Faith and Works in the Black Hawk Purchase

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ISSN 0003-4827
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Recommended Citation
Available at: https://doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.6003

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FAITH AND WORKS IN THE BLACK HAWK PURCHASE

BY REV. R. E. HARVEY

Since the forces operating in any given period trace back in their roots to events and forces which have preceded them, a proper understanding of the factor of religion and of the church in Iowa's territorial period requires an evaluation of the work of the pioneer clergy and churches in the restless five years which preceded the establishment of Iowa Territory in 1838. This article is written in a desire to award to these men of God some of the credit due them as benefactors of their own and of succeeding generations, the common heirs of their treasures of Faith and Works. While others have undertaken this task before in denominational histories of the various churches, these records, although they sometimes throw side lights on the activities of sister organizations, are necessarily devoted to the record of their own particular household of faith, and therefore can not present a comparative view of all the religious agencies as they entered the new land—the way the pioneer settlers saw them, and the way we hope to picture them in this article.

In a period of rapidly expanding population, of uncertainty as to the rights of a claim, when courts of law were but in-

1 Although at the time Iowa became a territory the land opened to white settlement represented four different cessions to the government by the Indians, the district was generally referred to as the Black Hawk Purchase. The name Black Hawk Purchase accurately refers to the tract of land on the left bank of the Mississippi River, yielded by the Sauk and Fox Indian tribes in the treaty of Rock Island on September 21, 1832; it was a tract fifty miles wide, extending from the Missouri boundary line on the south to the "Neutral Grounds" on the north, a forty mile wide strip of land set apart by the treaty of 1830 to separate the warring Sauks and Sioux, soon to be inhabited by the Winnebagos, and shortly to be given up by them also. The "Purchase" was opened to settlement on June 1, 1833, but remained without government or judicial supervision until attached to Michigan territory in 1834. At the time Dubuque and Des Moines counties were organized, the common boundary line between the two was a line drawn west from the southern end of Rock Island. The church activities here described began before these large counties were subdivided, but for the sake of clarity the writer has followed the boundary divisions as they are today. On July 4, 1836, Wisconsin Territory was created, and two years later Iowa Territory came into existence.

2 Conference historian of the Iowa-Des Moines Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
frequently held, when every settler was exposed to the perils and feuds of disputed ownership, the holy zeal of the itinerant preachers of the word of God was in no small measure responsible for the exemption of early Iowa, except in sporadic instances, from the reign of lawlessness usual along every new frontier. Although without doubt the intensiveness with which these itinerant clergymen sought out the latest built cabin on the far outskirts of civilization sprang, in a large degree, from the keen sectarian rivalries of their generation, yet, regardless of credal distinctions, they fearlessly warned all workers of iniquity to flee from the wrath to come, and universally demanded the practice of civic virtues and personal morals as evidences of conversion and as essential to Christian fellowship. Thus, despite its disadvantageous influences upon our early society, this denominational competition, in spurring efforts to carry the gospel message to every man, woman, and child in the territory, contributed inestimably to the promotion of peace and good neighborliness throughout the Iowa District.

Moreover, these bold evangelists helped to fix the intellectual as well as the moral trends of the incoming population. Many of them taught school through the week in the same rude chapels in which they preached the gospel on Sundays, thus giving the impetus to the demand for education that launched in the first session of the Iowa territorial legislature one of the most ambitious public school programs of the day, at a time when but only a few of the older and wealthier states were making any provision for general instruction.

Although an account of the introduction of the various doctrines and creeds into the Iowa region west of the Mississippi must of necessity be largely devoted to the work of ministers, priests, and other recognized representatives of organized religious groups, we must remember that the picture would be incomplete without a notice of the many devout laymen and laywomen who reared their altars of prayer beside the constantly advancing campfires of the frontier and who welcomed the roving evangelists and missionaries to their crowded quarters and scanty fare. Without their encouragement in seconding every effort to extend the Kingdom of God,
surely much of the preaching would have been in vain, and the rich harvests later years have reaped from the seed sown by these early pioneer clergymen would have been denied or postponed in fulfillment.

PRIOR TO 1833

There is no question but that the first ordinances of Christian worship performed on Iowa soil were held by the missionaries Marquette, 1673, and Hennepin, 1680, in their explorations along our eastern river boundary. But neither of them attempted any evangelistic labors on this side of the river, nor, strange to say, is there any record of such undertakings in all the period of French and Spanish occupation, although both nationalities were represented by settlements of some duration at such places as the Spanish Lead Mines (Dubuque), Giard's trading post in Clayton County, and Tesson's colony at Montrose. Nor was any attention paid the region after the transfer of this western land to the United States in 1803, although there were Catholic settlers both at Keokuk by 1820 and at Council Bluffs (Kanesville) in 1824. True, there is a tradition that a group of Trappist monks were located somewhere near Keosauqua, but for lack of evidence we regretfully dismiss the tale as "not proven." If there was such a colony, it was probably a mission band from an establishment on the American Bottoms east of St. Louis.

The first record of any attention paid to the religious life of the residents of this state, other than a happenstance visit, is that of the visits made in 1828-1832 by the Catholic missionaries, Baden, Lutz, and Van Quickenborne, to scattered bands of miners and trappers who had clandestinely crept into the Indian country near the "Spanish Mines" at Dubuque. The second record is of the visit made by the Rev. Aratus Kent, a Presbyterian minister laboring under the direction of a privately controlled mission board, chiefly financed by Congregationalists. In 1831 he likewise sought out these trespassers on forbidden ground. Since the invaders were promptly expelled by military authority as fast as found, nothing permanent came of these efforts, yet they

are worthy of remembrance as the initial endeavors of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries on Iowa soil.  

1833 The Year of Beginnings

When the Black Hawk Purchase was opened for settlement on June 1st, 1833, the emigrants into the northern portion of the Purchase were led by the often expelled prospectors from Galena and vicinity, who came by the hundreds to exploit the lead deposits around Dubuque. Along with them, or close after, went the Rev. F. J. McMahon, Catholic priest of Galena, who celebrated Mass in one of the first structures reared on the site of the future city, the cabin of Patrick Quigley. Although the exact date is unknown, the decease of Father McMahon from cholera at Galena on the 19th of the same month of June makes this without question the first authentic public worship conducted in our borders. About the same time the Rev. Aratus Kent gave evidence that his interests still included the now legal settlements on the western shore when he wrote his mission board saying, "I must spend some of my time across the Mississippi, for the opening of the country usually styled 'Dubuq's Mines' is drawing thither a great multitude of adventurers: it is important that they should be followed in their wanderings with the voice of admonition, lest they forget the Lord and profane His Sabbaths." In pursuance to this call of duty, sometime in July or August, Rev. Kent preached the first Protestant sermon in Iowa in the home of Mrs. Willoughby. Other authorities give "Mrs. Allen" as the name of the hostess, but as the Rev. Kent repeated his visit once or more, it is probable that both houses were so honored.  

In the fall of the year, Father Van Quickenborne, himself a former visitor at the Mines, took over the care of the Catholic flock in Dubuque, succeeding the late Rev. McMahon. Services were held at either Quigley's cabin or at the home of a Mrs. Brophy, more than likely both houses were used on the different occasions of the several visits made by the priest. Since both Kent and Van Quickenborne traversed immense

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districts which extended into Illinois and Wisconsin, their Dubuque visitations could not have been either numerous or frequent.

In the meanwhile, that fiery frontier evangelist and capable statesman of the Methodist church, Rev. Peter Cartwright, had been eyeing the westward rush of the settlers. As Presiding Elder of the Quincy District, Illinois, which included within its bounds the entire length of the Black Hawk Purchase, he determined on an expansion of his church to match this growth of settlement. Owing to the illness of the bishop assigned, Cartwright was chosen, September 25th, to preside over the Illinois Conference. Acting in that capacity he enlarged the mission already in operation east of the river into the "Galena and DuBois Mission" with Barton Randle and John T. Mitchell as missionaries, and with John Sinclair of the Chicago District as presiding elder.

Arriving in Galena October 25th, the three ministers decided that Randle, the younger man, should have the field across the river, while Mitchell was to take charge of that on the eastern shore, all agreeing to co-operate with each other as occasion might serve or require. On Saturday, November 6th, both Randle and Mitchell entered Dubuque. In the tavern of Jesse Harrison, Barton Randle preached the first Methodist sermon in Iowa, the Rev. Mitchell preached the following day and then departed for his Illinois parish. Obtaining a loft over a grocery for both his lodgings and as a place of worship, Rev. Randle immediately proceeded to extend his labors throughout the surrounding country, laying out a four weeks circuit reaching all the scattered communities springing up in that region. At Peru, a long vanished village five miles up the river from Dubuque, he was told that the only available room was the billiard hall. "Oh, I can preach anywhere, that won't hurt me!" he replied. Noticing that a sheet decorously thrown over the table made it

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1 The presiding elder, now termed "district superintendent," was a Methodist ecclesiastic with sub-episcopal functions, assigned for a four year term to a "District" comprising a number of pastoral charges, or "circuits." He visited each circuit four times a year, holding "quarterly meetings" which usually lasted over a week-end, at which time the secular business of the entire circuit was also transacted. These meetings also served as occasions for revival efforts. Preachers were selected for this office on account of their pulpit and executive ability. Peter Cartwright filled such positions in varying districts for over fifty years.

resemble a coffin, he proceeded to preach the funeral of the place, and did it so effectively that it was never re-opened, being sold soon after and the proceeds devoted to religious uses."

