mahaska county there was considerable trouble over claims. Claims would be entered and the rightful claimants would be beaten out of them. In order to protect the settlers a "Mutual Protection Association" was organized. Jacob Majors and family were in good circumstances and they did not need to go into the Association. However, he entered he claim of three of his neighbors. The Mutual Protection Association met
and decided upon general coercive measures. They came to the Major's home and not finding him at home they encamped on the ground. Word was sent to Oskaloosa where he was for him to return. He refused until he found that his barn had been burned. He then consented to deed the property back to the claimants. This was not enough so a rendezvous was planned at Durham's Ford and Majors was captured. He was forced to give security that he would deed back the land. This was on Monday and involved a mob of about 200 to 300 persons. Van Dalashmatt went security for Majors. This was done after the mob had encamped on the farm and had caught him, on his return at Durham's Ford and they had taken him to Oskaloosa. The mob then took Majors home where he made out the deed to the to the rightful claimant. Majors did a very unwise thing in seeking revenge on his humiliators by attempting to have them arrested. So he went to Robert Garden and had warrants sworn out for the arrest of John Gillaspie, L.C.Conrey, and others. These warrants were dated July 6, 1848 but they were never served. Majors was caught by members of the Association later at his sawmill. It was done by a well laid scheme and he was taken to Knoxville where the rest of the Association had gathered. He was then taken about a mile out of town and a coat of tar and feathers were put on his naked body. His
clothes were then put back on, and another coat of tar and
and feathers added. After this, he was allowed to return
home with the command that he was not to try any more schemes
of revenge. The Majors left for Missouri soon afterwards.
The mob is claimed to have been composed of the lower
elements of the settlers. Majors was generally considered
an honorable man.\textsuperscript{185}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{183} Correspondent \# 6001.
  \item \textsuperscript{184} Carden's History of Scott Township, Mahaska County, Iowa., (1907) pp.44-49.
  \item \textsuperscript{185} Sarah A. Phillips, Oskaloosa, Iowa.
\end{itemize}
John and Nathaniel Hamlin
Jasper county, Fall 1848

The Hamlin family was not considered very respec-
table and much of the lawlessness of Jasper county was
attributed to them. They had a man named Nisely working
for them in the fall of 1848 with whom they did not seem
to get along very well. One day Nisely disappeared.
One of the Hamlin boys later was seen with Nisely's hat,
and still later his coat. This aroused suspicion and the
people felt that somehow the Hamlins had killed Nisely.\textsuperscript{186}
Before committing him to jail Isaiah Dooley, Sheriff of
Jasper county, had him hanged up by the thumbs and neck
until he confessed that he had killed Nisely. Nathaniel
Hamlin was also caught up and hanged by the thumbs for a
confession. He was also whipped severely until the blood run down his back to the ground. While the Hamlins were being tried for murder the missing Wisely was found in Missouri. This caused the Hamlins to be released.  

188. The History of Polk County, Iowa, (1880), pp. 518-35.

John Wilson  
Linn county, July, 21, 1849.

A notorious man, John Wilson, was suspected of horse stealing in Linn county. The citizens thought that he had sold stolen horses at Cascade a few days previous and on July 21, 1849, John Wilson was found dead on the prairies with such wounds in his body as would lead one to suspect that he had been lynched. A sum of $30,000 in good money was found on his person, and a lot of counterfeit money also. The community considered that they had lost nothing by his death but had gained by it.  


Baltimore Muir  
Pottawattamie county, May 17, 1853.

About the twelfth of May 1853, an immigrant train came to Council Bluffs and encamped at what is now Glendale
on the south side of Broad Way. Two men, Samuels and Baltimore Muir were in the train and had apparently become good friends. On the morning of the twelfth Samuels was found murdered in his wagon and suspicion fell at once upon Muir for he was absent. Search parties were sent out and after a long search Muir was found on the trail that leads to Mosquito Creek through the woods in the direction of D.B. Clarks. Some accounts say that he was placed in the hands of the sheriff but a personal letter of an eye-witness says that the authorities had nothing to do with the affair. At any rate the slowness of proceedings caused the people to take the trail into their hands and the man was given a trial in Judge Lynch's Court, convicted and sentenced to be hanged. A.C. Ford defended the prisoner, Rev. Moses acted as his minister. The evidence was overwhelmingly against him and he was soon convicted. After the sentence was pronounced he was taken to the scene of the murder and hanged by the immigrants. It is said that he confessed that he had committed the crime to Shinn but refused to tell where he had hid the money. In 1875 the authorities of Council Bluffs were opening up a street on what was the old A.B. Clark trail and by an old-tree they found $350 in gold,
the same amount that Samuels had had on his person when murdered. People then remembered that Muir said that he had buried it by a tree but refused to tell which tree. There was little doubt but that this was the money which cost Samuels his life. The same reason given for the use of Lynch Law was because the officers were alleged to be in league with the Norman thieves of the country.

190. Correspondent # 5008.
191. Correspondent # 2148.
192. The History of Pottawattamie County; Iowa (1882) pp. 101-103.

Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff
Scott county, Sept. 5, 1855.

under the liquor law in September 1855 the sheriff of Scott county seized some kegs of liquor from A. Offergeldt and stored it in Justice Blood's office. Those representing the liquor interests were much wrought up about the matter and a mob came, armed with pitch forks, shovels, and all kinds of instruments, and demanded the liquor. They were dispersed the first time but in a short time they returned with more determination. The sheriff was
attacked and beat over the head with clubs and the deputy sheriff was shot in the shoulder. Guns, clubs, sabres, and stones were used in the attack. This time the officers were able to win and the weapons were seized and stored in Blood's office.\textsuperscript{194} The leader of the first attack was said to be Mr. Shreerer. Four of the ring-leaders were arrested for participating in the attack.\textsuperscript{195}

\textsuperscript{193.} Muscatine Daily Journal, Sept. 13, 1855.
\textsuperscript{194.} Keokuk Gate City, Sept. 11, 1855.
\textsuperscript{195.} Daily Whig, Sept. 12, 1855.

George Redmon
Boone county, Dec. 1855.

Richard Boone who lived in Boone county owned an interest in a mill which he sold in December 1855 for $180. On Sunday he left home with his wife. The children remained at home. Green had put the money in a bag that hung of the wall of his home and while he was away George Redmon came to his home and enquired of the children what Green had done with the money that he had received from the mill. They replied that they did not know. But when Green came home he found the money gone and the children had not noticed that Redmon had molested the bag
on the wall.

Green called six of his neighbors in for consultation. A plan was hit upon to recover the money. Redmon was known to drink to some extent and the leader of the farmers went over to Redmon's log cabin and persuaded him to go with him to a place where they could get something to drink. Redmon was suspicious of the proceedings at first but when he had drunk a little he lost his caution.

After purchasing some liquor to take with them they started home, taking the road through the timber. Redmon's spirits began to rise and he boasted of being able to fight a dozen Indians. At this point according to the plans of the six farmers, who had masked themselves and hid, jumped out and captured him. Redmon's companion escaped as it was planned but to protect the man who led Redmon into the trap an attempt was made by one of the masked men to capture him. It was a farce, and he got away and masking himself returned to help in the lynching. Redmon was then taken to a tree and tied there and the men demanded that he tell them where he had put the money he had stolen from Green. He denied having stolen any money. The men then gave him a whipping but again he denied having stolen the money. The whip was again applied and this time he confessed
that he had stolen the money and that if they would let him loose he would get the money for them. He was loosed but they had got no more than a hundred yards before he denied having stolen it. He was taken back to the tree and whipped more severely. Confessing again they started the second time with the same result. It was necessary to get the third confession from him before he would get the money. It took nearly all night to recover the money and when they finally allowed Redmon to go he was pretty badly bruised. They made him promise that he would not be seen in those parts again and he was faithful to his promise.

196. Madrid Register- News, clipping from.

Charles Clute,
Cedar county, Winter, 1856.

Widow J.D. Denson had a young man named Charles Clute to care for her property and business. One day a peddler came by and left a horse with Clute to be sold. The horse was sold by Clute a short time afterwards. Later the peddler, whose name was Johnson, was arrested for horse stealing, and taken to Wisconsin to be tried. Clute was
then arrested as the accomplice of Johnson and tried, but released for want of evidence. One night in the winter of 1856 a mob came to the Denson home and took Clute to the woods and gave him a good whipping.


Man

Muscatine county, Feb. 14(?), 1855.

Two fellows assaulted two girls on their way home from school one evening and the word passed quickly about the country and the nearby towns and people watched for them. A sufficient description was given to identify them. On the following Sunday, one of the fellows was noticed at dinner by the proprietor of the U.S. Hotel in Muscatine. When dinner was finished and about twenty men had gathered about the counter the proprietor tapped the fellow on the shoulder and motioned for him to come behind the counter which he did. When the proprietor had him behind the counter he reached down and pulled out a buggy whip and addressing the crowd of men he told the story of the assault of the girls and identifying this man
as one of the men, he proceeded to give him a good whipping. The victim yelled for mercy but obtained none. This is a case where one man took the law into his own hands and the men gave it their moral support by not interfering, and for that reason it may be termed a lynching. 199


William Davis
Lucas county, Aug. 1856.

The barn of Alexander Lamb was burnt some time in 1856 and the suspicion fell upon William Davis and David Ragin. Ragin lived on the farm with Davis. Lamb and his friends were aroused so much that they gathered at the home of Davis one night in August intending to lynch Davis and Ragin. Ragin saw at a glance what was the intention of the mob and made his escape shooting as he went. He was never seen again in the country. Davis claimed that he was innocent and stood his ground. The took him to the woods and gave him an unmerciful whipping. The scars remained with him to his death. 200 Twenty men were arrested, and the case was taken to court. The following are the men charged with this act: Alexander and Rueben Lamb, John and Sittleton Young, Solomon Carrinchsel, Riley Moore, Oliver
Harvey, John Ruble, Joel Carter, Wm. Pennington, Geo. Frazier, Franklin Benge, William Bayles, Jonathan Curtis, James Woodward, John Wells, Jonathan Dix, and James, Aaron and Daniel Nyswonger. The preliminary hearing was before Esq. B.P. Hartley, May 3(Sunday) 1957. He bound fifteen of them over to the Grand Jury. In June when they were brought up they were "dismissed for want of sufficient evidence." A.H. Dunlap was the foreman of the jury at this time.


201. Correspondent # 3078.

Merchant
Dubuque county, Aug. 9, 1856.

A peacable merchant on the streets of Dubuque, Aug. 9, 1856, remarked that he considered "a negro as good as himself or an Irishman if he behaved himself!" This must have irritated some of the Irish blood for the merchant was struck with a slug shot and the mob would have doubtless killed him if the police had not come to his rescue. The incident happened on election day in Dubuque.

Alexander Gifford or Grifford

Jackson county, April 11, 1857.

One of the early settlers of Iowa, a native of New York, either Henry Garrett or David McDonald was supposed to have committed some crime in New York, a witness of which followed him up and settled also in Iowa. These settlers stopped in Jackson county, Iowa. The witness bore the name of John Engles. As soon as it became known that Engles was in the country and would probably witness against him, this criminal (Garrett or McDonald) hired Alexander Gifford for about $100 to put Engles out of the way. Accordingly Engles and Gifford went on a hunting trip one day and Gifford returned without Engles. When asked where Engles was he replied that he had gone farther on the hunt. After some time had elapsed, Engles was searched for, since he had not returned. His body was found with a bullet hole through the brain. Gifford was arrested and placed in the jail at Andrew. There had been fifteen murders in Jackson and not one of them had been atoned for by death and this fact had not gone well with the people. On the eleventh of April 1857 a large mob came to the jail at Andrew and demanded the deliverance of Gifford. They were refused entrance so sledges were brought and the doors burst open. Gifford was taken from the jail to a tree.
in the north part of Andrew and there given a chance to confess. He confessed to the above named facts on condition that they would reprieve him if he should make a clean confession of crime. As soon as confession was made a cry went up for hanging him. Some of the mob would have returned him to the jail and the law but the more agitated ruled the day and he was hanged to a tree until dead.

Probably there is little doubt but that the Iron Hill Vigilance Committee was the organization that lynched Gifford.\textsuperscript{205} Some of the accounts of the lynching seem to convey this impression but one account attributes it to the citizens of Bellevue.\textsuperscript{206-210}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{203} Annals of Jackson County, Iowa, No. 1. 1905, pp. 29-34.
  \item \textsuperscript{204} The Daily Whig, April 22, 1857.
  \item \textsuperscript{205} The History of Jackson County, Iowa. (1879) pp. 367-407.
  \item \textsuperscript{206} Daily Hawk-Eye and Telegraph, April 18, 1857.
  \item \textsuperscript{207} The Daily Whig, June 3, 1857.
  \item \textsuperscript{208} Annals of Jackson County, Iowa No. 3, 1906, pp. 68-75
  \item \textsuperscript{209} Muscatine Daily Journal, May 30, 1857.
  \item \textsuperscript{210} Gue's History of Iowa (1903). vol. 1, pp. 331-350.
\end{itemize}
Boyd Wilkinson

Johnson county, May 11, 1857.

