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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1912

Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Springfield, Ill.,

May 23 and 24, 1912

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS
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EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the Journal. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CONFER WITH THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW BUILDING FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND LIBRARY.

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Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago
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Clinton L. Conkling.....Springfield
Jessie Palmer Weber.....Springfield
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SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO REPRESENT THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT THE CENTENNIAL OF MADISON COUNTY, EDWARDSVILLE, SEPTEMBER 14, 1912.

Paul Selby, *Chairman*.....Chicago
D. C. Smith.....Normal
Hon. Richard Yates.....Springfield
Mrs. E. S. Walker.....Springfield
Miss Alice Orendorff.....Springfield
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

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Walter Colyer, *Chairman*.....Albion
George W. Smith.....Carbondale
F. W. Potter.....Springfield
Hon. L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield
Judge C. C. Kohlsaat.....Chicago
Hon. John P. Hand.....Cambridge
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INSURE THE PRESERVATION OF THE GREAT CAHOKIA MOUND, MADISON COUNTY, ILL.

Hon. W. T. Norton, *Chairman*.....Alton
O. L. Schmidt.....Chicago
J. V. N. Standish.....Galesburg
Mrs. John C. Ames.....Streator
J. Nick Perrin.....Belleville
Hon. Norman G. Flagg.....Moro
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 23 AND 24, 1912.

Order of Exercises.

Thursday, May 23, 1912.

8:30 o'Clock A. M.

Directors' Meeting in the Office of the Secretary of the Society.

10:00 o'Clock A. M.

Business Meeting of the Society.
Reports of Officers.
Reports of Committees.
Communications and Letters.
Election of Officers.
Miscellaneous Business.

2:30 o'Clock P. M.

Literary Exercises.

Address—"The Calumet Portage"—Mr. Henry W. Lee, Editor Calumet Record, Chicago.

Address—"Every Day Life in Illinois Near the Middle of the Nineteenth Century"—Dr. Charles B. Johnson, Champaign, Ill.

Address—"The Climate of Illinois"—Mr. M. L. Fuller, U. S. Weather Bureau, Peoria, Ill.

Address—"Some Reminiscences of Pioneer Rock Island Women"—Mrs. K. T. Anderson, Rock Island, Ill.

Thursday Evening.

8:00 o'Clock.

Song—"Illinois."

Annual Address—"The West and the Mexican War"—William E. Dodd, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

Friday Morning, May 24, 1912.

9:30 o'Clock.

Address—"The Thirty-third Regiment Illinois Infantry in the War Between the States"—Capt. J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.

Address—"The Genesis of the Whig Party in Illinois"—C. M. Thompson, A.M., Urbana, Ill.

Address—"The Know Nothing Party in Illinois"—Mr. John P. Senning, Champaign, Ill.

Address—"Joseph Gillespie, a Pioneer Lawyer of Southern Illinois"—Mrs. Josephine G. Prickett, Edwardsville, Ill.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

2:30 o'Clock.

Address—"Was There a French Fort at Chicago?"—M. M. Quaife, Ph.D., Lewis Institute, Chicago.

Address—"Virginia Currency in the Illinois Country"—Mrs. Minnie G. Cook, Milwaukee, Wis.

Address—"Senator Stephen A. Douglas and the Germans in 1854"—F. I. Herriott, Ph.D., Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

FRIDAY EVENING.

8:00 o'Clock.

Historic Places and Scenes of Illinois—With Stereopticon Pictures—Hon. William A. Meese, Moline, Ill.

Reception in the State Library.

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings, 1912.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Illinois State Historical Society met in its thirteenth annual session, Thursday morning, May 22, 1912.

The session opened with its annual business meeting, President Clark E. Carr, presided.

Dr. Schmidt moved that the action of the State officials and the Legislature in regard to the beginning they had made upon the plans for a new building for the State Historical Society and allied interests be recognized and a letter of thanks from the society, signed by the president and secretary, be sent to each member of the Legislature, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Secretary of State.

Motion seconded and carried unanimously.

Capt. Burnham moved as it is the sense of this meeting that there should be a special meeting of the State Historical Society called sometime between this and the next Legislature, provided the president approves it, that the special meeting be called for the 3rd day of December, 1912, Illinois Day, or as near that day as practicable.

Motion seconded and carried unanimously.

Mr. Paul Selby talked on the prospects for a new building.

Mr. Norton moved that the invitation of the Centennial Committee of Madison County to the State Historical Society be accepted.

Motion seconded and carried.

Capt. Burnham moved that the chair appoint a committee of five members of the society, as well as the officers to represent the society at this meeting.

Motion seconded and carried.

Suggestion was made that two of the five members of that committee be women.

The next subject taken up was that of the State securing and preserving the Great Cahokia Mound.

Capt. Burnham and Mr. Norton spoke upon this subject.

Dr. Schmidt moved that the chair appoint a committee of three or five for the purpose of working up this matter, and presenting a report at the next meeting, and that that committee be empowered to call a meeting of Illinois Historical Society, with the consent of the president, in case that they should deem it necessary.

Motion seconded and carried.

Dr. Rammelkamp moved that the secretary of the society be appointed a committee of one to prepare a message expressing the sincere sympathy of the society with Mrs. Wheeler of Springfield in her accident and continued ill health.

Motion seconded and carried.

Dr. Rammelkamp moved that the secretary of the society extend an invitation to the members of the House of Representatives when in session to attend the meetings of the society.

Motion seconded and carried.

The report of the secretary was read and accepted; and it was voted that it be printed in the quarterly Journal of the society.

Treasurer's report was read.

Report accepted and placed on file.

Report of Committee on Genealogy read by Miss Osborne, chairman.

Report accepted and placed on file.

Capt. Burnham and Col. Carr spoke on the subject of finding the burial places of revolutionary soldiers in Illinois.

The chairman of the Committee on Local Historical Societies was not present and no report from this committee was read.

Capt. Burnham and Mr. Moore, members of the committee, spoke on the work of the societies.

Mr. Moore moved that the society recommend to the State Superintendent of Schools that the children should be taught to recognize the flag and that whenever they meet a soldier, wearing the G.A.R. button they should salute him.

Mrs. Miller, Capt. Burnham and Dr. Rammelkamp spoke on the motion.

Dr. Rammelkamp amended Mr. Moore's motion by moving that a committee of two be appointed by the chair to confer with the Superintendent of Public Instruction on the advisability of having Mr. Moore's suggestion carried out.

Motion seconded and carried.

The chair appointed Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Weber.

Report of the Publication Committee, of which Mr. J. McCan Davis is chairman was read and accepted.

Report of the Program Committee was made by the secretary.

Dr. Schmidt moved the chair appoint a nominating committee of three to nominate officers for the coming year.

Motion seconded and carried.

The chair appointed Mr. Clendenin, Mr. Moore and Mrs. Miller.

Moved that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to cooperate with the Edwards County organization in their centennial celebration.

Motion seconded and carried.

The secretary read a letter from John W. Black, son of the late George N. Black, offering to the society as a gift from him and his sister, his father's books, if the society can assure them of a permanent and suitable place for them.

Mr. Catlin moved that the society through its secretary acknowledge receipt of the letter and express its thanks for the offer and say that at such time as we can assure them of a permanent place to properly store and care for the collection, we will thankfully receive it.

Motion seconded and carried.

Mr. Clendenin offered the report of the Committee on Nominations and moved its adoption.

Motion seconded and unanimously adopted.
On motion meeting adjourned until 2:30 P.M.

RESOLUTION ON THE ILLNESS OF MRS. CATHERINE GOSS WHEELER.

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Historical Society in annual meeting assembled, has learned with regret of the continued illness of Mrs. Katherine Goss Wheeler, one of the founders of this society, and one of its most faithful and valued members, and

WHEREAS, The society desires to express to Mrs. Wheeler its deep sympathy for her in her sickness and discomfort, and to express also to her the fact that at this annual meeting the members of this society miss her genial, graceful presence, and her kind words of greeting; therefore be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution and its preamble be spread upon the records of this society, and that the secretary be instructed to send a copy to Mrs. Wheeler.

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF CHARLES R. COON.

WHEREAS, In the sudden death on April 17, 1912, of Charles R. Coon, the Illinois State Historical Society has lost one of its most useful employees, and faithful members, and

WHEREAS, The society desires to show its appreciation of his faithful service in the Library, and his many kindnesses to the society, and to express our deep sorrow for his loss and our sincere and heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family; therefore be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be placed on file in the records of the society and a copy be sent to the family of our deceased friend and member.

LETTER OF JOHN W. BLACK.

May 20, 1912.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Sec. Illinois State Historical Society, City.

MY DEAR MRS. WEBER—Seeing the item in the paper in reference to an appropriation for a permanent building for your library, now before the General Assembly, reminds me that my sister and myself have as yet made no disposition of my father's collection, and we have been awaiting the outcome of this legislation, with the idea in view of donating such books as you might select therefrom, to your society, in memory of my father, your former secretary, provided we could be assured of a room for their permanent safe keeping. If you can give us some assurance along this line, we will be pleased to keep them until the matter can be satisfactorily arranged.

Awaiting your advice in the matter, I remain with kindest personal regards.

Yours very truly,
J. W. BLACK.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY, MAY, 1911—MAY, 1912.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 23, 1912.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN—I beg leave to submit to you the report of the secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year ending May 22, 1912.

The year has not been marked by any unusual activities, but the work of the society has been growing in every line.

The number of members of the society has increased largely though the relative increase is not as large as in some previous years. The reason for this is that in the enumeration of the members I have not counted a number of members from whom we have not heard for some time. In several cases the publications have been returned, and we can find no trace of them. We carry such names on our card catalogue, but no longer send publications. In many such cases we may hear from the persons when they are again located. This we have never done before, and the elimination of these names accounts for the slight apparent increase in membership for the gain has been quite as large as usual.

The society now numbers 25 honorary members, 9 life members, 49 Illinois Press Association members, 12 library or institution members, and 1,288 active members, a total of 1,383 members of all classes.

We have lost by the hand of death since my last report the following named members of the society:

Hally Haight, Naperville, Ill., May 3, 1911.
Mrs. Harriet Rumsey Taylor, Springfield, Ill., May 15, 1911.
Guy I. Colby, Melrose Highlands, Mass., July 11, 1911.
Gen. Benjamin H. Grierson, Jacksonville, Ill., Sept. 3, 1911.
John E. Hunt, Chicago, Dec. 20, 1911.
Victor Georg, Springfield, Ill., Aug. 14, 1911.
Abner P. Woodworth, Robinson, Ill., Nov. 12, 1911.
Hon. Ogden H. Fethers, Janesville, Wis., 1911.
Emil Manhardt, Chicago, 1911.
John H. Loomis, Chicago, 1912.
C. Gilbert Wheeler, Chicago, 1912.

Necrological reports are given in the Journal and so I will merely give a list of names.

I again ask the members to notify the secretary of deaths in our membership.

I have to report the death of Charles R. Coon, for many years an assistant in the Illinois State Historical Library and the devoted friend

of this society and its members. Mr. Coon died at his post of duty in the library on Wednesday morning, April 17, 1912. He was a good, true and loyal man and the society and the library has lost a faithful and devoted member of its staff.

The matter of greatest interest about which I have to speak to the society is the commission which will report to the next General Assembly on the plan for a new building for the Illinois State Historical Library and Society, the State Department of Education, the State Museum of Natural History, and possibly other departments. The last Legislature, as you all know, appropriated $5,000 for the expenses of a commission whose duty it is to prepare plans for a new building, and make recommendations as to a site and possibly secure an option on a piece of land for that purpose, and to consult with the State Architect as to the plans for the building, after conferring with persons in charge of the departments interested.

The commission consists of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, president of the State Historical Society, president of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library and Department Commander of the State G.A.R. This commission has held meetings, organized by making Governor Deneen chairman, and Professor Greene secretary.

A sub-committee was appointed, of which Prof. F. G. Blair is chairman, and Governor Deneen and Prof. Greene are members. After Prof. Greene left on his vacation, Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp, who is president of the Library Board in Dean Greene's absence, was appointed to take his place on the commission.

This commission invited an expert archivist, Mr. W. G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, to visit Springfield and estimate the space which may be necessary if the new building should contain a hall of public archives and make recommendations in regard to its arrangement and care. This Mr. Leland accordingly did, and it is hoped that he will present a letter to the Historical Society at this meeting, giving some account of his ideas and plans. The commission is only started upon its task. It has much hard work to do during the coming summer. I hope the Historical Society will discuss the best methods of securing the proposed new building, and also what is the best method of effectively aiding the commission.

This will be our most urgent work for the next year. I hope that every member of the society will take a personal interest and interest his Representatives in the Legislature in the project. Let us begin a campaign of education, not only of our representatives, but of the whole people of the State. Many members of the Legislature are members of the Historical Society. And these members will take the greatest interest in being able to speak understandingly of the needs, uses and purposes of the society as regards the new building. It is but six years until in 1918 the State of Illinois will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of her admission into the Union. There will be three regular sessions of the General Assembly before that time.

If we are fortunate enough to secure an appropriation from the next session for the site and the first work on the building, it will with the

best luck and most arduous labor require an appropriation from the next session for the completion of the building, and the session following that will have the duty of making appropriations for the great centenary celebration. How proud we will be if we have a beautiful and commodious home for the Historical Society and Library which we can have all arranged and furnished and fitted up to dedicate at that time.

Perhaps it is a vision, a dream, but it rests with us to make the dream come true. Other states have accomplished this and Illinois can do whatever other states can do, and do it equally well, may I not say better than other states can do . I recommend that the society at this meeting take some formal action in the matter.

The last session of the General Assembly appropriated $5,000 for an historical monument at Edwardsville in memory of Governor Ninian Edwards, and to commemorate Fort Edwards and the heroes of the frontier Indian warfare. This year is also the hundredth anniversary of the first Territorial Legislature in Illinois. A great celebration will be held at Edwardsville, September 14th, at which time the monument will be dedicated.

The commission created by law to attend to the building of the monument is made up of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor. Secretary of State, president and secretary of the Historical Society and the secretary of the State Board of Administration. This commission met and organized by electing Governor Deneen, chairman, and the secretary of the Historical Society, the secretary of the commission.

The commission advertised for bids for the erection of the monument, according to plans drawn by the State Architect. The bid of C. J. Mulligan, the sculptor, was accepted and a beautiful and artistic monument will be erected and will be dedicated at Edwardsville, on September 16th.

Each succeeding year the people of the State seem to take more interest in these memorials of historic events, and I think this society deserves much of the credit for this awakening.

As has been reported in the Journal the last General Assembly appropriated $150,000 for the purchase of Starved Rock and adjacent land, and it is now the property of the State. Prof. J. A. James and his associates of the Illinois Park Commission deserve a large measure of credit for this great achievement.

We have not yet succeeded in saving the great Cahokia Mound, and this is a great and important piece of work which demands our attention.

The Board of Editors of the Journal are much pleased with the kind words which they hear in regard to the improvements in the magazine. A larger edition was printed of the April Journal, as it has been impossible to supply the demand for it. It is a very expensive publication, but the last number was printed under State contract printing and this was a necessary thing as our appropriation was exhausted. It would be impossible to get the Journal out on time if this method was used each time, but whenever we can we will do this. We receive many letters and press notices, commending the Journal and other publications are constantly copying articles from it, giving us credit for such articles.

I am sorry to have to report such delays in the publication of the annual transactions of the society. We have been very slow in getting our material in the hands of the printer and then there have been the inevitable delays. Our 1910 transactions will reach you shortly, as the book is finished and I had hoped to have some copies ready for you at this meeting, but the binder has been unable to finish them. There seems to be good reason for the belief that future work will not be so long delayed.

We must not forget that we are but one small part of the State's great machinery, and that hundreds of other reports have to be printed, and all are as anxious as we are to get their books printed.

The George Rogers Clark papers edited by Prof. J. A. James will be the next of the Illinois State Historical collections to be issued by the Library Board. There have been many vexatious delays but the "Papers" are worth waiting for and will be most valuable when completed. The reference work of the society and library continues to increase.

Interest in local history is growing in every locality, and new societies are being formed. Bureau County has organized a society with headquarters at Princeton. I hope that we may hear reports from some of the local societies.

We enjoyed our visit to Evanston and Chicago last year where we were so hospitably entertained by the Evanston Historical Society, and the Chicago Historical Society, and by Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Mayor and Mrs. Joseph E. Paden and Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Dawes, Mr. H. J. Patten, Prof. J. A. James, and many others, but we are glad to know that Springfield friends missed the annual meeting, although the Civil War Memorial Meeting held here April 14, 1911, in some measure took its place.

I desire to again make a plea for contributions to the quarterly Journal, and for information in regard to old letters, or other manuscript material. Do not wait for a special personal invitation. If you have material of historic value, help the library and society by letting the secretary know about it.

I am very sorry that this meeting conflicts in date with the semi-annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which meets at this time in Bloomington, Ind. The Program Committee of this society did not know the date of that meeting until the program for this meeting was all arranged, the speakers had been consulted as to their convenience and the April Journal announcing the program had been printed, and the change of our date was not possible, and I suppose the same conditions were true with the Mississippi Valley Association. I regret that this keeps from us this year some of our special workers. I regret also that this meeting occurs at the same time as the State encampment of the G.A.R. at Peoria. This takes from us several of our most valued and interested members.

One of our earliest and devoted members, Mrs. Katherine Goss Wheeler, who has been a member of the society from its beginning, and who is interested in any thing that concerns it and its work, met with an accident many months ago. She slipped and fell on a heavy floor

polisher in her home. She was not conscious at the time that she was severely injured, but a serious injury to her hip developed and she has been nearly all the time since the accident confined to her bed, or her chair.

I suggest that this society send a message of condolence to Mrs. Wheeler.

We hope for and believe that we will, in due time, have the new building, but it must of necessity be some time before it is available for use, even under the most favorable conditions, and until that time we will be in very crowded quarters, but we bear these inconveniences cheerfully in the hope of better things.

Respectfully submitted,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

To the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications begs leave to report as follows:

A continued interest in the department and additions to our works on genealogy. A full list of the books and periodicals in the department will appear in the published transactions of the society for 1911.*

Of interest to the society will be the publication in the Journal of the society, as compiled, a list of the revolutionary soldiers buried in the different counties of the State. This will be the work of Mrs. Edwin S. Walker, a member of this committee, whose article on the revolutionary soldiers buried in Sangamon County appeared in the April Journal.

Of revolutionary soldiers buried in the counties of Illinois, Morgan County heads the list in the State with twenty-nine; next comes Madison County, then Sangamon, Crawford, Gallatin, Greene and Edgar. In connection with this work we are having researches made in Washington, D. C., and ask also the co-operation of members of the society who know of revolutionary soldiers buried in their countries. There are a great many little country churchyard burying grounds where many are buried, and it is in such places that it is hard to find locations, dates, etc., as many graves remain unmarked.

While Illinois cannot hope perhaps to accomplish as much along this line as other states, say Maryland perhaps, where in one county alone, records have been found of 3,000 men, still by persistent efforts, with the aid of county clerks, chapters of the D.A.R., Historical Societies, and the individual work of each member of the State Historical Society, the Genealogical Department of the State of Illinois will have accomplished a work to be proud of, and one great of aid and interest to future generations.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE

Chairman Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

May 23, 1912.

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* It has been decided to publish a list of the Library's genealogical works in a separate volume, which has been compiled by Miss Georgia L. Osborne and will be number eighteen of the publications of the Library.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting.

1912.

THE WEST AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

(By Prof. Wm. E. Dodd, University of Chicago.)

Our very critical relations with Mexico at the present time may lend some interest and timeliness to a study of the West and the war with Mexico. Thoughtful men everywhere feel that the next four years may bring upon us a repetition of the imperialism of 1898 or even of 1848, and there is reason to fear that the present conflicts in the republic to the south of us may give an American president the opportunity to avoid pressing difficulties at home by involving the country in a policy of aggrandizement abroad. Such was the case in 1898, and such occasions have been the most fruitful causes of wars from time immemorial. One naturally recalls the Austro-Prussian conflict of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. We are in the midst of most pressing internal difficulties and public men of today who can not control the economic forces around them or grapple with imperious tariff problems are but human and they are not above following in the footsteps of Polk or McKinley, or, to mention greater names, Bismarck and Napoleon.

In such a contingency the attitude of the West will hardly be less important than it was seventy years ago, though I am inclined to think that its point of view will be entirely inconsistent with its early history and that it will have reversed roles with the East where human rights are matters of less concern than they were when James K. Polk was President. Now it is the Northeast and the South which look with longing eyes toward the rich mines and "teeming harbors" of a Mexico in American hands, while the West thinks less of national aggrandizement and fears that human rights are not so certain as they were once supposed to be.

The West has decided more than once what the national course should be. In 1800 it was western votes that put Thomas Jefferson in the President's chair; and Andrew Jackson was the gift of the "Mississippi states" to the country. And coming more directly to our theme, it was the West and the South which put their heads together at Baltimore in May, 1844, and worked out the program of the "re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon," the "all-of Texas, all-of-Oregon, now-or-never idea" which won the election against the great Clay and inaugurated a policy of imperialism which all the bloodshed of the Civil War scarcely checked.

Jackson had planned that his friend, Van Buren, should succeed him and that his next best friend, Benton, should follow in the Presidency, each having eight years, but no more, which would have taken

care of the country until 1852, when, doubtless, some other man, equal to the great occasion would arise. There came a little hitch in 1840 and Van Buren failed of a re-election; the Whigs came to power. Western Democrats felt that the mistake had been with the New York President and they set themselves to the task of retrieving their error. The Baltimore convention was the scene of their anxious endeavors. The Texas-Oregon program, known to be popular in all the West and South, was their appeal, regardless of the almost certain war with England and Mexico that would follow. And the one man they did not want was Jackson's favorite, Van Buren. A way was found to relieve the party of the disagreeable load and James K. Polk, a Westerner, was put at the head of the revolutionary ticket. Half of the men from Ohio, all of those from Michigan, Indiana and Illinois joined the eager Virginians and members from the lower South in this work which looked directly to war.[1] The architect of this most fruitful alliance was Robert James Walker of Mississippi,[2] the most resourceful politician of his time, a manipulator of men and the "interests," quite as masterful in his day as was Mark Hanna in 1896. An able leader of the Senate he was "spoken of" for the Vice Presidency in early 1844, and he replied to one of the public calls of this character in a letter on Texas and Oregon which attained the widest circulation of any pamphlet of the day. In this remarkable paper Walker said, "it's no Union-dissolving" spirit that animates the West in this campaign for Texas and Oregon. Indeed the whole pamphlet was a western appeal which the author made in the most plausible language possible.

Pretending the closest friendship for Van Buren he nevertheless moved "heaven and earth" to bring about the defeat of the candidate who already had two-thirds of the delegates instructed for him at Baltimore and the followers of Lewis Cass, hoping to benefit by the ruin of Van Buren, joined him. Allen and Hannegan and Breese and Bright of the Northwest united with the ambitious Mississippian and his ambitious co-laborers from the Southwest and the convention, as has already been said, repudiated the able New Yorker and wrote Walker's pamphlet into their platform and then nominated Walker's candidate for the Presidency.

When Polk went to Washington, as the spokesman of the West and South, and took up the reins of government he invited Walker to a principal seat in the cabinet and began at once the execution of the decree of the people who seemed to him to have said "all of Texas, all of Oregon." And in his simple-minded loyalty to his party pledges he gave no heed to threats of war on the part of England. The country had said, "carry out your program;" if that meant war with all Europe, it was not his affair. Calhoun, a more experienced politician, looked upon this simple procedure as an example of the most dangerous Western tendencies; he had thought that platforms were made to win elections not to guide the course of statesmen when in office, and perhaps some modern leaders have felt the same way to their undoing.

But the West was in earnest and the declaration of war which the President managed to get Mexico to provoke was to all the great valley

[1] *National Intelligencer*, May 25, 28, 30 and Oct. 3 and 5, 1844; C. E. Persinger, *The Bargain of* 1844 *as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso*, paper read at the meeting of the Am. Hist. Assn., 1911.
[2] *National Intelligencer*, May 28, 30, 1844.

of the Mississippi a call to arms of the most urgent character. With a population of 4,700,000 in 1850 the Northwest sent nearly 25,000 soldiers to the front, while the whole North, from Maryland to Maine, with a population of 9,300,000, furnished only 27,000. The Southwest, including Kentucky and Missouri, had according to the same census, 4,985,000 people, of whom at least one-third were negroes; but from these lower Mississippi states, there went more than 45,000 soldiers.[3] Of the total number of volunteers, 69,540, at least 40,000 were from the strictly western states and 17,320 were from the sparsely settled Northwest, mainly Illinois and Indiana; while from all the Northern states with a population twice as great and wealth many times greater, only 7,930 volunteers offered.[4] Plainly the interest in the Mexican war was in the West and South and more in the former than in the latter.

It was not merely the question of Texas that set all these troops in motion. The West wanted most or all of Mexico and their leaders had been bred to a hatred of England and a desire for the annexation of Canada which caused them to seize upon any opportunity that gave promise of expansion northward or to the northwest. And there was still another reason. The West loved the Union; it was to the interest of this section to love the Federal government. A favorite theory of theirs had come down to them from Jefferson, that, as the number of states increased, the stability of the Union was the more certain. Walker had not miscalculated when he urged in his pamphlet, "as you augment the number of states, the bond of Union is stronger.[5]" The men who drew the program at Baltimore believed that the United States should embrace the whole area of North America[6] and when the Calhoun treaty was still pending before the senate, Walker, Allen of Ohio, Breese of Illinois, Bagby of Alabama and Fulton of Arkansas tried to pick a quarrel with England,[7] the nation which stood in the way of this extravagant expansion in order, it would seem, to advance their views. England was known to be interested in California, in northern Mexico and Texas and desirous of holding the Pacific coast from Alaska to the gulf of California.[8] The editor of the greatest paper in Illinois said as early as December 27, 1844: "If war shall ensue, let it not close until the empire of Mexico, as well as Texas, is added to the territory of the Union; and the broad continent only limit the domains of the United States from east to west.[9]" While "Long John" Wentworth, then close to the President-elect wrote to his paper, the *Chicago Democrat,* in the early days of March, 1845, that "the United States must possess California.[10]" And during the autumn of 1846 and the first half of 1847 the purposes and ambitions of the leaders of the West became clearer still. At first there was a fear of England which only an almost unanimous feeling that the Pacific coast all the way to Alaska must become

[3] Executive Documents, vol. VIII, doc. 62; 30th Congress, 1st Sess., vol. IV, No. 38; *Niles Register,* LXXIII, 246.
[4] *Executive Documents,* vol. VIII, Doc. 62; 30th Congress, 1st Sess., vol. IV, No. 38.
[5] Walker's, January 8, 1844, p. 9.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Congressional Globe, June 14, 1844.
[8] Illinois State Register, July 3, 1844; Smith, Justin H., *The Annexation of Texas,* 230, 417.
[9] Illinois *State Register,* December 27, 1844.
[10] *Sangamo Journal,* March 20, 1845.

American enabled the politicians to overcome. Next came the demand for all the upper part of Mexico of which, the Illinois *State Register* declared, "all the foreign bluster on earth" should not be allowed to deprive us.[11] This sentiment grew as the months passed until the whole West seemed committed to the policy of a complete dismemberment of Mexico; and the leading eastern organs of public opinion one after another took up the cry. The New York *Sun* said, "Providence has willed this war to unite and exalt both nations, which result we now believe is as certain and inevitable as any event in human history;"[12] and Commodore Stockton was applauded all over the country, but particularly in the West, for saying, at a dinner in Philadelphia on December 20th, "Mexico is prostrate at our feet. We can afford to be magnanimous. * * * I would with a magnanimous and kindly hand gather these wretched people within the fold of Republicanism."[13] Calhoun said in the Senate at the close of the year: "You can hardly read a newspaper without finding it filled with speculation upon this subject (the annexation of all Mexico). And the New York state Democratic convention, which met about this time, gravely resolved: "That the title of the Mexican government is a title by conquest from those who held it by conquest. If we took it and held it by the same title, they could not complain. Their title is legal; and our title would also be legal."[14] One is tempted here to inquire whether the framers of these resolutions ever thought of what men call humor.