Facing the approach of winter and the prospect that the closing of river navigation by the ice packed Mississippi would leave the new community at Dubuque almost completely isolated from the world, not a woman ventured to remain over the winter of 1833. Although provisions were scarce, whiskey was plentiful; cholera victims suffered and died uncared for, except for burial; drinking and gambling were popular amusements, and the only respected law was that of Judge Lynch. Such was the inferno in which Barton Randle passed the winter—the sole resident minister in Iowa—doing what he could to remind men of the better things of time and eternity.

Not all the religious activity in the first year of settlement centered around the lead mines of Dubuque, however. In the southern portion of the Purchase, a clandestine invasion similar to that at the Dubuque Mines had taken place in the region along Flint River, where a trading post had formerly stood for several years. When the soldiery expelled the intruders, however, they missed the cabin of one "sooner" cleverly hidden away in the woods, this man, Silas B. Cartwright, a distant cousin of the eminent Peter Cartwright, was on hand to welcome the emigrants back when they returned on June 1st, 1833, to settle and to lay out what was to become the town of Burlington."

Among those who visited Silas Cartwright that summer was a younger brother, the Rev. Barton Hall Cartwright, from the Henderson River Mission of Illinois, where only a short time previously he had been given an exhorter's license by the Rev. Barton Randle, whose beginnings at Dubuque have already been described above. Typical of many a contemporary who likewise had to combine religious zeal with the necessity of making a living, young Cartwright made a practice of holding gospel meetings wherever he was employed

9Ibid., pp. 16-17.
10Semi Centennial History of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Burlington, 1889. Rev. Barton H. Cartwright was a contributor.
11An "Exhorter" was a lay preacher of the lowest order in the Methodist ministry.
in prairie breaking, but it does not appear that he held any services in Iowa on the occasion of his first visit, as he soon returned to the Illinois side.

Notable among the emigrants of this year were the three Ross brothers, who as laymen played such a prominent part in the history of the early church in Iowa. The best known of the three brothers was William R. Ross, a pioneer physician, merchant, surveyor, county clerk, and postmaster; in the home of Sullivan S. Ross passed away the first Iowa minister who went from labor to reward in our borders; David Ross, as soon as his own quarters were complete, procured the erection of a building to serve for church and school, neither of which purposes, however, it served that first winter, being occupied as a dwelling.

1834 A YEAR OF PLANTING THE SEED

Religious activities among the churches in the new year of 1834 got under way when Dr. William Ross wrote to Peter Cartwright asking him to send a preacher to the new settlement. In response to this request, the presiding elder granted a local preacher’s license to his kinsman, Barton Cartwright, and gave him a commission to “preach and form societies wherever practicable in the Flint Hills settlements, and to make due report thereof to the church.” Thus armed, the prairie breaking Methodist preacher crossed over to Burlington a second time, taking with him ox teams, a plow, and a wagon load of corn, evidently proposing to be self-sustaining. Without delay, he immediately began holding services in Dr. Ross’ one room cabin on North Hill, where on the last Sunday in April, 1834, he organized a Methodist class of six members, with Dr. Ross as leader. From this beginning he rapidly extended his labors into the surrounding countryside.

At the same time that Barton Cartwright was thus employed

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12S. E. Haines, Makers of Iowa Methodism, p. 18. A “Local Preacher” was a Methodist minister of a higher rank than the exhorter, but not a member of an Annual Conference. Laboring under the direction of the presiding elder, these men nevertheless often performed pastoral work fully equal to that of the regular clergy.

12The Class was the local unit of the Methodist circuit, a devout layman was appointed leader for each class, who held meetings and gave general oversight in the absence of the pastor.

14Waring, op. cit., p. 28.
about Flint Hills, at Dubuque, his father in the ministry, Barton Randle, was busy taking advantage of the opening of the river, new settlers, and the return of the miners' wives to establish a Methodist class of twelve, with John Johnson as leader. Both of these societies, the one at Burlington and the one at Dubuque, claim precedence in age, and the honor of starting the first Sunday School as well. The dates claimed for both societies, however, varying from April 12th to June 18th, are close enough to justify each in believing itself to have been the first in the field.

In addition to these two claimants there is a third who might justifiably share in the honor of having established the first organized group of religious worshippers in the district. On the Winnebago Reservation, outside the Black Hawk Purchase, but within the bounds of Iowa, the Rev. David Lowry, a Cumberland Presbyterian missionary serving as school teacher to the Winnebago Indians, at an unnamed date early that spring formed a "Military Church" consisting of army officers and privates, government employees, and some Indians, and "held the first Communion in the Northwest," certainly the first of the Protestant type. Services were held in what was long known as the "Old Mission," near Iona, Allamakee County. Although the military church dispersed upon the removal of the Winnebago tribe to another reserve, as far as the writer can discover it was the only successful Protestant mission to the Indians in the state in Iowa's pre-territorial period.

While Burlington Methodism of later years boasted that it had furnished the first class for the territory west of the Mississippi, at Dubuque, "moved thereto by friendly sinners," Barton Randle proceeded in 1834 to erect Iowa's first house of worship. In this effort he was greatly assisted by the class leader, tall, angular, one-eyed John Johnson, who canvassed saint and sinner alike for funds, and even extended his efforts to St. Louis, from which place he brought back $61.75, about

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18S. N. Fellows, History of the Upper Iowa Conference (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1907), p. 12.
19J. F. Hinkhouse, One Hundred Years of the Iowa Presbyterian Church (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1932), p. 323. Cf. the Wisconsin Historical Collections, V. 329; XII, 405-66, for other opinions as to the success of Dr. Lowry's mission. See also "Letters of Father Muzzuchelli," Annals of Iowa, 3rd Series, XXI, ...Ed.
one-fourth of the total cost. An illustrative incident in connection with the raising of these funds preserved by a non-Methodist historian is worthy of note: on approaching a group of young men with his request for contributions, Johnson was momentarily taken aback by the answer of one who said he would rather help build a gambling hall than a church. "Now young man," replied Johnson, fixing him with his one eye, "I do not doubt that most of you were raised by Christian parents, and have come here to make your homes, and will likely marry and raise families; and none of you will feel like blushing when you tell your children that you helped build the first church in the Black Hawk Purchase." "All right, old hoss! here's a dollar!" exclaimed the objector, making his reluctant contribution. The others followed with dollars, halves, and quarters.

The building thus financed cost $255.00, for which the carpenters receipted in full on completion, a procedure respectfully recommended to twentieth century church builders. It was a "hewn log house 20x28 feet, one story, ten feet high, upper and lower floors, with four twenty light and one eight light windows, pointed with lime and sand and batten door." Open to all other denominations when not in use by the Methodists, the trustees were also permitted to rent it for school purposes. Later on it also served as a temple of justice.

Only by a stroke of fate, however, were the Dubuque Methodists permitted to achieve the distinction of erecting the first church structure in the Purchase. The Rev. C. J. Fitzmaurice, who came to the Catholic mission at Dubuque early that spring, besides caring for his immense field, had secured in Dubuque pledges totaling $1,100 for a church, and had even let the contract for labor and materials. His strenuous pastorate lasted only three months, however, being terminated by the same pestilence that removed his predecessor. With the death of its energetic promoter, the building project lapsed.


Shea, History of the Catholic Church, pp. 702-705. Father Fitzmaurice played a prominent part in the famous trial of Patrick O'Connor, whose death by hanging was instrumental in bringing about the annexation of Iowa to Michigan Territory in June, 1834. Father Fitzmaurice vigorously condemned the injustice he thought was being done, and remained with the prisoner to the last to administer the rites of his religion. See History of Dubuque County, Western Historical Co., 1880, pp. 364-365.
Active work in behalf of the Catholic faith was begun in the southern half of the Purchase in 1834 by the Rev. P. P. La Fevre, of Ralls County, Missouri, who toured the Half Breed tract and adjacent localities collecting Catholic families into stations for worship. One of these was at Keokuk, another was on the Skunk River west of Fort Madison, and probably one at Augusta, where a Mr. Moffitt, a Catholic, had erected the first mill in that region. One of Father La Fevre's journeys up the Mississippi from Keokuk was made over the ice in the teeth of a howling blizzard, on another occasion he escaped from a raging flood by a life and death race with a cloud burst. These, however, were perils so frequently encountered by all the itinerant clergy as to be accepted by them as part of the day's work. 

Although our record so far seems to show that the different faiths were primarily interested in attending to the religious needs of the white settlers of their faith, and paid but little attention to their Indian neighbors, this is not entirely true. In addition to the military church Dr. Lowry established among the Winnebagos, three other distinct Protestant missions were made to the Indians in this year, all of them failures. In 1835 another attempt was made by still another mission, with equal want of success; in 1838 the Catholic church was successful in establishing a mission in the far western portion of the territory. 