Boyd Wilkinson disappeared from Iowa City vicinity some time previous to 1857 and was gone so long without word from him by any of his relatives that they had grown to think of his never returning. There was some action taken by Philip Clark in regard to the property which caused trouble when he returned unexpectedly one day. Soon after Wilkinson's return the barn of Philip Clark was burned during the night. Already the feeling between the two was at the point of rupture and this occasion opened hostilities. Wilkinson realized that the blame would be upon him and sought the protection of the officers of Iowa City, so his wife claimed afterwards. The protection he sought was not to be obtained. It seems that the friends of Clark met at the old Manson House in Iowa City, and after some preliminary organization proceeded to the home of Wilkinson to extort from him a confession that he had burned the building. It took some time to get Wilkinson for he was hid in the cellar and his wife demanded a promise that he would be allowed the right of a fair trial before she would disclose where he was concealed. He was then forced from his hiding-place and his hands tied behind him, placed him in a wagon and drove him toward the river. Varying accounts are given as to the happenings
from this on and it is a hard matter to tell whether he
was thrown into the river or jumped in and drowned
himself. 211

The mob dispersed leaving the body in the river.
It was found later by the citizens who turned out to search
for it. Fifteen men supposed to have been leaders in the
mob action were indicted for murder of Wilkinson. Eight
of these were in the first trial found not guilty, to
the utter astonishment of the public. 212 A special term of
the District Court 213 was called for the trial of the
other five. All of those charged with the murder were
cleared so far as we now know. One was later sent to the
penitentiary which shows the probability of a criminal
tendency in him. 214

211. The Daily-Hawk-Eye, May 19, 1857.
212. The Marietta Weekly Express, Sept. 8, 1858.
213. The Iowa City Republican, Aug. 18, 1858.
William P. Barger, Michael Carroll, and a Thief.

Jackson county, May 29, 1857.

The Iron Hill Vigilance Committee, which hanged Gifford came to the Clinton county jail at DeWitt, May 29, 1857, and demanded Barger who was confined there having been convicted of murder. He was attempting to get a change of venue on account of the prejudice of the jury which convicted him. At this same time Michael Carroll was confined there on charge of murder and another man who was held for watch stealing. Some accounts say that the jailor would not give up the keys and that the jail had to be broken open with sledges and crowbars, while other accounts say that the jail doors were left open so that the jail would not be injured and that the people did not heed the mob actions. At any rate the three men named were taken from the jail and driven to Andrew where Gifford was hanged. Here this armed mob consisting of about forty or fifty citizens gave the prisoners a chance to speak. After this a black handkerchief was tied over the face of Barger by J.K. Landis, Postmaster of Iron Hill around his neck and thrown over a limb of the tree and twenty men swung Barger up. While he was hanging thus the mob busied themselves by giving Carroll and the watch-thief a good whipping. Carroll was turned over to
the authorities and the thief was banished with strict orders not to return. The body of Barger was allowed to remain hanging for about three hours and then it was taken down and buried near a tree. On the next morning some of the "refined spirits" dug up the body and placed it upright in a buggy and drove it to Cobb's Hotel with a paper in its hand calling for dinner and horse-feed.221

There was some denunciation of the mob action by the press at this time but it did little good as the whole country seemed to be under the control of the Vigilance Committee. They claimed that they could gather a mob of four or five hundred within a few hours notice. Intimidation was used to coerce those who would speak against their actions.222-226.

215. Des Moines Iowa Citizen (Quoted from Maquoqueta Excelsior) June 17, 1857.


217. Dubuque Express and Herald, June 5, 1857.

218. Daily Hawk-Eye and Telegraph, June 4, 1857.


220. Des Moines Iowa Citizen, (Quoted from Maquoqueta Excelsior) July 1, 1857.

221. Daily Hawk-Eye and Telegraph, June 9, 1857.
On Saturday, May 30, 1857, the Saracan was at the Ft. Madison landing when trouble arose between a negro on board and a mate of the ship. It was about eleven o'clock a.m. when this occurred. The mate struck the negro so severely that he took flight and hid in a stable on shore. He was pursued by the mate and other shipmen who brandished weapons over his head threatening his life. The abolition spirit ran so high at that time that a mob soon collected to protect the negro. The negro was taken on board again and stripped and tied to a post ready for a flogging. The shipmen had already knocked him down and given him a severe drubbing. The mob began to cast stones at the assailants of the negro, and received in return shots from the men on board. The Captain participated in the firing and Samuel Henderson was mortally wounded, Thomas Slick and Samuel Bricker were...
slightly wounded. Injuries of a very light nature were received by Landon Bricker, G. Nubia, and J.S. Edson. The mob tried to prevent the Saracen from leaving the landing, but Captain Stan ordered the ropes cut and they steamed off. 

The claim was made that the negro was a slave and that the officer had a right to do as he wished with him. The sheriff of Lee county with several others went to Burlington to intercept the Saracen and make arrests, but so far as the data show they failed in this plan. The Saracen steamed past without stopping.

227. Daily Hawk-Eye & Telegraph, June 1, 1857.
228. Correspondent # 2304.

John Schubert and family.

Linn county, June 3, 1857.

The daughter of John Schubert was raped by a ruffian, and then made her promise to keep the fact a secret. When she could keep the secret no longer she told her parents of the affair. John Schubert brought suit against the fellow and in retaliation the fellow gathered his gang together and
waited upon Schubert, May 7, 1857, telling him to get out of the country. Schubert recognized some of the fellows and had them arrested. This only made matters worse for Schubert. The gang came to his house and treated him and his family shamefully, loaded his goods on wagons and sent him out of the country. It was in broad daylight on June 3, 1857, when this was done. The mob showed organization and determination.

233. The Daily North West, April 7, June 3, 1857.

Alonzo Page
Cedar county, June 18, 1857.

Alonzo Page lived in the woods near Lowden in Cedar county with his wife. He incurred the enmity of William Carry, who later joined the Regulators, and caused his death. It is said that Carry circulated the report that Page was one of the horse thieves, and the Regulators believed it, whether it was true or not the data do not show. At any rate the Regulators gave him two notifications to leave the country, but Page was persuaded by his friends to stay. One night, June 18, 1857, the Regulators came to the home of Page evidently intending to lynch him. They were met at the door by Page, who attempted to disperse the mob, but they would not do so and attacked the house. Page's wife was critically ill but the mob paid no attention to this and broke
in the doors and windows and finally shot Page and mortally wounded him. It is said that William Carry shot Page. He was left thus in the doorway, wounded.


236. The Daily Whig, July 1, 1857.


Bennett Warren and Charles Clute

Clinton county, June 24, 1857.

Charles Clute, who lived about nine miles north-east of Tipton on the farm of his mother-in-law, was given not only the whipping after the arrest of Johnson, but he was warned several times by the Regulators to leave the country. He did not take the advise of these men and they waited upon him. He had been arrested previously but no evidence could be brought to convict him, so the Regulators caught him on June 24, 1857, and took him with Bennett Warren, who had been working on a building in Scott county, and tried them in Lynch Court. Clute was so terrified that he left the country and promised never to return.


Benjamin Warner.
Cedar county, June 25, 1847.

The Vigilance Committee called upon Benjamin Warner on June 25, 1847, and took him to Warren's Settlement and there hanged him. Here a Lynch Court was held. A jury was empaneled and a committee took charge of the investigation. When all the witnesses were examined a vote was taken. There were thirty ballots for lynching by whipping and about three hundred for lynching by hanging. He was asked if he had anything to say, and when he replied that he had about thirty bequests to make, the mob thought that it would take too long and they hoisted him into the air. The old man faced death without a quiver. Later accounts say that Sergeant and Denny were present and forced to witness the events, but this account has not been confirmed.

240. The Daily Hawk-Eye, July 1, 1857.

Peter Conklin
Cedar county, June 27, 1857.

Among many others who fell under the suspicion of the Regulators, was Peter Conklin, who lived in Cedar county. He was caught out in the woods on the road to Tipton and was shot to death by them. This was June 27, 1857. His body was
taken to Iowa City where rewards of $200.00 were offered for it.


Thief
Jones county, June 29, 1857.

A thief who was convicted of horse stealing on June 28, 1857, was taken by a mob on the 29th at twelve o'clock from the home of Mr. Poet in Animosa, where he was quartered, and lynched. The mob was composed of about sixty men. No indications were given as to the men who composed the mob, or the name of the thief. The crime that caused the lynching was committed near Fairview.

244. The History of Cedar County, Iowa (1901), vol. I, pp. 363.

245. The Daily Hawk-Eye, (from the Anamosa Gazette), July 16, 1857.


Alonzo Gleason and Edward Soper
Cedar county, July 3, 1857.

The excitement grew intense when the sheriff of Cedar county brought Alonzo Gleason and Edward Soper to the
Tipton jail, charged with horse stealing. Van Auadel was also brought in with them and another posse was sent after Cassidy and later he was brought into town. This was on July 2, 1857. A great amount of theft had been committed in the community and the people were now at the point of using Lynch Law. A mob of about two hundred came to the Tipton jail and broke it open, and took Gleason and Soper out. These two men who had had no occupation, apparently, were taken and tried in Lynch Court, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Gleason was firm and Soper broke down under the ordeal. He then made a confession. After the trial in the Tipton Court yard they placed them in the wagon prepared and drove them to Martin Henry's south of Lowden and hanged them to a tree. They were too weak to stand by the time they reached there and they had to be held up while the ropes were adjusted. The wagon was then driven out from under them and they were left hanging.

Assessor
Jackson county, July, 1857.

Because the Vigilance Committee in Jackson county thought that the taxes were too high in one township, they met and demanded that they be lowered. The assessor was waited upon by the Committee in order to force him to do so.

A surveyor established a line that was not agreeable to one of the Committee and he became the object of the Committee's visitation and the surveyor was not to be found thereafter. He had evidently had such persuasion by the Committee that he had packed his goods and left.


Thief
Cedar county, July 5, 1857.

A horse thief was hanged outside of Tipton on Sunday night, July 5, 1857. The name of the man was not given.


Thief
Jones county, July 5, 1857.

A young thief about eighteen years old was caught in the act of stealing a horse from Mr. Ringer near Fairview in Jones county on Sunday, July 5, 1857. He received seventy lashes for his theft. Some accounts say that he was killed.

253. 254
Teedles
Jones county, July 8, 1857.

The Vigilance Committee caught Teedles of Bear Creek and convicted him of horse stealing in Judge Lynch's Court, and sentenced him to be hanged. He was swung up and his friends were notified that they might dispose of his body and they went immediately and took him down and were able to revive him. The Committee heard that they had revived him and were about to hang him again but he begged so pitifully that they allowed him to live. They extracated a confession however from him that implicated many in the horse stealing business.


Long and accomplice.
Jones county, July 10, 1857.

Dr. Long and his brother were suspected by the Vigilance Committee of being horse thieves or connected with them in some intimate way. They were "spotted" by the Committee and on July 10, 1857, the Committee went to the home of Dr. Long, who lived on the road to Montecello, to lynch him
but Dr. Long heard that they were coming and left. The Committee caught his brother and accomplice and hanged them in the woods. They then sent a detachment after Dr. Long but they did not get him. Dr. Long stopped with a man named Parrot in Cascade and on Sunday night two men, supposed to be members of the Committee rode into town and after staying some time seemingly studying the situation they rode away again.


257. The Daily Hawk-Eye, (from Dubuque Republican), July 14, 1857; July 18, 1857.

Jack Parrot
Dubuque county, July 13 (?), 1857.

The man who harbored Dr. Long was reported to have been captured by the Vigilance Committee and taken out and hanged until dead. The house was surrounded and he was captured. The mob acted upon suspicion and not upon evidence in this case.

258. The Daily Hawk-Eye, (from Dubuque Express, July 14, 1857), July 18, 1857.

Kelso and Accomplice
Cedar county, July 14, 1857.

The Vigilants capture Kelso and accomplice of Cedar county, July 14, 1857, and tried them in Lynch Court.
Hanging was the verdict of the jury. After they had hanged him Finch, one of the mob, who had voted for hanging, went home and when asked by his mother how he had voted he told her that he had voted for hanging. She rebuked him. Later he hanged himself in his remorse.


William B. Thomas, alias "Comequick"
Poweshiek county, July 14, 1857.

William B. Thomas had been on trial for some time at Montezuma for murder. He had been tried three times for the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Casteel and each time Thomas was tried the feeling that he would finally be cleared grew more intense. Finally becoming exasperated when a change of venue was granted by Judge Stone, the mob took action. A mob of four hundred or more came to the court house and forced their way in, seized the prisoner from the officers, and took him out. Relatives of the Casteel family were instrumental in getting the mob action it is thought. After the mob had secured the prisoner they went to the edge of town, and after offering him a chance to speak, hanged him. They tortured him by stretching him up by the neck for short times and then letting him down again. A fire was built under his feet in order to induce him to confess. This did not suffice to extract a confession from him, but he said that if he should tell what he knew it would implicate others and not save himself. He was finally hanged until dead, and his body was left up
for three or four hours and then it was taken down and buried near the spot where he was hanged. The mob dispersed soon after the lynching and remained law abiding citizens.

   The Daily Hawk-Eye, August 5, 1857.

The History of Poweshiek County, Iowa (1880), pp. 453-457.

264. Correspondent # 15001.
265. Correspondent # 12001.
266. Correspondent # 1120.

Keith

Cedar county, July 21, 1857.

The report to the press on the 23rd of July was that a mob of about a hundred men from Mechanicsville took a man named Keith and lynched him. He was tried in Lynch Court, found guilty of the charges made against him, and hanged.

The mob afterwards searched for John F. Cole who was charged also with stealing.


William Redman

Mahaska county, July 25, 1857.

William Redman was the overseer of a house of ill-fame in Oskaloosa. He received a coat of tar and feathers at
the hands of a mob, and then he was ridden on a rail. This was a punishment that he received for becoming obnoxious in the community. He was driven from the city along with the women that he maintained in the house.


Hiram Roberts

Jones county, December 4, 1857.

Hiram Roberts lived near Red Oak Grove in Cedar county for some time passing counterfeit money and stealing money and other things that seemed goods easily disposed of. In his confession he claimed to have passed about $300,000 in counterfeit money in his life. On December 4, 1857, the mob got him at James W. Hamlin's where he had been staying. The Vigilantes were about four hundred strong and although Roberts was armed they took him without much trouble. The promised him a public trial in Jones county, but this was never given. When the mob reached Walnut Fork in Jones county they tried him in Lynch Court, found him guilty, and hanged him. The reason given for not giving him a fair trial was that they could not trust the courts for justice. The mob stopped at George Saum's barn and parlied for some time as to what should be done. Finally the main part of the mob withdrew to the woods leaving the prisoner with a few guards. While they were away Roberts was hanged until dead in the barn. They had evidently gone through with a trial and then hanged
him. Six of the men supposed to have been in the lynching were arrested and bound over to appear at the next term of court at Anamosa. Some witnesses disappeared and friends of the accused were drawn on the jury and finally the case was lost. The public opinion of the vicinity generally favored the Regulators.