The South and the West had agreed upon a war program at Baltimore; they increased their demands every day after the war began; they won to their cause many of the ablest organs of public opinion in the North, such as the New York *Sun,* the *Evening Post,* which was now calling upon the government "to hurry to fulfill the manifest destiny of humbling and subduing the devoted race and of taking upon themselves * * * the fulfilment of the purposes of Providence in regard to these neighbors of ours,"[15] and the Washington *Union,* which needed no persuasion from the West preached daily the same doctrine. Before Congress assembled in December every influence had been brought to bear upon the President to induce him, who already inclined to such a course, to recommend in the annual message the complete dismemberment of Mexico.[16]

Two obstacles were in the way and they saved to the conquered country for the moment, its national existence: the administration had in April preceding sent Nicholas Trist, an amateur diplomat, to Mexico with definite instructions to treat on the basis of the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Trist had quarrelled with General Scott and had been recalled. He patched up a peace with the General and refused to recognize his recall. With the support of Scott, an ardent Whig who enjoyed the prospect of embarrassing his own government, Trist negotiated a treaty securing all that had been demanded

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[11] Illinois *State Register,* December 12, 1846.
[12] Quoted in the *National Intelligencer,* November 20, 1847.
[13] *Niles Register,* LXXIII, 335.
[14] *Niles Register,* LXXIII, 272.
[15] *Niles Register,* LXXIII, 390.
[16] Ibid , 334.

and it was hastened to Washington where it was received on the night of Feb. 19, 1848. The other obstacle was the fact that the House of Representatives, which was to the imperialists a doubtful quantity, had been chosen in the summer and autumn of 1846 before the thirst for all of Mexico had developed and when the Whig outcry against the manner of beginning the war was most effective. But after considerable study of the situation in Congress in the winter of 1847-48, I am convinced that even the House would have yielded had it not been for the good arguments which the irregular Trist treaty gave to the opponents of the benevolent imperialism of the time.[17] The President, as fortune would have it, was a man of strong scruples and he did not know how to undo the work of his own agent, much as he would have liked to do so. Perhaps another such crisis will find a more versatile President in office.

But the ablest member of the cabinet, Walker, supported by Buchanan, the secretary of state, and a candidate for the next Democratic nomination, insisted that the opportunity must not be allowed to pass. The Vice President, George M. Dallas, a brother-in-law of Walker, favored then as before both "all of Mexico" and "all of Oregon,"[18] and the leaders of the Senate majority were committed to the same view.

Meanwhile, conditions in Europe had so changed and become so critical that American politicians who might otherwise have feared intervention felt perfectly safe and free to proceed along any lines their interests or their cupidity suggested. France was in the throes of revolution and Germany and Italy were following suit as rapidly as possible. This situation gave England as much to do in Europe as she could well attend to and consequently the gulf of Mexico became an open field to American aggression. George Bancroft, minister to the court of St. James, wrote to Secretary Buchanan that Europe thought that it "would be a blessing to the world if the United States would assume the tutelage of Mexico."[19] But we may safely assume that the great historian had not found it difficult to arrive at this conclusion, for in the Baltimore convention, where he was a delegate from Massachusetts, he had distinguished himself by the following speech: "We are willing that the decision of this convention shall carry joy to the democracy from Maine to Louisiana. We are willing to roll it westward—and that it shall carry hope to the valley of the West, and make glad the hearts of those who dwell on the banks of the Colorado and the Rio del Norte." To which Henry, an expansionist of North Carolina, replied, "three cheers for the historian of the United States," and, says the reporter, "they were given *con amore*."[20] Having done his utmost to secure the adoption of the western program and the nomination of an ardent imperialist for the presidency, we may fairly assume that the historian now honored with high office by his successful party, was diligent in finding favorable opinion in Europe. In quite another sense Alexander von Humboldt, the great traveler and naturalist, said, that the United

[17] Polk's Diary, edited by M. M. Quaife, III, 226-230; American Historical Review, V, 493-495.
[18] McMaster, J. B., *History of the People of the United States*, VII, 525-527.
[19] Letter to Wm. S. Conly, *Niles Register*, LXXIII, 392, in which he said, "there was nothing in our noble constitution not equal to the task assigned by the resistless force of events—the guardianship of a crowded and undeveloped continent."
[20] *American Historical Review*, V, 498.

States would annex Mexico and then fall to pieces fighting about the control of the new territory.[21]

Senator Cass, the spokesman of the administration in the Senate, understood the European situation and insisted now as well as later "that never has been a better opportunity offered to any nation."[22] This was the opinion of most Southern and Western Senators when the treaty was received and it was their purpose to oppose or delay its acceptance until opportunity should offer for the presentation of a demand on Mexico looking to the annexation of the whole country or at least all of that portion lying east of the great arid plateau, that is, the whole Gulf coast from Texas to Central America. Just how far the President resisted his lieutenants in Congress would be difficult to determine, but we do know that there was a way of reopening the whole subject even after the treaty was accepted; that was in the plan to declare Yucatan, then in revolt against Mexico, under the protection of the United States. Such a plan was already under consideration and a representative of Yucatan was on the ground urging the President almost daily to hasten to take over his country.

On March 10, the treaty was accepted; but the imperialists were not disheartened for on April 22, Buchanan presented to the cabinet the petition of Commissioner Sierra of Yucatan asking immediate intervention. The opposition to the treaty now came with redoubled energy to the service of Walker and Buchanan. The point of departure for the leading Southerners and Westerners in the final effort to secure all of Mexico was "Now is the accepted time." Houston of Texas, who certainly knew better than most others how important it was to act while England was busy elsewhere was one of the most active and insistent advocates of immediate occupation. One of the most familiar arguments of the whole discussion, and which does not sound very strange to our ears today, was the "duty assigned by Providence of carrying the blessings of American liberty and a real Christian religion to those poor people sitting in outer darkness."

On April 29, the President sent a message to Congress recommending immediate intervention in Yucatan, where independence of Mexico had been declared a year before and where civil war then prevailed. The Yucatanese asked assistance with a view to protection against the so-called "savage element" of their own population and against the enraged Mexicans, who upon the return of peace might be expected to punish the recalcitrant peninsular. President Polk and his cabinet seem to have determined now to take this opportunity to reopen the question of the annexation of all Mexico and at the same time to suggest to the country the policy of purchasing Cuba as completing the American mastery of the Gulf of Mexico. The two men who were placed in charge of the proposed legislation were the most ardent imperialists in Congress, Senator Hannegan of Indiana and Representative Howell Cobb of Georgia. The President had frequently noted in his diary that Hannegan[23] was "bent on holding all Mexico;" he had said that such extremists were about to wreck the administra-

[21] *National Intelligencer*, October 5, 1844.
[22] Quoted in *American Historical Review*, V, 498.
[23] Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Sess. April 29, 1844.

tion's policy when the treaty was under consideration. Why did he now make Hannegan the sponser of the proposed bill for the seizure of Yucatan at the very moment the treaty was before the Mexican government for ratification? And why were all the extremists in Congress acting as by preconcerted arrangement for immediate intervention without giving time for debate or even a careful reading of the documents bearing on the subject, which Calhoun showed in his speech of opposition, had all been before the cabinet three days before the treaty was accepted? The answer seems to force itself: The President and the great party of expansion had definite news of conditions in Europe which gave every assurance that no interference need be feared either from England of France, both interested in Mexican affairs and regretting the Trist treaty from the beginning, they decided to take more or all of Mexico.

The reading of the President's message was the signal for the beginning of a most noteworthy discussion in both Senate and House. Hannegan brought a bill into the Senate on May 4, authorizing the President to send a portion of the army then in Mexico to Yucatan while Cass and Jefferson Davis pressed again the bill allowing the increase of the army of occupation by twenty thousand soldiers. The champions of the measure openly stated that it was quite likely that permanent occupation of the disturbed region would be the result.[24] Hannegan insisted that it was time to forestall the English plan of seizing Yucatan and Cuba of which he said he had evidence of a most convincing nature. It was the purpose of Great Britain to control the Gulf of Mexico and thus once again close the Mississippi.[25] Foote of Mississippi said, "with Cuba and Yucatan we will have complete control of the Gulf of Mexico, and of all the commerce that float over its surface; we will have it in our power to establish at once a direct communication between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans; we will be able to secure to ourselves the rich monopoly of the East India trade; we will be safe in every direction from foreign assailment."[26] Jefferson Davis insisted that England was engaged in the nefarious work of undermining American control of the trade of her own great river. "I have no confidence in the humanity of Great Britain, the great slave-trader of the world." And he added, "if any maritime power threatens our control of the Gulf of Mexico, which I hold to be a basin of water belonging to the United States, my step will be forward and the Cape of Yucatan and the island of Cuba must be ours."[27] Senator Breese of Illinois was more rythmic, if not more poetic than the rest, when he quoted a familiar western couplet urging the view of his State:

"No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours."[28]

Such was the language of senators and representatives from all the western and southern states and their constant refrain was, with Houston of Texas, "when again will the state of Europe be found so auspicious to the up building of free institutions upon this continent.

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[24] *Polk's Diary*, III, 430.
[25] Ibid., 430, 432, 433.
[26] *Polk's Diary*, III, 365; Cong. Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Sess., Appx. 591.
[27] Cong. Globe, 30 Congress, 1st Sess, Appx. 591.
[28] Ibid., 596-598.

* * * Europe is convulsed. England has to guard her own position. * * * We are left to the accomplishment of the great object of our mission here."[29] And what lends importance to these radical views of responsible party leaders is the evidence offered by almost every newspaper that came to hand. Senator Cass, who was almost certain to be the nominee of his party then about to assemble in convention said that "Providence has placed us, in some measure at the head of the republics of this continent and there never has been a better opportunity offered to any nation to fulfil the high duty confided to it than the present."[30] This was stated on the day the new move was made in the Senate; ten days later he added "the Gulf of Mexico, Sir, must be practically an American lake for the great purpose of security."[31] Even Thomas H. Benton, out of harmony though he was with his party, voted to advance the program of imperialism and Douglas, if somewhat cautious on this occasion, was heart and soul with these leaders of the Democracy. It may appear to some that there was not so much danger since the Whig party was returned to power in November following. This is not conclusive, for the Whigs were afraid to risk a statement on the subject in the campaign then opening and Cass was defeated only by the "bolt" of the Van Buren element of the party—a movement directed at slavery and not against this part of the Democratic program.

It was indeed a popular movement which men like Clay and Tom Corwin of the West, and Calhoun of the South, regarded with the utmost concern but which they could not defeat. Meetings were held in Kentucky, in Ohio and in New England, meetings which remind the student of recent anti-imperialist gatherings, much respected but little heeded. The President himself sent word to Congress on May 17 that the people of Yucatan had settled their difficulties and that his friends must withdraw the pending legislation. It is more than likely that Mexico scented the danger and succeeded in bringing matters to a satisfactory conclusion before the United States presented them with another Texas question. It is amusing seventy years after to read in the debates the embarrassment of eminent northern Senators, like John A. Dix of New York when this sudden halt was called and their belligerent speeches were left half delivered to rise up and condemn them on a later day.[32] It was not the opposition of the Whigs nor the fears of the party in power, but an accident, an adventitious circumstance that saved the country, under the leadership of the West and South, from taking possession of Yucatan and venturing still further upon the sea of imperialism inaugurated by the Baltimore convention—a sea upon which we have been again scattering bread as occasion offered during recent years.

In conclusion it seems fairly certain that the combination of southern and western interests at Baltimore was the work of Robert J. Walker, later Secretary of the Treasury in the Polk cabinet and

[29] Cong. Globe, 30 Congress, 1st Sess, Appx. 602-608.
[30] Ibid, 599.
[31] See debate on Mexican war, February 14, 1848.
[32] Cong. Globe, 30th Congress, 1st Sess., Appx. 603-4.

through the succeeding four years the most powerful influence in the administration. He was foremost during the whole period in the campaign for "all Mexico," he opposed to the ratification of the Trist treaty and he did his utmost to bring the Senate to a vote on intervention in Yucatan before the Mexican authorities could ratify the recent agreement.

Associated with Walker during most or all this period were Senator Cass, the Democratic candidate for President in 1848, most of the senators and representatives from western and southern states and a large number of the Democratic leaders from the North and East. All the leading Democratic newspapers of the South and West insisted upon "all Mexico" for a time and a larger cession of territory than was finally agreed upon all the time; and among eastern papers many of the ablest advocated the same extreme policy. The President himself was willing to be led by his expansionist followers and he longed for at least enough of Mexico to secure to the United States the complete domination of the Gulf of Mexico, of the prospective isthmian canal and the expanded "shore-line" on the Pacific now giving Senator Lodge and other distinguished public men so much anxiety.

And when all these magnificent plans were at the most promising stage, European nations which had hitherto blocked American expansion in these directions were overwhelmed with sudden revolutionary movements. This would certainly have meant the annihilation of Mexico but for the wholly unprecedented conduct of Minister Trist in refusing to recognize his recall during the closing days of 1847 and the negotiation of a treaty which General Scott promised the Mexicans would be accepted in spite of the known hostility of his President. When this sad blunder barred the way to "all Mexico" there yet remained the promising condition of things in Yucatan which was utilized to the utmost until suddenly there came the news, on May 16, 1848, that the Yucatanese had patched up their difficulties, and the government retired chagrined from a field nearly won but lost on a fumble. Its final shot was the recommendation to purchase Cuba while "times were good" or take it if England showed any signs of moving in that direction. Truly the Democrats of the Polk régime were of the annexing mind; and when the Whigs succeeded them in power as has always happened under similar conditions, all that had been done was approved and steps were taken to continue the program.

THE CALUMET PORTAGE.

(By Henry W. Lee, C. E., Editor The Calumet Record.)

Influence and main strength have always been responsible for much injustice in the world. We have not yet quite reached the point where might does not make right, and the government de facto is still recognized in preference to the government de jure. In the grand political economy of Cosmos the survival of the fittest is a doctrine that is well nigh universal. Certainly in our own civilization we find this true relating to science and art, music and mathematics, church and commerce, sport, customs, architecture, geographical conditions and perhaps every other that relates to human endeavor.

But although might may make right it must not be allowed to pervert historical truths. The erection of the most costly monument to Homer will not necessarily fix his birthplace, and the drawing of a $50,000 set of plans for a city beautiful will not clear the title of the Illinois Central Railroad to the lake front in Chicago.

The Calumet portage had been almost lost as a historic spot until Prof. Hager, secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, in 1880, revived interest in this famous old "portage des chenes," which I confidently believe was located at this place.

The inspiring courage that actuated Joliet and Marquette and other early explorers of the Northwest has always challenged the admiration and the close interest of every student of history. Whether one of us journey to Springfield from Chicago by way of the Alton or the Illinois Central, two hundred and fifty years hence the world will little note nor care, but the closest interest clusters around every stopping place and every possible route of these early pioneers of Christianity and civilization.

It so happens that history and sentiment place great significance upon these first routes and landing places. The first island touched by Columbus, the Plymouth Rock of the Pilgrims, the stopping places of Vasco de Gama on his first famous voyage around Africa: It cannot be denied that singular historic value attaches to each and all of these localities.

Adopting the easy Indian method of traveling in canoes, and propelled no doubt by Indian paddles, the explorers of the Northwest, although sometimes enduring great hardships, at other times under sunny skies beheld gradually unfolding a new panorama of wondrous beauty and importance under conditions of ease, if not luxury.

The Indians loved the priests. They revered the black gown. The priests were good to them. They taught them noble truths and they

did not cheat the natives as did most of the voyagers and trappers and other white or halfbreed adventurers. Wherefore the Indians gave to the priest of their best. They were willing oarsmen, tireless guides and lavish hosts. The Indians took their guests by pleasant places to their own favorite retreats. It is well to remember these things when interpreting the old routes.

Mr. Albert Scharf, the noted Indian student of Chicago, who has made personal examination of Indian trails and villages in and about Chicago for over fifty years, has incorporated much valuable information on his printed map. Near the heart of Chicago proper there were few trails and meager encampments. Along the Calumet, and especially at the wooded ridge which I have called the portage of the oaks, at Indian Ridge and at Palos and elsewhere in the Calumet-Sag Valley, there are today abundant evidences of Indian occupation, and I have personally found hundreds of arrow heads, stone hammers and at Palos a curious old iron axe that, to my mind, harks back 250 years.

The Calumet and Sag valleys are beautiful. The Indians swarmed there. As late as 1852 many of them still lived on Indian Ridge, near Hegewisch. There is no doubt that the Calumet and Sag valleys had been the favorite haunts of the Indians from time immemorial. The beautiful hills of Palos, the wooded shores of the Calumet and the bountiful game of the local chain of lakes were attractions far greater than any other local district could offer.

Prof. Hager, in his paper above mentioned, calls attention to the fact that on Margry's map of 1679-82 the Calumet River emptying into the extreme south end of Lake Michigan bears the name R. Chekagoue. More significant to me is Marquette's map, which shows his portage river running directly from the southwest end of Lake Michigan west to the Desplaines, the exact route of the Calumet-Sag waterway.

An examination of the photographic reprint of Marquette's journal indicates that several dates have been interpolated in a different handwriting and occasional marginal notes. Prof. Hager made a careful study of the journal and he follows Marquette on his second voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan past the various rivers to the Calumet, which Prof. Hager says was the river of the portage.

Let us first consider the physical conditions of the country. Chicago Creek ran for a mile between the lake and the forks through a treeless land that was little more than a marsh. This has since been filled from 8 to 10 feet to make Chicago's central business district of today. Major Long, who made an expedition to Chicago, says there were no trees in 1823, except those at the fort, and the word Chicago is said to mean land without trees. In the early days there was nothing at Chicago Creek to attract human occupation. Marquette stopped at the mouth of the Chicago River for a day and he describes as living there a miserable tribe of wretches called Mascoutins. Many old maps show the Mascoutins located near the present Chicago River. Perhaps Marquette's journal is the principal source of information. Otherwise it confirms our contention that Marquette made his portage and lodged at Calumet. After sleeping at the bluffs, being delayed there two days, Marquette's party started at noon and had hard work to make a river. Prof. Hager shows that Lake Bluff must be meant and that the present Chicago River

is the only possible place where the next stop could be. It is here that Marquette says were eight or nine cabins of the Mascoutins. To quote: "With fatigue almost impossible to Frenchmen they travel throughout the winter over very bad roads, the land abounding in streams, small lakes and swamps. Their cabins are wretched, and they eat or starve, according to the places where they happen to be."

Marquette then describes his proceeding three leagues where he was delayed (about where Jackson Park is now). Again he was compelled to make a point, probably, Clark's point, at Seventy-ninth Street. Then he started with a favoring wind and made the river of the portage.

Marquette was encamped two leagues up the river near the portage, where he spent the winter. This was doubtless on Indian Ridge, and Prof. Hager also agrees with this. Mr. Scharf told me that Hager had indicated to him the probable site of Marquette's camp.

Later Marquette speaks of the Illinois village six leagues away. This is the exact distance to the fort and Indian camp at Palos, which was located on the trail that passed on the ridge of the Desplaines-Calumet divide and commanded both the trail or ford and the portage here. In the springtime the water is high and no portage is necessary for a canoe. A month ago I went over this route in a canoe from South Chicago to the Sag. For a mile near the divide it is difficult to see which way the current runs. The Calumet-Sag Drainage Canal, now under construction, follows this old route almost exactly via Stony Brook and Bachelors' Grove Creek.

There are several descriptions of the old portage. Marquette, La-Salle, Hennepin, Cosme, Charlevoix and others frequently refer to the trip two or three leagues up the portage river, the short arm to the little lake which is a league and a half long, the portage to the other river and then the voyage west where another small portage was made, its length dependent upon the stage of the water.

Marquette also mentions passing two lakes swarming with game. These were undoubtedly Calumet and Wolf lakes, famous for a century as hunting ground even to this day.

Father Dablon August 11, 1674, wrote concerning the journey: "The bark would be built on Lake Erie, which is near Lake Ontario, it would easily pass from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, when it would enter Lake Illinois. At the end of that lake the canal or excavation of which I have spoken would be made, to gain a passage into the River Saint Louis, which falls into the Mississippi."

On the small map of Louis Joliet, made and presented to Count Frontenac after his return, appears this inscription: "Lake Frontenac (Ontario) is separated by a fall of half a league from Lake Erie, from which one enters that of the Hurons and by the same navigation, into that of Illinois (Michigan), from the head of which one courses to the Divine River (Desplaines) by a portage of a thousand paces. This river falls into the River Colbert (Mississippi), which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico."

In January, 1682, Father Hennepin also describes the portage as does Membre, LaSalle's companion, in his letter of June 3, 1682. Charlevoix, September, 1721, also speaks of this portage: "The first was to return to Lake Michigan (from St. Joseph), coast the south

shore, and to enter the little river of Chicago, after going up it five or six leagues, then pass into that of the Illinois by means of two portages, the larger of which is but a league and a quarter."

It appears that the Indians left their villages in the winter to hunt and engage in the fur trade. Membre and others speak of finding the villages deserted then.

St. Cosme's letter to the Bishop of Quebec says: "We started from Chicago on the 29th (1699) and put up for the night about two leagues off, in the little river which is then lost in the prairies. The next day we began the portage, which is about three leagues long when the water is low, and only a quarter of a league in the spring, for you embark on a little lake that empties into a branch of the river of the Illinois, and when the waters are low you have to make a portage to that branch."

January 2, 1682, LaSalle, as he afterwards writes (2 Mag. Am. Hist., 552): "The snows having detained us some days at the portage of Chicago. This is an isthmus of land, at 41 degrees, 50 minutes N. latitude at the west of Illinois Lake, which is reached by a channel formed by the junction of several riverlets or meadow ditches. It is navigable for about two leagues to the edge of the prairie, a quarter of a league westward. There is a little lake divided by a causeway made by the beavers about a league and a half long from which runs a stream, which after winding about half a league through the rushes, empties into the river of Chicago, and thence into that of the Illinois. This lake is filled by heavy summer rains or spring freshets, and discharges also into the channel which leads to the lake of the Illinois, the level of which is 7 feet lower than the prairie on which the lake is. I doubt whether a vessel could resist the great freshets caused by the currents in Chicago in the spring, which are much heavier than those of the Rhone."

There has never been a rushing outlet at the Chicago River proper, which is merely a short arm or inlet of Lake Michigan with a very small drainage area. On the other hand Mr. Ansbro, an aged resident of Millers, Ind., has seen the Calumet waters come rushing down in the spring.

In 1778 Thos. Hutchins, a distinguished English engineer, afterwards Surveyor General of the United States, described the portage.

In "The American National," Vol. II, by Prof. Livingstone Farrand, the Calumet-Desplaines portage is also described.

Reuben G. Thwaites, the Wisconsin historian, states in a foot note (Wis. Hist. Col., Vol. 16, p. 372): "The Desplaines might also be reached by a similar portage to the Calumet River, which falls into Lake Michigan at the present South Chicago. On early maps the Chicago and Calumet rivers are sometimes confounded with each other."

To the territory and the rivers at the southwest corner of Lake Michigan on thirteen early maps is miscellaneously applied the name of a local Indian chief variously spelled as follows: Franquelin, 1687, Checagou; Tilleman, 1688, Chekagou; Delisle, 1703, Checagou; Sutteri, 1710, Checagon; French map in British museum, 1718, Chicagou; Moll, 1720, Chekagou; Bollin, 1744, Chicagou; D'Anville, 1746, Chi-

cagon; Vaugondy, 1755, Chicagou; Andrews (English), 1782, Chicago; Bowles, 1783, Checagou; Pownall, 1794, Checagou.

I have read that this Indian chief Chicago was taken to France, I think about 1700, where he received all the honors of a foreign potentate.

In a report to the King of Great Britain, dated September 3, 1721, New York Colonial Documents, it is stated that the traders passed "to the lake of the Illinois (Michigan) thence 150 leagues on the lake to the Fort Miamis, situated on the mouth of the River Chicago (another spelling), from hence come those Indians of the same name, viz: Miamis, who are settled on the fore mentioned river that runs into Erie. Up the River Chicagoe they sail but three leagues to a passage of one-fourth of a league, then enter a small lake of about a mile, and have another small portage and again another of two miles to the River Illinois, thence down the stream 130 leagues to the Mississippi."

This is thought by some to refer to the St. Joseph portage. However, it certainly fits the Calumet region.

The early portages at the Calumet after Marquette's and Joliet's discovery were: Tonty, September, 1680; LaSalle, March, 1681; Tonty, December 25, 1681; LaSalle, January 6, 1682; LaSalle with his company and an army of 4,500 Miamis, 1683; two of Tonty's men, June, 1683; Tonty, May, 1684; Governor LaForest and party in June, 1685; Joutel, Abbe Cavelier, five Frenchmen and twelve savages, September, 1687, and return trip in October; Allouez with five Frenchmen, including Joutel and five savages, March, 1688. "Mason's Chapters from Illinois History" describes a trip by Veville in the summer of 1779 with a British-Canadian troop, who burned the French trading post at Peoria, and two military expeditions were seen by Chicago's first settler, Au Sable, one a British incursion from Canada and the other a party of French and Indians, under Langlade, from the South. The last two were doubtless by way of Chicago River. All the former probably followed the then preferred route via the Calumet.

Even as late as 1790 Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory, reporting to President Washington, wrote concerning "the communication up the Illinois River, up the Chicago and there by a small portage into Lake Michigan." (He means the Desplaines by "Chicago" as there is no portage between the Chicago River of today and the lake. The Calumet was considered a part of the Desplaines in the early days and the portage referred to is undoubtedly in the Calumet region.)

St. Clair continues: "In the spring of the year the waters of the Michigan and the Chicago rise each to such a height that the intermediate space is entirely overflowed, and is passable by the vessel's in use there, which are bark canoes, but which carry a very considerable burden and are navigated by three or by five persons."

"Drake's Navigator" of February, 1811, after the connection had been made between the two Calumet rivers, describes a portage of two miles between a branch of the Illinois and the so-called "Chicago" River, which empties into Lake Michigan. "From this portage to the lake is a batteaux navigation of sixteen miles." This is the distance from the Calumet portage at Palos. That at Chicago proper is but four and seven-eighth miles from the lake.

Page 8, Report of Graham and Phillips, Kaskaskia, April 4, 1819: "By reference to the map herewith forwarded, it will be seen that the little River Plein, coming from the northwest, approaches within ten miles and a quarter of Lake Michigan, and then bending to the southwest unites with the Theakiki (Kankakee), at the distance of about fifty miles, and forms the River Illinois. The country between the lake and the plain, at this point of approach, is a prairie (natural meadow) without trees, covered with grass, and, to the eye, a perfect level. From the bank of Plain, standing on the ground, the trees are distinctly seen, with the naked eye, at Fort Dearborn, on the shore of the lake; from Fort Dearborn they are in like manner, seen on the bank of the Plein. Standing in any intermediate point, between the lake and the river, and the judgment is at a loss to say to which side the ground declines, and whether the level of the Plein or the lake is the highest." This again shows the uninviting character of the level low land and eliminates the trees, which point has an important bearing upon a matter that I will discuss later.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, in his well-known book of travels, 1821, says that "one of the most ingenious and perhaps practical methods (of keeping the mouth of Chicago Creek clear of sand) is that of turning the Konomic, by a canal of sixteen miles, into the Chicago, above the fort, and by the increased body and pressure of the water to drive out the accumulated sands."