The first Indian mission of 1834 brought the first Congregationalist ministers to Iowa soil, a mission that deserved of better success than was its reward, since it was a mission of Indians to Indians. These were of the Stockbridge tribe of Massachusetts who had been converted to Christianity by the famous Jonathan Edwards about the middle of the preceding century. When they were later removed farther westward to Green Bay, Wisconsin, they carried their church organization with them. Moved with compassion for the Sauk and Fox tribes who had been so badly beaten in the war of 1832, and who had been dispossessed of so much of their lands by that treaty, the Stockbridge Indian church of Green Bay, early in 1834, sent two of their ministers, the Rev. John

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*Shea, loc. cit.*
Metoxen and the Rev. Cutting Marsh, to offer the boons of religion and knowledge to the Sauk and Fox, benefits of which they and their people were living examples. But the Iowa tribes would have none of either. Black Hawk is reported to have informed them that "George Davenport told me not to have anything to do with the missionaries for they would make the Indians worse." Keokuk wanted neither the white man's religion nor his learning. Wapello was very like minded, although he would liked to have had one of his sons educated for an interpreter (perhaps justly suspicious of some individuals with whom he had had dealings). Poweshiek declared, "The Great Spirit made the Indians to kill one another. . . . We do not want to learn; we want to kill the Sioux!" Appanoose of Au-tum-way, in the maudlin stages of a drunken debauch, and sorrowing dolefully over the future of his people, seemed to be the only one anxiously concerned about finding for them a better way. The missionaries had hope. But in the reactions of next morning's hangover, the chief refused either co-operation or encouragement. Thus rebuffed, the Christian Indians returned home empty handed, and did not come again.2

The second attempt in 1834 to carry the Christian religion to the Indians was the occasion for one of the few defeats Peter Cartwright was compelled to register in his long career. In company with Asa McMurtry, a missionary at Rock Island, Cartwright attempted to preach to the Indians encamped on that island, only to have his way blocked by "that old devil, Davenport."23

Similar obstacles beset the way of the Rev. J. M. Jamison, a Missouri Methodist circuit rider detailed for mission work in the northeastern part of that state and up the lower Des Moines River. At the expense of fifty dollars Jamison employed an interpreter and began preaching at Iowaville, the chief Indian village in that region. His efforts, however, were no more successful than the others, for he was stopped after his fourth discourse "by the head man of the tribe," probably the redoubtable Black Hawk himself.24

21Douglas, Pilgrims of Iowa, pp. 16-17.
22History of Des Moines County (Western Historical Co., 1878), p. 524.
23History of Van Buren County (Western Historical Co., 1878), p. 544.
After the failure of these attempts, both Jamison and Cartwright redoubled their efforts in the Flint Hills settlements. Late in May Peter Cartwright, accompanied by Rev. Daniel H. Cartwright, a brother to Barton, held a two days meeting at Burlington, where the noted orator then in the prime of his powers, delivered a great sermon from the Savior’s last commission, “Go ye into all the world. . . .” Rev. Jamison came a month later, in June, when he joined with Barton Cartwright in his Sunday services and did a little missionary exploring on his own account. With a rather liberal interpretation of his commission, Jamison claimed all the Methodist work in the Purchase as belonging to his own field. Jamison’s claim, which attached all Iowa south of Rock Island to the Canton (Missouri) Circuit, was, moreover, sustained by his own conference at its annual meeting in September. It was this that caused Peter Cartwright to complain to his own Illinois Conference in its October session that “the Missouri brethren have jumped my Iowa claim.” Claim jumping, be it noted, was one of the cardinal offences of the frontier, usually calling for condign punishment. In this case it was not attended by any sanguinary consequences, since Bishop Roberts, who had supervision over both conferences, declined to interfere with an accomplished fact, therefore the sturdy old pioneer was obliged to nurse his wrath and bide his time.24

After having staked his “claim,” however, Rev. Jamison made but one round of his vast circuit before departing eastward to fulfill a long delayed marriage ceremony, not returning until another conference year. His place was filled by the Rev. Learner B. Stateler, whose record belongs to the following year.25

In the meantime, while their brethren were preoccupied with their Indian missions and their work at Burlington, the Methodist society at Dubuque had been brought to such a forward state by Rev. Barton Randle that it was granted an independent status of its own, having outgrown the old “Galena and Dubuque mission.” The Rev. Nicholas S. Bastian,

the first pastor of an exclusively Iowa parish, was appointed to this field. A man of good education, he naturally combined two occupations by opening a school in the log chapel where he preached on Sundays. In a short time Rev. Bastian also established a preaching point at Catfish Gap, a few miles beyond Dubuque, now known as Rockdale, where a large colony of English miners of a high class had settled with their families, a community quite in contrast with Dubuque, where there were five men to every woman.26

One more religious development in 1834 remains to be noticed, and that a highly important one. Twenty miles west of Burlington, on Long Creek, lived a zealous young couple, William and Hephizibah Manly, who as members of the Baptist church in Kentucky had brought with them not only their church certificates, but also their articles of religion as well. Soon after locating their claim they sought out those others in the newly planted community who were of like persuasion, and joined with them in sending an invitation to the nearest Baptist minister they could locate to come and preach to them. This man was the Elder John Logan of McDonough County, Illinois, who, accompanied by a colleague, Elder Gardner Bartlett, visited the settlement and preached for them on October 19th, in the home of Noble Housely. On the next day he organized the first Baptist church in all the continent north of the Missouri state line and west of the Mississippi River. There were eleven members in the new society which named itself the "Long Creek Regular Baptist Church." Elder Logan preached for them periodically for several years until the church was able to support a pastor of its own. Here, five years later, the Iowa Baptist Association was formed in 1839. As the Danville Baptist Church this early congregation continues in 1938 to function in approved Baptist fashion, having the unusual distinction of numbering on its rolls some descendents of the original members.27

An illustration that the trials of the pioneer clergyman and teacher were not always those of swollen streams and drifting snow, nor even cold hearts, is found in the experience of the Rev. Bastian, who was teacher and preacher alike. On enter-


ing the church one morning, he found it had been broken into and had been robbed of the school books left by the pupils. A little investigation revealed that a worthless vagabond had pawned them for whiskey. Taken red-handed, the culprit was haled before a self constituted citizens court—the only kind in existence at that time—and sentenced to restore his plunder and to be drummed out of town to the tune of the "Rogues March" amidst the jeers of the injured scholars, with a penalty of a hundred lashes on the bare back in case he returned."

A more exciting episode in the early history of the church, though fortunately less typical, relates of the first kidnapping in Iowa. When a stepdaughter of a Mr. Tait (or Tate) had recently inherited a considerable fortune from her deceased father's parents, a grasping aunt, in troubling herself to make the journey to Dubuque, conspired while enroute with the captain of the steamboat to abduct the heiress. The design was carried out by a couple of brawny deckhands who invaded the Tait home, while the rest of the family were at church, and seized the girl. In hurrying her aboard the steamer the ruffians did not notice a neighboring boy who had watched the proceedings safe in the shelter of the darkness. Racing to the meeting house the lad raised the alarm with "they're stealing Tait's girl!" The preacher, congregation, and community rallied to the cry and swarmed down to the wharf where the boat commander at first denied all knowledge of the affair and even refused permission to search the craft. Active preparations to set the boat on fire, however, caused him to find prudence the better part of wisdom; the captive was speedily found and quickly released. When the boat took its departure the offending aunt and roustabouts discreetly kept out of sight."

Although the lead mines still drew a lawless type of population, and the total absence of lawful authority exposed the society to serious disorder, the ministers were generally treated with respect. According to Rev. Bastian's testimony, "even the roughest and most profane attended the meetings with respect and interest, and would often come ten miles on foot to attend the preaching."
In the nineteen months that had elapsed since the opening of the new district west of the Mississippi, five different faiths had made active attempts to foster their doctrines in the new soil: in 1833 the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian (supported by Congregationalists), and Methodist churches made a beginning; in 1834 was added the work of the Cumberland Presbyterian David Lowry, and the year closed with the establishment of the Regular Baptist church at Long Creek. In 1835, while these same faiths continued to propagate their doctrines, they were joined towards the end of the year by the appearance of a community of Quakers. 1835 was truly a year of the Cultivation of the Seed.

With the dawn of the new year there came to Dubuque one who was probably the first son of Italy to take up his abode in Iowa, the Rev. Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, who as missionary in Wisconsin was already credited with the baptism of fifteen hundred Indian converts. Reviving the abandoned building project of his deceased predecessor, Father Mazzuchelli inaugurated the erection of the first stone church building in Iowa, the corner stone of which—the first of such functions in our midst—was laid August 15th. Prior to this, in June, he had begun the construction of the first parochial school. Thus began Iowa's contact with the long and useful ministry of this man whose varied talents as organizer, financier, and architect gave to many of our growing towns of that generation Catholic churches, schools, and hospitals. In addition he is credited with having furnished the first designs for the "Old Capitol" at Iowa City. No less valuable to society was his advocacy of temperance, in which efforts he succeeded in securing the adherence of a hundred of his parishioners to the Father Matthew Total Abstinence Pledge.

In the spring of the year which brought the above developments in the work of the Catholic church in Dubuque, the Methodists suffered a severe loss in the tragic death of one of their leading members, a trustee of their church building, Woodbury Massie, who was shot down in cold blood in the

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1835 A YEAR OF CULTIVATING THE SEED

With the dawn of the new year there came to Dubuque one who was probably the first son of Italy to take up his abode in Iowa, the Rev. Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, who as missionary in Wisconsin was already credited with the baptism of fifteen hundred Indian converts. Reviving the abandoned building project of his deceased predecessor, Father Mazzuchelli inaugurated the erection of the first stone church building in Iowa, the corner stone of which—the first of such functions in our midst—was laid August 15th. Prior to this, in June, he had begun the construction of the first parochial school. Thus began Iowa's contact with the long and useful ministry of this man whose varied talents as organizer, financier, and architect gave to many of our growing towns of that generation Catholic churches, schools, and hospitals. In addition he is credited with having furnished the first designs for the "Old Capitol" at Iowa City. No less valuable to society was his advocacy of temperance, in which efforts he succeeded in securing the adherence of a hundred of his parishioners to the Father Matthew Total Abstinence Pledge.