270. The History of Jones County, Iowa (1879), pp. 354-355.

Thief
Jones county, December 1-4, 1857.

Thief

A young horse thief was caught by the Regulators and taken to a tree and stretched for confession. They tried this for several times but the neck stretching did not make him confess so they tied him to a tree and gave him a good whipping. He then confessed and the information given by him was what led to the capture of Roberts. So the events must have been about Dec. 1-4, 1857.

Andrew L. Millslagle  
Montgomery county, Jan.1858.

Andrew J. Millslagle came to Montgomery county and lived with Mr. Wilson in 1857 and 1858. Millslagle seems to have been the cause of the alienation of Wilson's wife and temporary separation. The community was aroused because Wilson told it about the country and armed men collected at Wilson's house to lynch Millslagle. Tar and feathers were prepared so as to give him a good coat. The mob found the house barricaded and Millslagle ready to defend it. Allen Donado and John Stirpe were sent to inspect the situation and Stirpe was shot twice. Abbott was wounded and several others. When firing began to quiet down, Millslagle escaped to Mrs. Wilson's mother's. Here he hid himself in the cellar. The mob followed soon after and were trying to get him to surrender but he did not seem inclined. The mob then got a load of hay and were pushing it toward the house with full intent to burn him out. Mr. and Mrs. Archer who lived there plead with the mob but they would not listen to her. Millslagle then saw that they were in earnest and would kill him if he persisted. He then came to terms and promised to surrender if they in turn would allow him a fair trial in the courts. This promise was given and he was taken to jail. Many of
the mob would have been only too glad to have broken their promise. It was found that in the fight Millsagle had been shot through the ear. In the court Millsagle was sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary and Clark and Wilson were tried for adultery. Later it was said that Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were united again.

275. The History of Montgomery County, Iowa (1861), pp. 382-386.

Isaac, Lige, and two other Byers Brothers

Keokuk county, 1858.

The date of the lynching of the Byers is very uncertain. Some accounts give 1858.276 A personal letter states that it happened in 1846.277 The letter is from one who settled in Keokuk county in 1844. The Vigilance Committee was organized in 1857 to aid in clearing the country of the thieves that were investing it at that time. It is said that the Vigilance Committee did the lynching. There were four of the Byers brothers. Ike Byers had been arrested for horse-stealing and broke jail. The next day the Vigilance Committee came to his house and dragged him out of bed, took him to the woods and stretched him to induce him to confess. This plan did not work, so they removed his clothes and gave him a whipping. He was then to leave the country which he did without delay. The Byers
family then moved to Richalnd where it seems they had hoped that they might escape the Vigilance Committee. More thefts occurred and again the Vigilants visited the Byers home. This time they took one of the Byers boys and tied him to the tail of one of the horses and made him run after the horse to the woods. Here they gave him a whipping and told him to leave. Not long after this Lige Byers was caught in a theft. He was taken to the woods and whipped and sent out of the country. He went away, but returned again and the Vigilants waited upon him the second time in the same manner and this time he never returned.


277. Correspondent # 1081.

Wyant
Keokuk county, 1858.

Wyant was an accomplice of the Byers and about the same time he too was taken to the woods and whipped for stealing. He left the country and was ordered never to return. The Byers and Wyant were all from that part of Keokuk county known as "Brushy Bend". 278

278. The History of Keokuk County, Iowa, (1880), pp. 448-51.
Witnedd vs the Vigilants

Keokuk county, 1858.

About the time that the Vigilance Committee was taking care of the Byers boys there was a call made for the Committee to appear in Court. A certain witness who wanted to prosecute the Committee for their work had given information and was to appear to accuse certain men of the Committee. When the Committee learned of his intentions they took the man who would witness against them to a saloon and got him drunk. They then took him to the woods and gave him a good whipping. He was told to get out of the country and not appear again. When the trial was held the witness was not to be found.279

279. The History of Keokuk County, Iowa, (1880), pp. 448-51.

Carl

Deleware county, 1859.

A fellow named Carl received a reward of $50 for returning a span of horses that had been stolen from a man of Manchester. The public suspected that Carl had taken the horses in the beginning and a mob of about a half dozen men got together and took Carl out to extract a confession from him. He was hanged up by the neck several times to induce him to talk but no confession was reported but on the contrary he is said to have affirmed emphatically
that he did not steal them. 280

280. Register and Leader, Jan. 13, 1907.

Farr and Warner
Moore county, 1859.

The Des Moines Navigation and Railroad Company organized in 1858 was getting logs rafted down the Des Moines River from Boone county and had Farr on the west side of the river as a brander and Captain Warner was on the east side as the other brander. Branding was done because of the constant stealing of the rafts that were floated down. The gangs of men that were doing independent rafting became exasperated at the branders and a mob caught Farr one day and gave him a good switching and he left the country. 281 The armed mob then proceeded to the east side of the river and without giving Warner any notice of their presence they opened fire on him. He escaped and came to Des Moines. He reported that he would not serve as brander any longer. The mob that did the work was masked and when the Navigation Company later sent attorneys to Boonesboro to make arrests they found it very difficult to do, for there was no one recognized in the mob. Later in the same year of 1859 the Company sent two other men up as spies and branders. These were Burrill and Mercer.

They went armed for any emergency and prepared to meet almost any situation. One day in the fall when Burrill and Mercer were walking in the woods they came upon three men loading logs. They talked pleasantly to the men and even helped them to load some of their logs. At last one of the three men asked Burrill and Mercer what their business was and they replied that they were leasing land for the coal. They produced papers to make them believe that they were telling the truth, but the men soon caught the situation and covered the two men with guns. This outwitted them and they were at the mercy of the woodsmen. The woodsmen then did not know what to do with their prisoners so they placed them in a log cabin and one stayed to guard them and the others went off to plan the way to get rid of them and still leave themselves so they would not be arrested for timber stealing and also holding these men in charge for more than four hours. They returned soon and told Mercer and Burrill that they would allow them to go and would give them the horses on which to get away, if they would promise not to prosecute them and leave the country forever. They promised and were given the horses. When they had ridden some distance they came to a dark place in the road and a gang of men halted them.
Here they were accused of having stolen the horses and attempting to get away with them. The mob dismounted them and took them in charge. Burril and Mercer began to feel that they had got into a bad situation. They were then taken before a magistrate and charged with horse-stealing. That night the magistrate put the men in a room and forgot to lock the door. Thus they escaped and were glad to be able to do so. The three men in the woods used this means of lynching their prisoners.

Perry Carpenter, his Daughter, Burroughs, Hoffman, and about Six Others

Keokuk county, June 4, 1859.

At the jail in Lancaster in 1859 were confined Perry Carpenter and his daughter, charged with incest, Burroughs, Hoffman and about six others on various charges of small theft. The community grew tired of the slowness of the courts and the crime that was being committed and a mob came to the jail on June 4, 1859 and demanded the prisoners. M.P. Donahey was sheriff of Keokuk county at the time and he was tied by the men and the prisoners taken by force. When they were all put into the wagon it was found that Sheriff Donahey was not so opposed to the mob proceedings as they had thought, so they just put
him in the wagon and took him along. They were all driven to the woods on the South Skunk River. Here they gave most of them whippings and strict orders to take themselves out of the country and not return. During the proceedings Jacob Wimer questioned Miss Carpenter about incest with her father, and for a reply she slapped him in the mouth. Haden Chasteen, his son-in-law, took the matter up and they stripped her and gave her a severe whipping. The prisoners were given conveyance for some distance and then they were sent in different directions with orders not to come back to that community again.

283. Correspondence # 1081.
284. Correspondence # 3085.

Burroughs
Keokuk county, June 6, 1858.

Burroughs was found wandering about the country a few days later and the Vigilants caught him on June 8th, and tied him to a tree and gave him thirty lashes. He was then ordered to leave the country, and he did this time.


Robert Kearl
Delaware county, June 9, 1858.

Robert Kearl was aroused one night by a mob at his door. He was dragged from the house with a rope about
with much struggling and taken to the woods. Here he was stretched up by the neck a few times to get him to confess where a certain horse was that had been stolen, in the neighborhood. He declared that he was innocent and that he knew nothing of the horse. He is said to have been left unconscious. 286 A later report says that he revived and crawled to his home, and, after a day of intense suffering, died. 287 In the struggle Kearl claims to have recognized Thomas W. Robinson, Levi Washburns, John Mullen, and Abner D. Campbell. Information was filed with Justice Clemens of Manchester against these men.

286. Dubuque Express and Herald, June 16, 1859.

Bunker Polk county, Early in the sixties.

In the early sixties the Bunker brothers became famous in Iowa for retail business in stealing. Some time before the lynching of Heiner in Four Mile township one of the Bunkers was caught by the Vigilance Committee in Des Moines and he was taken out at the place where Twelfth and Walker streets cross now in Des Moines and stretched. They put him through the sweat box in good style and he
told the whole story of the gang, and their whereabouts. See references on the next case.

Charles and William Bunker
Tama county, Jan. 4, 1860.

Constable Seaman of Lee township, Polk county, and another prominent citizen, Lemuel Small, were sent to arrest one of the Bunker brothers in Tama county. They traced them out and arrested them. On their way back to Polk county they stopped at Klingman’s and thought that they would extract a confession from them and get some valuable information, so in Wood’s Grove or Buckingham Grove they tried stretching them. When they got one Bunker up the other escaped and it took quite a little chafe to catch him and when they returned the one that they had left hanging was dead. Then to keep the thing a secret they hanged the other one. They drove off and left them hanging.

Small, Seaman, and Klingman were arrested for the murder of Charles and William Bunker. It was another matter to convict and sentence these men however. They escaped the officers after being arrested. Seaman died and when Small did return later they did not send him to the penitentiary although they did convict him. He finally went free.
John Kephart, a Methodist preacher and reputed desperado who was thought to have been in the gang of outlaws that infested Kentucky was conveying the Willis family westward through Iowa and Missouri and murdered three of them. It is thought by some that he was the cause of Mr. Willis' death in Missouri, and it is known that he killed Mrs. Willis and one son and one daughter of hers.
One son was left whom Kephart spared for some reason. The bodies were found June 29, 1860 near Batavia and evidence seemed to point in the direction of this traveler in the covered wagon, that had passed through a few days previously. A posse of the Sheriff pursued the trial of the murderer south and caught him in Missouri. He was brought back and placed in jail at Batavia, July 3rd. On the fourth, evidences were gathered in addition to the bloody clothes of a woman and girl and many other evidences. This was done by means of the little boy who had been saved. The evidence was conclusive for the community and on the fifth of July a well organized mob, composed of the citizens from the country and nearby towns came to Batavia and demanded the prisoner. They were refused admittance. Word was sent for the militia to come to the rescue but it never came. Speeches were made to the mob in an attempt to persuade them to disperse, but it did little good. They finally broke open the jail and took Kephart out and, putting him in a wagon, drove to the place where the bodies were found. The mob started with 250 or 300 but increased as they approached the place of execution. Some estimate of the number who witnessed the execution as high as 4000.
A scaffold had been erected and was now ready. Kephert was allowed to speak but no trial was given him. He was showed his open grave and his robes as a recompense for his murders. It was about 3 o'clock p.m. when the trap door was thrown open and the old man of about sixty hanged until dead.

After the hanging the mob dispersed quietly. It is thought that the murder was committed because of about $410 which Mrs. Willis had concealed in the wagon. Harrison Smith was appointed as guardian of the boy, No effort was made to indict any of the lynchers, although there are many who know who were in the mob and responsible for it. Kephart was a filthy man and took little care of his person. He attempted to hang himself in the jail at Batavia Jul third but the officers found him in time to cut him down and save his life. 299—310


300. Keosauqua Republican (w) July 6, 1880.
301. Burlington Hawk-Eye, July 6, 1880.
302. Register and Leader, Oct. 23, 30, 1904.
303. Iowa State Register, July 11, 1880.
Heiner

Polk county, Early in the sixties.

Heiner was a leader of a horse thief gang and when the Vigilance Committee found it out, they took measures to get rid of him. He was chased for a long distance and caught in the woods south of Des Moines and taken before a justice of the peace near at hand. This justice of the peace was a member of the Vigilance Committee that had captured him and to be sure they did not let him escape. After the preliminary hearing the case was dragged along until after night and the justice of the peace discharged the deputy and compelled the attorney to return to Des Moines without his client. That night Heiner disappeared and all that remains to-day is the tradition that he was killed.
that night. Some stories say that he was hanged and thrown into the river.311

311. Correspondent # 1007.

Philip McGuire
Pottawattamie county, Oct. 16, 1860.

Much stealing was prevalent along the river in Pottawattamie county in 1860. Philip McGuire kidnapped John Williamson and a woman and attempted to sell them into slavery. Later he was caught along the Missouri River with a lot of stolen horses and mules. He was arrested and placed in the cottonwood jail in Council Bluffs. He was found the next morning hanging to a tree on Mt. Lincoln.312 A card board attached to him bore this inscription: "Hanged for all kinds of Rascality."313

312. Correspondent # 5002.

313. The History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa, (1882) p. 163.

Joe Wert
Polk county, 1861, 1864.

Joe Wert was also a leader of a gang of thieves about Polk county and the Vigilance Committee caught him one day and he was heard no more of. He was charged with barn burning also.314
314. Correspondent # 1007.

Miller

Pottawattamie county, July, 1853.