From "Long's Expedition," 1823, Vol. 1, 166, we quote:

"An expenditure trifling in comparison to the importance of the object, would again render Lake Michigan a tributary of the Mexican Gulf.

"It is the opinion of those best acquainted with the nature of the country, that the easiest communication would be between the Little Calamick and some point on the DesPlaines, probably below the portage road."

Governor Coles, Illinois Monthly Mag., October, 1830, says: "There shall likewise be a reconnoissance between the Kalamick of the lake and the Saganaskee and Joliet of the Desplaines, between which streams the summit level is believed to be the lowest. * * * From all the information I have been able to collect, I am of the opinion that this is the best place for the construction of a canal."

Parkman and other historians are in error when they assume that Marquette named and located the present town of Kaskaskia. The "Kaskaskia village" of his day was probably located near the Sag, the Indian and white residents removing down the river to the present Kaskaskia some time later.

Regarding this and other particular historical features, it may be said that those best qualified to judge of any one phase are they who have given that particular long, close and unbiased study. No general historian can spend years upon each feature of his work. That is why Prof. Hager, Moses and the writer are in a better position to judge these matters than the better known general historian. For after all we are seeking only the truth and the best proofs alone should govern.

Relative to the routes followed by early explorers the following is authoritative, by John Moses, ex-county judge, private secretary of

Governor Yates, State representative, secretary and librarian Chicago Historical Society, (Moses' History of Illinois, 1889):

"The name Chicago in its various orthographies, was applied more or less indifferently to the St. Joseph, the Calumet, the Desplaines and the Illinois rivers. Both of the latter were also called the "Divine." It was also applied to the country adjacent to the southern portion of Lake Michigan. Such confusion of nomenclature renders it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine precisely what stream or locality was meant when either of these names is used by early writers.

"It must be remembered that the fountain head of information for early explorers was the Indians. To them even the primitive mode of transportation by horse or mules was unknown. They knew of but one way to abridge or vary tedious marches through forests or glades, that single avenue of escape was found in the waterways, and the shortest practicable portage connecting these was welcomed as the easiest way to avoid the physical labor which they considered as degrading as it was irksome."

Moses then gives four possible portage routes, which Nos. 1 and 2 are the Calumet rivers, connecting with Stony Brook, a tributary near Blue Island leading to a short portage to the Desplaines. No. 3 is the St. Joseph-Kankakee route and No. 4 is the Chicago River.

Moses continues: "Whichever way was taken by Joliet and Marquette in September, 1673, in their return trip, was adopted by Marquette on his second visit in 1675, for he observes in his journal of the latter, March 31, 'here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago.'"

"To the mariner desiring to reach the Illinois from Mackinac, it would be nearer to proceed down the east side of Lake Michigan to the Grand Calumet and up that stream." On his third trip to the Illinois, which was also in the winter, 1681-2, he (LaSalle) mentions the Chicago River, and as the Grand Calumet is plainly marked with this name on his map, recently discovered in Paris, and published by Margry, and as that would be a nearer and better route in the winter than the Kankakee or that by the Chicago River as now known, it is fair to presume that when he alluded to the "Chicago route" he referred to the passage of the Grand Calumet.

"As early as 1698 (1696, Father Pinet) a mission had been established among the Miamis, called Chicago. It is evident that this mission was on the route usually followed by travelers, wherever that was, along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan. St. Cosme and party undoubtedly followed this route in 1699, as did Father Gravier the year following. Prior to 1684, the Chicago River, as now known, does not appear upon any map then extant. At least, it is not on those of Marquette and Hennepin; and while there is something resembling it on those of Joliet and LaSalle, the name of Chekagoua is plainly given by the latter to the Calumet, as stated above. Nor does it appear on that of Raffeix, 1688, especially designed as a route map. As the route by the Little Calumet afforded a higher stage of water for navigation in the dry season, and was a better location for a mission house, the supposition is authorized that it was the one usually taken by those going to or coming from the east side of Lake Michigan to or from

the Illinois River. A careful examination of the detailed route described by Marquette and St. Cosme, and of the landmarks and streams which they mention fully justifies such a conclusion.

"After the abandonment of the French settlements on the Illinois River, and the emigration of the greater portion of the friendly Illinois Indians to the Mississippi in 1722, neither of the foregoing routes were any longer used by the French while they held the country, nor indeed by any whites until the time of the Revolution."

In this connection Andreas (1884) says: "Soon after the opening of the eighteenth century this route to the Mississippi became so dangerous that it was gradually abandoned and finally almost forgotten. The long war between the Illinois and the Iroquois had made the Kaskaskias fearful and timid. They were directly in the path of the enemy for the location of their village, which, lying far up the river, was first struck by their war parties in their raids into the country of the Illinois." Before 1700 and well into the eighteenth century the Calumet region and "Chicago" were one. For a hundred years they were separated by title and local government. But in 1889 annexation came and now again the rival rivers and the friendly rivals who dwell on their banks are citizens of the same Chicago.

On the Chicago & Alton is the "Marquette Monument," erected to mark the first landing of Marquette after being driven by the spring flood from the cabin where he had spent the winter of 1674-75. The monument is a fine tribute to the public-spirited policy of the railroad, and it is unfortunate that slip-shod historians should have been responsible for such a mistake. In all probability Father Marquette never saw the Chicago River except its mouth in passing.

Equally culpable are these same slip-shod historians who misled the Chicago Association of Commerce in 1907 to erect a mahogany cross to the memory of Father Marquette at the foot of Blue Island Avenue on the Drainage Canal. These acts, highly praiseworthy in themselves, serve only to emphasize the importance of honest research and historical accuracy.

The treaty of Greenville, December 9, 1795, between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandottes, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Miamies, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias: "The said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, towit: '14. One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. * * *' 'And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned. Again from the mouth of the Chicago to the commencement of the portage, between that river and the Illinois and down the Illinois River to the Mississippi.'"

The treaty of Black Partridge, August 24, 1816, secured a cession to the United States of a tract of land twenty miles wide from Chicago to Ottawa. This established the famous Indian Boundary Line through the Calumet region that runs from ten miles south of the

mouth of the Chicago River (the mouth of the Calumet River) to ten miles north of the mouth of the Kankakee. The survey of 1819 caused all sections to jog at this line, which remains the despair of surveyors and property owners along its length. (7 U. S. Statutes at Large; Indian Treaties), pp. 146-7. (In this document the name "Desplaines River" is officially used for the first time. Hitherto it had been described as "Illinois" or "Chicago.") Numerous treaties were also made regarding the relinquishment of land along the Tippecanoe River. Ashkum, a noted Calumet chief, signed some of these treaties, including that of December 16, 1834, at the Pottawattamie Mills in Indiana. Ashkum (spelled Ayshcam) was also one of the signers of the Treaty of Chicago in 1821. He was a Pottawattamie chief, who had large land holdings. Interesting evidence of this was given by Pawa Ashkum, a grand niece, at a trial in the United States Circuit Court in the seventies.

From Indian Affairs American State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 570:

Little Turtle, a Miami chief, said at the Treaty of Greenville Wednesday, July 22, 1795: "It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio River to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan; at this place I first say my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago and charged him not to sell nor part with his land, but to hand it down to posterity. This charge has been handed to me."

On Friday, July 24, 1795, he said: "You told us at Chicago the French possessed a fort; we have never heard of it."

Pottawattamie chiefs signing this treaty included: New Corn from Lake Michigan, the Sun, Asimethe, Michimeng.

Professor Hager believed that by Chicago River Little Turtle meant the Kalomick. I have found that the Shawanese, or the Weas, lived there. This is indicated on several old maps.

It will be recalled that LaSalle fixes the latitude at 41 degrees, 50 minutes. This does not assist us at all, as this latitude is about half way between the Chicago and Calumet rivers. Probably he had no accurate means of observation. He also states, however: "There is a little lake divided by a causeway made by the beavers." Little significance has ever been attached to the beavers heretofore, owing to the general ignorance of the word Calumet, popularly supposed to be an Indian word meaning pipe of peace. The facts are quite different.

La Hontan says "Calumet is a Norman word derived from Chalumeau. The savages do not understand the word, for 'twas introduced to Canada by the Normans when they first settled there, and has still continued in use amongst the French planters. The Calumet, or pipe, is called in the Iroquese language, 'Ganondaoe,' and by the other savage nations 'Poagan.' "

Charlevoix says: "Calumet is a Norman word which signifies reed, and the Calumet of the savages is properly the tube of a pipe, but they comprehend under this name the pipe also, as well as its tube."

The Calumet River was originally known as the "Conamic," an Indian word which means "snow beaver." It so appears upon all the ancient maps (spelled sometimes with a "K"). English speaking people mistook this for the better known word Calumet, and of late years the river and lake have been so called.

"The American Indian" by Haines, published in Chicago, 1888, is authority for the above. The same work says as part of a long discussion of the Indian etymology of the word Chicago, "Tuck Chicago" means waste prairie, or literally translated, "wood gone." In the Pottawattamie dialect this would be Tuck Choc-ca-go (no tree, or not a tree). Mr. Hurlbut in his "Chicago Antiquities" refers to the early title "Tuck Chicago," for the place.

"As a matter of history," Haines continues, "the locality about Chicago is the only place on the western shore of Lake Michigan where there was an entire absence of trees. The country along the lake at this point for some distance south of the mouth of the river was clean, naked prairie, with not a tree to obstruct the view; and it is fair to suppose that some name would be given this place by the natives, suggestive of this circumstance."

Let us now quote from the journal of Henri Joutel, who describes his trip to Chicago in the fall of 1687, and another in the spring of 1688:

"We arrived at Chicagou on the 29th of March. * * * The bad weather compelled us to remain in that place until April.

"We had nothing but our meal, or Indian wheat, to feed on; yet we discovered a kind of manna, which was a great help to us. It was a sort of tree resembling our maple, in which we made incisions, whence flowed a sweet liquor, and in it we boiled our Indian wheat, which made it delicious, sweet and of a very agreeable relish. There being no sugar canes in that country, those trees supplied that liquor, which being boiled up and evaporated, turned into a kind of sugar, somewhat brownish, but very good. In the woods we found a sort of garlic, not so strong as ours, and small onions, very like ours in taste, and some charvel of the same relish as that which we have, but different in leaf." (Mr. Charles Laperrugue, chef at the LaSalle Hotel, defined charvel, or rather chervil, to me as an herb like parsley, but of finer flavor, used for salad dressing and soups.) Joutel continues, stating that he and his party embarked April 5, the weather having improved.

There were never any woods, charvel or maple trees at the mouth of the Chicago River. Nor were there maple trees at the mouth of the Calumet at South Chicago—as far as I can learn. Accordingly, last fall I went to Miller, Ind., and found large woods at the original mouth of the Grand Calumet, including many maple trees, which species evidently had been indigenous there from time immemorial.

It is evident that travelers down the west shore used the Calumet at South Chicago, preferring a stop at the oak ridge and the short portage to the longer voyage. Those coming or going via the east shore found the river mouth at Miller more convenient.

Tonty, in his memoirs, says: "I embarked therefore for the Illinois on St. Andrew's Day (30th of October, 1685), but being stopped by ice I was obliged to leave my canoe and to proceed on by land. After going 120 leagues I arrived at the Fort of Chicagon, where M. de la Durantaye commanded, and from thence I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived the middle of January, 1686."

At the risk of trespassing upon a subject assigned to another speaker, I must again call attention to the remains still in existence of the old French fort at Palos, which commanded the portage and trail at the Calumet-Sag divide. This is certainly a much more likely place for a fort than on the shore of Lake Michigan. It was also the most likely place for the mission, which, Shea says Marquette founded on Holy Thursday, 1675, and which was continued April, 1676, by Father Allouez and afterward by Father Pinet and Father Bineteau.

St. Cosme, Gravier, Dablon and others were also identified with this mission. I have talked with many of the Roman Catholic clergy, who believe with me that the first mission was in the Calumet. However, I hope to prove these things with facts, not names.

When the first settlers arrived at Thornton they found the ruins of what had once evidently been Indian fortifications, occupying the site of the present town. The ruins consisted of outer ditches or trenches, and inside of these were the works or fortifications proper. On the banks of these, trees, apparently, not less than 100 years old, were growing, which only furnished abundant proof of the indisputable antiquity of the ruins. When Joseph Case arrived here in 1835, he used frequently to talk with the Indians about the origin of the remains, but could only learn that with them it was supposed they were built by French explorers many, many years before. In 1871 Ira Gardner dug up a number of skeletons near the fort, thought to be white men rather than Indians. It is claimed by some that there was also a portage near here from Thorn Creek to the Kankakee.

At any rate it is evident that there were many precursors of white civilization in this section unrecorded in history. Marquette himself tells of two men, one a surgeon, that visited him during his winter encampment and the natives afterward told stories of adventurers, voyageurs and others. But these men accomplished little or nothing for the advancement of civilization, and so their names have been lost in obscurity. The Norsemen visited America five hundred years before Columbus, but it is the great Italian explorer whose name will last as long as history, for he it was that opened the possibilities of the New World to the Old, and so also Marquette and Joliet are the pioneers of the Chicago development, no matter who physically preceded them.

Andreas, in his History of Cook County (1884), says: "There are in the town of Palos the ruins now clearly discernible of what were once evidently French or Indian fortifications. These ruins on the farm of Theodore Lucas, three miles southwest of Willow Springs, are yet so well preserved as to enable one to clearly trace their former extent and size. From their location on a rising piece of ground and the area which they once evidently enclosed, the conclusion is arrived at that they were of considerable importance and well designed in their

construction for affording refuge and protection to a large number of persons."

From a manuscript in the library of the Chicago Historical Society, accompanied by a map showing the location of the fort in section 15 of the town of Palos, both by Dr. V. A. Boyer of Chicago, is quoted as follows:

"I have many times visited, when on hunting expeditions, the remains of an old fort located in the town of Palos, Cook County, Illinois, at the crossing of the old Sag trail, which crossed the Ausagaunashkee Swamp, and was the only crossing east of the Desplaines River prior to the building of the Archer Bridge in 1836. The remains of the fort, situated north of the Sag, and near the crossing, were on the elevated timber land, commanding a view of the surrounding country, and as a military post would well command and guard the crossing. * * * I have never been able to find any account of the building of this fort in any historical works. I first saw it in 1833, and since then have visited it often in company of other persons, some of whom are still living. I feel sure that it was not built during the Sac War, from its appearance. * * * It seems probable that it was the work of French fur traders or explorers, as there were trees a century old growing in its environs. It was evidently the work of an enlightened people, skilled in the science of warfare. * * * As a strategic point it must have completely commanded the surrounding country and the crossing of the swamp at the Sag."

I have personally visited this site several times and have a number of relics, including a skull, arrow heads and spear heads, and a curious old iron axe, said to be of French make. Mr. Peter Lucas of Palos has a similar axe, and he and Mr. Michaelson, a local storekeeper, have many Indian relics. In fact nearly all the old families in this immediate vicinity have lots of relics of early occupation and more are being found from time to time. Alexander Reid of Sag Bridge Post-office, found a bushel of arrow flints and some sixty stone axes of various sizes.

It is stated that there are indications of other fortifications or stockades on the north branch of the Chicago River and elsewhere. Perhaps whole companies of adventurers have been slaughtered at some of these places, and not a word left to tell their fate. In view of the evident route of the early explorers via the Calumet-Sag route and its commanding position, it is more than likely that the original French fort at Chicago was located at Palos. There is today a Roman Catholic church on the crown of the hill, just above the fort, perhaps on the very site of Father Marquette's first mission.

A canal connecting Lake Michigan with the headwaters of the Mississippi was first suggested by Marquette and Joliet in 1673. Other explorers, officials, engineers, etc., have discussed the project from that day to this. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, started 1836, completed 1848, provided navigation of a kind and January 2, 1900, the Sanitary District of Chicago opened its main drainage channel which was supposed to have finally effected the great work, but did not.

Meanwhile Gallatin in 1808, President Madison in 1814, Secretary of War Calhoun in 1819 had urged this improvement, and for twenty

years in the annual messages of the governors of Illinois it was a stock subject. In 1836 the Illinois and Michigan canal was started and completed in 1848, as above stated, being opened with much ceremony. In 1882 the State ceded the property to the United States in the hope that the latter would enlarge it for a ship canal. The opening of the Sanitary Canal in 1900 above mentioned was the next chapter of this historic project.

Without going into a detailed discussion of the long and murky history of the Illinois and Michigan Canal it may be stated that it was found impossible to maintain the canal by water from the Chicago River. The cost of pumping was too heavy. Therefore the Act of March 2, 1837, provided for the Calumet feeder, which by means of a dam at Blue Island caused the Calumet river to run west and supply the Illinois and Michigan Canal by gravity. This fact alone establishes the superior natural navigation facilities of the Calumet. But this was already well known, as gauges of different streams that might supply water were as follows:

	Ft. per hr.
Desplaines River at Cache Islands	117,000
DuPage River	114,000
Aux Sable River	50,000
Fox River	450,000

Gauges of Calumet River by United State engineers, 17,281 per minute. By Bucklin, 5,333 per minute. Desplaines River, Post & Paul, 1,950 per minute; by Bucklin, 1,000. DuPage, United States engineers, 1,655; Bucklin, 6,916 per minute. Aggregate minimum: Calumet, 5,333; Desplaines, 1,000; DuPage, 1,665.

Numerous gauges show the Calumet River to be four or five times larger than either the Desplaines or the DuPage.

If anything further were needed to establish the fact of the superior natural advantages of the Calumet region for navigation facilities it would be found in the report of Gen. W. L. Marshall, then captain, corps of engineers, U.S.A., on "Survey of Waterway from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River at LaSalle, Ill.," page 2437, appendix J. J. of the annual report of the Chief of Engineers for 1890:

"Generally speaking, then, it may be stated that the Chicago River is a very unfavorable terminus for this highway, as far as the interests of navigation are concerned; also as far as future demands and facilities for increased commerce by water are concerned. * * *

Sag or Calumet River Route.

"The terminal facilities, as far as possible access to Lake Michigan at numerous points along the Calumet River and system of lakes connected therewith is concerned, the ample landlocked natural basins (needing only deepening by dredging) for the construction of a great development of wharves and docks and commodious harbors in public waters of the United States point irresistibly to the Calumet region as the proper terminus of a great waterway between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River."

By means of the final connection which it is to be hoped will soon be completed, inland navigation will be opened from New York to New Orleans, a distance of over 3,000 miles. Such an internal waterway not only does not exist at the present time, in the whole world, but in the nature of things it never can exist anywhere else. This State enjoys the navigation of its boundary and internal rivers amounting to 3,094 miles. The Sanitary Channel, Illinois and Michigan and Hennepin canals and other artificial waterways swell the total, and all are to be placed in communication with each other by this work. Not in America, perhaps nowhere on earth, is there a state so highly favored by nature as Illinois.

It will remain for the Calumet-Sag channel, now under construction, in connection with other improvements in the lower waterways, to effect the final consumation of this great work. Had this proper work been done in 1836, a hundred million dollars would have been saved and America might have advanced an entire era in progress. However, we are now dealing with history and all of this establishes an overwhelming probability that the famous Portage des Chenes near the southwest corner of Lake Michigan was in the Calumet region. The description of the portage fits the Calumet region today. The very oak trees, centuries old, are still in their natural state on the ridge about a mile long between Calumet lake and river. The half-dozen farmers and their families who live on this ridge continue to find Indian relics there. Dr. Frederick W. Smith of Riverdale has a magnificent collection and A. F. Kestermeier, formerly of South Chicago, now in Texas, also has many fine specimens. Mr. Scharf is much interested in this ridge and believes that hundreds of Indians lived there. It is a beautiful spot today, and I frequently go there with my children and friends, almost always bringing back additional relics. In twisting the Chicago-Mud Lake-Desplaines portage to fit the old description all that the Chicago proper enthusiasts can say (Chicago proper, not enthusiasts proper) is: "This shows how much conditions have changed since the early days of the French missionaries." It is rather an insulting commentary on the intelligence of the early explorers to call swamps and small enlargements of the river,—lakes.

I must explain another event which is little known that clears up the Calumet situation. Prior to 1800 the Little Kalomick and the Grand Kalomick (to give them their original names) were not connected. The Grand Kalomick had its origin in Indiana not far from LaPorte and flowed westward, curving entirely around at Blue Island and doubling back east parallel to itself at a distance of three to five miles. The original outlet was at Millers or Indiana city, a town planned in the thirties when Chicago was incorporated. This mouth at the extreme end of Lake Michigan would become filled with sand. Great dunes pile up there and there was doubtless some local shifting of the outlet from time to time, as the floods would force an opening in the spring. During the fall and winter of 1804 a great barrier of sand was formed across the mouth of the Grand Kalomick. In the spring of 1805 an excessive flood poured down, but the sand bank did not give way. But something had to yield, so a passage was forced along the line of least resistance from Hegewisch to the forks.

Since then this has been the preferred outlet of the Calumet River. (Thus we find that nature herself dug the canal which the early explorers so earnestly recommended.)

Mr. Andrew Dolton, who came to Chicago in 1835 and settled near Riverdale and Dolton a few years later, took a great interest in early history. He had a copy of the government field notes of the original surveys, which he loaned to my father in 1880 for the survey of the town of Pullman, and he held many conferences with the Indians in the early days. Both Mr. Scharf and Mr. Liljenkranz, Chief Assistant United States Engineer at Chicago, have told me that Dolton learned from the Indians that this passage was forced along a line where the sleds used to be drawn over the ice and the canoes poled through when the water was high. The reeds were broken down here and this passage offered the least resistance. The exact date was obtained from Prof. Brennan of Roseland, another early settler and an enthusiastic historian of the Calumet region. Mr. Brennan's authority is Gurdon S. Hubbard, the famous Chicago pioneer, some of whose manuscripts he possesses. This is also shown approximately by the Andrews map of 1782 and the Hutchins map of 1778, there being no connection between the rivers then. On the Hull map of 1812 the connection is shown as in existence, the word "canal" indicating the new passage. From the government records, however, no dredging was ever done there until after 1880. (The maps mentioned are published in the Proceedings of the Illinois Historical Society, 1904.)

Had that passage been in existence in the early days, Marquette and the others would not have had to make a portage, but could have gone through on the open water at all times of the year. It was some time before I discovered this fact, the ignorance of which was a stubborn obstacle in the work of this research.

We have now shown that the Calumet portage was the most inviting, the best and the most probable route. We have shown that numerous Indian encampments and villages lined its shores, that from the earliest time to the present day it has been recognized by all experts (and the Indians were natural experts in this line) as the best possible waterway connection between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. Even today it fits all the old descriptions. Relics and indications still remaining prove its title.

We have Little Turtle's testimony as to the French fort, we have the remains today at the Sag, we have our own good common sense and reasoning power as against monuments, crosses, boulders and brass erected by well-meaning perhaps, but misguided enthusiasts.

No person in authority has yet made a particular study of this question who has gone on record as believing in the so-called Chicago-Mud Lake-Desplaines route and encampment. There was doubtless a portage here and after Chicago got the Fort Dearborn location its ascendancy was lasting for a hundred years. But not forever. Prof. Hager, John Moses and many others adhere to my interpretation.

A persistent legend, that I would like to believe but can not fully verify, tells of an army officer sent here about 1796 by Gen. George Washington, who was then President of the United States. The officer inspected both the Calumet and Chicago rivers and found the former

far superior. But M. LeMai lived near Chicago in the former Au Sable, later the Kinzie Cabin, and LeMai had a lovely daughter. Chicago got the fort.

While searching last month in Washington, D. C., in the beautiful congressional library there I found a notation, page 113, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. 1. Under heading, Military Stations, 1796, is included the following: "Detroit—Detroit, Michimillimackenack, Chicago, old Rorias, mouth of Illinois, 1 battalion infantry, 2 companies riflemen, 1 company artillery." Fort Dearborn is said to have been built in 1804. This shows a prior detail at a Chicago military station in 1796.

Having lost Fort Dearborn, through the connivance of Venus and Mars, the Calumet region sat back on its haunches and waited until the thirties. This time no less a person than Jefferson Davis, afterwards President of the Confederacy, came on a trip of inspection. In 1833, the United States Government directed that a critical survey should be made of the Calumet and Chicago rivers to discriminate as to the superiority for marine and commercial purposes. This duty was entrusted to Lieut. Jefferson Davis of the United States Engineer Corps. He strongly recommended and urgently advocated the Calumet River and the establishment of a harbor here; not alone because of the superior natural depth and liberal seaboard of the river, but because of Lake Calumet having such ample facilities as a hiding place and refuge for the American Navy.

A Calumet boom started, a large subdivision was made and the citizens got ready for a great development. But again ulterior influences prevailed and Chicago got the harbor and the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Even then the Calumet feeder had to be built to make the canal a success.

But the years rolled on and the great natural advantages of the Calumet region were not to be permanently denied. Great works were built on its lakes and rivers. The great plant of the Pullman Co., and the Illinois Steel Works at South Chicago came in the eighties. later the Sherwin-Williams Paint Co., the incomparable steel city of Gary, built of sand and steel and courage, almost in a day, and this year the Baldwin Locomotive Works, each of the above being absolutely the largest and most important plant of its kind in the world—these and scores of others in widely diversified lines of industry are thriving and expanding and giving employment to upwards of 50,000 men, the basis of a population of 300,000 souls. A district that is developing rapidly, symmetrically and permanently on a solid foundation of worth, located in the very heart of America, in the greatest railroad center on earth, at the focus of all continental water communication, soon to be connected with the sea by the largest ships that float, this spot is destined inevitably to become perhaps within a decade absolutely the greatest industrial and commercial market and port of trade and transportation center of this or any other time or country.

Marquette's journal of his Illinois journeys, 1673-75, lay undiscovered for nearly two hundred years until John G. Shea brought it to light in 1852. Shea's publication is now very rare. It contains, beside the journal of Marquette, who established the first Illinois mission,

letters of Allouez, Dablon, Hennepin, Membre and others who were familiar with the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception."

Marquette Lodged at Calumet.

Following Marquette's description of his second voyage his cabin was located "two leagues up the river near the portage." This describes the exact location of Indian Ridge, which remained for hundreds of years a famous Indian village until after 1850, within the memory of Mr. Thomas Doyle and other old settlers of South Chicago.

Marquette states that the "Illinois village" was six leagues from his cabin. This is the exact distance to Palos at the Sag, where the Calumet-Sag Canal is now under construction. On his first journey he describes the village of the Kaskaskia Indians as being "on the portage." Palos is the only portage between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan via the Grand Calumet. Marquette later describes the spot: "Here we began our portage eighteen months ago."

After wintering at Indian Ridge, Marquette went to the Kaskaskia village and established the Mission of the Immaculate Conception in the spring of 1675. He died on the east shore of Lake Michigan shortly after.

In April, 1677, Father Allouez arrived and took charge of this mission. A paragraph in the handwriting of Father Dablon states that Allouez returned in 1678 to remain two years. "The Iroquois made an incursion as far as there but were beaten back by the Illinois."

In 1673 Marquette found seventy-four cabins. Allouez counted 351 cabins, mostly ranged on the bank of the river, at 40° 42′ (old style), on one side a prairie of vast extent and on the other an expanse of marsh (Saginaskee swamp). "The post is preferred because from it the Indians can easily discover their enemies." Palos commands both the portage and the trail.