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Shea, loc. cit.
Annals of Iowa, 3rd Series, IX, 54.
sight of his horrified family by rival claimants to a lead mine which the sheriff was in the act of putting him in possession of, in accordance with a decision of the courts. With no criminal jurisdiction as yet established on this side of the river, the murderers went unwhipped of justice until a brother and a sister of the slain man took the law into their own hands, apparently with full public approval, since they were never arraigned for their acts. Whether this had anything to do with his actions we do not know, but the Rev. Bastian moved his school to Catfish Gap, and, temporarily severing his conference relationship, continued in educational employment that fall and throughout the ensuing year, although at the same time he continued to preach extensively.\textsuperscript{33}

Rev. Bastian's successor in the Dubuque pastorate was the Rev. Henry W. Reed, who with his young wife had journeyed by horse and buggy a thousand miles that fall from their native Brooklyn to attend conference at Springfield, Illinois, only to be astonished to learn that they were being sent two hundred miles farther into what must have looked to this city bred couple like a waste and a howling wilderness. With no parsonage awaiting them, with rent at eight dollars a month for one comfortless room, the young preacher built his own shelter with his own hands. Because of a lack of stabling accommodations, he sent his horse to a country farmer, and got around his circuit as best he could on foot. The baby that was born to them that winter survived the fierce temperatures only two days; the grief stricken father was obliged himself to make the tiny coffin of rough boards, dig the grave and bury his dead.\textsuperscript{34}

At the southern end of the Purchase church activity also continued to increase and expand. Among the Methodists the Rev. L. B. Stateler built upon the foundations laid by Barton Cartwright and Rev. Jamison until a dozen regularly organized classes, reaching into five or six of the corner counties, with an unknown number of occasional preaching stations, were soon established. In these fruitful labors he was greatly reinforced by his presiding elder, Andrew Monroe of St. Louis, whom neither floods nor mountainous snow

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Waring, loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Fellows, History of the Upper Iowa Conference, p. 13.}
drifts, clouds of mosquitoes nor the hardships of sleeping nights on the bare earth, the perils of wolves nor the danger of prairie fire could hinder from carrying the gospel among the scattered settlements as they began to dot the landscape. The success of this earnest pair is suggested by the fact that at his first quarterly meeting at Burlington, May 25, 1835, Rev. Stateler greatly strengthened the little flock by adding eighteen converts to the church.\(^5\)

So well did the work of these men prosper that in September the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Church set off the district north of the state line into the Burlington Circuit, the first exclusively southern Iowa parish of any denomination. The presiding bishop, calling for a volunteer shepherd for the new fold, received the prompt "Here am I, send me!" from a rugged young preacher just received into full conference membership, John H. Ruble, the first minister to marry, die, and be buried in Iowa. On paper his charge extended north to Rock Island and west to the Missouri River, although in fact limited to what was then Des Moines County in the southern half of the Black Hawk Purchase, the only settled area in the circuit.\(^6\)

Sometime that summer Asa McMurtry, the missionary at Rock Island, formed a Methodist class at Pleasant Valley, in Scott County. With C. D. James, another missionary, he also made occasional visits to Rockingham, a village long ago outstripped by Davenport, but then a bustling ambitious community which gave great promise of being an emporium of commerce, situated just opposite the mouth of the Rock River.\(^7\)

It is probable that the second Baptist church in Iowa came into being during 1835, although, strange to say, the church historians who record the event do not give its date. This congregation was assembled at Rock Springs, not far from Burlington, by Elder John Clark, who was originally a Methodist preacher in Kentucky. There, however, he acquired such an intense hostility to the system of human bondage that he


\(^6\)Annals of Iowa, 3rd Series, XX, 297-303.

\(^7\)History of Scott County (Interstate Historical Co., 1883), p. 1190; Waring, *op cit.*, p. 68.
renounced both his state and his church. He even refused to accept a salary balance due on his resignation because it was paid out of the earnings of slave labor; he advised that the sum be used to provide a cemetery for negroes. First attaching himself to a wing of the Baptist denomination known as "The Friends of Humanity" on account of its anti-slavery position, Elder Clark came to Iowa under the sponsorship of the home mission board of that church. Naturally enough he organized his congregation under a covenant pledging them to an active support of the cause of emancipation. Of the history of the Rock Springs church we have but scanty record, except that it was one of the three societies participating in the formation of the Iowa Association in 1839.  

By an interesting coincidence, during that same summer another group of anti-slavery emigrants settled only a day's journey to the west of Elder Clark's group at Rock Springs. Isaac Pigeon, a North Carolina Quaker, moved by the prophetic warnings of one of the preachers of his sect concerning a civil war, then half a life time away, determined to move from Slave to Free territory. In searching for a desirable location in that region dedicated by the terms of the Missouri Compromise and the Northwest Ordinance to perpetual freedom, he encountered two Indiana Friends on the same errand. The trio selected a site in the land west of the Mississippi and laid out a village, using a long grapevine in lieu of a surveyor's chain. At the instance of Aaron Street, the village was named for his home town in Indiana Salem. This was the fourth Salem founded by members of the Street family, the others being located in New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana. It is only proper to say that emigrants from this infant Salem carried the name to the Pacific coast and at Salem, Oregon, completed the transcontinental chain.  

1836 A YEAR OF EXPANSION  

In 1836 while the 'older' and more 'established' faiths in the Iowa District were strengthening and expanding their activities, two new religious communities were added to the

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\[85\text{Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 21-22. See James Leaton, Methodism in Illinois, "The Friends of Humanity."} \]

\[86\text{Louis T. Jones, Quakers of Iowa (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914), pp. 38-41.} \]
Baptist, Catholic, Cumberland Presbyterian, Methodist, Presbyterian (parent branch), and Quaker organizations with the gathering together of those who adhered to the doctrines and disciplines of the Congregational and the Disciples of Christ churches. In this year also, the Cumberland Presbyterian church established a community of believers within the bounds of white settlement.

The record of 1836 begins with New Year's Day when another Presbyterian preacher with Congregational backing came to Dubuque, the Rev. Cyrus Watson, who had been assigned to a three months pastorate by the American Home Mission Board. While sharing the Methodist chapel on alternate Sundays with its pastor, Rev. Henry Reed, he succeeded in the course of his brief stay in raising funds for a Presbyterian church, the corner stone of which was laid on July 18th. The ceremony was notable for the number of laymen of other denominational faiths who participated, a Baptist, Mr. Ruppert, offered prayer, a Congregationalist, Dr. Timothy Mason, delivered the principal address, and Chief Justice Charles Dunn of the supreme court of the newly created Wisconsin Territory assisted in some unnamed capacity. The building, however, was not totally completed, nor was the church organized, until some years later."

April of this year saw the Congregationalists prospecting the Purchase on their own behalf when the famous Asa Turner and William Kirby of Quincy, Illinois, entered the country at Fort Madison, preached and explored northward to a point beyond Davenport and returned. By only a few weeks did Rev. Turner miss meeting up with the results of a number of lectures he had given in New England some years previously on the glories and attractions of the Mississippi Valley. The appeal of what they had heard of the great and glowing west at long last stirred four families, numbering eighteen persons, to forsake the east in the spring of 1836 and to pitch their camp on the site of the future town of Denmark about the middle of June. These modern pilgrims observed family prayers on their first night in residence, and on their first Sunday enjoyed a sermon by the first Congregational mis-

*Douglas, Pilgrims of Iowa, p. 18.*
sionary in Iowa, the Rev. Apthorp, who ministered to the little flock for the ensuing two years.\(^{41}\)

While still caring for the Galena mission field, on the last Sunday in June, the ever interested Rev. Aratus Kent preached at Bellevue, "a few miles down the river" on the west side. To encourage the formation of a Sunday School, he promised a $10.00 library in return for a $5.00 offering. At this invitation the people threw $11.50 into the hat and urged him to come again, but too many communities on the east side of the river, just as needy, demanded his time, and the Rev. George Smith, a Methodist itinerant from the Illinois side, fell heir to this preparatory work, which was formed into the Maquoketa Mission that fall.