Soon after the lynching of McGuire a fellow named Miller was arrested and placed in the jail at Council Bluffs. This was about July, 1853. At any rate he was taken from the jail one night, after the jail had been broken open, to the east part of town where he was hanged. He was charged with horse stealing and was at the time confined there in jail on change of venue from Harrison county.


Man and Woman (copperheads)

Linn county, July 26, 1853.

At the anniversary of Cornell College at Mt. Vernon, June 26, 1853, many copperheads appeared wearing badges. The proceedings were stopped and the crowd of about two thousand took off the badges. Little resistance was shown by most of them. One copperhead man and one woman resisted, however, and the crowd had to take them off by force. The man was choked until he permitted it to be removed. The woman suffered her clothes to be badly torn in a frantic effort to retain the badge. When they were removed the crowd forced them to
shout for the Union. Six men were arrested for riot, but were discharged for want of evidence.


Alaway, Geary, Spain.

Keokuk county, Aug. 22, 1863.

Cyphert Tally, a southern sympathizer, took the place of the speaker who was absent at a copperhead meeting and spoke to the assembly. During the proceedings some northern soldiers came in and began to pull off the copperhead badges that were displayed. Shooting ensued and Alaway was shot dead, Geary in the wrist, and Spain in the leg.


John Seaman

Appanoose county, Feb. 1864.

John Seaman was accused of burning the barn of Solomon Howard in Appanoose county some time in February and caused a loss to the latter of about $2,500. A horse was also stolen from Howard. Seaman was ferrited out and taken before E.O. Smith for preliminary hearing and was left in charge of Trescott. That night about eleven o'clock the Vigilants seized Seaman and took him south near the border line of Missouri and shot him full of bullets. They left him for dead. After a time he crawled to Fyffe's
home in Missouri and begged protection. The Vigilants heard of it and came the next night and took him out and shot him to death. This time. They left him to the hogs and his body was badly torn by morning. Many thought him not guilty. Prejudice aided much in his lynching. 319


320. Correspondent, # 12089.

Two Rebel Brothers

Madison county, About Sept. 1864.

Two rebel brothers were staying with some copperheads in Union township in Madison county, and just after the Gable War the Union men thought that they would find out what business they had in the vicinity and took them to the woods and stretched them a while by the neck to see if they would tell. The prevalent idea was that they were there to organize a rebel army. This resulted in their leaving the country. 321

321. Correspondent # 12090.

Rebel from Missouri

Madison county, 1864 (?)

Some of the return soldiers of the north took it
upon themselves to get a copperhead from Missouri. They notified him and when he did not go they took him out to the woods and gave him a mild hanging and then told him to be gone, and this time he left. 322

322. Correspondent # 12090.

Fouch

Mahaska county, Aug. 9, 1864.

Fouch was a copperhead and was wearing badges in Ottumwa and the boldness soon met opposition. He made some remarks to the effect that neither the Governor nor the government amounted to anything. He wore the letters U.S. on his hat band. A wounded northern soldier saw it and tore it off, and threw it to the floor. Fouch picked it up and walked out. He came into another store and put it on again. Wm J. Hamilton went in and tore it off again. He then gave Fouch a good drubbing. Fouch drew a revolver and this was taken from him. A mob of men and women, mostly women, collected. The mother of Fouch appeared and drew a revolver and would have shot Hamilton but the other woman took her in charge and took the revolver away from her. 323

Soldier
Fayette county, Jan. 1865.

The wife of a soldier was seduced in Fayette county and her husband spread the news over the community and was pretty free in his speech. One night in January, 1865, he was waylaid and brutally beaten by a band of men. The seducer, whose name is not given, and his accomplice in the lynching were arrested and under bail awaited the trial.

324. Iowa State Register, (West Union Record) Jan. 17, 1865.

Kibbon
Henry county, April 15(?), 1865.

Just after the death of President Lincoln Mr. Kibbon of Mt. Pleasant made the remark that it would have been better if it had happened a long time ago. This aroused the Union spirit and a mob drove him out of town.

325. Correspondent # 18037.

H.C. Dean
Henry county, April 15(?), 1865.

H.C. Dean was a copperhead and spoke too freely at times for his own good. Just after the death of President Lincoln he spoke of its being a good thing. He was making a southern speech in an old union hall at Mt. Pleasant and
so aroused the Union men that they got a rope and put it around Dean's neck and led him out of town. 326

326. Correspondent # 18048.

Jane Ragan

Cerro Gordo, April 15-16(?), 1865.

Upon the receipt of the news of President Lincoln's death, Jane Ragan said that she was glad of it, and that she should have rejoiced if her brother could have done it. 327

The women of the neighborhood got together and took Miss Ragan to the creek in Mason City and ducked her. 328

327. Correspondent # 18041.

328. Correspondent # 22057.

Copperhead

Wapello county, April 15-20(?), 1865.

A copperhead remarked that he thought that Lincoln should have died four years earlier and a mob caught him and whipped him within an inch of his life, and later banished him. Later it was said that this copperhead confessed that he got what he deserved. 329

329. Daily State Register, April 20, May 4, 1865.
Woman

Guthrie county, April 15, 1865.

Because of the envenomed remarks of a woman at the death of Lincoln the anger was stirred in the women in the vicinity so that they took the offender and waited upon her in Judge Lynch's Court.330


Henry Mitchell

Lee county, May 4, 1865.

A copperhead, Henry Mitchell, got himself into trouble by casting slighting remarks about the soldiers and the Government on May 4, 1865. Some soldiers got Mitchell and put several flags on him and then some bells and made him parade the streets. A large crowd was soon attracted. They took him up to the depot and told him to "go" and as he ran a soldier headed him off. Mitchell drew a revolver but the soldier took it from him and gave him a drubbing. When the others came up they took off his coat and administered twenty-five lashes with a wagon whip. They then made him get down on his knees and pray for the government. He was forced to give three cheers for Andrew Jackson and allowed to go.331

331. *Iowa State Register*, May 5, 1865.
James Henderson
Mills county, May 28, 1865.

James Henderson, a resident of Glenwood for some time, was a saloon keeper, gambler, and loafer. People suspected him of horse stealing as the country was at that time over run with horse thieves. On the night of May 28, 1865, a mob of about a dozen men took him out to a tree in the west end of the town and stretched him. In an effort to get him to confess they stretched him up a few times, but it failed to get the desired results. Henderson was reported to have said that if he got loose he would kill the last one of them and by some this is thought to be the reason why they hanged him until dead. The law seemed inadequate to meet the needs of Henderson's case before he was lynched. The safe in the Treasurer's office was raided one night and attempt to blow it up was laid at the door of Henderson. The Viglants are commonly reported to have done the lynching. 332-334

332. Correspondent # 1081.
333. Correspondent # 3006.
334. Correspondent # 4002.
At three different times hold-ups and robberies occurred in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, and the desperado was supposed to have been a man named Lacey. He was captured by a prominent citizen and a self-constituted committee took charge of him and after identifying him, they hanged him in the center of the city of Council Bluffs one night in June, 1865. One reason why the committee took him in charge was because none of Lacey's victims would file information against him. When he was found hanging in the heart of the city, they felt a relief and no attempt was made to prosecute the lynchers.

334. Correspondent # 4002, and # 5008.

A democrat and an alleged horse thief was hanged by the Abolitionists in June 1865 at Glenwood.

335. Daily State Register (from Keokuk Constitution), June 18, 1865.

A man named Lake was taken out and lynched by whipping during the summer of 1865 in Hamilton county. The cause is not given.

336. Correspondent # 11010.
Joseph Dunbar

Hamilton county, July 15(?), 1865.

Joseph Dunbar's stock was allowed to run out on the public and it occasioned much trouble. The stock would break in on people's land and destroy property. When this happened the dogs would be set on them. Following this there were many horses "Hamestrung" in the community and sometimes knife cuts on cattle. Dunbar was charged with this but there was no positive proof. One night about a dozen men took Dunbar from his house to the woods and whipped him until one leg was almost jelly. If it had not been for some conservative men among them they would have killed him. Some arrests were made but no convictions followed. The men arrested for lynching were some of the best of the citizens. The trouble with the stock ceased after the lynching. 337

337; Correspondent # 11010.

Benjamin McComb

Wapello county, Aug. 3, 1865.

Benjamin A. McComb, a dark swarthy man who looked more like an Indian than a white man, at one time in State Prison of Illinois, came to Iowa with Laura J. Harvey and George Lawrence. 338 This was in April 1860. 339
Soon after they appeared in Ottumwa and vicinity, the body of Laura Harvey was found dead near Ottumwa. Later the body of Lawrence was found. The deed was thought to have been done by McComb. It was four years before McComb was captured. When they did get him he was brought to Ottumwa for trial. McComb had a brother in prison in Missouri at the time of the murder of Lawrence and Harvey. These facts would lead one to feel that there were criminal tendencies in the family.

After a long time McComb was convicted of murder in the first degree and on March 2, 1864 was sentenced to be hanged on Feb. 17, 1865. On August 4th, 1864, a mob of about 2000 moved in the streets of Ottumwa. Finally about a dozen determined men headed the mob, they went to the jail, and demanded McComb. McComb was taken out and having asked for the privilege of preparing for death a Catholic priest, Father Erckle, took him and baptized him and then he was placed in a wagon and driven down Court and Front Streets. It seems that at one time that the mob would ford the river but they turned down Front Street and took the Agency road. About a mile out they came to an old tree. A rope was placed about McComb's neck. Here is seen a wavering of opinion. Some wanted to give McComb a chance to prove that Lawrence was still alive as he then claimed, others wanted to hang him there. An attempt was
made to throw the rope over the limb, but just at this juncture some of the resolute men who had organized themselves made a dash to save him. Their determined effort was successful. McComb was snatched from them and placed in another wagon and driven to Ottumwa and again put in jail with a strong guard about him. It was about six o'clock in the afternoon when they got McComb back to jail. The mob was probably two thousand strong but they really lacked definite leadership, or they should have been successful.

Eleven persons were arrested for participating in the attempted lynching. It was a charge of riot. So far as we know no one was convicted for participating in this riot or lynching.

McComb was after some attempts by the mobs to lynch him, legally hanged on Feb. 17, 1865.

338. Ottumwa Currier, April 12, 1860.
342. Iowa State Register, Aug. 10, 1864.
343. Iowa State Register, April 18, 1860.
A man was robbed near Pella of about $360 and
Thomas Cole was suspected of having committed the crime.
He was taken and tried but no evidence could be brought in
against him and they had to release him. Some determined
citizens, about fifty in number, caught Cole and took him
to the woods. Here they thought to extract a confession
from him by stretching him by the neck. He was left up for
about four minutes and when taken down he was unconscious.
The mob left him in the storm that was raging and the driving storm brought him to consciousness. His friends
found him and a doctor was secured. It was discovered that his spine was badly injured by the stretching.  
This incident occurred near Pella, Oct. 18, 1865.

351. Iowa State Register, Oct. 30, 1865.
352. Iowa City Republican, Nov. 1, 1865.

James Hiner:
Clinton county, Oct. 18, 1865.

The horse thief, James Hiner, was taken from the jail in DeWitt on the night of Oct. 18, 1865 and hanged. His body was disposed of the same night by those who took him from the sheriff.  

354. The Daily State Register, Nov. 4, 1865.

Nebraskans
Monona county, April 19, 1866.

A gang of Nebraskans came into Monona county and began to depredate the timber which belonged to other people. A delegation of citizens waited upon them one day and gave them a flogging. They were told to get out of the country but it took a little fighting to get them to see that this would be the best thing to do under the circumstances.  

355. Iowa State Register (From Monona Gazette) April 19, 1866.
Garrett Thompson
Monroe county, June 9, 1866.

Garrett Thompson had served a term in the peniten­tial and was at the head of a gang of horse thieves the infested Monroe and adjoining counties. The Vigilance Com­mittee and Citizens Association set about a systematic search for the horse thieves. Men were sent in every direction but no one was found. Finally suspicion settled upon Garrett Thompson who lived west of Blakesburg. He was arrested and during the examination a mob pushed into the room at Albia and seized the prisoner. They hurried Thompson into a wagon and drove to the woods with him. The sheriff tried to intercept them but failed. Messengers were sent in all directions to call the people together. When the mob had gathered they selected a jury of twelve men and a chairman. Marshals were appointed to guard the outskirts of the mob to prevent disturbance. The jury found him guilty and recommended hanging as a penalty. At first Thompson thought they fooling him, but as the pro­ceedings went on he became aware of the seriousness of the situation. When the rope was put about his neck and prayer was offered he saw that they meant business. Thompson refused to mount the box that was placed in the wagon for him and the mob had to put him upon it. The wagon was
then pulled out and Thompson left hanging as an example to any who would steal horses. As the rope tightened about his neck he confessed that he had killed one person. 356

The gang of thieves of which Thompson was one were John Hull, Hiram Hill, Thomas Smith, Harrison Gigson. The leaders of the mob who lynched Thompson were reported to be N.B. Preston, A.M. Gilter, and E.B. Hill. B.M. Scott, C.H. Forrest, and E.C. Shaw adjusted the rope about Thompson's neck. 367


357. Centerville Daily Citizen, Feb. 11, 1907.
358. Iowa State Register, June 9, 12, 1866.

The two sons of Garrett Thompson were lynched by a mob, but the date and the cause is not given in the data. 361

361. Correspondent # 15010.

John Foster, and David Marney
Monroe county, June 14, 1866.

After the lynchings of the Thompsons, the Regulators were not satisfied and they ferreted out John Foster and David Marney, and on the 14th of June, 1866, forced a confession of horse stealing from them by the use of use of "Judge Lynch's back-action suction arrangement". These men were caught in Appanoose county but lynched in Monroe county. 362

**Thief**

Warren county, June 26, 1866.