Marquette's map locates Kaskaskia directly west of the south end of Lake Michigan. And his journal completes the identification of Palos.

In 1680 Father Membre estimates the population at seven or eight thousand. Hennepin estimates it at 460 cabins.

About 1703 the Kaskaskia removed to the present location of the town that bears their name. An entry in the old Kaskaskia register reads: "1703, Apr. 25. Ad ripam Metchigamea dictam venimus." Fathers Marest and Gravier accompanied them. The latter had succeeded the veteran Allouez about 1689. (Shea's History Catholic Church, Vol. 1, 535.)

Shea also speaks of a new chapel erected by Gravier outside of the French Fort. This is doubtless the fort previously described at Palos.

First Local Romance.

Michael Ako, the old comrade of Father Hennepin, sought to marry Aramipin-Chicwe, the daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, Rouensac, her parents compelling her most unwillingly to become his wife. The records of his family, beginning March 20, 1695, are the first entries in Father Gravier's ancient register, still preserved at Alton.

Mission on Lake Calumet, 1696.

In 1696 Father Julian Bineteau joined Gravier, and Father Peter Pinet founded the Miami Mission of the Angel Guardian, evidently on the banks of Lake Calumet.

A letter from Gravier to Bishop Laval Sept. 17, 1697, indicates that Count de Frontenac had driven Pinet and Gravier from the mission of "l'Ange gardien of the Miamis at Chicagwa." In a letter by Bergier of March 1, 1703, it is stated: "Father Pinet died the second of August (1702) at the village of the Katz." (Kaskaskias).

Beckwith says the Miamis had a village in 1718 at Chicago, but being afraid of the canoemen (Pottawotomies and Chippewas), left it. Father Charlevoix in 1721 wrote: "Fifty years ago the Miamis were settled on the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, in a place called Chicago, from the name of a small river that runs into the lake."

This last, of course, is an absolute description of the Calumet River, just as Marquette's map shows it running from the south end of the lake. Abundant Indian relics show that villages were located at Indian Ridge, "Portage des Chenes," Blue Island and Palos. Relics can be found today at any one of them. The writer has pecks of them and the farmers at Palos have literally bushels. Dr. Schmidt of Riverdale and Mr. Albert Scharf, both noted Indian experts, are authority for these ancient sites. There were no villages in the swamps that adjoined the Chicago River of today. A few wretched cabins of Mascoutins were found there by Marquette. The whole territory at the south end of Lake Michigan, the Desplaines and even the Illinois River were embraced in the name Chicago, or its numerous variants, before 1700.

In the fall of 1698 St. Cosme and others visited Fathers Pinet and Bineteau. Cosme writes: "Their house is built on the bank of the small lake (Calumet), having the lake on one side and a fine, large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over 150 cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Rev. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary residence, except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting." These villages are doubtless Indian Ridge and "Portage des Chenes." On Oct. 24, 1698, Cosme started for "Chicago."

Tonty writes: "I embarked for the Illinois Oct. 30, 1685. * * * I arrived at Ft. Chicagou, where M. de la Durantaye commanded."

Blanchard says (Vol. 1, 69): "There appears also to have been a French village here at that time."

The writer has in his possession a curious old iron axe found at the site of the fort at Palos. There are other relics extant that prove early European settlements.

Names Calumet Indian Villages.

Father Zenobius Membre (Recollect) describes the adventures of LaSalle's party, February, 1680, to June, 1681. After the Jesuits Marquette and Allouez, Membre and Gabriel were the first missionaries of Illinois. Membre writes (Shea's "Mississippi." 154): "The only great Illinois village being composed of seven or eight thousand souls, Father Gabriel and I had a sufficient field for the exercise of our zeal,

besides the few French who soon after came there. There are, moreover, the Miamis, situated southeast by south of the bottom of Lake Dauphin (Michigan), on the borders of a pretty fine river, about fifteen leagues inland at 41° N.; the nation of the Maskoutens and Outagamies, who dwell at about 43° N., on the banks of the river called Melleoki (Milwaukee), which empties into Lake Dauphin, very near their village; on the western side the Kikapous and the Ainoves (Iowas), who form two villages; west of these last, above the river Checagoumemant (stony creek), the village of the Ilinois Cascashia (Kaskaskia), situated west of the bottom of Lake Dauphin, a little southwest at about 41° N.; the Anthoutantas (Otontantas of Marquette's map) and Maskoutens, Nadouessions, about 130 leagues from the Ilinois, in three great villages built near a river which empties into the river Colbert (Mississippi) on the west side, above that of the Ilinois, almost opposite the mouth of the Miskoncing (Wis.) in the same river. I might name here a number of other tribes with whom we had intercourse, and to whom French coureurs-de-bois, or lawfully sent, rambled while I was with the Illinois, under favor of our discovery."

Membre thus absolutely describes Palos at the Sag as the site of the original village of Kaskaskia, where the first Illinois Mission of the Immaculate Conception was established by Marquette. The Iowas and the Kikapous inhabited the two other principal villages near Lake Calumet. These and the Kaskaskia village are positively situated by Membre with respect to each other.

We now have the Missions of the Immaculate Conception and Angel Guardian, the Calumet portage, the original Kaskaskia village and fort and two Indian villages near Lake Calumet positively identified and located by Marquette's map and description and by the letters of Allouez, Dablon, Gravier, St. Cosme, Tonty and Membre. All except Tonty were Roman Catholic missionaries. Not that further proof is necessary, but as interesting historical data, the editor will shortly continue this narrative with descriptions of other early experiences at the Calumet portages and villages, relating to LaSalle and other distinguished pioneers of civilization.

Such is the magnificent present and the inspiring future of this great Calumet region, cheated out of its birthright for a century by an ill begotten Babel of wealth, creators of nothing, surveyors of froth, go-betweens, usurpers and usurers of Chicago's natural growth, jailers of its symmetrical development, dogs in the manger, parasites, a mile square of sky piercing whited sepulchres of rusting steel and crumbling plaster, an unearned increment of stolen prestige and heaped up spoil, a passing monument to the cohesive power of public plunder, that steals the community value of a world city of nearly three million people and binds it in with girdle of elevated steel, that cajoles, hoodwinks and connives with officialdom and lives its little life in childless palaces of gilt and tinsel, for no children's laughter echoes within the walls of their dwellings—I will not call them homes. Children are not wanted and soon therefore this type will efface itself from view by reason of its own infinite selfishness and their instance of the survival of the fittest—two things are prohibited in these stratified habitations, children and dogs —but I fear I am hardly fair to the dogs for in truth the people are

wafted to and fro in an atmosphere of tainted money, gasoline, clear Havanas and perfumed Pomeranians.

The Calumet region would not change places with the Chicago loop and its denizens. Better a thousand times the man who builds, the man who contributes his full quota to the work of the world. "His brow is wet with honest sweat and he owes not any man."

An all wise Providence has reserved the Calumet region for its manifest destiny. A destiny that a prophetic eye might have foreseen even 250 years ago when Father Marquette and Louis Joliet passed the Calumet portage and saw the easy possibility of a short canal to connect the Great Lakes and the Gulf.

The Illinois and Michigan Canal and its successor, the Chicago Sanitary Canal, have failed for nearly a hundred years and a hundred million dollars to make this connection.

Who shall dispute the value of historical accuracy and the honor of historic interest when it is proved 250 years later that the first and best portage, the Calumet, the famous old portage des chenes, will now soon complete the real Great Lakes-Mississippi waterway, a development, please God, that will break the curse of railroad domination over this country and so prove the crowning feature of the civilization of America?

EVERY DAY LIFE IN ILLINOIS NEAR THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(By CHARLES B. JOHNSON, M.D., Champaign, Ill.)

My grandfather, Charles Johnson, became a resident of Illinois Territory nearly one hundred years ago. He was a native of North Carolina and in young manhood had seen service in the war of the Revolution. Very early in the nineteenth century he crossed the mountains into Tennessee and with his family settled in that then new state.

At an early period in his life he had been a slave owner in a small way, but with the lapse of time he grew to be more and more dissatisfied with and opposed to that institution. Meanwhile a large family of children had come to his home and the thought of having them grow up surrounded by slave-influences came to be especially repugnant.

The result was that he disposed of his Tennessee possessions and in 1816 removed with his family to Illinois Territory, which it will be remembered was part of the original Northwest Territory that by the general government had been dedicated to freedom by the passage of the celebrated ordinance of 1787.

Upon reaching Illinois Territory my grandfather in 1816 entered some government land and founded his pioneer home in Bond County in the western edge of Shoal Creek timber and on the eastern limits of Looking Glass Prairie. After building his rude cabin, like all early Illinois settlers he began to chop down the primeval forest all about him and burn this to ashes that he might have a field on which to plant his crops. All of which chopping, log-rolling, and burning was undertaken with the idea that the fertile soil and almost boundless extent of Looking Glass Prairie all but in touch with his cabin was unfit for any purpose save pasturage for horses, cattle and sheep.

My grandfather's pioneer home in Bond County was but a little north of the present village of Pocahontas and some forty miles east of the then small town of St. Louis, Mo.

Pocahontas, originally called Hickory Grove postoffice, was on the old National Road that ran east from St. Louis, Mo., to Terre Haute, Ind., and from thence on east to Cumberland, Md., its starting point. About two years after founding his pioneer home in the land of his choice, namely, Dec. 3, 1818, my grandfather had the satisfaction of seeing Illinois admitted in the Union as a free State. But sad to say he was permitted to enjoy his newly acquired free-state privileges for only a short time as in the fall of 1821 he died from dysentery. All this time, however there were not a few Illinois residents who believed

slavery was a benefit and blessing instead of a handicap and an evil. Finally, the sentiment in favor of slavery became so aggressive that early in 1823 a movement was put under way to convert Illinois into a Slave State and to do this it was proposed to call a public convention. However, the calling of the convention was left to popular vote. Perhaps no question ever excited the people of Illinois more than did this canvas for the proposed convention in the interest of slavery. Had my grandfather lived I can in imagination see him using such influence as he had to prevent the blight of human slavery from falling upon the State of his adoption. As matters turned out three of his sons were of proper age and voted to keep Illinois from becoming a Slave State.

The election occurred August 2, 1824, after an active canvas of eighteen months and resulted in a Free State victory. Bond County did herself proud at this election. In all she cast 303 votes and of these 240 were against calling the convention, and sixty for it. In other words slavery in Bond County was voted down in a ratio of nearly four to one.

There were ten sons in my grandfather's family and upon attaining manhood most of them settled on new farms in Bond County not far distant from the first pioneer home. Among these ten sons was my father, James Johnson, who was born in Tennessee in 1805 and came with his parents to Illinois Territory when eleven years of age. My earliest recollection is of a little two-room, weather beaten, farm house surrounded by prairie and where I first saw the light of day. With the approach of the winter of 1848-9 my father and several of his neighbors came to realize that it was their urgent duty to provide something in the way of school opportunities for their children. As nothing better was at hand they finally decided to make use of a log-cabin that stood on my father's farm not far distant from his dwelling. All went to work with a will and in due time the cabin was made ready for its intended use. Under one of its eaves was a rude door that swung on wooden hinges and fastened with a wooden latch, while the latch string of course, hung invitingly on the outside. In one end was an enormous fireplace made of sticks of wood and plastered with clay. In the opposite end a log was sawed out and in the space thus made a row of panes of glass were set up edge to edge and thus was made the one window in the school room. Immediately under this rude window was a writing desk made by placing a rough plank on strong oak pegs driven in the wall. The seats were made from rough slabs of wood and were without backs. The floor was rough and uneven, as was likewise the ceiling. The teacher was an Irishman with the distinguished name of O'Conner. Like his gifted countryman, Goldsmith, O'Conner played the flute with much taste and skill. This school in the little log school house during the winter of 1848-9 was popular and pupils came to it from far and wide. Among the rest were several young men who lived on farms several miles distant, and who on stormy nights found shelter under my father's hospitable roof. A roof that covered but two rooms and nevertheless sheltered my father's family of seven members and the teacher in addition. In other words in this little house of two rooms lived my father, mother, and five children ranging in age from a babe in arms to a daughter just budding into womanhood.

Yet full as was this small dwelling my father must have had in mind the proverbial omnibus that always had "room for one more," for when the teacher applied for board and shelter he was obligingly accommodated. But lest he had not yet filled the measures of hospitality exacted sixty-three years ago my father as we have just seen opened wide his doors upon occasions and housed no less than twelve persons in his little prairie home of two rooms.

During the winter of 1848-9 I heard my elders talking a great deal about the great quantity of gold that in the course of the previous twelve months had been discovered in California. Finally I realized that a little later my father would undertake the overland trip to that new Eldorado. As soon as spring opened he removed his family from the farm to the near-by village of Pocahontas and next set about making preparations for the long journey.

His immediate party consisted of three men besides himself, and the contemplated means of conveyance was a strong, heavy wagon drawn by several yokes of oxen. The wagon was loaded with such things as were most likely to be needed on the long and laborious journey. Among the rest were blankets, several suits of durable clothing, certain staple articles of diet, as coffee, sugar, salt, bacon, etc., axes a few other tools, and finally a trusty rifle for each member of the party. Two of the younger men drove the wagon to St. Joseph, Mo., a general rendezvous for those about to make the overland trip, and where my father and the fourth member of the party were to meet them a little later. One day in April my father bade his family good by, rode on horseback to St. Louis, Mo., there boarded a steamboat for St. Joseph where he was to meet his companions. Where likewise the wagon would join many others while the men would organize for mutual protection as the route was known to be infested by Indians more or less hostile. We did not hear from my father for some little time, but finally a letter came saying that while on the boat he had suffered from an attack of Asiatic cholera and was yet in a very weakened condition.

Such trips as my father was starting on were in those days called "crossing the plains," otherwise the prairies of what is today Kansas and Colorado.

After leaving St. Jospeh, Mo., the opportunities for sending communications back home were few and far between, and during the whole journey that occupied five months we only received three or four letters. Then there was a long interval when we heard nothing. Finally one night a little before Christmas two of my uncles came in and as soon as my mother saw their faces she knew something had gone wrong. In a moment it came out that my uncle, Benjamin, had just received a letter with the sad news that my father had died very soon after reaching Sacramento, Cal., early in the previous October, or only a little less than three months before.

My father's three immediate companions succeeded in reaching California in good health and all materially bettered their fortunes. Two years later the oldest one of the three took ship to return home by water, but was taken violently sick, died and was buried at sea. So that of this little California party of "forty-niners" two never returned from

their long journey, and each left a wife and little ones to mourn the loss of a husband and father.

In my childhood violent attacks of sickness with resulting death were much more common than today. Not a little of this sickness and mortality was from Asiatic cholera which at certain times spread through the country. Ocean vessels would bring the disease to American seaports from thence it would be carried by river boats to inland cities and from the latter it would be conveyed to country districts by persons visiting the infected river towns.

I have a dim recollection of the presidential election of 1852 when Franklin Pierce, the successful candidate, represented the Democrats, and General Scott was the candidate of the Whigs who were then in the field for the last time.

I very distinctly remember the excitement and general distrust that followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in June, 1854. For this repeal Senator Douglas of Illinois, was held responsible by all those who opposed the further spread of slavery. By the way a little less than sixty years ago Stephen A. Douglas was as prominent a figure in political life as is Theodore Roosevelt today.

I recall the rapid rise and mushroom growth of the Know Nothing, or American party, that in 1856 ran Millard Fillmore for president and then went out of existence.

I saw something of the beginning of the Republican party in 1854-5. General Fremont, the Republican candidate for president in 1856, was by his opponents derisively called the "wooley horse" because he wore a full beard, a fashion that was then just coming in vogue.

Following the repeal of the Missouri compromise in 1854 the subject of slavery became what we would today term a "live-wire" issue. However, with the lapse of time not a few grew tired of it, but like Banquo's ghost it "would not down." The leading paper in opposition to slavery was the New York Tribune edited by Horace Greeley then in the full flush and flower of his great newspaper career. Through his great paper Greeley exerted a tremendous influence and had much to do in arousing the public conscience to the wrongs and evils of slavery.

Another burning question of that time was whether the Territory of Kansas should come in the Union a free or a slave state. Speaking on this subject Senator Douglas frankly avowed that he did not care whether slavery in Kansas was voted up or down. But fortunately there was a certain wise man in Springfield who did care; indeed, he cared so much that in the late summer and fall of 1858 he met Senator Douglas and discussed these issues with him in joint debate.

When the common people first heard that a Springfield lawyer had challenged the renowned Senator Douglas to thus meet him in joint debate every one asked, "Who is this man Lincoln?" To this question some admirer of Senator Douglas would perhaps say with a sneer, "Oh, I guess he's not much at best, but one thing sure, when Douglas gets done with him he'll be a good deal less than he is now."

Well, time brings its changes, as we have just seen, fifty-four years ago Lincoln was beginning to be known because he was meeting on the public forum one who had a nation-wide reputation. Today when the

young student of history asks who Stephen A. Douglas was, he receives the answer, "Why he was the man who met Lincoln in the celebrated debate of 1858."

During that debate Lincoln and Douglas both spoke in Greenville, Bond County, but not in joint debate. Though but a boy I nevertheless was intently interested in the public questions of that time and fully expected to go and hear Lincoln, but was prevented by a fit of sickness. In connection with Lincoln I was destined to suffer another bitter disappointment. When in 1864 Lincoln was a candidate for re-election to the presidency I was just old enough to cast my first vote, but was a Civil war soldier and in the enemy's country, and the Illinois Legislature had decreed that if soldiers wanted to vote they must return to their homes. A thing that was not required of soldiers from many other states. In my immediate command I remember that from Ohio, Iowa and Wisconsin commissioners came and took the vote of soldiers from each of these states. But soldiers from the State of the immortal Lincoln and renowned General Grant were not accorded the privilege of casting their ballots while in front of the enemy.

In passing I may say that the Lincoln-Douglas debate of 1858 brought Illinois to the center of the American stage; and Lincoln's nomination and election to the presidency two years later served to keep it there. And finally during the whole of the four years of the Civil war Illinois was not only in the center of the stage but was in the full limelight as a result of Lincoln's towering career conjoined with the achievements of that matchless soldier, General Grant.

In the presidential campaign of 1860 I took very great interest though much too young to vote. July 20 of that year a great mass meeting was held in Greenville, Bond County, which I attended. Senator Lyman Trumbull and Richard Yates, Sr., were the principal speakers. Senator Trumbull was nearing the zenith of his senatorial career and was deemed one of the most convincing speakers of that day. Richard Yates was in the prime of manhood and a more eloquent speaker I never listened to. Judge Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville, was the presiding officer and discharged his duties with fitness and dignity. He was our circuit judge, was a fine character and my boy-ideal of sturdy manliness.

In this period Pocahontas could boast of a citizen who lived a double life, a veritable Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde.

About 1852 a well dressed stranger came in on the stagecoach one day and began to look around the village, and it was not long till it was whispered that he was immensely rich and that he expected to make his home in our community and maybe do great things for us. Later he bought a home near the village and became the owner of a large tract of land. He soon developed great energy, a disposition to "do things," and seemed to be an all-around man of affairs. After a time he built a new residence, became proprietor of one of the village stores and meanwhile stocked his farms with the latest and most improved breeds. Furthermore he continually manifested the traits of a model citizen. He was public spirited, generous and favored everything that was in any way for the betterment of the community. The

school district was laboring under a public debt and to pay this off he advanced the money and thus furthered local educational interests.

He transacted much business and from time to time visited New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans and St. Louis.

Finally there came to be whisperings that when he visited any of these cities he drank heavily and was anything but select in the choice of his associates. To these whisperings everything in his home life seemed to give the lie. He was blessed with an ideal disposition, was a model father and husband, had a devoted wife and several children whose welfare seemed the principal object for which he lived. Furthermore he was a regular attendant at church, was concededly the best Sabbath school superintendent the community had ever had, and in his family he always maintained family worship. Further than this he was at all times the steadfast friend of the poor and always noticed and made much of children. But sad to say the vague rumors relative to his various dissipations in time grew into plausible reports and finally into well grounded facts. At last after he had been a resident of the village eight or ten years it was known that when he visited distant cities he for the time became a regular "rounder," and that here he would drink with boon companions and even worse associates, and in addition maybe gamble and possibly indulge in yet more objectionable vices. At the end of two or three days he would "sober-up," clean and wash himself, shave, brush his clothes, transact any unfinished business and then start for home, where in due time he would appear as the best groomed, best appearing and all-around best tempered, and most contented man in the community.

At that period Bond County had no railroads and the nearest railway station was some fifteen miles from our village. Pocahontas being thus partially isolated made it much easier for our local Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde to live his double life. A double life, by-the-way, that became cognizant to most of our citizens many years before the famous story of Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde was evolved from the fertile brain of Robert Lewis Stevenson, its world-renowned author.

It may be added that ten or twelve years after this man came to the village he lost most of his property through business complications and a little later sickened and died while yet in mature life, leaving behind a nice family.

And now I will briefly revert to some of the more common everyday things pertaining to the period which we have under consideration.

During the winter of 1849-50, and while yet a very small boy, I attended school in the village of Pocahontas, taught like the school on my father's prairie farm, in a log schoolhouse. The teacher was Salmon A. Phelps, now Judge Phelps of Greenville, Bond County, where he yet lives in comparative good health at the great age of ninety-six years.

At the period of which I write there were none but subscription schools. With the thought of teaching in a given locality a teacher would visit the various families and get their pledges for as many "scholars" as possible. A "scholar" in this sense was the attendance of one pupil for the full time the school was taught. About 1855 what

was called the "free school law" went in force and under its provisions teachers were paid from a public fund set aside for this purpose and since that date no Illinois pupil has been kept from the public schools because his parents or guardian would be required to pay tuition.

When the second half of the nineteenth century was very young the good people of Pocahontas and vicinity saw the need of better educational advantages for their children and with this thought uppermost in their minds erected a most respectable building that was called "The Pocahontas Academy,"* a name which it retained for many years. However very soon after the "free school law" went into effect the academy was taken over by the local school district and used for regular school purposes. To the satisfaction of those who were instrumental in putting up this building it turned out that from the time it was erected till its fiftieth anniversary was celebrated some of the higher branches were at all times taught. Consequently, "The Pocahontas Academy" at least fulfilled some of the objects for which it was originally intended.

Pocahontas Academy.

I wish I could recall the names of all the good citizens who contributed of their means and influence in the erection of this modest educational building more than sixty years ago. Among others I think of Benjamin Johnson, William Watkins, James Causey, Dr. Griffith, Noah Leaverton, Noah Suggs, J. W. Harned, etc.

In my school days very much more was made of arithmetic, grammar and spelling than is done today. We used the old blue-backed, Webster's Spelling Book with its temple of fame near the title page and the picture of the boy stealing apples from the enraged gentleman well along towards the end of the book. We also used McGuffy's series of readers. Not the so-called McGuffy of today, but the genuine true,

[1] On May, 18, 1901 the people of Pocahontas and vicinity celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of this building.

McGuffy as it was published fifty years ago. I have heard more than one person of good literary taste of my generation say that it was to the fine selections in these old McGuffy readers that they owed their love for good literature. I have often wondered who McGuffy was and not long since my curiosity was to a degree gratified when I ran across an article that gave a few particulars concerning his life. He lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, was a teacher and gave much time and thought to his readers. It may be a weakness, but nevertheless I confess to no little sentiment in my remembrance of McGuffy and his series of readers.

Perhaps the fact that literature of all kinds was very scare fifty odd years ago was one reason why McGuffy's readers were so much appreciated. In many families no newspaper of any kind was taken, and up to the breaking out of the Civil war I think but one daily paper was taken in the village of Pocahontas. At long intervals I would see a copy of Harpers' New Monthly Magazine, and about the time its publication began a little more than fifty years ago, I saw the Atlantic which looked precisely as it does today. You will notice that I said I occasionally saw the Atlantic and Harper, but when it came to reading them that was a privilege accorded to the fortunate few in my young days.

In the village of Pocahontas the women had an organization known as "The Ladies' Sewing Society," the objects of which were industrial and social. This organization accumulated a fund that about 1857 was used to purchase books for a modest but well selected village library. In this small collection I recall the works of Irving, Bancroft, Macauley, Prescott, Addison, J. S. C. Abbott, etc.

A little later our school was supplied with a library that I remember contained Irving's life of Washington, Ford's History of Illinois and more of the same kind.

Beginning with about 1850 perhaps half the people had abandoned their log cabins for frame houses, many of which were one-room structures with a shed or lean-to at the back of each. The more ambitious built two-story houses of six or eight rooms. When very young I recollect a new frame house on the prairie which on account of its coat of clean white paint and green window blinds attracted much attention.

About the time frame houses began to be common, heating and cook stoves came into use. My people got their first cook stove in the spring of 1849. Tallow candles were used for lighting purposes, as also were grease lamps. I have seen a room lighted by igniting a piece of cotton cloth that had been twisted and laid in a saucer of melted lard with of course the burning end protruding out of the fluid and over the vessel's edge.

One evening in, I think, 1859 I attended a social gathering at the village doctor's when we were all surprised and delighted at a very brilliant light from a small lamp in one of the rooms. Upon inquiry we learned that the lamp contained a new burning fluid called "rock oil," or kerosene.

In my childhood matches were by no means common and not unfrequently I was sent to the neighbors to "borrow some fire," that is to get a shovel full of coals to start up a fire.

In my boyhood all the boys attended school during the winter months and worked on farms in summer time. In those days the hours were very long and sometimes to the village lad work on the farm seemed hard and monotonous. But it toughened his muscles and brought him in contact with nature and he learned much of plant and animal life. During the decade between 1850 and 1860 many labor saving devices were introduced on the farms. Among these may be noted, in much the same form that we have them today, the mower, reaper, threshing machine, grain drill, corn planter and hay rake.

In this age of plutocracy with a millionaire in almost every neighborhood it is hard to realize that fifty odd years ago a man in Bond County worth ten thousand dollars was counted rich. However, most people were frugal and careful of their expenditures. I remember in my childhood that one family was rated extravagant because in their sitting room they burned two lighted candles at once.

In my boyhood I attended the Pocahontas school and here in addition to the usual English branches got a little taste of Algebra, Chemistry, Latin, Natural Philosophy, etc. These last whetted my appetite for more knowledge and better educational opportunities and I began to look about me. Thirty miles to the southwest was McKendree College, at Lebanon; forty miles northwest was Shurtleff College at Alton; and sixty miles north was Illinois College at Jacksonville. Save at Ann Arbor, Mich., State Universities, such as we know them today were unknown. I had heard of Michigan University in a way that interested me greatly and finally I mustered up courage to write to the president of that institution for a catalog. But it would surprise the reader to learn how many sheets of paper and envelopes I spoiled before I was even measurably satisfied with my efforts at letter writing where so dignified a character as a college president was involved.

Well, in due time the catalog came and it was about the size of an old-fashioned almanac. In my mind I often compare the few-paged pamphlet received from the University of Michigan fifty years ago with the plump, bulky catalogs today issued by that and the numerous state educational institutions all about us. This comparison in catalogs is one means of noting the educational progress made in this country since the time of the Civil war.

During the winter of 1860-61 when one after another of the southern states seceded, we all wondered where it would end. Then in the spring of 1861 when Fort Sumpter was fired on we wondered all the more when and where would be the final outcome. Following the fall of Fort Sumpter came President Lincoln's first call for troops. Of these Bond County furnished its full quota. During the winter of 1861-62 I taught school in a neighborhood remote from news centers. One day in February we heard cannon firing that from the peculiar condition of the atmosphere reached us all the way from St. Louis, forty-five miles away. In a day or two we learned that it was a salute in honor of a great Union victory and that Fort Donelson and fourteen thousand Confederate soldiers had been captured. Of the man who brought the news I asked the name of the Union commander. In reply he said his name was Grant. "Grant," I said, "who's Grant?" "Don't know," he answered, "never heard of him before.