Something of the importance attached to religious services by the pioneers, and incidentally something of the trials of early proprietors and speculators in town and land sites, is illustrated in the experience of Col. Sullivan, the founder of Rockingham. Faced with the threatened loss of his first residents who refused to remain unless they could have a Methodist service, Col. Sullivan applied to Presiding Elder Alfred Brunson (of the Rock Island District), for a preacher, pledging his support. The result of this was that the Rev. Collin James of Rock Island took Rockingham into his circuit, and soon organized a class with Othniel Davenport as leader; another point for services seven miles farther inland was also located. Encouraged by this demand and by this activity, the conference that fall made Rockingham the head of the third Methodist circuit in Iowa, covering the whole country between the Iowa and the Wapsipinicon rivers and as far west as white settlers had penetrated. It is said of Chauncy Hobart, the preacher in charge, that in his search for the "sheep" in the wilderness he blazed more highways than were staked by the surveyor. His twin brother, Norris Hobart, was sent to Burlington in the same year. After years of profitable ministry in Iowa these two followed the frontier into Minnesota where they continued their work.\(^{42}\)

During the course of 1835 Davenport began to assume a growing importance as a trading center on the river, and be-

\(^{41}\)ibid., p. 25.
\(^{42}\)Waring, op. cit., pp. 69, 81, 84.
came shortly a serious rival to Rockingham for county honors. The first Methodist society in Davenport grew out of the visit of the Rev. Elnathan Gavitt, a missionary sent to the Sauk and Fox Indians by the Ohio Methodist Conference. Finding his mission to the Indians blocked by the same adverse influences encountered by others prior to him, he stopped at Davenport. There Col. Davenport, less opposed to evangelism among the whites than among the Indians, gave Rev. Gavitt free occupancy of a cabin on the Island, from which he itinerated in free lance fashion north as far as St. Anthony’s Falls and south to Fort Madison. He numbered among his friends, if not hearers, such widely known characters as Col. Zachary Taylor, Captain Jefferson Davis, Chief Keokuk, and the mighty Black Hawk himself.43

This year also marked the repossession by Peter Cartwright of his “Iowa Claim” from the Missouri conference of the Methodist church. When the latter conference failed to send a successor to take the place of the Rev. John H. Ruble, who died in April, Peter Cartwright quickly sent two preachers into the field, Daniel Cartwright, a brother of Barton Hall Cartwright, who assumed charge of the district from Burlington north, and Wilson Pitner, who covered the southern portion of the circuit. In the summer of 1836 Daniel Cartwright reared Iowa’s first Methodist rural church at Yellow Springs, a hewed log cabin, 18x22 feet, eight feet to the square, with two single sash windows to the side, a double pine door, and a puncheon floor; its backless puncheon benches made going to sleep during sermons there quite impossible. Pitner, a genuine child of the frontier, is credited with the formation of a Methodist Class at Pleasant Ridge Center, Lee County.44

With the emergence of Wisconsin Territory on the 4th of July, 1836, in which the “Iowa District” was included, Burlington took on a new importance when it was promised that the territorial capitol would be located there temporarily, on condition that a suitable building for the seat of government could be provided. Rising to meet this opportunity, Dr. Wm. Ross inaugurated a church building campaign by do-

43Ibid., pp. 59, 93.
44Ibid.; Roberts and Morehead, Story of Lee County (Chicago, 1914) I, 106.
nating two lots and excavating the basement of what in later
years bore the honored name of "Old Zion." During the
construction of Old Zion, Nicholas Bastian, formerly of Du-
buque, rendered efficient service as pastor of the Burlington
Methodist society. But first and last the enterprise relied
most upon the efforts of Dr. Ross and his untiring support.
In all the Doctor contributed $6,000.00 to the building fund,
and at one crisis he mortgaged, and lost, his own elegant home
to meet the incoming bills of the church.46

In the meanwhile, in another part of the southern half of
the Purchase, a new denomination in Iowa, the Disciples of
Christ, now generally known as the Church of Christ, began
organic existence at Lost Creek; a short distance away were
the Congregationalist Yankees breaking ground on their new
claims at Denmark. Although not organized or "churched" in
groups, there were Disciples of Christ in Iowa prior to
1836. The first of that faith known in these borders, John
Box, came to Fort Madison in 1832; the Saunders brothers,
pioneer bankers, and Alvin Pressly, also of that faith, came
to Mt. Pleasant in 1835, and there may well have been
others.47

It was on the "first Saturday and Lord's Day in July" at
the home of Joshua Owen on Lost Creek that Elder David R.
Chance, a member of both the Wisconsin, and later, the Iowa
territorial assemblies, formed a congregation of Disciples of
Christ. The eight charter members of the initial organiza-
tion were joined by six or more at this first meeting. At the

45This is the only church building that ever functioned as the capitol for two
different members of the Union, although then but territories. After fire had de-
stroyed the frame building constructed by Major Jeremiah Smith in which the
Wisconsin Territorial Assembly met in 1837, the legislature met in the Metho-
dist Church. The Wisconsin Territorial Assembly was in session here when the
act of Congress establishing Iowa Territory was passed on June 12, 1838. The
church also housed the executive offices of the territory and sessions of court as
well. See Annals of Iowa, 3rd Series, IX, 524-534.

46The famous name "Old Zion" is reputed to have been acquired in this wise:
"The good ladies of the church undertook to raise means to repair the parsonage,
a committee of ways and means reported that the holding of a fair, in their judg-
ment, would be the most successful method. When the time came for the holdin-
g of the fair, the late Judge Stocton went to the office of the 'Burlington Telegraph'
and requested the editors, Morgan and McKinney, to get up a poster, which ap-
peared with the following heading: 'Old Zion wants a new roof' from which it
received its present name." This was in 1851. Burlington City Directory, 1868,
p. 28.—Editor.

47Waring, History of the Iowa Conference, p. 59; History of Des Moines
County, Western Historical Co., p. 184.

48All references to the Lost Creek, Fort Madison, and Louisa County or-
ganizations of Disciples of Christ are to the unpublished MS. of Charles L.
Blanchard, Pioneers of a Great Cause, pp. 27-30, 40-42, 55, in the Drake University
Bible College Library.
end of a few months, when the congregation had moved into a double log cabin belonging to Dr. Isaac Briggs, the numbers of the group had increased to thirty. Dr. Briggs donated to the society both house and grounds, which included the Lost Creek Cemetery.

Taking their religion seriously, these Disciples excluded from fellowship any of their number guilty of such offenses as dancing, fighting, swearing, drunkenness, absence from worship more than three months without adequate excuse. These were moral standards, it may be noted, quite universally observed by all denominations in that epoch.

During the same summer that the Disciples were organizing on Lost Creek, others of the same denomination were being assembled by Elder Samuel Bell at Virginia Grove and Long Creek in Louisa County, from which in time grew the Disciple church at Columbus City.

Like those of other faiths, the Disciple ministers were "farmer preachers" who, between intervals of wresting a living from the stubborn soil, gave freely of their time and energy to the spreading of the truths of the Scriptures, as they interpreted them, wherever they could secure a hearing.

On the very Sunday on which the Lost Creek Disciples convened for their first stated meeting, the Rev. Cyrus Hays of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, "at a meeting appointed for public preaching," which indicated some measure of preparatory work, "at the home of Joseph Howard, Wisconsin Territory, Des Moines County [now Lee], on the 25th of July, 1836 . . . opened the door for the reception of members." On presentation of certificates of dismissal and recommendation from their former church homes, twelve persons were received into communion. Michael Walker, Harrison Foster, and William Howard were elected ruling elders, and since the others had already been set apart, Foster only was duly ordained.48

This Sugar Creek Cumberland Church soon became a denominational center where presbyteries frequently held ses-

48 A double log cabin is actually two square buildings with a roofed-over entry between; delightfully cool in the summer, it is something else again in the winter season.

49 Hinkhouse, One Hundred Years of the Iowa Presbyterian Church, p. 324, quoting from the church book of the Sugar Creek Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
sion. Here an annual camp meeting was also held for many years, a form of evangelism especially popular with this denomination, since both its origin and its name came from gatherings of this type along the Cumberland River in the early years of the century. The congregation flourished for at least two generations, for it was in existence at the time of the re-union with the parent denomination of the Presbyterian church in 1906.

The first resident Baptist clergyman, Elder Hezekiah Johnson, located in this year twelve miles north of Burlington. A little later he joined with Elder Jonah Todd in forming the members of their two families into the third Baptist church in the Purchase. They were assisted in the organization by Elder Alexander Evans, who with the two former ministers later participated in the organizing of the Iowa Baptist Association in 1839.10

Meanwhile Father Mazzuchelli's stone church in Dubuque had advanced to completion, being opened for worship and school in September, 1836. Without waiting for this consummation of his labors, however, the energetic missionary had already extended his care to the newly founded Davenport, where he secured a block of ground 320 feet square, affording ample space for his projected church, school, hospital, and ministerial residence. On this location there arose within the space of twelve months time the second Catholic church constructed in Iowa, and the first building of Iowa burned bricks. The donor of the building site was Antoine Le Claire, who boasted of the blood of French nobility and of Indian royalty as well, the founder of Davenport, a U. S. Indian agent and interpreter, and the biographer of Black Hawk. The ground donated by Le Claire was alone valued at $2,500.00, in addition to which his devout wife contributed $1,000.00 to the building fund. Although a firm Catholic, Le Claire demonstrated an unusual tolerance and impartiality for those years in donating a building lot to each of the Protestant churches in Davenport. It was a very fine benevolence, especially in a time when too many of the Protestant clergy seemed to feel it as necessary to warn their hearers of

10Mitchell, op. cit., p. 25.
the wiles of the papacy as to preach against the encroachments of vice. 21

Yet harmony was not everywhere among the religious groups in the territory. Towards the end of the year the increasing tides of immigration confronted the Quakers at Salem with the very problem some of them had left the south to escape, Slavery. Despite their pacifistic creed, they remained inflexible in their hostility towards the system and its operators. Although in most instances the power of suggestion sufficed, portents of the future were not lacking as the following incident indicates. An unnamed family coming from a slave state had brought in their train an aged woman bond servant, one of the few persons ever so held on Iowa soil. Taking counsel among themselves, the Friends informed the parties that human bondage had no legal existence in their territory, whereupon the owners forestalled any more positive movement towards emancipation by silently vanishing with their human chattel. Some time later they returned with an old horse and some disreputable remnants of merchandise they had obtained in exchange for the slave. 22

1837 A YEAR OF EXPANSION

Notable among the developments in this year when each of the church orders were expanding into the newer settlements and consolidating their organizations in the older communities, were the developments in the Presbyterian church in Iowa, the first appearance of the Associate Presbyterian branch of that faith, and the first evidence of the widening schism between the adherents of the “Old School” and the “New School” in the parent church. In this year a Christian Church was also added to the new denominations worshipping in the “Iowa District.”