A man of Warren county had a horse stolen in June 1866 and he offered $50 for the return of the property and $150 for the arrest of the thief. On June 26, 1866, two men came to the man who had lost the horse, bringing the lost horse with them and mildly stated that the thief was on the prairies of the west. The inference was that the thief was dead upon the prairies of the west. 363

363. **Iowa State Register**, June 28, 1866.

**Idiot**

Floyd county, July, 1866.

A gang of boys caught an idiot at Marble Rock and thinking that he was a horse thief, took him to the woods and hanged him until he was dead. This was done to get a confession of horse stealing from him, and happened in July, 2, 1866. 364

364. **Iowa State Register**, August 3, 1866.
Simon K. Mann and Ross.
Lucas county, Aug. 27, 1865.

Horse stealing was very prevalent in Lucas county just after the war and the citizens united to prevent it and prosecute the perpetrators. One day after the stealing of some horses in August 1866, the citizens set out to trace down the thieves. Simon K. Mann, Ross and Clearer were captured near the Missouri line and brought back. Clearer proved himself innocent and was allowed to go free. Ross was stretched up by the neck to a tree on the return trip to get him to tell about the thieves that he knew. He talked well and told the story. Mann was choked into confession also. They were then turned over to the authorities and both were sent to the penitentiary. Mann received three years and Ross five. Mann was afterwards pardoned, and went to Missouri where he was reported to have been lynched to death for arson.


Doctor Robinson
Marion county, Nov. 23, 1866.

Dr. Robinson took for his second wife one of the prettiest girls in Pella and because some of the college students did not approve of it they tarred and feathered.
him some time in November, possibly about the twenty-third. Six of the Iowa Central College students were arrested for lynching him but they were proved not guilty. The verdict seemed to meet the general approval. 366

366. Daily State Register, Nov. 23; Dec. 8, 1866.

William and Patrick Lawn
Mills county, June 14, 1867.

William and Patrick Lawn were brothers-in-law to James Henderson mentioned above.367 They escaped being lynched with Henderson because they were in the west at the time of the lynching. After coming back from Pike's Peak the Lawn boys went to Council Bluffs from Glenwood which was their home and stopped there at a hotel. The claim is made that they had got into a drunken row at Glenwood. The mayor issued warrants for their arrest where they were staying in Council Bluffs and the warrant was taken to the hotel by the city marshal. As the marshal was leaving the hotel with the Lawn boys the Vigilants who were outside seized them and drove with them to Mills county. Here they were hanged on June 14, 1867. It is said that the Lawn brothers had threatened the Vigilants and that they lynched them because of this. Some of them supposed to have been
in the mob were indicted in Mills county for murder and in Pottawattamie county for kidnaping. These cases were prolonged for years and were finally dropped in Feb. 1872. A large public indignation meeting was held just after the lynching of the Lawn boys, William and Patrick, and the work of the Vigilants was emphatically denounced. The citizens had taken calmly the lynching of Henderson but it was thought that this was carrying the thing too far. The composition of the mob was largely southern, that too, from Missouri.

368-370

367. Correspondent # 5008.
368. Correspondent # 1081.
369. Correspondent # 4002.
370. Correspondent # 3006.

thieves

Scott county, Sept. 21, 1867.

One evening in Sept. previous to the twenty-first of 1867, some thieves made a raid upon the cloak room at a party at Hiskory Grove in Cedar County and carried off about $28. worth of goods. The members of the Hiskory Grove Company ferrited out the thieves who proved to be two new men in the community and a hand of William Hendry
who was persuaded into the theft. The Horse Company gave all three a whipping on Saturday night, the twenty first of September. They were then advised to leave the country. 371


John McRoberts
Bremer County, 1868.

There was much horse stealing following the war, and the officers were unable to cope with the situation so the citizens organized a protective association called the "Horse Alliance". John McRoberts had been in the Civil War and had come home a reckless citizen. A comrade visited him one day in the fall of 1868 and the two planned to visit some girls in Cedar Falls. In order to do this they stole two horses to ride part of the way. The horses were loosed but the fact became known and the story grew in largeness as it was told and finally the Horse Alliance pursued them. John McRoberts was found in Cedar Falls but his comrade had escaped. The mob brought McRoberts back and the next morning his body was found suspended to a tree in a pasture two miles south of Waverly.
investigation was made but nothing was done about the matter.


Adam Cuppy

Shelby county, Feb. (?), 1868.

Adam Cuppy had become notorious as a friend to horse-thieves and sometime about February 1868, was lynched by his neighbors at Harlan, Iowa. One John M. Long was tried for participating in the lynching but was finally acquitted. At least one change of venue was granted for this case before it was finally acquitted.

373. Correspondent # 2148.

Charles Brandon

Mahaska county, Sept. 21, 1868.

The Vigilance Committee of Mahaska county took Charles Brandon on the night of September twenty-first to the woods and gave him a trial in Judge Lynch's Court in which he was found guilty, sentenced and hanged to a tree until dead. The Vigilance Committee was sued for damages. At first the damages were estimated at $10,000 but when the verdict was brought in and the case had been won only $800 were given. The defendants in this trial were Rueben Day, Daniel G. Gladson, Mathew Maddox, B.F. Deats, Lewis Maddox, William Martin, James Hoagland,
George Neal, and Wesley May.


William Jackson, James Orton

Fremont county, Jan. 18, 1860.

William Jackson and James Orton, two noted roughs of Fremont county attempted to break up a dance at Milton Holloway's near Thurman. A fight ensued between Milton Holloway and his brother and the two roughs. Milton was wounded so badly that he later died. Jackson then made his escape but Orton was captured. He became so badly injured that he was in danger of death at any time. The crowd pursued Jackson into Nebraska and caught him at Weepingwater. Orton was placed in the jail at Sidney about January 17, 1869. Jackson was placed in the next day. On the night of the eighteenth a mob numbering from fifty to a hundred came to the jail armed and prepared to lynch these men. The keys were demanded of Sheriff Martin but he refused to give them up. The mob then used sledges and broke into the jail and after a long time, possibly three hours, they got Jackson and Orton out. They then took the Fulm Hollow road for a mile or so and when coming to a good oak they hanged them. Orton did not seem to care, but Jackson objected very much but
it did no good. 376-377

376. Correspondent # 2271.
377. Correspondent # 3006.

Dirk Vink
Marion county, May 12, 1869.

Dirk Vink who was once a clerk for G. Dingeman in Pella, finally went into partnership with Jong Waard. It was claimed that Vink had been intimate with Dingeman's wife and trouble arose. The fire smoldered for some time, before it finally broke out into open warfare. A letter was sent to Vink saying that he must get out of the country immediately but he did not heed the warning. Instead he took the letter to the mayor. The mayor was busy the first time but the second time he was able to get an audience with him. This was on May 12, 1869. Vink's enemies were watching the situation and gathered around the mayor's office and when Vink appeared they caught him. He was taken behind the office and gagged. A rope was tied about his neck to keep him from speaking or making a noise. He was then kicked out and beaten. Finally he was srriped and given a coat of tar and feathers. The mayor received word that
they had captured him but they did not get aid to him in time and the perpetrators of the deed escaped. 378.

378. Burlington Hawk-Eye, May 18, 1889.

Murdock
Fremont county, Nov. 16, 1889.

A fellow named Murdock came aboard the ferry, Nebraska City on Nov. 16, 1889 and precipitated trouble with one of the officers. Murdock drew a pistol but this was taken from him by the officer. When the boat reached the Iowa landing Murdock got off and procured another weapon and opened fire upon the ferry. Some of the men on board were wounded, after which Murdock ran but was caught and placed in a pork house near the river. A mob gathered during the night and hanged him in the pork house but he got down and escaped. They caught him and put a rope about his neck and dragged him about half way from the river to the depot and hanged him again. There were men among the mob who opposed the hanging and they cut the rope several times on the way. This was on Saturday night. Neal Swenney was the captain of the lynchers. The mob was composed of about five men. 379-380


380. Correspondent # 2271.
Early in the seventies the Vigilance Committee caught Jack Fisher who was known to be one of the gang of thieves and extracted what information they could from him about the gang. It was on Sunday night when they caught him, and they took him to the woods with a rope around his neck. Here they put him through the sweat box, as it was called, until he promised to tell all he knew about the gang. The information given caused twenty-one indictments to be made against three of the family. The first of these was taken from Polk to Dallas county on change of venue and it took about two weeks to try the case. It was soon perceived that at this rate it would take too long to try all the cases, and would in the end bankrupt the county, and as a result this and the others were dismissed.

The family were very religiously inclined and took prominent part in all church work. The result of the lynching and the attempted prosecution of the Fishers was that the Fishers left the country.

Negro
Muscatine county, 187-

Some time in the seventies a negro was seized by a mob in Muscatine and dragged through the streets with a
rope because he was suspected of having been the one who attempted to outrage a young girl of that city. Some determined policemen made a rush upon the mob and rescued the negro from them or he would probably have been killed.

382. Correspondent # 12036.

Hiram Wilson
Lucas county, July 6, 1870.

A desperado from Missouri, Hiram Wilson, came to Chariton on July 6, 1870, with a stolen horse and tried to sell it there. Notices were sent to the sheriff that a certain horse had been stolen, and upon examination the sheriff found this horse to be the one that was stolen. Thereupon Sheriff Lyman arrested him. When Lyman was questioning him he started to leave, saying that he would bring witnesses to show that he was innocent. The sheriff suggested that he would go along with him and at this the thief drew a revolver and shot Lyman. Wilson then ran to the hitch rack, loosed a horse and mounted it. The citizens were quickly aroused and they followed him. He took refuge in a woods about a mile from town, and the mob that soon gathered had to search the woods to find him. In the long search Wilson made two attempts to kill some of his pursuers, but he was finally caught and brought back to Chariton where Lyman lay dying. He was identified as being the man who shot the sheriff and then taken to the jail. Lyman died about ten o'clock that night,
July 6, 1870. A mob moved in the streets and soon formed at the jail. The jail was soon broken open and Wilson taken out and hanged to the Court House window. The greater part of the city were either in the mob or gave it moral support. No attempts were made to prosecute the lynchers. Wilson was a dark complexioned man with red hair and his hard life showed in every feature. He was about five feet high and weighed near one hundred and fifty pounds. He was about twenty-one years of age.

384. Correspondent # 11001
385. Correspondent # 11043.

Treasurer and Auditor
Scott county, March 6 (?), 1872.

Because the county Treasurer and Auditor would not vacate their offices when their term of office expired they were taken out and stretched up by the neck until they professed repentance.

386. Daily Iowa State Register, March 6, 1872.

Samuel Minturn
Cedar county, February 20 ?, 1873.

"Samuel Minturn, a hard case, as the Press calls him, was tarred and feathered at Mechanicsville last week---
being decoyed into a retired building by a gang of men who
there accomplished their purpose."

387. Daily Iowa State Register, February 27, 1873.

J.A. Bonnell

Harrison county, June (?), 1873.

A show came to Magnolia about the middle of the
year of 1873 to give an afternoon and night performance. At
the evening entertainment many young couples were present
from the country, among whom were Jerome B. Hardy and his
lady friend. The lady that was with Hardy was spotted by
J.A. Bonnell, one of the showmen. After the show he followed
this couple into the country. When they came to a grave-
yard Bonnell made an attack upon them and frightened Hardy
off. The woman scaled the wall of the graveyard with Bonnell
in close pursuit. A hard struggle ensued on the inside in
which Bonnell was successful. After he had gained his desire
he escaped and went to Little Sioux where the show was
to be given the next night. Here he was captured by the
officers and brought back to Magnolia for trial. The com-
munity was so agitated that a mob seized Bonnell from the
officers as they were taking him to the Court House for trial.
A rope was placed about his neck with much effort and they were
about to hang him when he was rescued by some determined
officers and citizens. Bonnell fought like a demon and when
he was taken into custody again he was covered with sweaty filth. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced for ten years in the penitentiary. The most provoking thing about the whole affair is the fact that the girl headed a petition, countersigned by her parents, to get Bonnell out after five years. Thus Bonnell was pardoned by the Governor after the five years, and he was loosed to pollute society again.


**Charl. Charles Howard**

*Polk county, December 15, 1874.*

Charles Howard murdered a Scotchman named Johnson, June 14, 1874, in Des Moines and escaped with his wife to the country home of his wife's parents. On the 28th of August, Howard and his wife were arrested and brought to Des Moines on charge of murder. The trial was necessarily long, but he was finally convicted of murder in the first degree on December 14, 1874. He was placed in the Polk county jail to await sentence and during this time an appeal was talked of to some extent and the citizens began to feel that if he were given the chance of appeal he would probably be cleared some time. The trial had already cost $3,352. Lynching was talked of a great deal in the community, and the officers had ample warning. So an extra guard force was placed about the jail. The Olmstead zouaves were called out on the night of December 14th and they stood guard until about two o'clock.
in the morning. They then left and went home, thinking that
there would be no attack that night. About three o'clock
the mob came to the jail, about five hundred strong, armed
and masked. Their plans were well laid and each man knew
what part he had to play in the affair. They knocked at the
doors and the jailor came and opened it thinking that it was
a policeman. The jailor was covered with weapons and then
gagged and tied. Howard was then taken from the jail and
hanged to a lamp post in the corner of the Court House yard.
Howard was then shot full of holes and the mob of Vigilants
rode off. No one was ever convicted of being in the mob
although many attempts were made to prosecute them.

391. Register and Leader, October 19, 1910.
392. Iowa City Republican, December 25, 1874.
393. Des Moines Homestead, December 18, 1874.
394. Correspondent # 2265.
395. Correspondent # 1007.
396. Correspondent # 1110.
397. Correspondent # 1.

George W. Kirkman
Story county, May 9, 1875.