In the same remote Bond County community where I taught school during the winter of 1861-62 I engaged in farming during the spring and early summer of 1862. On rainy days and during noon hours I gave such attention as I could to Latin, Geometry and some other branches. My dreams and anticipations were all in the direction of going to college and improving my education. Meanwhile the Civil war had entered upon its second year and from time to time news from the front reached our quiet neighborhood. Finally late in July came the startling news that McClellan had been repulsed and was retreating from before Richmond. Upon the heels of this came President Lincoln's call for 300,000 volunteers. A call that a little later was increased to 600,000. I now realized that my time had come and that for me the hour had struck. With a number of boy friends on August 7, 1862, at Greenville, Bond County I enlisted in Co. F., 130th Illinois Infantry and saw service continuously at the front till the war ended three years later.

I am convinced that the present generation is without a proper appreciation of what the Civil war cost this county in young manhood fifty years ago.

In conclusion and by way of illustration permit me to give a relatively infinitesimal item of this cost that came under my observation. At a farm house in Bond County in the spring of 1861 were six stalwart young men ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-three years, and of these I was one. In the ensuing eighteen months all of these young men had become soldiers and were in the enemy's country.

At the end of the war and after four years service one of them came home shattered in health. After three years service and with the end of the war a second came home shattered in health. At the end of the war, likewise shattered in health, I returned home after three years in the enemy's country. A fourth was killed at the battle of Belmont in November, 1861. A fifth was killed at the seige of Jackson, Miss., in July, 1863, and finally the sixth member of the party of boys and young men at the Bond County farm house in the spring of 1861 was killed at the battle of Atlanta in 1864.

THE CLIMATE OF ILLINOIS; ITS PERMANENCE.

(By M. L. Fuller, Local Forecaster U. S. Weather Bureau, Peoria, Ill.)

In the early history of Illinois the accounts of pioneers, immigrants and travelers make frequent mention of exceptional weather conditions. The severe storms, excessive heat or unusual cold described by them; the swollen streams, the prairies dotted with ponds around which immigrants had to make wide detours, the soft and spongy turf and the deep and lasting tracks left by the wheels for later immigrants to follow, have all given the impression that the weather of the state must have been different in those days when our grandfathers were young. Moreover, in almost any section of the country the idea is common that the weather of today is not what it used to be.

These considerations have led to a little survey of the climatic history of the State, and have suggested that a few of the salient facts gathered and the conclusions therefrom should be of general interest and would be appropriate on this occasion. The subject of climate may be handled in many ways. In this paper it will be treated popularly and historically rather than scientifically.

Records of temperature and rainfall have been kept at numerous stations in Illinois for periods ranging up to twenty or thirty years, and at a few stations in the State or on its borders for fifty or more years. The observations at Peoria were begun in December, 1855, by Dr. Frederick Brendel, and continued by him until after the opening of the Weather Bureau station in February, 1905, and constitute the longest continuous weather record kept in Illinois.

Dr. Brendel, who is still living in Peoria at the advanced age of ninety-three years, was a graduate of a German university, a physician of excellent standing, a botanist of note, author of a ninety-page pamphlet on "Flora Peoriana," a man of scientific tastes and of deep devotion to his work. It is related of him on the best of authority that in his later years, while seriously ill and lying day after day apparently unconscious, he would still rouse regularly about the observation hour and direct the nurses to read the thermometers. The records kept by such an observer possess more than ordinary interest and value.

Using the Peoria records which are the longest in Illinois, supplemented by those kept in all other portions of the State and on its borders, it is found that the yearly average temperature has varied but a few degrees from the warmest year to the coldest, the average of all years being about 52 degrees. Among the coldest years were 1857, and 1875; and among the warmest, 1878 and 1900. The average of the twenty years, 1881 to 1900, appears to be slightly higher than that of the

twenty years preceding; but the last ten years, 1901-1911, have averaged practically the same as the first twenty of his record.

The normal daily mean temperature for mid-winter at Peoria is 23 degrees, and for mid-summer 75 degrees, with other months ranging between. But the temperature in any season constantly fluctuates above and below its normal. These fluctuations at Peoria reached their lowest extreme—27 degrees, on January 5, 1884, and—26 degrees on February 13, 1905; and their highest extremes, 107 degrees, on July 24, 1901, 105 degrees, August 31, 1873, and 104 July 30, 1885. Usually temperature fluctuations are of short duration. Sometimes they continue longer. Thus, while the daily normal in January is 23 degrees, the first ten days of January, 1864 averaged about zero, and the last ten days of the same month averaged 42 degrees above zero. In January, 1912 the ten days, 4th-13th, averaged—3 (3 below zero), and the entire first half of the month at Peoria averaged less than 1 degree above zero. In summer the temperature oscillations are less marked. The coldest ten day period in July appears to have occurred in 1865 with an average temperature of about 65 degrees; and the warmest July decade was probably in 1901 with a mean of about 90 degrees.

In almost any year some entire months average above or below their usual temperatures. Sometimes the departures are pronounced, as is shown in the following table in which are given the normal for each month together with the highest and lowest monthly averages and their year of occurrence, as shown by the Peoria records:

Month	Normal av. temp.	Coldest month average	Warmest month average
January	23°	11° (12° 1857) 1912	41° 1880
February	26°	15° 1905	39° 1882, 37° '77 and 78
March	37°	29° 1867 and 1906	50° 1878 and 1910
April	51°	43° 1874 and 1907	61° 1896
May	62°	55° 1907	72° 1881 and 1896
June	71°	67° 1907	79° 1873 and 1890
July	75°	71° 1865	83° 1868, 1887 and 1901
August	72°	70° 1866	81° 1881 and 1900
September	64°	61° 1868	73° 1881 and 1884
October	52°	45° 1869	63° 1879 and 1900
November	38°	30° 1880	51° 1902
December	28°	19° 1872 and 1909	44° 1877 and 1889

For every month other years show averages nearly as warm or as cold as the extremes given in the table. While the earlier records are less accurate than those since 1905, owing to less perfect instruments and a different system of recording, the record is still sufficiently homogeneous to afford a fair idea of actual temperature conditions. And there appears no evidence of progressive change in the occurrence of unusual extremes. July, 1901 was the hottest month recorded, and January, 1912 the coldest of the entire period.

Occasionally several months in succession have been above or below their normals, making an entire season warm or cold.

Among such winter seasons, January to March, inclusive, of 1856, 1885, and 1912, were all much alike and ranged from 7 to 9 degrees below normal throughout; while the following were unusually warm, ranging from 9 to 11 degrees above normal:

December, 1877 to April, 1878, inclusive.
December, 1889 to February, 1890, inclusive.
January and February of 1880.

Of the summers, considerable portions of 1857, 1866, and 1868, were cold; and those of 1874, 1881, 1887, and 1911, were among the warmest. Spring and autumn show similar variations both in the recorded temperatures and in the occurrence of latest or earliest frosts.

The average latest date of killing frost in spring is April 15th, and of the earliest killing frost in autumn, October 18th, which gives a growing season of 186 days for vegetation. But this is only the average. In 1857 killing frost occurred at Peoria on May 11th, and in 1903 on September 29th. Similar frosts in the same year would shorten the growing season to 141 days. In 1878 the last killing frost in spring was recorded March 25th, and in 1882 the first in autumn on November 12th. Should similar dates fall in the same year the growing season would be lengthened to 232 days. Looking at the other half of the year, the longest actual winter period from first killing frost in autumn to last killing in spring was from October 1, 1856 to May 11, 1857, or 223 days; and the shortest such period was from November 3, 1877 to March 25, 1878, or 143 days.

The annual rainfall of Illinois has averaged a little over 40 inches in the south end of the State and something over 30 inches in the north. There is considerable variation both in local amounts for the same period and in the successive monthly and yearly totals at the same station. The yearly totals at the different stations have ranged from about a foot and a half (17.31 inches) at Lanark, Carroll County, in 1901, to nearly 6 feet in depth (71.27 inches) at Golconda, Pope County, in 1882. There are several instances on record in the State of less than 20 inches annual total, and about the same number of instances in excess of 60 inches.

Series of wet years appear to have occurred about

The late 1850s.
The early 1880s.
The late 1890s.
The late 1900s.

and series of dry years approximating

The middle 1850s.
The early 1870s.
The late 1880s.
The middle 1890s.

The normal monthly amounts average from about 2 inches (rain or melted snow) in January, to about 4.50 inches in June, but there is marked variation. In the combined records of seventy-three stations, having an average length of twenty-four years, there have been 161 instances of monthly rainfall of 10 inches or more; which averages nearly seven per year within the State. There are a few instances recorded of monthly rainfall exceeding 15 inches, the lead being held for a long time by St. Louis, Mo., just across the river from Illinois and whose records are considered, with a total of 17.07 inches in June, 1848. But September, 1911, broke the records of the State for heavy rains. In that month Monmouth, Warren County, recorded 20.03 inches; and more than 10 inches was recorded over an area including

parts of thirty-two counties in the State and twenty-eight observing stations.

Among heavy rainfalls from single storms, seventy stations, in fifteen years, have recorded twenty rains of 5 inches or more in twenty-four hours, the heaviest of these being 10.25 inches, at LaHarpe, Hancock County, June 10, 1905.

Among wet periods, the following are the most noteworthy experienced at Peoria:

April 29 to June 10, 1858, 41 days; total rainfall 15.7 inches.

September 6 to October 4, 1911, 28 days; total 14.0 inches, which averages half an inch per day for the entire four weeks.

Using the same seventy-three stations having an average of twenty-four years record previously referred to for heavy rains, there are found seventy-five instances of monthly rainfall of one-tenth inch, or less; which is an average of three per year within the State. There are twenty-one instances of an entire month without measurable precipitation, or an average of about one such per year in the State.

Sometimes droughts cover two successive months, or longer. In 1904 two stations in central Illinois each recorded but about two-tenths of an inch in the entire sixty-one days of October and November. Other similar examples might be cited.

Among dry years at Peoria, 1910 holds the palm with a total for the year of 23.18 inches, and may be discussed as affording examples of the droughts sometimes experienced in Illinois. Four months of that year had but one-third their usual rainfall, and three other months but two-thirds or less. Other periods of consecutive days are cited:

Twenty-eight days in February-March had but 0.12 inch.

Eighty-four days in October-December, had but 1.83 inches.

Fifty-nine days beginning May 30 (in midst of crop season) recorded but 2.11 inches.

Ninety-two days of June-August, inclusive, had but 4.69 inches while the normal is 10.20 inches.

But severe as those droughts were they are not without precedent. The June-August drought, with 4.69 inches, is almost exactly duplicated in the same months of 1893 and of 1868; while in 1887 the four months, March-June, had but little more rain. In 1870 the four crop season months, April-July, had but 3.50 inches. The total for that year at Peoria was but 0.40 inch more than in 1910; and the Illinois River reached its lowest recorded stage, which was practically zero of the present river gage. Only about 25 inches of rain were measured in the years 1867, 1874, and 1890. These Peoria details are but examples of what may be found in other records. And it is worthy of note that recent droughts find their counterpart forty years ago. The average Peoria rainfall of the decade 1901-1910 exceeds the average of the preceding ten years and also that of 1861-1870. The average of the first ten years of Peoria's record, 1856-65, is less than for 1871-1880, or for the ten years ending in 1909. The records of the principal climatic elements, temperature and rainfall, show no material change for the period they cover.

Special features such as hail storms and tornadoes occur infrequently and afford little evidence. If they should seem more numerous in later years the explanation might easily lie in the greater density

of population and consequent nearness of observers. The tornado that visited St. Louis, Mo. in 1896 was one of the most destructive on record and did much damage in Illinois. But a tornado that visited southeastern Illinois and southern Indiana June 18, 1815, must have been as vigorous as any of recent years. The damage to people and property was necessarily very little owing to lack of settlements, but through White County, Ill., the storm left a path of broken and twisted forest a mile in width.

A little hail probably occurs on an average of one to three times a year at most Illinois stations, but damaging hail is rare. Peoria had a hail storm in May, 1858, in which it is said hundreds of stones as large as hen's eggs fell on the space of an ordinary city lot. A large two-story hotel, where the Mayer Hotel now stands, had all its windows broken on the north and west, some of them in spite of closed shutters outside. So much glass could not be replaced without a shipment by boat from Pittsburg, Penn., and the windows waited from May till November for the glass.

Turning now to some of the special features mentioned in early accounts: The many permanent ponds of water and the usual saturated condition of a large part of the prairie surface in those days, were not necessarily due to heavier rainfall but are abundantly accounted for by the difference in drainage conditions. Then the rather firm prairie sod held the water longer on its surface; the considerable growth of grass prevented its running off as rapidly; and when it did reach the depressions or ponds there were only the natural water courses to carry it away. Today the cultivated soil absorbs more of the rain and permits its more rapid downward movement into the subsoil; every depression in almost every field is either ditched or tiled, the natural water courses are improved and kept cleared, and the grading of the country roads affords a regular system of drains only a mile apart in each direction. The same amount of rain and snow falling upon the same topography would today find its way mostly into the soil except from the heavier rains; and the surplus, reaching the depressions, would be led more quickly into the principal streams and wend its way to the ocean. Tillage and improved drainage are sufficient to account for the greater dryness of the landscape in Illinois in recent years. Similar explanation applies to many of the shrinking brooklets and dried up springs in other sections of the country.

Among the distinctively weather features of early days probably the one that has received most attention is the "deep snow" of the winter of 1830-31, which has been well described by Eleanor Atkinson in a paper read before this society. The local history of that storm at Peoria is much the same as in other portions of central Illinois. According to the account of Mr. A. Moffat, given by Drown in his Record and Historical View of Peoria, a snowstorm began December 29, 1830 which was so severe that Mr. Moffat lost his way in going to his home three miles distant, and only found it again by blundering into a line of timber along which he could make his way homeward. The snow fell that day and night to the depth of about two and a half feet. One week later, January 5, 1831, another storm followed that was almost equally severe, so that after settling the snow lay nearly four

feet deep on the prairies, it is said, with much deeper drifts in the timber and ravines. Following these storms the weather appears to have been continuously cold so that any melting that occurred was balanced by later snowfall and the original depth maintained practically up to the end of February. This great depth of snow caused some interesting situations. Mr. Moffat states that it was two or three weeks before some of the settlers could break roads sufficiently to get away from home. Others state that hardship from lack of food and fuel was narrowly averted in some localities. Wild animals found life equally difficult. At first, when the snow was soft, the wolves were badly handicapped and it is said the farmers on horseback could run them down. But after a crust had formed on the snow the wolf was lord of creation, for he could run while the deer and buffalo could not. The deer, buffalo and elk could not get through the snow to forage on grass, nor could they get about to browse on shrubs and twigs of trees; and many deer and buffalo were killed by starvation and wolves, and the elk were practically exterminated.

The Indians in the vicinity of Peoria also had their troubles. Four feet of soft snow makes rather poor walking. None of the braves had any snow shoes nor knew how to make or use them. An aged squaw saved the day. She had been brought up in Canada and was the only person in the tribe who could show how to make snow shoes or how to navigate them.

Allowing for the exaggeration that usually creeps into stories of the long ago the snow of that winter seems to have been heavier than any that has occurred in Illinois since. There were, however, Indian traditions of a similar winter thirty to fifty years earlier. The natural query now is whether eighty years immunity since 1831 means a change in our climate, or whether a similar winter may come again.

It will be recalled that the essential features of that winter were two unusually heavy snows in succession, followed by continued cold weather. All these elements still occur. Any one familiar with the movements of our general storms knows that successive storms occasionally follow similar paths. Also that winter storms that cross the middle Mississippi valley sometimes give very heavy snows along their northern side. Eighteen to 25 inches of snow fell in portions of southern Indiana and southwest Ohio in a single storm in February, 1911. And in March, 1912, 25 inches fell at Kansas City in about twenty-four hours. All that is needed for a recurrence of the winter of 1830-31 is the mere coincidence of two successive snow storms like that of 1812 at Kansas City, followed by temperature somewhat like that in our winter of 1912. And there is no apparent reason either in the records of weather or in the laws of storms for believing that such a winter may not come again sometime to central Illinois and give us a repetition of the "deep snow" of 1831.

Another notable incident of early days was a remarkably sudden fall in temperature, that has been well described by Judge Cunningham. A mild thawing winter morning was followed by a sudden shift of the wind and a temperature drop so rapid and pronounced that people caught away from home were frozen to death before they could reach shelter. Ducks and geese were frozen fast in the mud, rain dripping from the bridle

rein of a horseman was turned to rattling icicles in a moment of time, and the thermometer went far below zero before morning. That was on December 20, 1836. With it compare another record.

On a warm clear day the temperature, which had been 77 degrees about 2:00 P.M., stood at 75 a few minutes after 4:00 P.M. Then with a sudden shift of the wind, blowing fifty miles per hour, with a heavy driving rain, thunder, lightning, hail and snow, all together or in rapid succession, the temperature fell 20 degrees almost instantly and dropped 40 degrees in about three hours, reaching 17 degrees at midnight and 12 above zero by 6:00 A.M.—a drop of 65 degrees in sixteen hours, 58 degrees of which was in eight hours. That was the record made on the eleventh of November, 1911, at Peoria, and is duplicated generally over central Illinois for that date. Place that November day five or six weeks later, letting the temperature drop begin in the 40s instead of the 70s, and you will have a tale of woe and zero equal to that of 1836. There is no reason to discount the reports of the cold wave of 1836, and there is no reason why we should not have another like it some winter. The event of November, 1911, and other similar occurrences in the upper Mississippi valley, prove that the climate has not changed in this respect.

In fact nothing has been found in Illinois records, either of ordinary weather through the successive years or in the rare and extreme types that have occasionally occurred, that gives any evidence of permanent or progressive change in the climate of Illinois or of this portion of the earth. A similar conclusion is reached from the examination of earlier records kept in older portions of the United States.

Rainfall records kept at Philadelphia, Penn., for ninety years show no more than 4 per cent difference between the mean of the last forty years and that of the preceding forty, which variation might easily be due to a different exposure of the rain gage. Temperature records at Philadelphia go back 120 years and show no progressive change. The mean of the last forty years varies but a fraction of degree from that of the preceding forty, which also is easily accounted for by different positions of the thermometers for the two series.

Rain and temperature records prior to 1820 are very rare, but some notable extremes of weather, or of weather effects, have been recorded. A few of those seem appropriate to this paper. They are scattered from the present back to colonial days.

Probably the most severe and widespread drought in the United States in 100 years or more was that of 1894-95 in the north central and north eastern states.

The year 1816 is known in the eastern states as "the year without a summer." Frost and ice occurred in every summer month. The following is taken from the diary of Mr. Charles Pierce, of Philadelphia, published in 1844, and includes notes of his from other sources and evidently applying to various localities:

July, 1816, a month of heavy frost and ice. On the 5th ice formed as thick as window glass.

August, ice formed half an inch thick and everything green was destroyed.

January, 1790, 12 degrees above normal. The midday temperatures were frequently 70° in the shade, and boys were often seen swimming in the Delaware.

The winter of 1789 was very mild until the middle of February, after which the entire spring was so cold that fires were comfortable until June. The summer was excessively hot.

The whole winter of 1780 was intensely cold. The Delaware was closed with ice from December 1st to the 14th of March, the ice becoming 2 to 3 feet thick.

The winter of 1779 very mild. Trees in bloom in February.

December 31, 1764, the Delaware river was frozen completely over in one night; continued cold till last of March, snow 2½ feet deep.

The winter of 1756 very mild. No snow till March 18th.

Winter of 1750 very open and mild. All spring cold and stormy. Snow lay on ground May 30th.

Winter of 1742 one of the coldest since settlement of the country. A man drove with horse and sleigh on ice through Long Island Sound to Cape Cod.

Winter of 1741 intensely cold. Delaware closed middle of December to middle of March. Many animals died of hunger and cold. About April 19th, snow fell 3 feet deep. Whole summer intensely hot.

Entire winter of 1725 mild, but spring very cold. In March snow fell 2 feet deep in one night.

Winter of 1714 very mild after January 15th, trees and shrubbery in bloom first week in February, spring unusually mild.

Winter of 1697 long, stormy and severely cold over entire country. Delaware river closed with thick ice more than three months. Sleighs crossed to Trenton and Chester on ice.

From all of which it appears that oscillations and extremes of various sorts have occurred in much the same manner at irregular intervals as far back as our knowledge extends.

There is other corroborative evidence of the essential permanence of our climate. Angot, from a study of the dates of grape harvest in southern France back to the fourteenth century, finds oscillations of about ten days, but that the dates at present are exactly where they were in the sixteenth century.

Others have found from a careful study of the condition of the date tree in the eastern Mediterranean basin, and from the conditions in silk culture and production and the migration of birds, in China, that the climate has not changed materially in those regions in twenty-three centuries.

It is true that Huntington recently found evidence of progressive drying in the interior of west central Asia, but successive explorations of little known regions, made at different times, have often given contradictory results. Lake Aral, formerly diminishing, is lately reported as increasing. Lake Balkash has begun to fill again. The same is reported of Lake Victoria in central Africa. Lake Rukwa, to the east, has risen in the last few years. Reports that the sea of Azov is drying up have been explained as due to the silting up of the lake. Partsch is quoted by Ward as believing that ancient settlements on the lakes of north central Africa indicate that these lakes contain as much water now as formerly.

Some of the trees in western United States were doubtless furnishing shade to the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians, or their neighbors when Alexander of Macedon led his conquering Greeks against the Persians. Similar trees when felled have shown by their ring growth that no

marked change in climatic conditions could have occurred in all their twenty odd centuries.

All available information points to the essential permanence of our climate within the period of historic time. And why indeed should anything else be expected when we consider the forces and conditions by which climate is controlled?

The climate of a region depends somewhat upon its elevation and latitude, in many instances upon its topography, and always upon its position with reference to the great systems of wind movements that encompass the earth. The elevation of Illinois is of no material importance to its climate. Its level topography and that of surrounding states exerts no noticeable modifying influence with the exception of the indirect effect of the Rocky Mountains. But the position of the state is of prime importance.

Situated as we are, southeast of the continental center, our summer winds blow largely from the south because the air is usually crowded northward toward the permanent lower pressure that exists in summer near the center of the land area, or in the vicinity of Montana. In winter the pressure is high over the middle of the continent, and the air crowded outward from this high pressure center causes prevailing west and northwest winter winds in the Mississippi valley. Thus Illinois experiences the general south wind type of weather in summer, and the northwest type in winter.

The position of the State, also, with reference to the paths of the traveling areas of high and of low pressure that move eastward in the temperate zones, is important. Many of these storm areas pass directly over the State, or near it on either side, which gives us a much greater variety of weather with more frequent and sudden changes than would otherwise ensue.

These conditions, of elevation, latitude, topography, the wind systems of earth and the heat received from the sun, are the forces that control our climate. And they are as constant as the sun and as enduring as the eternal hills. The mountains have remained through geologic ages. The atmosphere and the wind systems are older still. And the sun has stood through countless aeons of time. Perhaps the first important change in the present-day climate of earth will come through the relatively transient geologic uplift or submergence.

However that may be, there is good reason to believe that as long as the sun maintains his heat and the earth its journeys run, as long as the lands remain as now and the waters fill the sea, so long will our climate remain essentially the same and the seasons keep their yearly round through autumn wind and winter storm and April shower and summer calm. And so long, too, will genial sun and wooing breeze and gentle rain win from the fertile soil rich reward for the labor of the husbandman and contribute bountifully to the prosperity and happiness of the sons of Illinois. For we may expect the climate of today to endure till time shall approach the forever.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF PIONEER ROCK ISLAND WOMEN

(Mrs. K. T. Anderson, Rock Island, Ill.)

There are times, especially on an Indian summer afternoon, when I like to go out a little way from our town to the bluffs which mark the southeast boundary of the plain on which Rock Island is built, and climbing to the top of a favorite knoll, seek out a spot I well know from whence is afforded an uninterrupted view of the plain below. Lounging here amidst the solitude of nature and looking down upon the scene spread out before me, I am invariably reminded of McCutcheon's inimitable little sketch, "Indian Summer," which readers of the "Chicago Tribune" will recall and which has been so widely admired; and by a chain of association my mind goes back to the day of romance when there was no sign of advancing civilization, when the nearest settlement was yet many miles away and when this great plain, some two miles in width, lying like a tongue between the Rock and Mississippi rivers was the ancient but unoccupied common field of the Sacs and Foxes. And as I meditate, for me, too, the distant haze becomes the spirits of all the homesick Indians come home once more to play; the corn shocks in the fields become their tepees; the smoky smell of the air is the smoke from their camp-fires and all their pipes agoing, and I can hear them rustling and whispering in the trees and bushes all around me. This was the theater of their sports and early travelers tell us that a more surpassingly lovely spot could hardly be imagined. The plain was like a great meadow, covered with flowers in full bloom, and tall grass whose undulating motion resembled the waves of the sea. The bluffs were thickly wooded with many varieties of trees. On Rock River, a couple of miles away, was the capital city of the tribe and the sacred burial place of their dead. Bounding the plain on the north and west, on and on forever, his mighty flood scarcely diminished at all by summer's heat, flowed the revered Mu-ze-zee-be, the "Great River."

In front of the plain, right in the middle of the river's broad bosom lay the gem of all the islands in the whole extent of the Mississippi. It was a veritable park covered with an abundance of fruit and game of all kinds, while the waters which washed its shores swarmed with fish. But what made it most attractive as a rendezvous of the Indians was the fact that it was the abiding place of the tribe's guardian angel "The Good Spirit," which Black Hawk describes as white with wings like a swan's only ten times larger, and which dwelt in a cave on the northwestern extremity of the island. So it was here they came for feasts and for the performance of religious and other ceremonies.

No wonder that when the Indian trader, Davenport, first came to this part of the country he selected this island for his future home.

Here then amidst all these naturally attractive and advantageous surroundings, summer after summer lived Black Hawk and his people contented, happy and carefree. But their fortune was too good to last and one day strange sounds smote upon their ears—the sound of vigorously wielded axes. As they gathered in alarm and looked over to their favorite isle they beheld a company of white men busily engaged in felling trees and erecting a structure right over the traditional abode of the Good Spirit who, even as they gazed, spread its beautiful white wings and, frightened, flew away. And as its form grew dim in the distance, there entered into the soul of the awed watchers the first faint premonition that the fast disappearing form was carrying with it the happy days and the good fortune of the tribe. And presently, uplifted upon a parapet of native rock, upon the very western point of the island and frowning down upon them rose the battlement walls and ramparts, the elevated lookout towers of Fort Armstrong, in itself so imposing and yet vaguely disturbing. Gone for the Indians were the days of free, unquestioned access to the island.

Thus, thinking of the vanished tribes, my mind following the same chain of association, comes to dwell on the cause of the red man's departure from this his ancestral home and burial place—the coming of the white man; and while my woman's sympathies are with the weaker side and its lost cause, yet my common sense and pride in race arouse to the cry, "The King is dead. Long live the King," and I thrill with admiration for those who dared to leave behind home, friends and the comforts of civilization and strike out into the pathless wilds. To me there is nothing more interesting than to dwell on the stories of early times, especially those as told to me personally by some of the earliest settlers of our county. Many of these accounts are in a sense similar and yet each individual has looked back upon the life and viewed it from a different angle, so that each one's story has a value of its own. But it manifestly would be impossible to relate in this paper all the reminiscences I have enjoyed. I have therefore selected some recollections, for the most part, of pioneer women who necessarily suffered more than the men from the dangers, rigors and privations of frontier life, who contributed in their own way, just as valuable aid in the conquering of the wilds and yet whose services have received far less recognition than is their due. Much of my material was gathered by me during the course of an old time tea party at my home, several years since, my guests being fifteen dear ladies—I hesitate to call them old, for they did not seem so even though they were all past seventy-five years of age and were all old settlers in our section of the State. Rock Island has always been more or less in the public eye and so I have aimed to piece together from these narratives a story of the life in and about our town up to the early sixties, giving the stories in their chronological order.