A movement that had its beginning in the fall of 1836 gave Iowa its first Associate Presbyterian body. 23 When Adam Ritchey, of Warren County, Illinois, a member of the Asso-
ciate Presbyterian church of that community, crossed the river in the preceding fall to plant the seeds of his sect in the present bounds of Washington County, a new movement began which by the early spring of 1837 resulted in the founding of another church now a hundred years old. When he first set his face towards the new land of promise across the Mississippi, Ritchey was severely reproved by his pastor for "leaving your Church and its communion and going away to live and die among the heathen, for the Gospel will never cross the Mississippi!" "I am not going to leave it, I am going to take it with me!" was the pioneer's retort. True to his word, religious services were held in the Ritchey cabin from the time of its erection in the fall of 1836. Seemingly this was not yet enough, for on October 7, 1836, Ritchey wrote to his denominational headquarters asking for a missionary for this new west. His request was honored by the sending of the Rev. Samuel Douthitt, a licentiate of the Muskingum, Ohio, Presbytery, who became the first representative of the Associate branch of the Presbyterian body in this newer west.

While authorities differ as to the earliest visit of Rev. Douthitt, whether it was in the fall of 1836 or in the winter of that year, it is certain that he reported having preached two Sabbaths, April 9th and 16th, 1837, to a congregation on Crooked Creek. In a year's time the congregation was able to support a minister of its own, proof of which was early evidenced by the payment to the Rev. Douthitt of $12.00 for his one week's work. Since the Presbytery in its 1837 report to the synod listed the Crooked Creek church as one of its units, it is quite certain that the organization took place on the date mentioned above, if not earlier. This, at least, is the belief of the present day descendent of that early congregation, for it celebrated the centenary of its foundation, with all proper solemnity, April 11-18, 1937.

A striking commentary on the power of one family in the promotion of the pioneer church is seen in the fact that of the thirty-three members on the first roll of this church, sixteen were Ritchey's. So closely identified was Adam Ritchey with the life of the church that when he moved over into the
edge of Henry County a few weeks later that spring, the
place of meeting moved with him. In the course of its his-
tory, the church also had two or three other removes before
it found its permanent home at Crawfordsville, where it is
now located.

In 1858 the merger of the Associate Presbyterian with the
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church took the Crawfords-
ville congregation into the United Presbyterian Church, of
which it is the senior organization in Iowa.

Adam Richey’s connection with the religious development
in the Crooked Creek community did not end with his re-
moval to Henry County, for on his removal he sold his
Crooked Creek claim to a Matthew Moorehead, who was as
thorough going a Methodist as Ritchey was a Presbyterian.
The natural result was that on October 20th Washington
County’s first Wesleyan Society, the Moorehead Methodist
Class, was organized in the same one room cabin which in the
preceeding April had witnessed the organization of the Presby-
terian Calvinistic church. To have eradded the organiza-
tion of two different denominational societies is certainly dis-
tinction enough for one pioneer cabin.

In the spring which saw the organization of the Ritchey
Presbyterian congregation, an outstanding Presbyterian
churchman came to Iowa in the person of the Rev. Lorenzo
G. Bell, who on the 2nd of June, 1837, assisted by Rev. Sam-
uel G. Wilson, organized at West Point a Presbyterian church
of the order then beginning to be denominated as the “Old
School.” Accepting a call from the new society, Rev. Bell
began a record of service in which he organized twenty-eight
churches, helped found two seminaries, and was successively
the premier presbyterial and synodical Moderator of his
church. The ruling elders of the West Point church were
Alexander Walker, Cyrus Poage, and William Patterson, the
last of whom held his office for more than fifty years. The
stamina and vitality of this infant church may be inferred
from the fact that it launched within a year an educational
institution of which notice will be taken later on.  

54Ibid.
55Hinkhouse, op. cit., pp. 8-11.
The Presbyterian denomination also began work at Rockingham through the labors of the Rev. Enoch Meade, a "farmer preacher" living on a claim near the town, who reported to the presbytery a small congregation of twelve members. Extending his activities to the vicinity of Burlington, Mr. Meade planted a society at Spring Creek, a rural society that became sufficiently vigorous to act as a fostering mother to a smaller group of Presbyterians in the town of Burlington, until immigration and natural growth reversed their relationship.\(^\text{56}\)

A further increase in churches in Scott County came from two unrelated developments in 1837. At Buffalo, the Rev. Martin Baker assembled the first Iowa congregation of the Christian Church, then sometimes styled "New Light" to distinguish them from the Disciples of Christ. For a number of years now it has been affiliated with the Congregational Church. The second increase in churches was at Le Claire, where Elder Rodolphus Weston of Carthage, Illinois, organized a Baptist church with Ira Smith as deacon, the fourth church of this denomination in the state. Owing to its connection with an Illinois Association, however, it has not received recognition as such in Iowa Baptist histories.\(^\text{57}\)

1837 also witnessed institutional developments in the Catholic Church in the southern half of the Purchase. The Catholic priest, P. P. La Fevre, was succeeded by the Rev. August Brickwadde from Quincy, Illinois, perhaps because the latter was more familiar with the German language spoken by an increasing number of immigrants of that nationality who were moving into Lee County. Rev. Brickwadde commenced his work at Fort Madison, where he celebrated Mass in the home of a Mr. Dingman. The third Catholic church in Iowa was formed by the Rev. Brickwadde with fifty-eight parishioners, thirty-seven of whom "made their communion," on May 11th, in the barn of John Henry Kempker, on Sugar Creek, the same community in which a Cumberland Presbyterian church had been established in the preceding year.

\(^{54}\text{ibid., pp. 114, 149-150.}\)

\(^{57}\text{History of Scott County, Interstate Historical Co., p. 976; Mitchell, op. cit., p. 465.}\)
Steps were soon taken that shortly led to the erection of the third Catholic church structure in Iowa, constructed of the sugar maples that gave the name to the stream. Called at first St. James, this congregation has been for long located at the village of St. Paul.59

In the same year, on the western fringe of the Iowa District, although outside the Purchase, the Catholic Church established an Indian mission to the Pottawattomie tribe, a tribe that had been moved from Wisconsin in 1836, and in 1837 was located along the Missouri River with Council Bluffs (Kanesville) as their agency headquarters; later, in 1846, they were removed to Oklahoma. Here in an abandoned government store room fitted up for a chapel and a school room Father De Smet, famed apostle to the Northwestern Indians, assisted by Father Ver Reydt and perhaps others, established his mission. For ten years Father De Smet labored faithfully to induct the tribesmen into the mysteries of the industrial and spiritual life of the white man, but neither the morals, faith, nor the settled occupations of the Christian appealed to the Indians. With the further remove of the Pottawatomies beyond the Missouri, the mission vanished, leaving no impress upon the local life. The founder expressed himself sorely disappointed with the lack of visible spiritual results among his dusky flock, in whom he may have expected to see in a decade an equal measure of progress to that registered by his own more favored race in twice as many centuries.59

The most important development in the work of the Catholic Church in the Iowa District in 1837, however, took place in far away Rome. On July 23rd Pope Gregory XVI took the momentous step of coordinating the work of the Catholic Church in the Northwest by creating the first episcopal diocese of his Church in that area, the Dubuque Diocese. Contained in this was "that part of Wisconsin Territory between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers," that is, all of Iowa, most of Minnesota, and parts of both Dakotas. A princely domain in prevision, at the time of its creation it comprised in the

59Shea, loc. cit.; Roberts and Moorehead, Story of Lee County, Iowa, I, 318.
eastern portion of its Iowa part but three churches, the stone edifice at Dubuque, the brick church at Davenport, and the log structure at Sugar Creek. The area had but one resident priest to serve a Catholic population of about two thousand. At the western end of the diocese was the recently established Indian mission to the Pottawatomies.60

To this vast new field of unlimited possibilities, His Holiness assigned the Very Reverend Matthias Loras, Vicar General of the Mobile Diocese, a native of France, whose father and uncles had fallen victims to the guillotine during the Revolution. Rev. Loras was consecrated to his new office as bishop on December 10, 1837, by Bishop Portier of Mobile assisted by Bishop Blanc of New Orleans. Before taking possession of his super-parish, the new diocesan made a pilgrimage to his native land in search of both material and ministerial reinforcements. Because his arrival at Dubuque, his see city, did not occur until April 19, 1839, his very remarkable record of episcopal activities falls outside the limits of this study. Suffice it to say that he was successful in being accompanied on his return by two priests and four seminarists, all of whom made their impress on the expanding life of the new land. He also brought with him funds out of which he materially aided the construction of houses of worship for many of the scattered groups worshipping in barns and private homes.61

On approximately the same date as Pope Gregory's ecclesiastical action, the non-ecclesiastical Quakers at Salem, believing that their numbers had sufficiently increased for self determination, forwarded a petition to the nearest administrative unit of their faith, in Vermillion County, Illinois, asking for the status of a "Preparatative Meeting," accompanying this with a further memorial for the proper supervision of the rapidly increasing Quaker societies in Henry and the surrounding counties. The local and regional organizations effected in consequence of these requests were not only the first distinct Quaker "Meetings" west of the Mississippi, but, as nearly as the writer can ascertain, the first governing

60Shea, op. cit.
61ibid.
unit of any church to be established in Iowa."