George W. Kirkman whose name had been mentioned
before in the data of attempted lynchings was finally lynched on May 9, 1875. Trouble had existed between him and his son-in-law. The barn of his son-in-law, William Zieamaster, was burned one night and the blame was laid at the door of Kirkman. Some accounts state that a feud between these families resulted in the lynching of Kirkman. Other accounts say that it was the Vigilance Committee that did the lynching. At any rate Kirkman was taken from his bed on the ninth of May at three o'clock in the morning, a rope placed about his neck, dagged out to a sappling and hanged. He had received an anonymous letter saying that if he did not leave the country he would be sent to his "long home". Attempts were made to ferret out the lynchers but no one was ever found who was in the mob.

398. Boone County Democrat, May 19, 1875.
399. Allen's The History of Story County, Iowa, (1887), pp. 72-75.

Archie Smith
Wapello county, June 29, 1875.

Archie Smith shot policeman, Albert M. Logan of Ottumwa four times in an attempt to kill him and succeeded. He was caught by the police and taken to the city hall for preliminary hearing. A mob that had evidently laid plans quickly and carefully took Smith from the officers when within ten feet of the door of the Court House and in a few moments he was swinging from a lamp post. It was
1:52 p.m., when he was hanged on the 28th of June 1875. In the struggle to protect the prisoner from the mob Marshal Vannaman was badly injured. It was evident that Smith had committed the murder and that before he was accustomed to such work. 400-404

401. Correspondent # 1007.
402. Ottumwa Carrier, June 29, 1875.
403. Correspondent # 15059.
404. Correspondent # 7032.

Martin Meshek
Tama county, July 9, 1877.

Martin Meshek, a Bohemian, shot Charles Whitney, a constable of Tama county, on the morning of the ninth of July 1877. Whitney had gone to arrest Meshek for stabbing Charlie Harring a few days previous. In spite of the vigilance of the officers when they were taking him to Toledo a mob succeeded in getting a rope about his neck and he was stretched up almost long enough to extinguish his life. The jail was guarded day and night after that so that he could not be lynched. 405

405. Iowa State Register, July 12, 14, 1877.
Farmer

Mahaska county, July, 30, 1877.

A farmer from Indinaopolis, Iowa was said to have attempted rape on a young girl near town and when this news reached the women of the community they ordered him to leave the country at once. He left in a hurry but he thought that things had quieted down. As soon as his return was made known a mob of women took him out to a tree and hanged him. 406

406. Iowa State Register, July, 31, 1877.

Heuben Proctor

Warren county, Nov. 16, 1877.

Heuben Proctor was on trial at Shonburg for assaulting and attempting to kill Nida Augusta Cading who was sick in bed at her home on November 12, 1877. In the fight for her life she unmasked him so that she knew who he was. An attempt was made to break into the jail and get Proctor but it failed. Now as the sheriff was taking the prisoner from supper to complete the trial, a mob supposedly, the same one that tried to get him before seized him and hurried him across the street and hanged him to the scale pens. His hands were not tied behind
him in the haste and they had to tie them after they had raised him up. Few words were spoken. The mob leader advised the men to return home and be peaceful after the lynching. They were mounted and well organized. They were also masked and numbered about fifty. The mob leader was a German, however there was another very prominent man in the mob that was born in Virginia. 408-409

407. Iowa State Register, December 10, 1877.
408. Indianola Herald, Nov, 22, 1877.

Doctor H.C. Cohee

Dr. H.C. Cohee was accused of being at the head of a gang of horse thieves and May 22, 1882 a mob of sixty or seventy-five men took Cohee from his home at three o'clock in the afternoon to an oak tree near by and made preparations to hang him. A rope had been placed about his neck but he begged so pitiously that they promised to let him live if he would leave the country and never return. He did so but entered suit in Wapello county against the mob leaders and got a verdict of five cents damages. The mob leader was Charles Brown, who was southern birth. The main body of the mob were Germans. 410
410. Correspondent # 1120

Man

Grundy County, Jan. or Feb. 1883.

Some time during the cold weather of 1883, probably in January or February, a man stopped at a farm house where only a little girl and boy were at home. The man hired the boy to go away and then proceeded to rape the little girl. The boy returned in time to hear his sister crying and aroused the neighbors. A few farmers came and caught the man. He was taken by them, stripped of most of his clothing and then let loose upon the prairie with them in pursuit with whips. They whipped him through the snow as he ran. The press of the times seems to think that it was a good punishment and ought to be used more often for such offenses.

411.

411. Iowa State Register, Feb. 22, 1883.

John Anderson and Frank Brown

Cass county, June 3, 1883.

John Anderson and Frank Brown were members of the Troublesome or Crooked Creek Gang of Audubon county. Anderson had been tried for murder a short time previous to this incident and had come to Wiota after the election at Atlantic with intention of killing Samuel Howett. When they arrived in Wiota after the election they threw out challenges to any one to stop them from playing in Sloodt's saloon. Soon after this they passed into the
street and walked its length shooting their revolvers continually. On their return from town they were both mortally wounded from shots from different directions. The direction and the simultaneousness of the shooting would lead one to believe that it was planned by two or more parties to thus kill them. They both died in a short time. It was about eight o'clock in the evening of June 3, 1883 when the shooting occurred. Others of the Troublesome Creek Gang who were killed and wounded a short time previously were: Carl Stahl, Rall Stahl killed, and John Millhollen wounded. Others of the gang not waited upon by the citizens were: Bill, Narthgraves, and Robert Van Winkle. 413

412. Iowa State Register, June 6, 1883.
413. Iowa State Register, June 5, 14, 1883.

John Hammer

Madison county, June 3, 1883.

John Hammer attempted to kill William Newell June 12, 1882, for his pension money but made a bad job of it and when Hammer and his accomplices, Charles Pugh, came to bury Newell they found him alive. Hammer then took a stone and mashed his head. He was buried in a fence corner in an out of the way place and no one knew what had become of Newell until a year later when Pugh who was in the penitentiary at Fort Madison made a confession of the
murder. He was then brought to Winterst and taken to the scene of the murder and the body of Newell was found. This led to the arrest of John Hammer. He was put in jail at Winterset. On June 3, 1883, about three o’clock in the morning, a mob came to the jail to get Hammer. Six men on foot came to the door and forced it. Horsemen rode in from the alleys from all directions to help. All of them were masked and armed. After they had broken in they secured Hammer and asked him if he had anything to say and he replied that he did not. They then led him out with a rope about his neck and hanged him to a tree. The officers appeared at the windows but were ordered to get back, and a few shots were fired to make them feel the force of the order. Hammer was hanged and shot. 414

They rode away in different directions. There was no sympathy in the community for Hammer. Four murders had been committed with impunity in a short time and no one had been prosecuted for it, and it is to this fact, that much of the blame of lynching can be charged.

When the mob of about fifty men had taken Hammer out, the alarm was sounded by the ringing of the fire bell and the town turned out to find where it was and instead they
saw the dead body of Hammer hanging near the Court House. The mob had taken precaution to have guards posted in all streets leading to the Court House while the lynching was being done and it would have been a hard matter to prevent it. The mob is supposed to have been composed of Vigilants.

414. Iowa State Register, May 27, 31, June 3, 1883.
415. Winterset Madisonian, clipping from.
416. Correspondent, #22001.
417. Correspondent, #18039.
418. Correspondent #12090.
419. Correspondent #2289.
420. Correspondent #12016.

William and Isaac Barber
Bremer county, June 8, 1883.

William and Isaac Barber were two well known desperadoes who lived in Bremer County prior to 1883 and operated their thefts and murders. On August 20, 1892, Charles McMahan, John Carlock, and Robert Mathny were murdered at Mount Pulaski, Illinois. This was attributed to the Barber boys. On Sept. 7, 1883, the Barber brothers shot and killed Deputy Sheriff Shepard at Wadena, Iowa when Shepard tried to arrest them. The boys then mounted horses and rode away into the woods. A mob pursued them but was
turned in the wrong direction by an accomplice of the Barber's. On the 6th of June 1883 the Barber boys had returned and when it was found out they were captured near Tripoli by the officers. They were taken to the Waverly jail. About eleven o'clock p.m. June eighth a mob headed by Marion Shepard, the brother of the sheriff that was killed, came to the jail and broke it open with sledges and crow-bars and took the Barbers out. When they were out with the prisoners an officer called from the jail asking that if they must lynch the boys that he wanted them to take them out of town. This request was granted and the boys were taken about half a mile south-east of town to Murphy's grove and hanged. The boys were given a chance to pray and at this point it could be seen that religion had a strong hold upon the mob for they stood with bowed heads waiting for the Barber boys to offer prayer. The boys "died game". They had fought in the jail to prevent being taken out and they held this spirit to the end.421-425

423. *Iowa City Republican*, Sept. 11, 1909.
424. *Iowa State Register*, June 9, 1883.
425. *Iowa State Register*, June 10, 1883.
Simpson Tyler Crawford
Shelby county, July, 14, 1883.

The murder of Mayor Stubbs of Polk City occurred in April 1882 and was followed by the murder of the postmaster of Polk City, Clinjan by name, on July 10, 1882. The citizens turned out and searched for the murderers and a long chase followed across the country, as far as Audubon county. Telephones and telegraphs were pressed into service when the trail of the murderers was found and all means possible were used to head them off in their flight for hiding. At last the mob closed in on them at Elkhorn Grove in Shelby county. This was an excellent place for them to hide as there were thickets all over this patch of timber and one might go within a few feet of any one his in the thickets and not be able to see him. This grove covered about three hundred acres of land. The forces of the mob were organized and they proceeded through the thickets to search out the victims. The immediate vicinity of the grove was settled by Danes but the mob that gathered was not wholly made up of Danes for they had come
from every direction and many of them from a long distance.

As they proceeded into the thicket, Willis Hallock, the brother to George Hallock who shot Stahl and Milholland of the Crooked Creek Gang, was shot by one of the murderer just as he was giving the alarm that they had found him. They did not succeed in capturing them that night so fires were built all around the grove and the mob encamped standing guard over it until morning. A constant fullisade was sounded all night long. Provisions were brought in the morning to the men and the search was resumed. This time it took about three hours to cross and another man was shot and wounded. Crawford and Hardey, the desperadoes were pushed out upon the prairie and Levi Montgomery shot Crawford. Others shot also at him. He was so badly wounded that he died in a few minutes. He confessed that he was the one who shot the men in pursuit of him.

Hardey darted back into the woods with the mob in pursuit. They came upon him soon and forced him to surrender under penalty of instant death. The mob was so wild that in the struggle Al. Craig, one of the mob was slightly wounded with a shot from some one in the mob, for he was taken for one of the murderer. A frenzied mob gathered
about the man and would have lynched him but the officers and the older men of the community persuaded the mob to desist and let the law take its course. A rope was put about Harley's neck in spite of all the talk and he was led to a convenient place for hanging, but this was removed when they were persuaded to let the law take its course. 426

426. See next case for references.

James Hardey
Shelby county, July 24, 1883.

James Hardey was placed in the jail at Harlan in Shelby county on July 14, 1883, the same day that Crawford was shot by the mob. He remained there until the night of July 24th when a mob of about fifty men came to the jail and got the keys from the jailor's wife and opened the cell, took him out and hanged him to a bridge. They then shot him full of holes and dropped him in the river. An attempt was made to arouse the town by the ringing of the fire bell but it did no good for they were not aroused in time. The mob had their plans well laid and came on horse-back and proceeded about the work with precision. The mob came about 2 a.m. with complete masks on so that no one could recognize them.

Both Hardey and Crawford had other names. William
P. Hardey was sometimes called Smith, and Simpson Tylor
Crawford was sometimes called Benjamin Gates. 427-436

427. Iowa State Register, Aug. 8, 1883;
July 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, Aug. 1, 1883.

428. A Biographical History of Shelby and
Audubon Counties, Iowa (1889), pp. 386-89.

429. Charles City Intelligencer, Jan. 12, 1907.
430. The Audubon Times, July 20, 27, Aug. 3, 10, 1883.
431. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, July 15, 17, 1883.
433. Iowa State Register, July 9, 13, 14, 22, 1883.
434. Correspondent # 1110.
435. Clippings from the Correspondent # 2202
436. Clippings from the Correspondent # 2264

Two Tramps

Marchall county (?), Aug. 5, 1883.

Two tramps took a team away from a boy near Gilman
and severely beat him, and then drove about the country
with the team. The citizens pursued them and after a time
was able to capture them. On the fifth of July, 1883, the
day they were caught, they were tied to telephone poles
and given a good whipping. The tramps were afraid that they
would be hanged.
in 1882 the bank of Samuel Miller was in bad condition and the people began to fear that it would fail. Merritt McCollister knew that it was in a bad condition and went and drew his money out, which amounted to about $12,000. This money was thought to be kept at his home and an attempt was made to rob him of it Nov. 6, 1882. In an attempt to get into the house Chris McCallister was murdered. The money was not secured for the robber found he could not get into the room of Merritt McCallister without endangering his life. Pleasant Anderson was accused of the murder and tried several times but each time the jury would fail to find him guilty. Finally, Dec. 4, 1884 a small mob headed by William Jones, Daniel and William Anderson, cousins of Pleasant, Jesse and George Fisher, and Floyd Chidester took Anderson from his home by stealth and drove with him to Jones' school house where they tried him in Lynch Court and found him guilty. They sentenced him to be hanged until dead. The jury that passed sentence on
Anderson was composed of eight members and was called on duty at 9 p.m. After the sentence was pronounced on Anderson, he was placed in a sled and they all drove to the scene of the murder of McCallister. Here they drove under a cottonwood tree and asked Anderson if he had anything to say. He declared his innocence to the end and asked the mob to care for his wife and five children. It was ten thirty when the sled was driven out and Anderson was left hanging. Anderson had not had the best of reputation, but it is now known that he was innocent of the crime for which he was hanged. Peter Augustine who now lives near Agency City in Wapello county said that the banker, Samuel Miller of Albia, thought that he might be able to keep his bank from failing if he could get back the money drawn out by McCallister and when on his death bed a few years later he made a written confession that he was the one who had killed McCallister. His bank failed and the shock had much to do with his death it is thought.