The only white women who lived here from the first—Mrs. Davenport and Mrs. Clark—passed to the Great Beyond years and years ago, leaving behind them not a word which would even hint their view of the life they lived at this place during the transition period from the native wilderness to the beginnings of a settlement. In order, therefore, to fill in this gap I shall have to use extracts from his own notes

and letters written to a close friend in Rock Island by Capt. W. L. Clark who died about a year ago at Buffalo, Ia., at the age of ninety-three and who was the last remaining member, living hereabouts, of the first family to settle on the mainland at or near what is now Rock Island. The family came originally from Virginia, settled first in Wabash County, later moved to Fort Edwards near Warsaw where they remained but a short time, again moving on up the river and finally landing on the mainland opposite Fort Armstrong in August of 1828. Captain Clark was a lad of five and said he well remembered when his father carried him down the gang-plank of the little steamer and stood him on the shore amidst hundreds of Indians gathered to see the boat come in. I have often wondered what the mother's emotions were as she watched the boat steam away on up the river leaving her there, the only white woman on the main land, her's the only white family, and the nearest neighbors (except for the Davenports on the island) a hundred miles away. After the family was settled in a cabin which they put up close to the river, Davenport, having heard of the family's advent sent for the elder Clark and engaged him to cut wild hay for the stock at Fort Armstrong. When this contract was completed, Mr. Clark proceeded to cut hay for his own use, for he had determined to go back to Fort Edwards and drive up some cattle which he owned there. Davenport ordered him to stop cutting hay since the fort was supplied, but when no attention was paid to his orders he became very angry for he did not want any white people to settle here since it would interfere with and finally stop his enormously profitable trade with the Indians. From now on he did all he could to try to drive the family away. He refused to sell them any clothing or provisions and with winter almost upon them, it must have been a dreary outlook. Fortunately on his last trip down the river, the captain of the steamer which had moved them to Rock Island left in charge of the family till his return in the spring a barrel of whiskey. As winter set in, the family's stock of provisions grew lower and lower till finally they were in desperate straits. About this time the soldiers in the fort learned of this barrel of whiskey and while a strict guard was maintained to prevent any intercourse with the lone family on shore, yet the soldiers discovered a way to get at the liquor through a cave under the fort, of which the officers had no knowledge. They would steal out in pairs at night, go to the Clark cabin and exchange coffee, sugar, salt, beans, rice, flour and shoes for whiskey from the barrel and in this way, much contrary to Davenport's evident expectations, they managed to live through the winter. When the trader could not drive them away by the starvation plan, he bribed Indians (with all kinds of trinkets) to annoy and frighten them. One afternoon while father Clark was away from the house, four half drunk Indians, two on a pony, came riding up to the cabin, dismounted and going into the cabin, sat down on the floor and ordered mother Clark to give them food. Being timid and entirely alone she obeyed; but in the midst of the feast father Clark unexpectedly returned and upon learning what the trouble was, he commanded the Indians to "puk-a-chee"—go away. This incensed the Indians and they jumped up to fight. Mr. Clark stepped outside the door, which was one log

above the ground, and as the Indians came out, each, half drunk as they were, stumbled over the sill. Mr. Clark had in his hand a hoop-pole, with which he had been driving cattle, and he now used it with telling effect, knocking down first one and then the other of the drunken brutes till they all begged for mercy. He then marched them to the river where they washed their wounds and then mounting their ponies they were about to ride away when one of them raised a war-club to throw at Mr. Clark. Before he could do so, however, father Clark raised a fish-gig, which he had picked up, to strike at the Indian. This frightened the buck and dropping his weapon they all rode away at full speed to their Rock River village. The next day what was the family's surprise to receive a visit from Chief Black Hawk and these same four Indians. The chief interviewed Mr. Clark and after having ascertained all the facts, he filled his pipe with KinniKinnic, lit it, and after taking a few whiffs, handed it to father Clark who in turn handed it to the other Indians and so, all having smoked the peace pipe, friendship was once more restored. On another occasion an Indian whose wickiup was only about thirty feet from the Clark cabin, and who had always been peaceable and friendly, came in a half drunk condition, forced his way into the cabin and wanted to fight. Mr. Clark was at home and taking a good sized switch he thrashed the visitor till he ran howling from the house. An Indian would stand up without a tremor before a gun but he would run from a switching, for this they considered the most humiliating form of punishment, and in the breast of this Indian his disgrace rankled till he determined to have revenge. During the winter all the Indians were off on their winter hunt when Mr. Clark was called to Fort Edwards on business. As he was traveling home, walking close to the shore on the snow-covered ice, near the bluff at Fort Madison, he saw an Indian running toward a large tree. Suspecting treachery he raised his gun and commanded the Indian to come out on the ice. He obeyed and as he approached Mr. Clark he proved to be the Indian whom he had switched and who evidently had planned to wipe out his disgrace by securing his enemy's scalp. Father Clark compelled him to lay all his weapons on the ice and then march many miles before him up the river, after which he allowed him to return again for his weapons. Black Hawk, whom Mr. Clark knew very well, claimed that both of these quarrels were instigated by Davenport in an attempt to frighten away the family. But the Clarks stuck and were it not for them a settlement at this point would not have been made until several years later. But what a tragically lonely life it must have been for Mother Clark, cut off from all society and intercourse with other white families, feeling that they were looked upon as interlopers and begrudged even the meagre living they secured, living in constant dread of the Indians, with no doctor near and no one to turn to for help or sympathy in time of sickness, and with but scant communication with the outside world, for when Judge J. W. Spencer came to Fort Armstrong in the latter part of December, 1829, on his way to Galena, the commander of the garrison engaged him to carry the mail from the fort and bring one back with him on his return trip as they had received no mail for two months and were anxious to know who had been elected President of the United States. And when the mail did come one can imagine there were no

great sheafs of papers, magazines and letters when newspapers were few and far between and postage on letters was 25 cents. With what joy then must this lone pioneer woman have welcomed the tide of immigration to this spot which began about 1830. The news had spread far and wide about this garden spot of the frontier and its possibilities and in far distant states, families, responding to the alluring call from this unknown land of promise, sold household goods, bade farewell to friends and relatives and turned toward the west. One old lady's narrative gave me a glimpse at what a tragedy it was in those days to break home ties. She was a little girl and child-like was wild with pleasurable excitement and anticipation in the trip before them. But when the time for departure at last came and they were all in their places in the prairie schooner that was to carry them to their destination, the last goodby had been said amidst tears and sobs and the horses had started on the ascent of the Green Mountains at the foot of which lay the farm, and the distance began to lengthen between themselves and the old grandparents watching the departing wagon, then into even her childish soul came at least a faint realization of the agony of parting and the tremendous responsibility they had assumed. She said that just before they dropped behind the last rise in the road from the top of which they could once more see the old farmhouse, they could still distinguish the old people standing in the doorway and probably straining with tear-dimmed eyes to catch one more glimpse of the departing loved ones. They never saw the grandparents or the old farm again. The family first settled in Greene County but very soon came on to a farm which they purchased and which lay in what is now the very heart of Moline. The mother, children and household goods came by boat from Alton. The steamer had what was called a "high pressure" engine and the passengers had to get off at the landing places and help "wood up" the boat. On the farm was a log cabin with a lean-to at one end in which were penned the chickens—close to the house because the wolves and foxes were numerous and troublesome. About the cabin was a snake fence made of split black walnut rails. Great flocks of wild turkeys and pigeons were all about through the woods. The Indians frequently visited the cabin and since the mother was very much afraid of the redskins, it was on the occasions of their visits that an old dog which they had brought with them from the east, proved himself a real comfort to her, a very shield and buckler of defense. In order not to be entirely helpless when the men were out in the fields, it was agreed that if the men were urgently needed at the house, the mother should run up a white flag on a pole by the door of the cabin. This signal was used on several occasions. One time when the men came running from the field they found a company of Indians on the outside of the fence. They were making a great deal of noise but they did not attempt to enter the yard for occupying the top of a primitive stile, that served instead of a gate, was the dog who with alert eye and omnious calm was taking no chances by allowing Indians to come inside the fence. Another time when the signal was used the men found a number of Indians again on the outside of the fence (out of respect to the dog) and when the father came up to the group they pointed to a barrel beside the door, in which the mother was making vinegar, and demanded "whisk."

The father tried to explain that the stuff was not whiskey but they would not believe him so he thought it best to let them convince themselves. He went up to the door but could not get in till the mother had removed some of the furniture with which she had barricaded the door. When he finally gained entrance he took a gourd dipper and invited the Indians to come in and help themselves. They did so eagerly and after one taste they made all manner of wry faces and departed on their way disgusted but convinced. There was no time for play on the farm in summer and in winter the spare time was used in making axe-handles which were traded at Fort Armstrong for staple articles of food. On rare occasions the family drove three miles through the underbrush and timber to visit and trade in the little settlement that was growing up about the Clark's cabin. It must have been interesting to see those families from every walk of life and from distant states, with their preconceived ideas of what pioneer life would be like, pouring into the new settlement—into the "melting-pot"—and still more interesting to watch the process of readjustment of their ideas and views to the reality of existing circumstances. The experience of one family in particular, that I have in mind, illustrates what I mean. The father, mother and five daughters determined to emigrate to Illinois. They were educated, cultured people, accustomed to wealth and all the shelter, comforts and social prestige which it gives, perhaps a little haughty, perhaps measuring people as a whole by city-fostered, sometimes false standards, and certainly totally unacquainted with even the first meaning of pioneer life. They left their home and friends in New Hampshire and traveled by boat over the Great Lakes to Chicago, then to Fort Dearborn. Here they were met by an uncle who had come all the way from Rock Island or Stephenson, as it was then called, with an ox team and prairie schooner to convey them back with him to Stephenson, since of course there were no railroads. This to them unique and humble mode of travel so outraged the sensibilities and pride of these city bred young ladies that they absolutely refused to ride in the homely conveyance and started out to walk in thin shoes and fashionable but impractical clothes. One of the sisters confessed in after years that before they were halfway across the town about Fort Dearborn they would have been glad to have been in the prairie schooner for the mud was so deep that the wheels of the wagon sank almost to the hub and by the time the outskirts of the village were reached each girl was so bedragged and footsore and their collective pride was so humbled that they all thankfully took advantage of what comfort a prairie schooner afforded. The trip was a most laborious one and often they had to stop and make a corduroy road in order to get over a boggy place. By the time they reached the end of their journey it would have been hard to find a more disheartened, homesick lot of girls. But necessity is a stern taskmaster and under trials character develops and these girls, who in the environment of their New Hampshire home might have gone on living inconsequential purposeless lives, now under the stress of new circumstances, showed their mettle and developed into the sturdy wholesome kind of pioneer women that helped to make this middle west. Among the earliest arrivals to the village of Stephenson in the spring of 1836 were Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Hartzell, a newly married couple. Mr. Hart-

zell had come to the settlement the previous spring expecting to return to Pennsylvania in the fall for his sweetheart, but before he could get away from Stephenson the river froze up and winter had set in, and as the Mississippi was their only highway, there was nothing to do but wait till spring. Mrs. Hartzell told me that during the whole winter she never heard a word from her betrothed husband, but her faith in his return never wavered for a moment and in the spring when he came she was ready, they were married and immediately started for the new home, going by boat down the Ohio and up our Mississippi. It required three weeks to make the journey and Mrs. Hartzell said she would never forget the beautiful scene which swept into view as the steamer rounded the bend in the river a mile below the town. Right ahead gleamed the white walls of the fort on the island. To the left were the beautiful bluffs of Iowa, to the right the park-like plain with the handful of houses that constituted the town of Stephenson. But best of all was the sight of familiar faces on shore, for everybody had dropped their work and come to the landing to see the boat come in, and among the group were friends who had emigrated from Pennsylvania the previous year. These gave the little bride a hearty welcome and helped put up a temporary cabin right by the river in which the young couple lived till a better house, which Mr. Hartzell had already begun, was ready. This house, by the way, was the first plastered house in Stephenson. The little cabin had no fireplace so they had to do their cooking outside on campfires and since a storm came up nearly every evening about five o'clock, they had to manage to get their supper out of the way before that time or be content with a cold meal. These storms seem to have been a natural phenomenon, something out of the ordinary for many of the old settlers hereabouts recall the fact of their great severity and almost daily recurrence at the same time of the day. The Hartzells many times had to seek shelter in a neighbor's cabin further away from the river. This cabin had a puncheon floor under which on at least one occasion they sought protection from the cyclonic fury of the storm. When they returned to their own cabin everything in it was soaking wet—even a big roll of muslin in a chest had not escaped. We of today with every imaginable convenience for making housework easy and attractive can hardly realize how handicapped was the pioneer housekeeper. Mrs. Hartzell's laundry was a rough plank hewn from a log, supported by two legs and run out a few feet into the river. She had no washboard but got the clothes clean by rubbing them between her hands. She had no clothes line but the low bushes about the cabin and the green sod served nicely in lieu of this. They were compelled to go to St. Louis for all food stuffs and often when their supplies arrived they were musty or mouldy. One time the boat, on which was their winter supply of flour, froze in at Keokuk and the price of flour rose to $14 per barrel. She had but few dishes and only a couple of pans and kettles and yet out of these came an almost limitless hospitality. On the first Sabbath after their arrival in Stephenson, they saw several men—strangers—walking along evidently seeking some particular place. Mr. Hartzell went out and spoke to them and they told him they were looking for a church. There was no church in the little settlement, but Mr. Hartzell invited them into his cabin and conducted

a prayer service for them. I might add that when the Hartzells new house was built the one big room was planned to be used also for church services. Here a prayer meeting was held every Thursday evening and once a quarter a circuit rider would come through, when all the furniture of this room was moved out of doors to make room for the congregation that would gather. With such devotion to their faith it is not surprising that one of their sons became one of the most noted bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, Bishop Joseph Hartzell, who has accomplished so much for Christianity in Africa.

As I mentioned before, the young couple were most hospitable, and their home became a sort of headquarters for every stranger that came to town. When they were settled in their new home Mrs. Hartzell said she felt a little better off than her neighbors because she had a new Franklin stove. After she had pictured this stove to me I failed to see how she could bake with it so she explained that she baked the bread in a kettle set in front of the open fire and when I wondered how she got it baked on top she said she heated an iron lid and covered the kettle with that. One Saturday, in preparation for the Sabbath, she had with great labor gotten eight loaves of bread baked but before evening they were all gone—to feed strangers. She had no table but used the top of a big walnut chest for this purpose. On many a Sunday she fed as high as fourteen people from its top. Even the Indians shared her hospitality, coming frequently to beg of her and never departing unsatisfied. One time, at least, the overstraining of her generosity caused her tears. She had just finished a baking and it was cooling on a shelf when in came a number of Indians and demanded the bread. Being alone and naturally afraid of them she let them take all of her new bread. Another time a big brave came and begged for something to eat. She gave him his dinner in a new iron kettle and after he had devoured the last morsel of the food, he set the kettle aside with the evident intention of taking it along home with him. Thinking he would not notice the substitution, she took the new pot when he wasn't looking and put in its place an old one; but when he was ready to depart and came for his kettle he immediately noticed what had been done. He flew into a rage and nothing would pacify him but the return of the original kettle. On one occasion Black Hawk, who was a great admirer of Mrs. Hartzell's, came to their cabin to consult with Mr. Hartzell about buying the young wife and gravely offered quite a liberal number of ponies, blankets and trinkets in exchange for her. Mrs. Hartzell as well as others told of visits to the isolated Davenport house on the island which by this time had become famous as the finest mansion between St. Louis and Galena. One writer of that time speaks of the homestead as "surpassing in natural beauty and attractiveness, indoor spaciousness, comfort and luxuriousness, and outdoor tasteful embellishments and productiveness the far famed residence of Blennerhasset as described by Wirt." This mansion, which was the scene of the trader's murder in 1844 and which had fallen into decay, has recently been restored and is one of the show-places of Rock Island. One of my brothers helped in the work of restoration and he says the sills and timbers of the old building are sound and good for yet many a year to come. This old home was the scene of countless gay gatherings for

both Mr. and Mrs. Davenport were excellent entertainers and most thoughtful and kind to those they liked. Only recently I visited an old lady who proudly exhibited to me a little brown earthenware jug of odd design which Mrs. Davenport had filled with quince preserves and sent to her once when she was ill. There was plenty of opportunity to test neighborliness during the years 1836-7 for there was so much sickness in this locality that there were not enough well people to nurse those who were ill. A pioneer doctor who began practice in this county about 1836 says that the prevailing diseases were climatic fever and ague and quinine in some form or combination was regarded as a sheet anchor. When anyone died the whole settlement was sad and their sympathy was personal and practical. The neighbors made the coffin, consulted together as to where to bury the dead, dug the lonely grave and sadly performed the last services.

Up to the time of the incorporating of the town of Stephenson, the most important centre of the hamlet was the old Barrel House, a log cabin, erected years before by Davenport and Russel Farnum as a trading post which they called Farnumsberg. This cabin was later enlarged by a story and a half addition and then occupied as a hotel by one John Barrel. Here it was that court convened, here was the postoffice, and here was the common meeting place of the village men. The men lodgers were accommodated in one large room on the second floor, which was reached by a ladder on the outside of the building. Here the only beds were ticks filled with straw and placed on the floor. A sign at the foot of the ladder admonished the lodgers to remove their boots before going upstairs. A pump in the yard, with a common basin and towel, constituted the hotel lavatory. Mein host's mother-in-law was one of the Barrel household and they say she was entirely out of sympathy with pioneer life. Her most cherished possession was a real China tea-set which I have reason to believe John Barrel at least regarded as a "white elephant." Several times during the Black Hawk war the settlers were compelled to flee from their cabins to the protection of Fort Armstrong and each time John Barrel had to drag along that precious tea set. Years afterward when the family had long been gone from this locality and when the old Barrel house was being torn down, what should the workmen find, hidden safely away under the front door step, but a large, real China teapot. Even a worm will turn and I've no doubt that John Barrel was asked once too often to carry that teapot.

Mrs. Margaret Kinney who died two years ago at ninety-three years of age came to Stephenson as a young woman in 1838. The town already contained about 500 inhabitants and a court house as well as a jail had been built. The "Rock Island Banner and Stephenson Gazette" which began publication in 1839 and which was the first newspaper published in our county, speaking of the fine buildings in the new town, says "the jail is a very strong and beautiful building built of logs." This old jail still stands and I fear is hardly looked upon as either strong or beautiful by those of our generation. Mrs. Kinney's account of early days was so clearly and naively given that I shall give extracts from it just as I took it down. Speaking of the social life of the village she said: "There was an unpainted, frame school-house that was the

scene of many a pleasant gathering. Here the young people met on the long winter evenings to thresh over the important questions of the day in debating society or to hold spelling bees. Deep snow and unbroken roads did not daunt us for we were young and we had our bob-sleds made comfortable with plenty of straw and comforters so what cared we for snow and weather. This old school building was also the scene of many an impressive church service. Our ministers were circuit riders who visited us occasionally and as the people were nearly all church-going and eager to hear the word preached, it was a treat indeed to attend such services as were provided for us and I believe we enjoyed them more in that old school-house than do the people who worship nowadays in their fine churches. I especially recall an old Baptist minister, Father Gillet, whose sermons were of such awful solemnity that one almost felt as though the end of the earth was at hand. He did not believe in infant baptism and I remember in one of his discourses he declared that in hell there are infants not a span long. It was several years after we came to Stephenson that the first Methodist Episcopal church was built—the first regular church building in Stephenson. It was built of brick and it may be of interest to know that my brother—then a mere lad, with his little wagon and a half-grown calf, hauled from the Mississippi every drop of water used in mixing the mortar with which to build this church. When it came time for our first quarterly meeting, the audience room was not finished so this service was held in the basement. There was no cup for the Sacrament and my father went to the store to buy one but was unable to get anything but two britannia cups which did sacred service till the church was completed and the congregation felt able to afford two silver goblets. Those first britannia cups are preserved in the corner stone of the present First Methodist Episcopal church in Rock Island.

Life in those pioneer days, though rigorous, was not devoid of social pleasure. In fact we had many a jolly party. One time the young men, of which there were many in Stephenson, invited the young ladies to celebrate the Fourth of July with them. There were no carriages in those days so we all climbed into two big lumber wagons drawn by horses and drove up to Port Byron for dinner. By the time we had covered the twenty-five miles and reached the Holmes hotel our appetites began to assume tremendous proportions. It was whispered about that we were going to have a roast pig for dinner so we all sat about the table impatiently awaiting the arrival of dinner. At last a boy appeared carrying the pig with a lemon in its mouth on a large platter and a shout of joy went up. But "there's many a slip twixt cup and lip" and before the boy could reach the table, down went platter, pig and all, upon the floor, and our joy was turned into mourning. However there was a big chicken pie safely on the table and needless to say we did ample justice to that. After dinner we all went to a store building in an upper room of which the people were assembled to hear the orator of the day, the Right Honorable Harmon G. Reynolds. I can see him yet as he stood up before the audience, large as life and twice as natural, in his swallow tailed coat, low cut, flower besprigged vest and full pleated ruffle down the front of his shirt. We young folks frequently went berrying for this was a great place for all kinds of wild fruits. On one

of these outings we stopped at a lonely farmhouse to get water and the housewife invited the whole company to stay for supper. We accepted and a little later the woman was seen to go out in the clearing with a gun to shoot chickens and before very long we all sat down to a bountiful feast of fried chicken. Before supper we were treated to Metheglin, which was a most refreshing beverage made of wild honey, very plentiful in those days. This family had a whole barrel of Metheglin and we were warned not to drink too much of it for it would intoxicate. We all went home sober. Later, in the fall of the year, the men and sometimes women too, would go out to shoot game which was most plentiful. We also had our cutting bees when the young people were invited from house to house to help cut up pumpkins and apples which were later dried for our winter stores. These amusements, which combined work with pleasure, together with an occasional ball at the old "American House" constituted the social life of the village. This "American House" which had ten rooms, had by this time superceded the old Barrel House as a popular hostlery and during the rush season, particularly when court was in session, the place was so crowded that guests were accommodated with beds made up on the long dining table.

Mrs. M. D. Hauberg's account of their life on her father's farm in Hampton township is full of interest, showing as it does an appreciation of the romantic side of pioneer life. Her father, Henry Frels, came to this county in 1840 and was married two years later. He started farming with only $5 in his pocket. He made his own wagon, sawing the wheels off of a large log and making all the other parts himself with the exception of a very few pieces which required a blacksmith to shape. A yoke of oxen was his only team to work with. Land was very cheap and only a small space was cleared to sow wheat and make a garden since they depended on working up the timber for an income. During the first years, he employed men to help him in the timber cutting cord-wood, hoop-poles, staves to make barrels and spokes for wagon wheels. In later years he cut ties for the railroad. Mrs. Hauberg who was born in 1845 says she can remember back to when she was a very little girl and many a time she saw the wild turkeys pilfering from her father's corn crib while droves of deer, flocks of quail and pheasants were a common sight. The family lived in a one-room log cabin with a loft room upstairs reached by means of a ladder. There was a great fire place to heat the room and on which to do the cooking. The mother had but three cooking utensils—an iron tea kettle, a three legged skillet with iron lid in which bread was baked, and an iron pot (in which food was cooked) which hung on a crane in the fireplace. The father would get a log with some big limbs on it and would place the crown end on the fire. This would make a big fire which lit up the room so brightly that the mother could sit and knit all evening without a candle. The children would sit on the other end of the log or play at jumping over it. The father kept plenty of sheep and during the spare moments throughout the year, the mother would spin the fleece into yarn from which the clothing was made. Part of the yarn was colored blue with indigo and part brown with Brazilian chips and when she had enough ready she would take it to a neighbor, who

had a loom, and would weave it into cloth. She would then make clothes of the blue for the children while the brown was made into suits for the father by a tailor. When Mrs. Hauberg was about six years old a preacher came to their house and staid a week and while he was there he baptized all the children of the household as well as the children of all the surrounding neighborhood. When she was old enough she was sent to school, a log house with a long desk built against the wall all around the room. The benches were made of a log split in two and smoothed off, with four legs fitted to it, but no back. Ordinarily the pupils sat with their backs to the desk but when they wanted to write they had to swing their feet over to the other side of the log. The children wore their home-spun and hand-woven dresses, thick knitted stockings and coarse shoes and they were none too warm for the winters were cold and the snow deep. In the spring they made molasses from the sap of trees which they tapped; and everybody made soap. A man who stayed with the family for years made his living by making shingles. He sawed up a log in pieces the length of shingles, split these pieces up fine, shaved them down to the right size, cooked them in a big kettle and finally packed the completed shingles in bunches. After the railroad was finished, the father would always take one of the children with him whenever he drove to Moline, to let them see the train go puffing along. This was regarded by the children as a rare treat. Another interesting narrative of the early '50s is that of Mrs. L. P. Esbjorn who emigrated to this country from Sweden in 1851. The family was eight weeks on the ocean and from New York they continued on their way by canal boat to Chicago. The meals were not furnished by the boat company but fortunately the family was well supplied with provisions which they had brought from Sweden. It took three more weeks to make the trip from New York to Chicago. There was no railroad leading near their destination which was Swedona, then called Berlin, in Mercer County twenty-five miles south of Rock Island, so they again embarked in a canal boat, on the Illinois River, which landed them at Peoria. Here they were met by a relative who took them in lumber wagons overland to their destination. Except for spinning wheels and clothing the family brought little in the way of household articles. Upon arriving in Swedona, they rented a room of a farmer where they stayed, nine of them, till the father had time to build a log house on a farm which he bought. It was fortunate that they had something left of the provisions brought from Sweden for there had been a complete failure of crops that year and it was impossible to buy anything of the neighbors—in fact the neighbors tried to buy food of the newcomers. The father bought what he supposed would be the first winter's supply of potatoes by paying for all the potatoes growing in a neighbor's field but when he came to dig them he found they were all diseased and utterly unfit to eat.