The Salem Meeting numbered 192 members. At its first business session it voted the construction of a hewn log meeting house, 44x44 feet, to be partitioned into two equal sized rooms in which the men and women Friends held separate meetings, according to the good old Quaker rule then practiced. Pending its erection, they rented a building upon the rather unusual terms of 7% per annum of the cost price of the building. Another Quaker activity was beginning to assume definite form at this time also, sub rosa, the assistance of runaway slaves. From its early establishment until the dissolution of the system in the settlement of the controversy, Salem was an important station in the "Underground Railway," with a remarkable record of no fugitives ever being re-captured of all those sheltered by them."

The Congregational Pilgrims at Denmark, like the Quakers, were feeling the confidence that comes with numbers and a steady growth. Believing that their increased numbers entitled them to a churchly order, they sent an invitation to the Rev. Asa Turner to come over from Illinois to help them become organized. Various causes, however, delayed the visit of Rev. Turner until the closing of the river by ice postponed the event until the next spring, giving the community time in the meanwhile to prepare a suitable habitation for the new congregation. Not even the moving ice floes, however, barred Julius Reed, a Congregational missionary in Illinois, from crossing to the western district he had been viewing for seven years from the eastern shores. In preaching the first Protestant sermon in Keokuk he used the largest of the six frame buildings that constituted the physical bulk of the town, and which bore the sinister name of "Rat Row." Anxious friends attempted to dissuade Reed from venturing among the rough rivermen who were the sole occupants of the place, but nothing daunted, Rev. Reed went, saw, preached, and "was never treated better in my life," he commented."

Prior to the organization of the Moorehead Methodist Class mentioned above (page 268), Methodist activities in 1837

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63 Jones, Quakers of Iowa, p. 43.
64 Ibid., pp. 188-189.
65 Douglas, Pilgrims of Iowa, pp. 26, 30.
had begun in January when Simeon Clark, a Methodist local preacher, held the first services at Bellevue, in the bar room of a hotel where the landlord obligingly stopped the drinking, gambling, and cursing running full flood long enough so that the gospel could have a chance. Several subsequent services were held in the same place. This hotel was the scene, a little later, in 1839, of a fierce battle between the law and the far famed "Prairie Bandits," who were just then endeavoring to entrench themselves on this side of the river. The landlord was killed in the conflict, but who shall say whether his friendly gesture to the gospel preacher was clever camouflage, or genuine respect for the better things of life that he and his following were trampling under foot.

Other activities among the Methodists in this year included the work of another local preacher, George Baumgartner, who, coming to teach school in Bloomington, now Muscatine, inaugurated church services in the surrounding countryside as well. At Dubuque, in September, the Rev. Henry W. Reed closed a two year pastoral term, the longest of any member of any denomination thus far in the history of Iowa. In leaving Dubuque, the Rev. Reed left a church membership of fifty-six, a Sunday School which boasted of forty scholars, a "staff" of six teachers, and a library of fifty volumes. Rev. Reed had been greatly assisted during his second year by the first woman preacher of Iowa, Mrs. Elizabeth Atkinson, a licentiate of the Primitive Methodist Connection of England. A lady of refinement, education, and ability, the log chapel was never sufficient to house the congregations who came to hear her preach.

Sometime in the winter of 1837 a quarterly meeting held in the Moorehead cabin in Washington County had among those present the very first preacher contributed by Iowa to the ranks of the ministry, the Rev. Thomas M. Kirkpatrick, who had been granted a license to preach at a camp meeting at West Point the preceding September, and recommended for admission to the Illinois Methodist Conference. It was

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the beginning of a profitable ministry, most of which was passed in Iowa, but which took him into states south, west, and north on various fields of labor."

In this year of both expansion and organization, the Methodist Church at its Illinois conference, held in the fall of the year, divided the Methodist work in the region west of the river among six great enrolling circuits, having a membership of 740, and comprising a net work of preaching stations covering almost the entire Black Hawk Purchase. These circuits, besides being traversed by seven conference appointees and assisted by a number of local preachers and exhorters, also enjoyed the quarterly visitations of the two presiding elders to whose Illinois districts they belonged."

1838 THE YEAR OF PROMISE

Iowa's last six months in the leading strings of the older west saw all the churches busily lengthening their cords and strengthening their stakes in the land of promise. In the short space of time, however, no new creed or doctrine established itself in the territory.

When one considers the effect the ratification of the Sauk and Fox Indian treaty of 1837 by Congress in February of 1838 had on the hesitant, the extraordinarily favorable publicity given the Iowa District in the press of the east, together with the widely spread rumor long current that territorial status was soon to be conferred upon this western district, one need little wonder that the stream of emigration during the summer months reached torrential proportions. And since these new settlers in the main brought with them their church interests and their church connections, all denominations and faiths enjoyed a period of marked growth and development.

On the 3rd day of July the long years of waiting were fulfilled and Iowa Territory became a reality.

On March 26th, a Presbyterian church took form at Fort Madison with the Rev. J. A. Clark as pastor and with seventeen charter members. The same minister also organized a similar congregation at Burlington, both of which were almost

*7Ibid., p. 188; Zimmerman, op. cit.
*8Waring, op. cit., pp. 47, 83.
immediately disrupted by the "Old School" vs. "New School" controversy then threatening a schism in the parent denomination. Though long since buried from sight, these issues were of tremendous importance to their respective proponents in those days. At Burlington the "New School" adherents merged with the Congregationalists, while at Fort Madison the two factions competed for a score of years, then, under the influence of a far reaching and deep searching revival, fused together again as the "Union" Presbyterian Church, thus anticipating by a decade the harmonizing of the differences between the denominational champions.

About this time ten Presbyterians from three states, becoming acquainted at Davenport, began worshipping together. Their pastor was the eccentric Rev. Michael Hummer, who also taught school as an additional contribution to the community's welfare. When this group formed itself into a church in the course of the year, one of the officiating clergymen, supposedly the Rev. Pillsbury of Illinois, came twenty-six miles on foot to assist in the services.

At Kossuth, Lee County, the Presbyterians erected that summer a meeting house in which the organizations of both Old and New schools took place. Beside its churchly functions, it also housed the usual educational activities of the community.

A second church of the Associate Presbyterian order was established in 1838 at Grandview, Louisa County, but having been discontinued a number of years ago, historic details of its establishment are lacking.

On the fifth of May Denmark welcomed the long deferred visit of Asa Turner, who together with Rev. Julius Reed proceeded to "unfurl the standard erected on Plymouth Rock" over this community, the first Congregational church west of the Mississippi. The services were held in a building of which the floor, doors, and windows had only been put in place the previous day, the pulpit was of "common boards

89Hinkhouse, One Hundred Years of the Iowa Presbyterian Church, pp. 128-130.
90Ibid., p. 126; History of Scott County, p. 731.
91Hinkhouse, op. cit., p. 159.
92A. L. Davidson, Semi Centennial History of the Iowa Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, 1912, p. 3.
which required two hours for its construction and was never worth painting.” Altogether the whole looked “as if taken from the stump within twenty-four hours,” yet it was sturdy and substantial enough to house a congregation, a Sunday School, public school, and an academy. Thirty-two charter members signed the articles of faith of the Denmark church, binding themselves to a total abstinence from all intoxicants, a maintenance of family worship, a support of the church and of Sabbath observances, and a pledge to refrain from all vice and sinful amusements, listing among the last some diversions quite freely indulged in by many of that and other denominations in these later days. Rev. Asa Turner, whose pronounced anti-slavery utterances were rendering him persona non grata in Quincy, accepted a call from the new society and served as their pastor for over thirty years. Besides serving his church and supporting his family principally by farming, for seven years he was territorial missionary, engaged in general evangelistic labors. In the fall of 1838 the second Congregationalist minister to Iowa, the Rev. Reuben Gaylord, was assigned to Mt. Pleasant. On a missionary stipend of $400.00, with $40.00 additional allotted for traveling expenses, he showed his faith by first marrying, and then pursuing his activities so energetically that in conjunction with the labors of Rev. Turner, five additional Congregational societies were established within a year’s time.

Also in the southern part of the Purchase, which was filling up with settlers far more rapidly than was the northern portion, at Winfield, Scott County, the four Brownlie families banded themselves into a new Church of Christ (Disciples of Christ). At about the same time John Box, William Leslie, R. C. McMurphy, and others formed another church of that order at Fort Madison, with Elder John Drake, the father of Governor Francis Drake, as pastor.

In addition to the record set forth here of the different religious faiths that had effected an organization in Iowa by

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276 ANNALS OF IOWA

29Ibid., p. 37.
30History of Scott County, p. 125; Downer, op. cit. See also Blanchard, Pioneers of a Great Cause.
the beginning of the territorial period, and of the men who labored to promote the spread and the organization of those beliefs, mention should also be made of still other creeds or sects whose representatives had made visits to Iowa, but had not established an organization before the opening of the territorial period. Although the records are almost too meagre to attempt a complete presentation, it may be safe to mention that Bishop Chase of Peoria held Protestant Episcopal services at Davenport on July 15, 1837. Probabbly other services were also held at other places where Episcopalian churches arose a few years later. The Rev. Christian Troup, first minister of the United Brethren in Christ, entered the territory in 1838 and blazed trails for the pioneer missionaries of his church who followed him in 1842. Doubtless there were other denominations as well, of like spirit with the many named here, who were too busy imitating the "Acts of the Apostles" to take time for contributions to any modern "Books of Chronicles." Enough that their names are written in heaven, for their faith and their works aided in providing Iowa with good citizens, both for this present world and that which is to come.