439. Iowa State Register, Dec. 31, 1884; Jan. 1, 4, 1885.
440. Iowa City Republican, Jan. 2, 1885.

Audubon county, Feb. 4, 1885.

Hiram Jellerson, a seemingly harmless old man, had a son Cicero C. and two sons-in-law, Joel J. Wilson, and John A. Smyth who lived south-east of Audubon. Hiram had some money of which these men were making use as fast as they could get it. It seems that they did not get it fast enough and one day they took Hiram Jellerson out and hanged him to a tree. The three men were brought up for trial at Audubon, and after some time a change of venue was asked and granted. Already the case had cost the country a great deal and the people were unwilling that the case should go to Cass county where it would entail additional expense and decided to expedite matters by Lynch Law. About two o'clock in the morning of Feb. 4, 1885, a mob came to the Audubon jail where the prisoners were and demanded of the sheriff that they be delivered to them. The sheriff refused and they proceeded to break open the jail. It was not long before they were in as far as the cell where the prisoners were kept.

Here is where the fight began for the doomed men were determined to fight to the end. In the fierce conflict some of the mob were injured and Smyth was shot dead in the cell for striking one of the mob. Wilson was also killed in
in the cell for he fought like a tiger. Cicero in the meantime had confessed to one of the jail mates that he had killed his father. He took it humbly and thought that he would be spared but the mob was determined that all should die and he was taken out and hanged to a fence string or and the others were dragged out by the mob and left.

The mob was masked and well organized. They carried one lanter to guide them.

441. Centerville Daily Citizen, Feb. 11, 1907.
442. Correspondent #7032.
443. Correspondent #4.
445. Iowa State Register, April 25, 30, 1884; Feb. 5, 1885.

Byron Lord

Muscatine county, May 2, 1885.

Byron Lord was deputized to aid in the protection of liquor seized by the Temperance Alliance in Muscatine on May 1, 1885. The next night he was attacked by unknown persons, and clubs and stones were freely used. He retreated drawing a pistol on them for which he was arrested on the next day. He was soon discharged, however a howling mob followed him to jail seemingly wishing to desire to get him. Later he was attacked in his home by a mob stoning
the house. When he came down stairs to see what was the trouble the mob had disappeared. Rewards were offered for conviction of persons who were in the mob. 446

446. **Iowa State Register, May 12, 1885.**

Finny and Manse Ranesbarger.

Hardin county, June 5, 1885.

The assault on Drs. Underwood and Ritenaur of Eldora caused the arrest of Finny and Manse Ranesbarger. They were placed in the jail at Eldora and on June 5th a mob of masked men came to the jail with a large hickory battering ram and broke into the jail and took the Ranesbargers out and shot them near the door of the jail. The mob showed that it had been well organized and acted deliberately. They had a hard fight with the Ranesbargers for they were determined to fight for their lives. Finny tried to escape when he was brought outside but he was shot full of holes. The lynching occurred early Friday morning and the feelings of the community was at a very high pitch all day. In fact it had been that way for some days past. The mob is said to have had about one hundred in it. 447-450

447. **The Eldora Herald, June 17, 1885.**

448. **The Eldora Ledger, June 11, 1885.**

449. **Iowa State Register, June 5, 6, 1885.**

450. Correspondent # 12062.
John McKenzie
Adams County, April 3, 1887.

Trouble arose between McKenzie and Riggs over some pasture and Riggs was shot. McKenzie was put in jail at Corning after giving himself up to the officers. The case of Perrigo who murdered Hidinger hung in the courts for four years, and the people were growing tired of the delay in the courts, so it is not a very surprising thing that on April 3, 1887, a mob numbering from twenty-five to a hundred masked men came to the jail at Corning, battered down the door, took McKenzie out, and hanged him to a maple tree bear-by. The mob was well organized and each man was called a number. There was no confusion but each man worked in his place. When the deed was done the captain spoke to the mob saying that any one who would dare to divulge any name of a participant would be a McKenzie. An attempt was made to raise the alarm but the guards worked so well that it was impossible to stop the proceedings.

451. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, April 5, 1887.
452. Iowa State Register, April 5, 1887.
453. Correspondent # 3009.
James Reynolds
Decatur county, Aug. 14, 1887.

James Reynolds was arrested for committing an outrage upon Mrs. Noble in Decatur county near Leon, and placed in the Leon jail. This sort of crime was becoming too frequent for the people to rest quietly, and an attempt was made to lynch Reynolds, but it failed. Later on August 14, 1887, about 1:20 a.m. Sunday, a mob of thirty five men came to the jail and battered the door. Guards were stationed all about the jail to prevent disturbances and it was a good precaution for the sake of the lynchers for it took them a long time to force their way into the jail. The victim was not found when they first entered the jail and they thought the sheriff had concealed them in his own house, and they started to search the house but were driven back under intimidation. The sheriff threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to enter the house and at the same time he said that Reynolds was not in the house. They made further search for him and found him in his cell. He was taken out and led by the mob to the edge of town at a railway bridge and hanged to one of the stringers. A chance was given for him to speak but he did not seem to be in a mood to speak. He remained meek all through the ordeal. When he was dead the mob quietly dispersed.
and went to their homes. The citizens turned out, but they arrived on the scene too late to hinder the proceedings. 454-456

454. The Daily Iowa Capital, Aug. 15, 1887.
455. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, Aug. 17, 1887.
456. Iowa State Register, Aug. 3, 1887.

Olaf an Indian
Taylor county, June 29, 1889.

Olaf an Indian tramp assaulted Mrs. Glassman on June 29, 1889, but she screamed so loud that her husband heard her and came to the rescue. He then tried to kill Olaf but his neighbors prevented. Olaf was placed in the jail at Bedford. A mob of men from the neighborhood of the crime came to Bedford and held their organization meeting in an old livery barn near the Elwood Hotel. The mob numbered about seventy-five. From here they went to the sheriff and demanded the keys to the jail and, of course, were refused. At 11:00 p.m. the mob began work upon the jail to break their way through. They were not long in getting in and a rope was thrown over Olaf's head in spite of his defense, and he was carried to a tree in the Court House Park and hanged. There was only oneashed man in the group. As many as five-hundred witnessed the hanging, it is reported. In the preliminary trial Olaf gave his address as Sioux City.
George Ackleson

Madison county, May 19, 1891.

George Ackleson who was a hired man of Porter Tomlinson of Monroe township, Madison county, was accused of a great deal of malicious mischief that had been perpetrated in that community. Clearance Morton, a cripple boy, had a saddle cut to pieces in May 1891, and the suspicion rested on Ackleson. Ackleson was only about sixteen years old and as orphan boy. A mob came to Tomlinson's on the night of May 19th and called for Ackleson. Upon coming to the door Ackleson was seized by the masked men under cover of revolvers and taken to a tree. He was blindfolded and asked to confess who who did the cutting of Morton's saddle. A rope had already been thrown about his neck and prepared to string him up. He denied knowing anything about it and called for Tomlinson to witness for him. Tomlinson said that he did not know whether Ackleson was at home that night or not and then returned to the house. The mob stretched him up three times in vain effort to get him to confess who did the mischief but he continued to profess his innocence. The bandage over his eyes slipped
down and Ackleson thought he recognized some of the mob. He was finally taken to the house, and thrust inside the door and then the mob withdrew. Ackleson caused eight of the suspected men to be arrested and brought before the justice of peace, Smith Hamn, but they were proved innocent. Ackleson claimed to have been unable to work for about three days on account of the pain caused from the stretching. Those who were arrested for lynching Ackleson were, Jap Huston, a man of about forty-five years, Iver, Austin, Malle, and Dent Foster, Frank Orr, James McKinney and Frank Tomlinson. These last ranged in age from 16 to 21 years of age. 461

461. Clipping from local paper.

Rev. White

Muscatine county, 1892(?).

Some time about 1892 a Rev. White came to Muscatine and gave an anti-Catholic lecture which aroused the citizens so much that they stoned him in the streets. He did not receive any permanent injuries however.

No attempt was made to arrest the participants in the mob. 462

462. Correspondent # 12033.
Thomas Hobbs

Yeokuk count, May 22, 1893.

Thomas or Taylor Hobbs (the accounts differ as to the names) was white capped on May 22, 1892 for ill-treatment of his wife and family. A delegation of masked white caps secreted themselves in Hobbs's barn and awaited his return from a fishing trip. He did not return until about eleven o'clock that evening but when he came in he was seized and given a horse-whipping. No word was spoken by the mob of eighteen or nineteen men during the procedure but they were able to make him know that they were doing it as a penalty for his whipping his wife and his children so unmercifully. There was no clue to be found as to the identity of any of the mob. Hobbs yelled so loud that his neighbors came to his rescue but the mob made their escape without being caught.

463. Iowa City Republican, June 1, 1892.

William Frazier

Monroe county, March 22, 1893.

William Frazier was a drunkard living in Carbondale with his family and worked in the mines there. He spent most of his money on drink and ill-supported his wife. She finally left him and went to Hiteman to live
with Mrs. Smith, her sister. Frazier followed her on May 22, 1893, and stabbed her to death, mutilated his child, and escaped to the woods. The citizens pursued him and caught him near Albia. The sheriff put him in a wagon and started to Albia with him but the enfuriated mob seized him and took him back to Hiteman and hanged him to a tree near town. The sheriff with a posse tried to prevent the lynching but failed. 465-466

465. Iowa State Register, March 22, 1893.
466. Charles City Intelligencer, Jan. 18, 1907.

Frank Johnson alias "Fred Gustaveson"

Wapello county, Nov. 21, 1893.

Frank Johnson was sometimes called Fred Gustaveson, a Swede, raped the little daughter of Jonas Sax in Ottumwa, Nov. 20, 1893. Johnson was arrested and a doctor's examination of the blood and the recognition of the little girl was sufficient proof for the citizens to take the law into their hands and punish the offender. The next day, Tuesday, Nov. 21, while the prisoner was at Justice Truitt's in a preliminary examination a mob gathered in the streets and pushed toward the street stairway that led to the examination room. Mrs. Sax appeared with a rope with which to hang the man. The first attempt to get in was
unsuccessful. The next time they made a rush they fought their way up the stairway and burst open the door and after a fierce struggle in which the prisoner came out half dead the mob succeeded in getting him. A rope was thrown over his head and he was pushed through the stairway. This was done at 2:35 p.m. and the body hung there until 2:45 when the rope broke and the body fell. The mob would have swung it up again but it was pronounced dead by both of the officers and a committee from the mob. Attempts were made to prosecute the leaders of the mob but it was not possible for the people were too much in favor of the justice done. Johnson had the lettering "F.O. Johnson" tattooed on his arm. His features were such as one would expect to find in a criminal. The mob dispersed soon after the lynching.

467. The Sun, Nov. 24, 1893.
468. The Eddyville Tribune, Nov. 24, 1893.
469. Ottumwa Daily Currier, Nov. 21, 1893.

"Reddy Wilson"
Harrison county, April 31, 1894.

"Reddy Wilson" who had served several terms in the Nebraska Penitentiary was at Missouri Valley in April and together with a man named Davis was staying at William Henderson's on Fourth Street. Warrants were in the hands of the marshal and other officers for their arrest. There had been much lawlessness about the town for some time
and these men were wanted. When Marshal Adna Whitney accompanied by J.B. Lyons, and J. Deal went up stairs to arrest them they found Wilson and Davis in bed feigning they were asleep. Wilson yawned and threw down the covers and presented a brace of pistols and ordered them to throw up their hands. The officers reached for their guns and as a result Whitney was shot dead and Lyons wounded. They then retreated and let Davis escape but Wilson was so badly wounded that he could not do so. Monday, Wilson was taken to the jail and that night, April 31, a mob came to the jail afternight to get Wilson. All of them were masked to defy identify. There were from thrity to one hundred in the mob. They gathered in the schoolhouse grounds about midnight, and went from there to the jail. Detachments from the main mob went to the light plant and had the light plant closed down and the police were covered with weapons so that there would be no cause for trouble. The mob moved quietly and the talking was done in low tones. Ropes were taken from the lights of the streets but they were too light and others were secured. The jail was broken into and Wilson taken out. The rope was tied about his neck with the hangman's knot and he was hanged to the
iron stairway of the city hall. A sign was placed upon the victim that read thus: "Public Library". 470-472

470. Missouri Valley Times, May 2, 1894.
472. Correspondent, # 12051.

H.H. Hinebaugh

Hamilton county, Nov. 23, 1894.

"Webster City, Ia., Nov. 26.
A horse whipping was administered by Mrs. Barney, wife of an insurance agent, assisted by her sister Miss Agnes Clark, aged 19, to H.H. Hinebaugh, also an insurance agent. They met at Second and Seneca streets and Mrs. Kelly struck him several blows in the face. He started into a drug store, when Miss Clark seized the whip, and went after him, slashing him right and left, over the head and shoulder, causing the blood to flow freely. The alleged cause of the whipping was that the woman had been slandered by Hinebaugh." 473

473. Iowa City Republican, Nov. 28, 1894.

Orlando P. Wilkins

Dallas county, March 6, 1895.

The Adel bank robbery on March 6th 1895 called out a large number of citizens to pursue the desperadoes who had shot the bankers and were still shooting as they
made their dash for liberty with their heavy sack of booty. The available horses in town were pressed into service and many of the citizens pursued. The robbers were seeking the cover of the woods when one of the horse were shot. The men then separated and Crawford ran for the brush and Wilkens for a barn. Crawford was soon found and he surrendered, and was brought back to the barn in which his partner was concealed and set the barn on fire. Wilkens was soon burnt so badly that he came out and when the mob ordered him to throw up his hands and he did not do so, and was shot to death. Crawford was taken to the jail where an attempted lynching occurred that night. Orlando P. Wilkins was in the penitentiary on Minnesota for a term or more and not been out more than six months. Crawford seemed to be quite a young man and was probably forced into the robbery. 474

474. *Dallas County Record*, March 8, 15, 1895.