Everything in the settlement was primitive—even the only doctor in the whole countryside was, at the same time, the village blacksmith—the nearest church was eight miles away and since they were unable to speak English, they enjoyed little sociability. Mrs. Esbjorn was married in 1853 to Rev. L. P. Esbjorn who was one of the founders of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. He was then pastor at An-

dover, Ill., having come there from Chicago, making the trip overland in a one-horse gig which, together with a coffee pot and iron kettle, he had brought with him from Sweden. He organized this church at Andover with eleven members and it became the mother church of the Augustana Synod. His work consisted not only in the care of his own flock, but also in organizing and serving other congregations in Moline, Galesburg and other places, visiting these at regular intervals, driving across the prairie in the gig, not infrequently losing his way and getting bogged in the numerous sloughs, for all of which he received the munificent salary of $300 per year. It happened at least once during the cholera years that the parsonage was at the same time the local cholera hospital. The church at Andover was built with money collected by Rev. Esbjorn, the principal contribution of $1,500 having been made by the famous Swedish singer Jennie Lind whom Rev. Esbjorn met in New York. At first this church had no organ. Rev. Esbjorn had bought in Rock Island, for his own use, a very tiny reed organ and this instrument was every Sunday placed on a wagon and hauled from the parsonage to the church, a distance of a mile and a half, and after service it was hauled back again in solemn state to the parsonage. About 1859, the need for ministers having become very urgent, it was arranged that a Scandinavian professorship for the training of pastors should be maintained at the so-called Illinois University at Springfield and Rev. Esbjorn accepted a call to this chair and the family moved to Springfield. Speaking of their connection with this school, Mrs. Esbjorn said: "My husband had been called to teach only the Swedish language and certain theological subjects, but when he arrived at Springfield, he found that he was expected to teach various other subjects as well—principally natural sciences. It was this fact no doubt which brought him into personal contact with the most interesting figure in American history—Abraham Lincoln, who at that time had his home in Springfield. Mr. Lincoln's son, Robert, was sent to the University at which my husband taught. The young man, however, did not make his mark as a brilliant student nor was his industry and regular attendance remarkable. He was so much interested in the exciting political discussions going on at the time that he even left Springfield and followed some of the stump speakers around from town to town instead of attending to his school duties. It seems it was my husband's duty to inform the young man's father of these delinquencies on the part of the boy and the result was that one day we had a call from the elder Lincoln. He entered my husband's study and spent some time alone with him to see what could be done to get Bob to attend classes regularly again. Whether they touched on other subjects during the interview I cannot say, nor do I know whether there was any subsequent improvement in the young man's school record. The students lived in private houses and had little boarding clubs of their own. I remember baking bread for some of them to help them along. Of course most if not all of them were as poor as poor could be in this world's goods. When sick they had no hospital to go to. I remember one of them who became sick was given a bed in the basement of the church, but not liking this arrangement, he begged to be taken into our house. We had no room but our parlor to spare, and he remained there in bed for several weeks. This

young man was probably one of our wealthiest students, for when he had recovered and returned to his home near Galesburg, he sent us a present, a jar full of sausage-meat which makes me think he may have owned a little farm. I remember attending with my husband a political meeting at which Lincoln spoke. There was very little cheering or applause. I suppose the people were too much impressed with the seriousness of the situation for any noisy demonstrations. Mrs. Esbjorn's life, like that of all those early settlers, was filled with most varied experiences, all of which would be most interesting to recount. As it is, these stories, like pictures flashed upon a canvas, give us a vivid impression of the days when life on the frontier was young, when people were characterized by bravery, loyalty, generosity and hospitality, when they were drawn closer together by common pleasures and common hardships. The Indian has long since departed; the wigwam and the log cabin with its primitive equipment have given place to the comfortable modern home; the ox team and prairie schooner have disappeared. And it is for us of the present generation with our far greater advantages, to leave an impress upon our time as noble and worthy of being perpetuated as did the generation before us. Let us never forget to venerate those who planned and toiled and sacrificed and persevered that we might enjoy the fruits of their labors. They say romance died with the reverberating shriek of the first locomotive to reach the Mississippi and that ours is only a prosy, commonplace, unromantic Middle West town. But I do not agree with these. There is no locality in the whole Middle West around which clusters a greater number of interesting historical and romantic events than about old Rock Island town. And there is a witchery, a fascination about our old river, even if it is not what it used to be, that once having come under its spell, you are never quite content away from sight of its muddy waters. We love the stories of our past and we must not be censured if we sympathise with the old timer as my fellow townsman Robert Rexdale makes him say:

My thoughts go back to the long ago,
And the river that sings to the sea below. * * *
And I've not forgot how it used to be,
In the good old days that are gone for me,
For the pulse beat fast and the heart was gay—
When the Mississippi was the great highway. * * *
If I sigh sometimes for the vanished years
And my eyes grow dim with the mist of tears,
It's not because of the changing ways,
And it's not regret for the river days,
But I miss the friends who have gone to sleep,
Where the hill dips down to the waters deep. * * *
So I dream tonight o'er my pipe and glass
A dream of the boats as they used to pass.
The song of the river is in everything
As the whistle blows for the bridge to swing,
And I see the lights as we're drifting down
The lights of home in Rock Island town;
So I drink to years ere the head was grey
When the Mississippi was the great highway.

COLONEL CHARLES E. HOVEY

THE THIRTY-THIRD REGIMENT ILLINOIS INFANTRY IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

(By J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.)

It is not my purpose to furnish many of the details of the history of the Thirty-third Illinois Infantry Regiment. Very few Illinois organizations have been so fully described in the military annals of this State. Yet as these technical military records are generally destitute of other valuable information for the benefit of general readers, I have thought best to furnish a few historical side lights, which must not however, be allowed to obscure the brilliant heroism and patriotism of the actors, and which it may be hoped will bring their actions into a clearer view.

Those of us who remember the tremendous exertions needed during the war to fill the ranks of the army and keep them filled, are well aware that there were good reasons for the attempts that were made, especially in the largest states, to group together certain nationalities or classes of men into special regiments. Thus the Nineteenth Illinois Infantry, one of the best known of the earlier organizations, was called the Chicago Zouaves, from the fact that a portion of the regiment practiced the famous Zouave drill.

There was also in 1861, the well known German Regiment, the Twenty-fourth Illinois Infantry, called the First Hecker Regiment, and again in 1862, during our greatest out-pouring of volunteers, the Eighty-second Illinois was often called the Second Hecker Regiment.

The Forty-fifth, raised mostly in JoDaviess and Stephenson counties, was called the Lead Mine Regiment. The Seventy-third was called the Preacher's Regiment and contained a large sprinkling of Southern Illinois Baptists.

The Thirty-third Illinois Infantry Regiment was quite well known for the first few years of the war, as the Normal or School Teachers' Regiment. These various designations by nationalities or otherwise, were of great assistance to the public in their almost vain efforts to keep track of such favorite organizations as people desired to follow, through newspaper or other reports, and I shall proceed to enlarge somewhat on the early history of that regiment, in order to illustrate more fully the importance of these special designations, and the influence they exerted upon the patriotic movements of the times, after which, I shall give a brief condensation of its military history with other historical military side lights.

A few months previous to the out-break of the Civil War, just as the war clouds began to threaten, the Legislature of this State was

called upon to appropriate quite a sum to finish paying the cost of the new Normal Building at Bloomington—the village of Normal not then having been organized. The donations of the citizens of Bloomington and of the county of McLean promised in the spring of 1857, were so enormously depreciated by the panic of the autumn of the same year, that the large building then started, finished in 1861, needed the State's assistance to the extent of $65,000, which was generously given by the State in February, 1861, at a time when the dark shadow of the coming rebellion might well have obscured that educational revival, which had made such a promising beginning by the passage of the Free School Law of 1855, which itself gave that tremendous impetus to the cause of the public schools which are now the pride of the people of Illinois.

It will do no harm to examine the status of educational matters in 1861. The people of this State between 1850 and 1860 had been aroused to the importance of free schools to a degree almost incomprehensible to the present generation. They had seen suddenly spring up a free school system with a State Superintendent, with school districts posessing boards of school directors, which had almost absolute power to locate and build new school houses, and with liberal legal authority to raise money for school purposes.

The change from semi-subscription schools to the beginning of a better public school system had created a demand for a great many well educated school teachers, and this demand by 1857 had culminated in the law organizing the State Normal University, which within a few months thereafter was located at Bloomington. The use of a part of the State's college and seminary funds for this institution was one reason for giving this Normal School the name of university, though there was another potent reason, which was the rising prospect for combining with this pioneer Normal, the expected Illinois State University.

The subsequent organization of this State University in 1866, after the national appropriation of public land for the support of agricultural colleges, gave Bloomington and McLean counties such hope for the location of this great University, that they made the magnificent and unparalleled offer of $550,000 for its location, and the loss of this valuable educational institution was a bitter disappointment to those who made the offer. As an active laborer in that great effort, when I happened to be the editor of the Bloomington Pantagraph, I can give assurance that time has not as yet fully alleviated my disappointment of forty-six years ago.

The new Illinois Normal was the first school of its kind west of the Alleghany mountains and it focused the attention of the educational people of the entire West. Its first class of ten graduated in 1860 and the next class, of which I was a member, finished the course in 1861, in the worst of the nation's agonizing throes of the great Civil War.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war in April, the normal students organized themselves into what was called the Normal Rifles, and by the end of the school year on July 1st, had become somewhat proficient under a hired drill master. The threatening war clouds warned us that our services would soon be needed, although the nation's shortage of arms and military officers very nearly paralyzed all efforts

to place men in the field, and enlistments by the middle of July had practically ceased in all of the northern states.

President Charles E. Hovey of the Normal, began to form plans to raise a regiment of Normal teachers, pupils, college students and educational men immediately after the close of the summer term, and the members of the Normal Rifles determined before they started for their homes in different parts of the State, to enlist as a company rather than scatter themselves in different companies, should the government call for more volunteers. This call came immediately after the battle of Bull Run, which took place July 21st.

President Hovey was in Washington offering to raise a new regiment a few days before the sad Bull Run defeat, but the government officers were then confident that the war was about over and blandly refused all such offers. Very different was the case the day after the battle, and President Hovey, now Colonel Hovey, came home with full power to raise the regiment. He issued a call in the newspapers and the response was immediate. The patriotism of Illinois blazed out at that period with intense brilliancy. Regiment after regiment was offered for three years, or during the war. Between July and December, 1861, the regimental numbers ran from the twenty-eighth to the fifty-eighth, and the State was one great camp of military organization, instruction and patriotic devotion.

Over two-thirds of the sixty young men in the infant Normal volunteered, together with several of the professors, then called teachers, and two or three members of the State Board of Education.

The full regiment of one thousand men leaving Camp Butler for the front on September 19th, included quite a number of college boys, teachers and educational men, together with the Normal nucleus, giving the regiment altogether some right to be called the "Normal Regiment," by which title it was known through the first two or three years of the war.

There was no other western regiment which contained such a large number of students and teachers, except the Forty-third Ohio. The colonel of this regiment was James A. Garfield, who was president of Hiram College at Mentor, Ohio on the Western Reserve. I well remember of hearing Colonel Hovey tell us of this student regiment just as we were about to leave Normal, and that he then said, "Watch that man Garfield." I watched him, and when he was nominated for the Presidency in 1880, I gave my most enthusiastic efforts to assist in that election.

It happened in the Vicksburg Campaign at the battle of Champion's Hill in May, 1863, that Garfield's regiment, the Forty-third Ohio, and our Normal regiment took part together on the skirmish line of that important battle.

There was no other western Normal School except ours in 1861. Our Normal organization coupled with the fact that such schools were hoping to meet a vital need of the western free school systems, gave a certain prominence to the organization that made it very easy to fill our ranks with some of the best material in the whole army, and yet there was after all, but a trifling superiority over other regiments of the same year, and perhaps we were somewhat egotistic, and we may have

deserved some of the sarcasms concerning us which were floating around in military circles.

I have dwelt somewhat at length upon the distinctive origin of the Thirty-third Infantry because to a certain extent, it helps illustrate the importance felt by the general public in the efforts to separate the different companies, regiments, batteries and brigades from among other commands of the immense armies in the field, and to trace their military histories through their different movements, marches, organizations and battles of that great conflict. Even with all of these occasional aids, the friends of different organizations very often failed to know where to look for accounts of their loved ones, whether they were in the swamps of the South, in the operations on the Gulf, or in the Grand Army of the Potomac.

It was simply impossible for the general public to remember the military designations of the different organizations.

The Students' Company at Normal, the Normal Rifles, became the nucleus of the first company finally consisting of about one hundred men, and was called Company A. Besides this, two whole companies—C and G—were raised in McLean County, and the other seven companies came from various counties like Bureau, Pike, Christian, Knox, Stark, LaSalle and others.

The month of August, 1861, when most of these young men volunteered, was a remarkable date in our nation's history. The disgraceful defeat at Bull Run had been the means of thoroughly alarming the North. There was now no idea of coercing the South in ninety days as there had been in May and June. A long war and a bloody one, instead of three months of picnicing was now plainly in sight. About all of the patriotic logic we had to cheer us was about like this: If a state could secede from the National Government, a county could secede from the state. If all of these varieties of secession could flourish, there could be no government at all. If we were to have no governments, we should have bloody anarchy, and rather than live in anarchy, we had better take our chances with Uncle Sam, who appeared to be gathering quite a vigorous army, and if we would all stand together, we could at least look forward to a settled government at some time in the future, even if we should be obliged in the end to let the "erring sisters go in peace," as was recommended by more than one of our country's leaders.

The time had not yet come, though it arrived in that still more gloomy August one year later, when many men of family must volunteer. Our own ranks were mostly filled with mere boys. In the company in which I enlisted only four were married men. Buoyant hope was on every hand. No one appeared to be afraid of disaster. Disease had no terrors. The one great longing of every soldier, at least in appearance, was to engage in a fight with the enemy. We hungered and thirsted for military knowledge, and entered upon our duties with light hearts, little thinking that before the end of our three years' enlistment our regiment, with many others, would voluntarily re-enlist for another three years, and become a part of that proud army of re-enlisted veterans whose valor and patriotism finally, in 1864 and 1865, did more to end the war and discourage the enemy than all the battles of the first three years of agonizing efforts.

The Students' Company A, represented thirty-one different counties, the whole regiment contained men from sixty-seven different counties, and it is believed no other Illinois organization contained so many men from different counties, making this regiment almost truly a representation of the whole State.

Its history has been written more fully perhaps than that of any other regiment. It is contained in the official records of the rebellion; in the Adjutant General's reports of both the Nation and the State; in official form with all of the State's military organizations, in both national and State records. Besides this, in 1902, the survivors of the Thirty-third Regiment published a complete and very full history, largely written by Colonel I. H. Elliott, now living in New Mexico, and who was Adjutant General of Illinois under Governor Cullom in 1880 to 1884. The whole book was edited and partially written by Mr. V. G. Way, of Gibson City, a member of this society. It is said by the best authorities to be a model regimental history, especially in its full roster accounting for the over two thousand different soldiers who were at one time and another upon its muster-rolls.

Judge A. O. Marshall of Joliet, also a member of this society, one of our college students, who came from Knox College, published soon after the war, his "Army Life or Recollections of a Private Soldier" that had a large sale in the northern part of the State, and in various other publications this regiment has been well remembered. Judge Marshall was a member of Company A, to which I belonged.

When the Thirty-third was ordered from Camp Butler to the Potomac in 1861, there was great indignation because it was the soldiers' opinion there would be no fighting in Virginia. Our officers spent the whole night in telegraphing to Washington to have our destination changed to the Western Department where General Fremont was the military idol of the army. We laid on the ground at the station all that night at classic Jimtown and were delighted in the morning to find our destination was changed to St. Louis.

While guarding Pilot Knob and the Iron Mountain Railroad, we were fortunate enough on October 21, 1861, to be slightly engaged in the battle of Fredericktown, Mo., a mere skirmish, but heralded as one of the first successful battles of the war, and we began to feel we were becoming of some military consequence. Frontier guarding and frontier marching were our monotonous duties until July 7, 1862, when we again met the enemy at what was called Cache River, or Cotton Plant, in Arkansas, a successful engagement of considerable importance, while we were on the march down the White River. Colonel Hovey, who was in command of our detachment, was wounded and was made brigadier-general for his gallantry.

Our Students Company was in the advance on this occasion when its captain, L. H. Potter, normal professor of literature, was severely wounded. I was first lieutenant of the company and when the colonel of the regiment and the captain of my company were both promoted, my own rank was advanced one step and I became the captain and thus remained until April, 1863, when I resigned on account of weakness from typhoid and malarial fevers.

It was the fate of this regiment to be on duty during the summer of 1862 in the malarious district of Eastern Arkansas and Western Mississippi. This region is now well known as a marvelously rich cotton country, and even before the war, its richest lands were occupied by money making planters, who went to the hills or to the north during the hot months, leaving their slaves and overseers to raise and gather the cotton. Very few white people dared to brave the deadly climate, and it is no wonder that our laborious scouting and foraging duties brought on dangerous sickness. This sickness was so serious that early in October the whole regiment was sent north, as a sanitary measure, to a point near St. Louis.

In the winter of 1862 and 1863 we were marched and countermarched through south-eastern Missouri to no purpose, seeing no enemy, hearing of none, not even firing a gun, and we almost believe, even to this day, that no one in Washington ever knew of this winter campaign. But our sick men recovered their health so that when we were ordered to join the Vicksburg Campaign in March, 1863, the regiment was in tip-top health, ready for duty but extremely unwilling to again take up the line of march in Louisiana or Mississippi near Vicksburg in that well known malarious region. Here it became a portion of that grand army of Illinois soldiers who formed a large part of General Grant's magnificent army of seventy thousand men. From this time forward for many months it became attached to General McClernand's Thirteenth Army Corps. Personally I was a member of this corps only ten days, and was not in the Vicksburg Campaign.

The battles around Vicksburg, and the famous Charge of Vicksburg constitute a very large portion of the history of the Civil War. Defeat after defeat in 1862 caused the world to doubt whether the Mississippi River ever would be opened to the sea. Vicksburg until July 4, 1863, was the pivotal place upon which rested our hopes of the successful issue of the war, even as in 1803, the possession of Louisiana meant the probable perpetuity of the Union.

When General Grant ordered the grand movement of his troops, a part of his army marched overland along the levee on the western bank of the Mississippi, out of range of Vickburg's heavy guns. These troops then crossed the river in the steamboats, which had bravely and successfully run past the Vicksburg batteries. The Thirty-third took an active part in that series of great victories known as the battles before Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, Magnolia Hills, Black River Bridge, Champion's Hill and others, which were all successfully fought against General Pemberton's Vicksburg Army, which had come out of the trenches to meet Grant's army in the open field. In the fight of Black River Bridge, where the rebels had thrown up defensive works, and had mounted a large number of heavy cannon, the Thirty-third, with other troops, made a remarkably successful charge with very little blood shed, and captured these cannon, which was perhaps the most important military feat of the whole campaign.

The battle of Champion's Hill was a last desperate attempt on the part of General Pemberton's army to keep the Yankees from the rear of Vicksburg, but all to no avail, as General Grant's army soon compelled

General Pemberton to withdraw into the fortifications and to act entirely on the defensive.

The Thirty-third boys in the Thirteenth Army Corps were among the heroes in the awful charge on the fortifications of Vicksburg on the twenty-second of May. The regiment suffered terribly in that charge. One color bearer was killed and others sustained the flag which shows, to this day, blood stains and bullet marks, in its repository in the flag case of the McLean County Historical Society.

Company E, the Bureau County Company, went into this charge with thirty-two men, eleven of whom were killed and all of the rest were wounded, with one exception—thus furnishing an evidence of bravery not easily matched in the record of the whole Civil War.

General Pemberton's army was, however, barely successful in holding their works in that awful day, and from this time until the end of June, Grant's great army prosecuted the Siege of Vicksburg with the utmost heroism, fighting and digging, enduring the summer's great heat and holding back the Confederate re-inforcements, which, in the rear, were struggling to relieve Pemberton.

Nothing in the annals of the war, not even the events on the Potomac or in the famous battles around Atlanta and Chattanooga, excelled the bravery and obstinacy of these famous battles around Vicksburg, during that world famous Siege of Vicksburg, which culminated in the surrender of that stronghold with its thirty thousand defenders, on the Fourth day of July, 1863. This event, together with the success of the Union Army at Gettysburg on the Third and Fourth days of July in the same year, marks the beginning of the down-fall of the Confederate Army.

The history of the Thirty-third Regiment will forever be associated with the records of the great Vicksburg Campaign, at which time General Grant's Army reckoned nearly one-half of its members as representatives of the great State of Illinois.

After considerable faithful service in guarding the railroads in Louisiana during the rest of 1863 and the most of 1864, the regiment found itself in November, 1863, at Matagorda Bay in Texas. Here it took part in the capture of Fort Esperanza, a sea coast fort of no particular consequence, and once more the regiment was almost out of the knowledge of the people of the United States. It made itself heard from, however, even here, proving to the country that its splendid record at Vicksburg and other places was not to be considered its total contribution to the great cause.

By a government order an important offer was made to all of the old three year regiments, whose full three years lacked about six or eight months of expiration, which provided that if three-fourths of the soldiers of each regiment would re-enlist for three years more, a bounty of $400 each would be given, together with a thirty days furlough, to all who should thus volunteer, and that the new organizations should be called "Veteran Volunteers."

The Thirty-third was then at Indianola, Tex., and at once entered heartily into the spirit of the order, and began to perfect the new regimental organization.

We cannot say too much in praise of these seasoned and well drilled soldiers who so generously and patriotically re-enlisted at that period. They but imperfectly realized the immense importance and the magnitude of their actions.

The war had progressed to a point where very few valuable soldiers could be obtained by volunteering. Such recruits and volunteers as were found after the beginning of 1863, were generally obtained by the payment of very large bounties. This stimulated what was called "bounty jumping" or desertion for the sake of a new enlistment under another name in another state, to such a degree that filling the ranks of our regiment accomplished very little towards placing good soldiers at the front.

The ranks of the Southern Army, it is true, were becoming rapidly thinned by disease, desertion and death, and conscription was failing to give as good results as it had up to this date. The men who remained in that army now began to realize that their cause was probably hopeless, but the desperation of the South appeared to be about equal to the stubborn resistance of the North. And the value of this remarkable addition of veteran volunteers to the fighting strength of the Union Army was never fully realized until the war was over. As our people then began to turn their thoughts away from everything relating to the war and its horrors, it has happened that the general public never knew, and never will know, the full importance of the noble efforts of those veterans of 1864.

These patriotic volunteers were called veterans, and the word veteran in 1865 meant one of these re-enlisted heroes. Now the word is applied to any old soldier, whether his service was short or long, and it has come about that the veteran volunteers of 1864 and 1865, who so well deserve to be a class by themselves, are rarely considered worthy of any more credit than any other veteran.

The Thirty-third Illinois Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment was mustered into the service at Indianola, Texas, on that far off sandy coast January 7, 1864. On February 28th, just before starting from New Orleans for their thirty days furlough to their homes, they gave an exhibition drill which won the very highest commendation from military officials of high rank.

They proceeded to Bloomington, Ill., where they were given a grand reception by the citizens, and from there went to their homes, where they enjoyed a well-earned furlough.

These veteran volunteers knew what it was to hear the whistle of rebel bullets, to watch the curving and hissing shells, to listen to the roar of the deadly artillery, to march up to the cannon's mouth, and see their dearest comrades fall dying or wounded from their advancing ranks. They realized the deadliness of the typhoid and malarious hospitals, the irksomeness of the idle camp, the weariness of the forced march, the suffering from cold and wet, and the wearing weakness resulting from half rations.

It was one of these same volunteers who wrote the following:

Farewell to home: farewell to kindred.
We have pledged ourselves to three years more.
We will each be in at the death of treason,
Or perish in the Thirteenth Army Corps.

The nation secured from this wonderful outburst of patriotism, in all nearly two hundred thousand of the very cream of the army, the very bravest and best soldiers of that Grand Army of the Republic, to which the nation is so greatly indebted.

It is not over-estimating the value of this great reinforcement to assert it as fully equal to an addition to the army of more than half a million of the average of that grand United States Army. We need not wonder therefore that in the opinion of good judges, the re-election of Abraham Lincoln in the fall of 1864, added to this noble offering on the part of our patriotic army in the field, actually turned the scale in favor of the success of our national army.

The share of the State of Illinois in this veteran volunteer organization represents seventy different veteran volunteer regiments, and a statement of this whole proceeding on the part of the soldiers of this State should be fully and completely set forth by the Illinois State Historical Society through some special publication, and the society will not have performed its full duty towards this particular class of its soldiers, until it shall have specifically and properly performed this great work.

The subsequent service of the Thirty-third Veteran Regiment took place mostly in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. It participated in the capture of Spanish Fort at Mobile Bay, Alabama, and performed much marching and railroad guarding. A terrible railroad accident near Boulte Station, Louisiana, March 2, 1865, was as severe upon the regiment as almost any battle in which it participated, no less than eighty having been killed or severely wounded, the deaths having been about one-fourth of this number.

The flags carried by the regiment at its muster out at Springfield on December 7, 1865, were entitled to bear the names of the following battles: Fredericktown, Missouri; Cotton Plant, Arkansas; Fort Gibson, Magnolia Hills, Black River Bridge, Champion's Hill, Charge on Vicksburg, Siege of Vicksburg, Jackson, Mississippi; Matagorda, Texas; and Spanish Fort, Alabama.

GENESIS OF THE WHIG PARTY IN ILLINOIS.

(By C. M. Thompson, University of Illinois.)

If meetings of this kind are to be productive of the greatest amount of good, those attending and taking part must have no hesitancy in being critical, for they, of all people, show by their presence here, that they are vitally interested in the history of our State; and in no better way can the chaff, which has too long encumbered, be separated from the grain. Thus the writer invites the most searching criticism; in the sincere hope that several new ideas expressed in this paper may be disproved, if they are erroneous.

The political leaders in Illinois were divided into two factions even before the State was admitted to the Union in 1818, and despite the fact that a majority of the leaders of these factions was dead, and many of the issues over which they struggled forgotten, when the term Whig came to be used to designate one of the great political parties, there is a continuity of principles and personnel, striking enough to warrant the belief, that territorial political alignments had considerable influences in determining the make-up of the Whig and Democratic parties in Illinois.

As is generally well known, the leader of one faction was Governor Ninian Edwards, and supporting him were Nathaniel Pope, Daniel Pope Cook, Thomas C. Browne, and Pierre Menard. The opposing faction was under the nominal leadership of Shadrach Bond, with whom were associated Jesse B. Thomas, Elias Kent Kane, John McLean, and Michael Jones. With the coming of statehood, and the consequent increase in the number of offices to be filled, evidence at hand points to a reconciliation of factions on the basis of a division of public emoluments. Every factional leader of the first rank received office; Bond and Menard became Governor and Lieutenant Governor, respectively; Jones was elected to the State Senate; Thomas and Edwards were chosen United States Senators; Phillips and Browne were given places on the bench of the State Supreme Court, while Pope became a member of the United States judiciary; Kane was appointed Secretary of State by Governor Bond; McLean was elected to Congress; and Cook, who was the unsuccessful aspirant for the sole congressional seat to which Illinois was then entitled, was appointed Attorney General.

The year 1819, saw a revival of the old struggle. Edwards, whose term as United States Senator expired March 4, 1819, was re-elected, but not without considerable opposition on the part of the Bond faction, which supported Jones for the place. Later in the year Cook and McLean, for the second time, contested for congressional honors, with Cook

the victor, due to his opposition to the proposed Missouri Compromise as well as to his tremendous personal influence over the voters.

In 1820 the Bond faction brought out Kane as Cook's opponent. Both candidates expressed themselves as favorable to the proposition to make Missouri a state without restrictions. The election resulted in a landslide for Cook, who received the support of the old Edwards faction, as well as that of the lately arrived settlers in the northern counties.

The August election of 1822, witnessed a general clash between the factions. Both Coles and Phillips, who were candidates for Governor in that year, were distasteful to the Edwards people, so much so that Edwards, through Hooper Warren, brought out Thomas C. Browne as a candidate. The contest was very close. Coles carried the northern counties, in which, on the whole, the people were lately arrived and hence not adherents of either of the old factions; Browne and Phillips divided the vote in the southern part of the State, the former being supported by the Edwards faction, while Phillips very generally received the votes of the Bondites. Both factions voted irrespective of their slavery predilections, and the generally accepted opinion that Browne was brought out as a stalking horse by the slavery element in an attempt to elect Phillips, is not supported by reliable evidence. Cook, who was no less zealous in his opposition to slavery than was Coles, carried seventeen counties, of which number eight supported Phillips or Browne. The inconsistency of the position of those who contend that the gubernatorial election was on the basis of slavery, and that Browne was a slavery candidate, is further shown by the fact that Hooper Warren, an uncompromising opponent of slavery in any form, supported Browne's candidacy. In this election began a third party with its principal strength in Sangamon and adjoining counties, and a party which was to continue for more than a decade to hold the balance of power between the various factions of the Democratic party.