A careful review of the quoted authorities indicates that at the time of its creation, July 3, 1838, Iowa Territory had no less than one hundred different religious organizations representing at least eleven different denominations, with twenty or more ministers actively employed, besides many volunteer preachers serving and living among its population of 22,859. Approximately four or five thousand communicants enrolled in the various societies and churches, and a proportionate number of adherents, show that even those days of poverty and of small beginnings provided as amply for the spiritual welfare of communities as have these later days of wealth and culture.

*Downer, op. cit., I, 525.
*Rev. Christian Troup was not the first United Brethren minister in Iowa. A local preacher named John Burns settled in Lee County in 1836, and preached extensively, but as he organized no societies, no trace of his work survived him. Rev. Troup, an Abraham Lincoln sort of a man, traded his yoke of oxen for 160 acres near Mt. Vernon, and supported his family while continuing in his missionary work from Dubuque to Henry County. The oldest United Brethren Class that sprang from his work was established near Wayland, organized in 1842.

Minutes of the Iowa State Conference, United Brethren in Christ, 1910, p. 44, and 1911, p. 49.
That much overlapping of church operations occurred goes without saying, that the existence of fierce and heated sectarian controversy figured in that generation, and in the two succeeding generations as well, is all unfortunately too true. However, when one remembers that each society tended to assume to itself the possession of the sole and complete truth, one can forgive the impatience shown at the benighted errors of ignorance and will of their misguided brethren. Yet by these competitive means gospel privileges were secured to all, and all were compelled to hear, and at least partially heed, the exhortations to moral righteousness never omitted by even the keenest advocate of credal subtleties.

The writer has taken little space to relate the financial hardships of the pioneer clergy. The incoming settlers were in the main poor, and the little means they possessed of necessity went to pay for the government lands they were entering at $1.25 per acre. With scanty equipment they were wresting a living for their families from the virgin soil, housing, shelter for live stock, fencing for crops, highways, and public buildings all had to be provided. If the preachers sometimes went hungry, so too did their parishioners, and ragged clothes were honorable as proof of a willingness to share the poverty of others. On the other hand, none starved or perished of blizzard or flood. What the people had was shared generously, and those who could turn their hands to farming, mechanical trades, or school teaching found ready employment, especially in the latter occupation.

Since the teaching of school is a phase of Christian endeavor which requires some special notice if we are to obtain a correct vision of our obligations to the pioneer clergy, a brief sketch of those services prior to July, 1838, will conclude the study.

The Preachers As Teachers

Any estimate of the pioneer clergy that represents them as uncouth illiterates, void of everything but a flaming zeal for conversions, is a grievous error. Most of them were of a culture fully equal to that of the lawyers and doctors emigrating to the new country, and those less favored in early opportunities, by personal study made themselves the peers,
if not the superiors, of the frontier lay "school masters," whose equipment too frequently did not comprise a full mastery of the "three R's." Moreover, having all been trained in an age that considered education, secondary and higher education particularly, as the special province of the church, they were not slow to seize the opportunities pioneer communities offered of combining clerical and educational duties.

Of course it will be understood that in the unorganized conditions of the advancing frontier in the period covered by this study such things as public educational provisions were impossible. Whatever was done had to be done by private initiative. In this the frontier preachers were as ready trail blazers as in the realms of the spirit, with few exceptions members of the clergy participated in all educational undertakings. Many of the school teachers, however, were not ordained ministers, only licensed preachers of some denomination, whose Sunday ministrations were voluntary contributions to the welfare of the community. The scattered settlements and the swiftly changing centers of population which of necessity made the clergy an itinerant one, also made the schools under the care of the clergy, by the same token, equally sketchy and uncertain as to term or periods of session. Yet, as much as was possible, these men imparted secular learning on week days to the children of the Sunday morning congregations. It need hardly be said that the tuitions earned in this way came as welcomed additions to the missionary stipend, always scanty, and often non-existent.

As has already been stated, the first crude house of worship erected at Dubuque in the summer of 1834 was designed for a school as well as a church. We have already seen the use made of this building by the Rev. Nicholas Bastian for educational purposes. If the word of other than a church historian may be offered, the school in which the Rev. Bastian was assisted by a Prof. Green was not merely an ordinary school, but was an academy as well. This then, was Iowa's first adventure in advanced education.\(^9\)

After a year in pastoral labors, Rev. Bastian gave up his church and moved his school ten miles west of Dubuque to

Catfish Gap, where a colony of English miners of a superior type furnished him sufficient material and support to enable him to set up a boarding school. Here he gathered in pupils in such numbers as to win for himself the cognomen of "Big Father," a name bestowed on him by an admiring Indian chief, who, visiting the school on an invitation from the teacher, was deeply mystified that any man should display so much interest in other folks' children.79

When Rev. Bastian returned to his ministerial labors in the fall of 1836, the citizens of Dubuque launched an academy in that place which was to be accommodated in the Methodist Chapel, but not under church auspices, if we may judge from finding among its trustees names of men identified respectively with the Baptist, Catholic, Congregational, and Methodist denominations. It is quite likely, however, that a school sponsored by such earnest churchmen and meeting in such a place would at least be under religious influence. This academy was incorporated by act of the Wisconsin territorial legislature on January 15, 1838, as the Dubuque Seminary, "for the instruction of young people of both sexes in science and literature."78 Alonzo Phelps, the principal, who in later years was Superintendent of Schools in the state of Wisconsin, advertised his readiness "to teach all branches of a liberal education."80 Even for those days this was an ambitious program, when "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other" was the best definition of a superior university a reminiscent James Garfield could offer.

The same fall in which the movement for an academy got under way at Dubuque, the Rev. George Baumgartner, a Methodist local preacher, came to Bloomington, where he opened a "rate school," as private educational enterprises dependent upon scholars' tuitions and rates for support were called. He taught for some years in the vicinity of the town where on Sundays he exercised his ministerial office to good effect.81

Four days after incorporating of the Dubuque Seminary in January, the Wisconsin legislature conferred a like

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79Waring, History of the Iowa Conference, p. 41.
80Aurmer, History of Education in Iowa, III, 3-8.
81Ibid., p. 284.
status upon a "Philandrian College," located at Denmark. Sponsored by the wealthy Leeper family of Jacksonville, Illinois, the projected institution was to have had the Rev. Jeremiah Porter as president of its board of trustees and a curriculum in keeping with its title. This institution was to be under Congregational direction, although no credal restrictions were imposed upon either students or instructors. But for the financial panic of the late thirties which wiped out the Leeper fortune among others, and with it the prospects of Philandrian College, this might well have been the first college in the whole of the Northwest. At a later date, beyond the close of this study, the Rev. Asa Turner started a "select" school in the village chapel at Denmark which in time ripened into the Denmark Academy, with its long and familiar record of achievement.\(^7\)

On the same day as the legislative enactment which created Philandrian College, seven other institutions variously styled academy, seminary, high school, or college, the scope and objectives being about the same regardless of designation, were located respectively at Fort Madison, Mt. Pleasant, Augusta, Farmington, Burlington, Union Grove (township 69, Range 3, Lee County), and West Point by legislative law. Only the last named, however, ever realized the fair promise of this action, functioning for many years as a Presbyterian institution of learning, with pastors of the local church acting as president. That the others were either intended or expected to function as denominational, or at any rate, religious institutions, is quite certain, since the names of ministers and prominent laymen appear on every list of trustees. Despite their initial failures, the spirit fostered by these attempts to provide a culture rooted in Christian principles for the youth of the rising commonwealth bore fruit in the more prosperous times to come. In the period before it launched its great program of tax-aided higher education, the state could boast of fifty or more seminaries and colleges established within its borders.\(^8\)

A more successful attempt to establish a school than those ill fated ones above was the first school in Davenport, taught

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\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 3-8.
\(^8\)Roberts and Moorhead, Story of Lee County, p. 270.
by the Rev. Michael Hummer, whose religious activities have been noted elsewhere. As a Presbyterian missionary he combined his clerical and his secular duties in several other localities in addition to that of Davenport. On Rev. Hummer's removal from the town Father Pelamourges, the first Catholic resident priest in Davenport, continued the school, receiving all pupils regardless of whether inside or outside the folds of the Catholic church until the rise of public instruction left him only Catholic pupils. At Dubuque the parochial school founded by Father Mazzuchelli does not seem to have ever been other than a church institution. In due time it blossomed into St. Raphael's Seminary, our first theological institution within the state.\(^4\)

Nor were the Quakers behind their religious brethren in providing educational instruction for their young. In all their colonies, as soon as established, they proceeded to care for the "guarded education" set forth in the doctrinal views of the Friends. In many instances, perhaps in most, the unsalaried leaders of the sect seem to have been the teachers, thereby earning their livelihood.\(^5\)

And here this review of the development of the churches in Iowa must end. Further pursuit of either the institutional history of the churches, or of the relationship between education and religion in our pre-territorial days would call for research alike exhaustive for writer and reader. Enough is here given, it is hoped, to reveal a portion of the obligation the present generation is under to the founding fathers of both our church and state.

\(^{4}\)Aurner, op. cit., I, c. 17, passim.

\(^{5}\)Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 240-241.
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