Joe Brewer

and

Mrs. Heckle

Madison county, April 4, 1900.

Joe Brewers and Daly were arrested for the robbery of John Cunnungham who lived near Winterset and they were taken to Winterset and placed in the jail. Soon after this on April 4, 1900 they broke the jail. The
same day Brewer was caught in the woods near Mrs. Heckle's and stretched up by the neck a little to get him to tell where he had secreted the money, they had taken from Cunningham. He confessed to the robbery and told where it might be found. His confession implicated Mrs. Heckle, a woman with whom they had been staying before they were arrested. The mob then went to Mrs. Heckle and demanded that she give up the money, but she feigned innocence. They then took her to a sapling and stretched her up by the neck a few times to get her to tell where the money was secreted. She then became talkative and told where it was. Those who were in the lynching bee were: Ed Duff, G.B.Robinet, Tom and Dan Murphy, DanMiles, P.J. Cunningham, James McNamary, and William Stenenson.475

475. Correspondent, #12090.

A.J. Pulse

Pocahontas county, Fall 1901.

A.J. Pulse was an inveterate wife beater and he was no less cruel with his children and the people became tired of it and undertook to put a stop to it by lynching. A small mob took him about mid night in the fall of 1901,
and gave him a coat of tar and feathers. It is generally conceded that the mob was composed of citizens of Laures where the victim lived. The names of the men in the mob were not made public and as a result no legal procedure followed. 476

476. Correspondent # 13001.

Elder Adams

Black Hawk County, 1801, prior to July 18.

Elder Adams came to Waterloo to give a series of speeches on Dowdeism and because he became obnoxious in his speech he was egged by a mob. 477

477. Rolf Reveille, July, 18, 1901.

Elder Adams

Black Hawk county, 1901, about July 18.

Again Elder Adams was egged by a mob of about four hundred for his injurious speech. The police arrested some of the mob and were able after a time to disperse it. 478

478. Rolfe Reveille, Feb. 18, 1901.
Detective Downey

Emmet county, Feb. 12(?), 1803.

"Three men have been arrested for complicity in the whitecapping raid at the Emmet House. The men are Charles Peterson, William Sanford, and L. Young. Peterson and Sanford were given preliminary examinations and were bound over to the grand jury. The offense was taking Detective Downey of Chicago from his room in the hotel, horse whipping him and driving him forth onto the prairie, where he nearly froze to death. He was suspected of being a "spotter" seeking evidence against the saloons."

Frank Brown

Muscatine county, March 28, 1905.

Harry Hotlzauser was shot and probably fatally wounded by Frank Brown, a negro, and a mob would have killed him if the police had not done good work. As it was the mob of a dozen or more men fell upon him and beat him severely. A mob of about 150 was moving in the streets and was present at the lynching. The police had to knock many of the mob down with clubs in the rescue of Brown. The mob followed the police to the jail and threats were made by the friends of Holtzhauser that they would Lynch Brown.
A special force of police prevented any further trouble.\textsuperscript{480} \textsuperscript{480.} \textit{The Burlington Hawk-Eye}, March 28, 1903, (weekly) April 2, 1903.

Mr. and Mrs. Green Lee

Henry County, Aug. 2, 1905.

Public indignation ran so high at New London because Victor Lee took his wife to an insane asylum when the public thought it was only a scheme to get rid of her and they sought to punish them by giving them a good egging. Victor Lee and Gree Lee, his father, took Mrs. Lee to the hospital on Aug. 2, 1905. Green Lee returned that night and was met at the train by his wife. She mounted the platform to greet him and a volley of eggs struck her and her husband. The brakeman was also covered with eggs before he could get out of the way.\textsuperscript{481-482} \textsuperscript{481.} \textit{The Mount Pleasant Journal}, Aug. 4, 8, 1905. \textsuperscript{482.} \textit{The Burlington Hawk-Eye}, Aug. 3, 1905.

James Cullen

Floyd County, Jan. 9, 1907.

James Cullen of Charles City had been watching the Busse murder trial and saw that it was coming out so that Busse would be released and from the reports it is
thought that the failure of the courts in this case had much to do with Cullen's murdering his wife and step-son. He was put in jail at Charles City to await trial but the murder was too much for the people to bear so they planned to lynch him. On the night of the 9th of February, they began to gather about the jail about midnight. They seemed to have no leadership at first but soon there was signs of organization. The light wires were cut and the city lay in darkness. Guards were placed about the jail to prevent interference. The jail doors were then battered down with a railroad iron and the prisoners taken out. Cullen begged for mercy but the mob was relentless. Thereupon Cullen fought with all his strength to the last, breaking loose several times. His hands were finally tied behind him and he was hustled along the street with the mob saying that they would have no more of the Busse affairs. He was taken to a bridge and the rope that was already around his neck was thrown over a straggler and he was given a chance to speak while the mob stood reverently and waited. He refused to pray so Ensign Roper of the Salvation Army prayed for him. Some of the mob would have shot him full of holes but others said that they wanted a decent hanging, and not a murder out of the affair. Cullen was then hanged until he was dead. The mob was very large. Some have made
the low estimation at 500. The mob leaders were masked to prevent identification. Attempts were made to arrest the mob leaders but no one could be found who was in the mob. Rewards were offered for evidence that would lead to the conviction of any of the men responsible for but this did not bring the information. The reason why no one can possibly be found lies in the fact that the community sympathized so much with work of the mob that prosecution is impossible. 483-7

483. *Charles City Intelligencer*, Jan. 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 21, 1907.


Johnson or Walker.

Louisa county, August 30, 1907.

Jack Beade and "Spat" O'Connor were playing craps with three negroes, two of whose names were Walker and Johnson, at Columbus Junction on August 30, 1907, when a quarrel arose and ended in a fight. About fifteen shots were fired and both the white men were wounded. One of the negroes was badly wounded by a farmer who shot him on the run. The other two surrendered and were taken to the jail. A mob of about
1500 were about to hang the wounded man when the officers and an ex-senator, Carpenter, appeared and got him away from them. They had placed a rope about his neck and were about to draw him up in the tree when he was rescued. A mob collected at the jail with a rope and would probably have hanged him had there been a leader.

488. The Burlington Hawk-Eye, August 31, 1907.

E.H. Rockwell.

Van Buran county, January 17, 1908.

Because of some obnoxious articles that were printed in the paper of which Rockwell was publisher, the Farmington Herald, some of the citizens caught him on the evening of January 17, 1908, about 6:45 o'clock down town and hustled him into a conveyance, drove him to the park and gave him a coat of tar and feathers. The men wore masks and numbered about a half dozen. An attempt was made to prosecute the suspecter ones and the case reached the Supreme Court but it was lost. The case was entered under the title "E.H. Rockwell vs B.F. Ketchum et al." 489-491


490. Abstracts and Arguments (in the Supreme Court of Iowa, September Term 1909, pp. 6 ff.)

Appendix C.

Character of the Victims.

Some little data have been gathered relative to the character of some of the victims, and a very brief account is here given relative to their character.

Pleasant Anderson was considered by his contemporaries as a man of bad character, although he was not guilty of the crime for which he was lynched. His own relatives were accused of taking a part in the lynching and from all appearances he was not of the best character. He had been tried many times for various offences which shows that he was generally suspected.

John Anderson and Frank Brown were of the Troublesome Creek gang, and were inveterate card players, drinkers, and fighters. Murder was laid at the door of Anderson and their attitude at all times manifest that the gang were of a bad character. The night that they were killed they seemed to have come to Wyota to kill Samuel Howlett.

William and Isaac Barber were two desperadoes of a very bad reputation. They fought like demons to the last and showed determination to "die game". In the last moments Isaac confessed that he had killed two men, Kersting and Shepard. They both expressed a desire that the hanging be
well done and with a touch of affection for their family life they died with a chew of tobacco.

Little need be said of J.K. Bonnell as his condition of health and filthy body portrayed his character. It seems a shame, if the accounts be true, that he should have been pardoned out of the penitentiary to pollute society again with his filth.

The Bellevue gang, composed of W.W. Brown, Birch, John and Aaron Long, Richard Baxter, Granville Young, Chest-ester and others were evidently a gang of outlaws who stole horses, cattle, and other stock and property, murdered and robbed on every hand. Circumstantial evidence as well as direct evidence seems to convict them of being a gang of outlaws, and guilty of all the charges against them and many more.

Charles and William Bunker, with their gang, were to Iowa what the James gang were to Missouri, says one writer, and from the evidences in the data this view is not far wrong.

H.C. Cohee had been in the penitentiary and was out, at the time of his lynching, revenging himself upon the people who had aided in sending him there. The character of his crime and his previously bad character evidences his criminal character.

William B. Thomas was an inveterate wife beater and drunkard, besides being a murderer. He led a more or less
secluded family life and was gone from home much of the time. Upon these trips from home it is supposed that he did his work as an outlaw.

Peter Conklin had a wide reputation as a desperado. Rewards were offered for his body, dead or alive. He was supposed to be a member of the gang that infested Cedar and adjoining counties about 1857.

James Cullen did not have a good reputation in Charles City, even before he committed the murder for which he was lynched. He had been married three times and his family troubles constantly reached the ears of the public.

Adam Cuppy was known as a friend of the horse thieves that worked in and about Shelby county, and it is thought that he was one of the gang.

Little is known of the character of Joseph Dunbar except that he was considered a bad neighbor, and for that reason he was whipped.

The Fisher family were in good repute except Jack who was lynched. Jack's father and mother were religious people, one of his brothers was a Methodist preacher, another a Sunday School teacher and Superintendent. The indignation ran so high that the jail had to be used for about a year to protect the accused from the mob.
John Foster and David Marney were confessed horse thieves. This confession was extracted from them under the lash in Lynch Court.

William Frazier could not get along well with his wife and when they separated the feeling ran so high that when he committed his crime the community lynched him. He was a very passionate man, and revengeful.

Alexander Gifford and Edward Soper were confessed criminals. Not only were they guilty of the crimes for which they were hanged but many more. In Gleason's confession he stated that he was forced into the gang, which if true, shows that he was not of such a bad tendency as his record would seem to indicate. Soaper of a firm type and was probably was a hardened habitual criminal.

John and Nathaniel Hamlin had a bad reputation in Jasper county, but they were innocent of the charge for which they were lynched. The one whom they were supposed to have murdered appeared later in Missouri.

John Hamner was a sullen, morose, and hateful character and his crimes were well planned. He was a notorious character who visited the houses of ill-fame frequently.

James Hardy was one who made a bad record in Missouri before he came to Iowa and at the time of his death this fact came to light.
James Henderson was considered guilty but he would not confess even under torture.

Thomas Hobbs was constantly at war with his wife and not infrequently he would give her a good whipping. The whipping which he received coerced him into treating her better afterwards.

C.C. Jellerson, J.A. Smyth, and J.J. Wilson were of bad reputation in the community. They were charged with the killing of the father of C.C. Jellerson, although they all protested their innocence to the mob. It is reported that as the mob was breaking into jail that C.C. Jellerson confessed to one of the prisoners that he was guilty.

Col. William Johnson seemed to have a good reputation and the only reason given for whipping him was the fact that the instigators of the lynching bee were jealous of his prospects for a new county seat.

John Kephart was a dark complexioned old man, of about sixty years, whose record in Iowa and Kentucky, if the accounts be correct, portrays a black character. He is said to have been one of the pirates of Kentucky before he came to Iowa. It is also thought that he committed the murder upon the husband of Mrs. Willis, whom he later killed along with two of her children.

William and Patrick Lawn were of fairly good reputation and their lynching was much regretted by many of the community. They had made themselves conspicuous in the community by threat-
ening to kill the members of the Vigilance Committee who had taken part in the lynching of their brother-in-law, Henderson. This was probably the cause of their being lynched.

Jacob Majors was a man of wealth and social standing, and the only thing that could be laid at his door was the fact that he did not comply with the laws of the Claim Association.

John McKenzie seems to have been a criminal by passion. He committed the murder and afterwards gave himself up to the authorities voluntarily.

John McRoberts had been to War and served with credit and upon his return things did to go too slowly with him and as a result he became a victim of Lynch Law.

All that is known of Samuel Minturn is that the press called him a "hard case".

Baltimore Muir was a confessed murderer. The motive for the murder was evidently robbery.

Murdock was a desperate character. He evidently had a mania for shooting some one from the way he acted when he came aboard the ferry at Nebraska City.

Patrick O'Connor was a criminal that was developed through an accident that happened to him in the mines at Galena, Illinois. He changed quickly from a cheerful character
to a morose and irritable one. In a fit of passion he would
often commit crimes.

Alonzo Page has had much sympathy from some writers as
it is thought that he was "more sinned against than sinning".
Some say that it was his enemy that joined the Vigilance Com-
mittee and caused his death.

A. J. Pulse was another wife beater who refused to
support her as he should and was lynched for his impudence.

The Ranesbarger family was of bad repute. Many charges
were laid at their door and there is little doubt but that they
were guilty of many lawless acts.

George Redmon was a cunning old thief who could lie
as innocently as he could tell the truth. He was a confessed thief.

H. Seeley was one of the gang of horse thieves and
cattle thieves that infested the community where he was lynched.

The character of Archie Smith was bad. He had a repu-
tation that was comparable to his character.

When Teedles was lynched he confessed to his guilt and
named many, implicating them in lawlessness.

Garrett Thompson was a bushwhacker of Missouri, who
had been in the penitentiary several times in his life and
was generally considered a bad man.
Benjamin Warner was a brave character. He faced death without a quiver as many criminals do. He was probably of the habitual type.

Hiram Wilson was a man of about twenty-one years, but his features showed that he had spent those years in a hard life.

"Reddy" Wilson was a desperado who had been in the penitentiary three times in Nebraska, and was considered by the police as one of the worst characters in Omaha.
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