The Bond faction was characterized by the great number of ambitious politicians within its ranks. Although this faction was defeated in the gubernatorial election of 1822, it succeeded in electing a majority to the General Assembly. Being favorably disposed toward slavery the members of that faction, aided by not an inconsiderable number of others who favored any plan to worry the new executive, succeeded in carrying through the General Assembly in February, 1823, the famous proposition to call a Constitutional Convention.

The election of 1824, which decided this momentous question, resulted in a complete victory for the anti-slavery forces. Not only was the convention proposition defeated by a large majority, but Cook, against whom the conventionists had pitted Governor Bond, was elected to Congress. The counties that had supported Coles in 1822, declared against the convention, but the anti-convention vote in those counties would have been of no avail without the assistance of the anti-slavery element in the southern part of the State. Although Coles had received but 4 per cent of the entire vote cast in Alexander County in 1822, the convention forces were able to carry that county by only a small majority; and the election returns of Gallatin, Johnson, Franklin, Wayne, Randolph and Jefferson counties show that hundreds who voted for Browne or Phillips in 1822, voted two years later against the call for a

convention to amend the State Constitution. In none of the counties named had the Coles vote been greater than 15 per cent, yet the vote against slavery varied from 18 per cent in Gallatin to 45 per cent in Randolph County. The counties of Lawrence and Union, which had given Browne and Phillips together more than 82 per cent of their entire vote in 1822, two years later rejected the convention proposition by a vote of three to two. On the whole, communities favoring the call for a convention, supported Bond for Congress, the notable exceptions being in those in which Cook had a strong personal following that clung to him despite his utterances against the extension of slavery.

On account of the all-absorbing slavery question, the Presidential election of 1824, received scanty attention at the hands of the voters. While contemporary accounts differ as to the relation between the conventionist and anti-conventionists on the one hand, and the Presidential candidate on the other, the vote indicates that Adams and Clay had their greatest strength in those counties in which the anti-conventionists had a majority, while Jackson's supporters were on the whole supporters of the proposition to call a convention. Thus there seems to be established by the election of 1824, a line which divided roughly the voters into two groups, each having a clearly marked preference for certain men and measures. One group, which comprised the voters of the northern counties and the Edwards strongholds in the southern part of the State, supported Cook, Adams or Clay, and opposed the Convention, while the other group, which was dominated by Bond, Kane, McLean and Thomas, supported Bond, Jackson or Crawford, and favored the Convention.

As in 1822-4, so was the General Assembly of 1824-6 completely dominated by the Bond faction. As a result of this political affiliation, two of the leaders of that faction, and zealous slavery men, McLean and Kane, were elected to the United States Senate. A writer on this period has said concerning this election that "there is nothing stranger than this in our political history." The explanation for such a seemingly strange paradox rests not upon a study of the Convention parties but rather upon older political alignments. The majority of the Legislature that elected McLean and Kane, was not necessarily pro-slavery and pro-convention because it elected men of that belief to office, for the issue of slavery and convention had ceased to have life after the August election in 1824. The majority was a Bond faction majority, and nothing was more natural than to honor its two greatest leaders by electing them to the United States Senate.

One of the central figures in the election by the House of Representatives of Adams to the presidency in 1825, was Cook, sole Congressman from Illinois. Cook is said to have declared before the presidential election in 1824, that if the selection of a president should devolve upon the House, he would cast his vote for the candidate that received a majority of the popular vote in Illinois. Jackson carried two electoral districts, the Second and Third, but neither he nor any other candidate received a majority at the general election. As a result of this indecisive vote, Cook felt himself free to use his own judgment in making a selection from the three candidates before the House, and for various

and valid causes, one of which was his admiration for the man, he cast the vote of Illinois for Adams.

The election of Adams, or better to say the defeat of Jackson, determined largely the political alignment in the United States for the next thirty years, and on account of Cook's vote, is this statement particularly true of conditions in Illinois. As soon as the people learned through the medium of Jackson's astute managers, that the old hero had been cheated out of his rights and the will of the people had been thwarted, by a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay, they rallied to the Jackson standard. Cook's close affiliation with the old anti-convention party had the effect of throwing headlong into the Jackson camp his opponents, who, on the whole, had been conventionists and who owed allegiance to Bond, Kane and McLean. The Edwards faction, which had been in temporary alliance only with the anti-conventionists, and which, after the August election of 1824, had set about to reorganize upon old lines, very generally favored Jackson's candidacy, and Cook's vote for Adams alienated many of his oldest and best friends. The Coles party had voted for Adams, and his election by the House met the approbation of that element.

Thus growing out of the convention contest of 1824, and the presidential election of 1825, were three more or less distinct parties: the ultra, or, as was more familiarly called "the whole hog" Jackson party; a party favoring Jackson's candidacy, the members of which were generally known as "milk and cider" Jackson men; and finally the anti-Jackson party, which was confined principally to the northern counties. Although the lines are not hard and fast, one may say with confidence that the "whole hog" and "milk and cidar" factions of the Jackson party were continuations of the old Bond and Edwards factions respectively, and that the anti-Jackson party was made up of the newer elements, which knew nothing of the political alignments of earlier days.

The gubernatorial election of 1826, resulted in a victory for a political coalition of the anti-Jackson party and the "milk and cider" faction of the Jackson party. Edwards was elected governor, but the closeness of the election indicates quite clearly that the anti-Jackson party was hopelessly in the minority, and that its only hope for success lay in playing off the factions of the opposition one against the other. At the same time Cook was beaten by Joseph Duncan, a young "whole hog" Jackson man, who had a good military record behind him. The defection of the Cook supporters was general all over the State. A county here and there gave him an increased majority over 1824, but this was offset by a few other counties which showed a marked falling off in their support. Cook uniformly ran behind Edwards except in those counties where his popularity still exerted its old time influence; and it is on account of this tremendous influence that he was able to make a valiant fight against overwhelming odds.

In the presidential election of 1828, less than fifteen thousand votes were cast out of a population numbering considerably over one hundred thousand, and Jackson's majority of almost five thousand is evidence of a temporary union of the two Jackson factions in support of his candidacy. The "whole hog" candidate for Congress, Duncan, was elected over George Forquer, a recognized leader of the moderate Jack-

son faction, and a close personal and political friend of Governor Edwards. The apparent inconsistence in selection of adherents of different factions raises the suspicion that the Jackson managers saw to it that only ultra Jackson men should go to Congress; it also goes a long way in demonstrating the political sagacity and popularity of Edwards himself.

The next gubernatorial campaign began more than twelve months before the election in 1830. The candidates were William Kinney, representing the "whole hog" Jackson faction, and John Reynolds, who, at that time, was a confessed "milk and cider" Jackson man. Kinney, expecting to ride into office on a wave of Jackson enthusiasm, was extravagant in his praise of the President. Reynolds with all his faults proved that he was a better politician than his opponent by securing the support of many radical Jacksonites, without alienating that element in the State opposed to the old hero. Reynolds' strength was principally in the extreme northern, western and southern parts of the State, and in the central counties of Sangamon, Morgan and Macon. Despite Kinney's defeat, Duncan who was no less a radical than was Kinney, was elected to Congress by a large majority. Thus again was the radical wing of the Jackson party beaten by a coalition of the "milk and cider" Jackson men and the anti-administrationists.

During the six years following the State election of 1830 the political alignments in Illinois underwent radical changes. The position occupied by the "milk and cider" Jackson element was not only illogical but untenable, and its ability to maintain itself as an organization depended almost entirely upon the chance election of two of its leaders to the office of Governor. Its midway position between the radical Jackson faction on the one hand, and the anti-Jackson party on the other, made it a convenient and fruitful recruiting ground for its more extreme opponent. The election of Jackson for a second term, which was a complete vindication for the affront offered the old hero in 1825, served to cool the ardor of the more extreme supporters of the President, and bring them into more complete harmony with the radical members of the moderate Jackson party. The intrusion of Van Burenism into national politics, and the dogmatic distribution of office in the State by the national administration, tended to force the lukewarm supporters of Jackson into the ranks of the opposition, which included all the elements opposed to Jackson and Van Buren, and which took on the name Whig in 1834.

Thus during the territorial period the political interests of the people of Illinois were taken up with the personal strife between the two factions, one headed by Governor Edwards, and the other by Shadrach Bond. These factional contests extended over into the period of statehood, but with the attempt to introduce slavery into the State in 1823-4, new elements came into political leadership, and the result was a temporary change in political alignments. On the whole the Bond faction supported the proposition to legalize slavery, while the Edwards faction temporarily allied itself with the anti-slavery party led by Governor Coles. After the slavery question had been decisively settled in 1824, the two old territorial factions underwent a reorganization on the basis of loyalty to Jackson and his advisers, Bond and his followers becoming

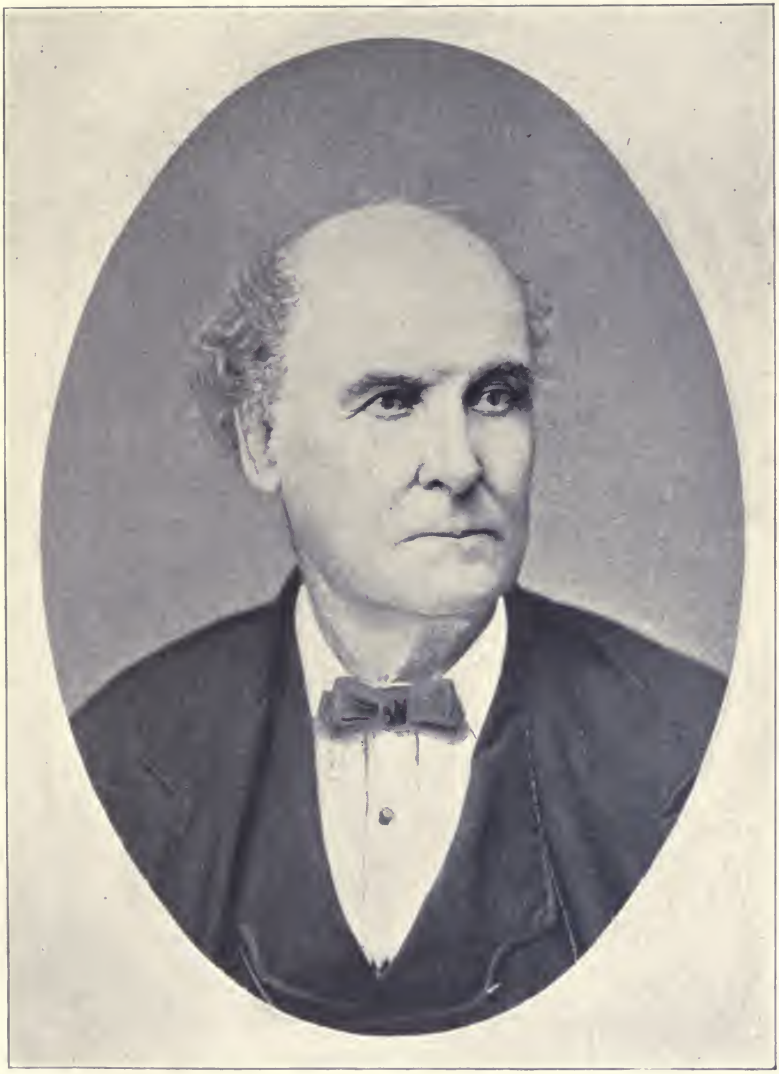
what are commonly known as "whole hog" Jackson men, the Edwards faction taking a more moderate, or "milk and cider" position. The third party, which had made its appearance first in support of Coles in 1822, and afterwards in opposition to the proposition to call a convention, became the Adams, or anti-Jackson party, and it was around this party as a nucleus that the later Whig party grew. During the decade following 1824 the "whole hog" Jackson men succeeded in electing their candidate for Congress, but the "milk and cider" faction, aided by the anti-Jackson party, won every gubernatorial election during the decade. In the course of time the moderate Jackson faction began breaking up. The more radical members went over to the "whole hog" faction, which was growing less radical in its views and these two elements uniting became the nucleus of the later Democratic party, while the extremely moderate "milk and cider" Jackson men allied themselves with the anti-Jackson party.

One of the forces contributing to bring about the union of the two Jackson factions, was a change in the personnel of leadership. Before 1833 Edwards, Bond, Cook and McLean were dead; Thomas, Phillips and Sloo had removed from the State, while Browne, Pope and Smith were on the bench; and their places in leadership were filled with such men as John Reynolds, Adam W. Snyder, and others who knew little about the old animosities between the leaders and cared less.

The anti-Jackson party had its beginning, although unconsciously, in the convention contest of 1823-4. Its first accessions were from among the friends of Clay, who had supported the convention movement, but who believed that Jackson's denunciation of Clay's attitude toward the election of Adams was little less than prescriptive. The second accession came principally from among those members of the Edwards faction who considered the defeat of Cook in 1826 as a travesty of justice, and the beginning of political persecution. The high-handed manner in which Jackson's unofficial advisers carried out measures and policies caused a slight defection from the Jacksonian ranks, the most notable in Illinois being Senator Thomas. Jackson's continued opposition to federal aid for internal improvements was another cause of dissatisfaction, which resulted in alienating support in many sections. While all these disturbing elements were driving supporters from the Jackson party, it does not necessarily follow that all of them were to be found immediately in the ranks of the anti-Jackson party, for the "milk and cider" faction served as a sort of half-way house for those who, from personal or political reasons, feared to come out openly against Jackson. Beginning with the opposition to Van Buren as Vice Presidential candidate in 1831, the anti-Jackson party received a constant stream of recruits into its ranks, and the attack on the United States Bank, followed by the withdrawal of deposits confirmed the growing suspicion of many thinking men, of whom Joseph Duncan is the best example, that Jackson's administration, not necessarily Andrew Jackson, was a menace to the well-being of the country.

When the Whig party emerged in 1834, it contained all these factions and probably more, and when one asks why the Whigs were in-

clined to be a crowd rather than a compact party with definite purposes, the answer may be found by pausing in the examination of the large and diversified parts of the national organization and giving some attention to an analysis of typical geographical units such as was Illinois.



JOSEPH GILLESPIE

JOSEPH GILLESPIE.

(By Josephine G. Prickett.)

The population of the Territory of Illinois at the time of its organization in 1809 was estimated at nine thousand. The frontiers had been steadily advanced by adventurous pioneers who had established permanent settlements. The class of people who had decided to cast their lot in this grand State was built in a sturdy mold of humanity. They had crossed seas in sailing vessels; had endured the hardships of trips over mountains and long and tiring pilgrimages over untried roads through a country of hostile Indians; defying sickness and death in their determined effort to find a suitable spot to cast their lot and prepare an enduring abiding place for posterity.

Among these pioneers to Illinois was one family of Scotch-Irish extraction—that of David Gillespie. The Gillespies belonged to the Campbell Clan and their home was in the Highlands of Scotland. There were many of the name in Scotland and one of them the "Grim Gillespie," was Marquis of Argyle. He was called "grumach" meaning extremely ugly, owing to a peculiar squint in his eye.

The ancestors of Joseph Gillespie left their native land two years after the battle of the Boyne and settled in Ireland where they owned an extensive tract of land. They became linen drapers; the linen at that time being woven by hand looms. They bleached it and prepared it for the Belfast market. They took an active part in the rebellion of 1798 and one of them had to make his escape to the United States with a price upon his head. David Gillespie and his wife Sara Gillespie were married in the early part of the last century in County Monaghon, Ireland, where they had both been born and raised. As they were ardent admirers of America and her system of government they decided to cast their fortunes with this country and landed in the United States in 1807. Their two sons Matthew and Joseph were born in New York City, the latter on August 22, 1809. They resided on the street that is called Maiden Lane, which was then in the residence part of New York. They remained there twelve years and then desiring to cast their fortunes in a newer part of the country, the head of the family advanced the idea of going to Alabama, as his inclinations were very much with the Jackson party, and as he was raised in the neighborhood in Ireland where a numerous branch of the family to which General Jackson belonged, had grown up, and as he was always strongly attached to his old associates, some of whom had removed to Alabama. But his wife entered a vigorous protest to the prospect of raising her sons in a slave state, because she had always been violently opposed to the institution of slavery. The truth of her wisdom in that contention prevailed with

him and he brought his family to Edwardsville, Ill., in 1819. But he never gave up his allegiance to "Old Hickory," and his family still has as an heirloom, his "Jackson Cane." It is a slender stick of rose-wood with a feruled tip and the head of a bloodhound in carved ivory for the top and with a silver-rimmed perforation through the cane for the red silk cord and tassel with which it was adorned. Jackson's pictures represent him carrying the cane and his adherents also carried them. At that time (1819) there were few schools and the education the sons received was entirely from their mother. By following her instructions in their course of reading, Joseph Gillespie had frequently said, that the importance was fixed upon his mind of studying history of all kinds and the Bible with Pilgrim's Progress. She made thorough biblical scholars of her sons by giving them all the information she could impart from a strong Presbyterian doctrine, and also procured the best reading matter the country afforded; and by her endeavors awakened in them a thirst for knowledge. She gave them her views upon what they had read, which strengthened their interest and created a habit of reflection. Ten years after reaching their new home they sustained a great loss in the death of their mother.

A noted contemporary, the Rev. Thomas Lippincott, in his "Memories" of Early Illinois, pays her this tribute, many years after her death: "There were two Irish families here, who, however unpretending then, have left their mark upon our State. I speak of David Gillespie and Robert Gordon. They and their wives have both been gone many years, but the present generation knows and feels the names they have left behind them. The survivors of that early day in Edwardsville will remember well, especially, the mother of Matthew and Joseph Gillespie. She was an extraordinary woman, strong, athletic and hard-working she was held in such estimation by the better class, that, according to my recollection, no one was more welcome as a visitor or occasional inmate in the families than Mrs. Gillespie. I know it was so in mine; and my wife considered it a favor to spend a few hours in her company. The reason was, not that she had, or pretended to have any special refinement of manners, but, in addition to her good character and deportment she had a strong, nervous mind, stored, more I thought than any other known by me, with its vast amount of scriptural truth. I never durst encounter her in argument, or hardly attempt to quote scripture to her, for she was more than my match. Her sons both occupying—one, indeed now only in the past—important positions in public life doubtless received the impress of their mother's mind, who did not live long enough to see them in the fullness of their prosperity. But the judge, while occupying his seat on the bench of justice, and filling a large space in the public eye, may, and doubtless does, look back to his noble mother with pride as well as veneration and love."

Mrs. Gillespie inculcated in her sons not only a desire for an education, but habits of industry, and consequently, even as boys their time was employed in some useful way. When they were not needed at farm work, the subject of this sketch related that at one time, he remembered assisting to maek the brick of which the house of Governor Edwards was built by Col. Nathaniel Buckmaster, on a corner of the public

square, in what was called the new town (Dr. John Todd's Addition to Edwardsville).

In speaking of those early days, Joseph Gillespie said, "My father emigrated to this State in 1819 and settled not far from St. Louis, which was then a place of about 2,000 inhabitants; all French. It was very indifferently laid out and built up. The people were characterized by great sociability and a total destitution of enterprise, except in the way of trading with the Indians. St. Louis soon became popular with the officers of the army on account of its gayety and the fascinations of its society. The winters were spent in continual festivities. It became the military headquarters for the West as well as the center of the Indian agencies and the fur trade. To these circumstances may be attributed the origin of the growth of St. Louis. The French in Illinois settled mostly in their villages of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia. The latter was the principal town in the State and had shortly before ceased to be the capital of the State. The seat of government having been removed to Vandalia, as likely to be the seat of government for some time to come. The remaining inhabitants, excepting the Indians, were nearly all from the southern states. There were but few eastern people here and they were cordially detested by the southerners.

These people were without schools, except as an occasional drunken deserter from the United States Army could be picked up and enthroned in some miserable log hovel, occupied by the children in the day time and by the pigs at night. Many of these people totally refused to permit their children to be educated at all, giving as a reason, that, as they had no learning themselves, and had got along very well, their children might do the same; that if they learned to write they might be induced to sign notes and thus get into difficulty. Notwithstanding these early inhabitants were without all scholastic lore, they were adepts in wood-craft and the natural history of the wild and domestic animals of the country. Although full of prejudices, they were kind-hearted neighbors and brave and generous to a fault.

They were not in the slightest degree superstitious, but professed to be, and generally were law abiding, having great reverence for the judicial institutions of the country. They paid their debts promptly, and cared but little for storing away wealth. They were pioneers, and lived principally by hunting and raising a small patch of corn in the timber land, or, what was better, the prairie along the edge of the wood. They had an abiding faith that the prairies would never be cultivated more than a few rods from the timber; hence their entries or locations were generally in the woods, leaving the best selections for those who came after them. They could not endure to be crowded by neighbors and particularly those from free states, and when the latter began to appear among them, the more restless of the old settlers picked up their belongings and wended their way to Western Missouri. Horse racing and shooting at a mark were their principal amusements. The literature of these pioneers consisted of 'Weem's Life of Marion.' They had no poetry, no traditions, and no local attachments. They had no reverence for the places where the bones of their ancestors were laid. They were indulgent husbands and fathers and treated their women

with more consideration and gallantry than any other people equally rude, in the world. Yet they never attempted to relieve the women of any of their burdens; like the Indians they looked upon it as highly disgraceful to do any part of a woman's work. Even the women themselves, looked upon that as contemptible at first, but they soon became converts to the Yankee ideas of civilization. This was one phase of the pioneer life of Illinois."

Among the towns of importance, beginning with 1818, Edwardsville was conspicuous as being the home of Governor Edwards, first territorial Governor and third Governor of the State and United States Senator, also of his colleague in the Senate, Jesse B. Thomas. According to an early history, "these two distinguished citizens with their accomplished families, formed a nucleus, around which the elite, worth and talent naturally gathered."

Ambitious and aspiring men rendezvoused at Edwardsville, coming from different parts of the country, after a survey of Illinois lands by the government had made that town a United States Land Office location, where lands could be entered or purchased from the government.

An Indian agency was also established there which drew many Indians. These conditions naturally attracted speculators and lawyers. Among them and particularly of the legal fraternity, many picturesque figures appeared. This was in the boyhood of Joseph Gillespie and it gave him a wonderful opportunity for not only seeing distinguished men but of seeing the life in a community that was then vying with Kaskaskia in the social prestige and political honors of the State. He saw with a sweeping vision the two extremes of this early settlement. On one side the untrammeled ranger, in his homespun garb, and on the other, the elegance and polish of Colonial customs, some still retaining their queues, knee breeches and white topped boots. He also witnessed some celebrated legal battles of that time, in which the best talent of the country was employed; notably the trial of Palemon E. Winchester of Edwardsville, himself an able lawyer, for the murder of one named Smith. Winchester employed Felix Grundy of Nashville, Tenn., a lawyer of national reputation and an old friend, to defend him. Grundy arrived at Edwardsville after a continuous horse-back ride of several weeks. He acquitted his client in a very skillful manner. Gillespie was a spectator to his wonderful conduct of the case and said, many years afterwards, "I think he was the most consummate actor I have ever seen in a court house. He was likewise a manager. He attended to the outside affairs as well as to those inside the bar. He had his auxiliaries as well posted as ever Napoleon arranged his forces. Plaudits and tears came in the right places." By the year 1827 the fame of some lead mines in the northern part of the State was attracting much attention, and Joseph accompanied his brother in that year to what is known as the Galena lead mines.

Of that journey he said, "We left Edwardsville on the 22d of February, 1827, to seek our fortunes at the mines. We were then nineteen and seventeen years of age. The winter had been a very open one, but had been very wet, the entire country was covered with water, and as there were but few bridges we were compelled to raft the wagon and our goods over every stream between Edwardsville and Galena, and

camp out every night. After passing Springfield, where we rested on the third night, we ferried the Illinois River at Fort Clark (now Peoria) and the Rock River where Dixon now stands.

"This spot was occupied by a band of Winnebago Indians with whom we bivouacked and bargained for ferriage through the swamps. During the night it turned very cold and the next morning the Indians refused to take us over. We took their canoes and crossed ourselves. This was our first experience of the bitter cold weather. We arrived at Vinegar Hill on the night of the nineteenth day out.

"Soon after that I went to the neighborhood of Gratiot's Grove. This grove was one of the most beautiful spots on earth and was owned by Henry Gratiot, who was engaged in the smelting business. Of Mr. Gratiot I must say a few words, he was enterprising, energetic, honest and honorable in every way. He was among the early and distinguished settlers in Illinois. He had removed from St. Louis to Fevre River lead mines (now Galena) in 1824, having determined to leave Missouri on account of his hatred of slavery, and having a desire to bring up his family in a free state. This was in striking contrast to the class of Kentuckians and Tennesseeans who passed through Illinois, gaunt and hungry looking, in dilapidated covered wagons, scorning the State and anxious to *'git to Missouri'* where they could *'own niggers.'*

"In my later acquaintance with Mr. Gratiot he gave me the most graphic and entertaining description of French society life in St. Louis (before the advent of the Americans) I had ever heard. He was born in the little French village of St. Louis in 1789 and was the son of Charles Gratiot, one of the founders of St. Louis, who, when the transfer of sovereignty took place and the flag of France was lowered in the presence of a great multitude amid sighs and tears, unfurled the first American flag in Upper Louisiana, on the balcony of his own residence.

"I spent two summers and one winter at the mines. There were estimated to be 10,000 adventurers there during the summer of 1827. There were *voyageurs* from Canada and the Red River Country, some Swiss from the Selkirk settlement and a few Cornish miners from England. The Irish were there in large force. Neither the Irish, Swiss, Canadians or those from the lower mines in Missouri were called 'Suckers' nor was any one called a sucker after he had wintered in the mining country. The term was exclusively applied to Illinoisans who went up in the spring and returned in the fall. They were so called on account of their roving habits. They resembled the fish known as the sucker which went up the streams in the spring and returned in the fall. The miners, no matter where from generally worked in pairs, and two would build a hovel together. Hospitality was a cardinal virtue among them and the latch strings to their cabin doors were always out, and every man was at liberty to go into his neighbor's house and help himself to something to eat."

Gillespie returned from the mines without making a great fortune, in the autumn of 1829. He said, "I came down the river from Galena to where Quincy now stands, in a skiff, and crossed the country on foot to Phillips Ferry and the Illinois River. From there I walked home about 100 miles, where my brother had preceded me."

—7 H S

After his return from the mines he remained at home, where he engaged in farming with his father, and by strict economy saved enough to provide for his own maintenance for a few years, but desiring to make the law his profession he finally removed to Edwardsville, where he met the Hon. Cyrus Edwards, one of the most talented men of his day and a brother of Governor Edwards.

Seeing Gillespie's earnest purpose and ambition, he generously offered him the opportunity of reading law under his instruction at his residence near Woodriver in Madison County. Mr. Edwards directed him in his course of legal reading and he remained there two years, realizing that he was not only under the influence of profound legal teachings, but in daily association with a high-minded, polished gentleman, with the wisdom of a man of affairs of the day.

By this time the Black Hawk War had broken out and Mr. Gillespie volunteered and entered the mounted brigade commanded by General Samuel Whiteside and made the campaign of 1831-32. This war lasted until September of 1832, when a treaty was made with all the Sac and Fox tribes for their lands. The government giving them an annuity of $20,000 for thirty years, mostly intended for the Black Hawk band. These treaties terminated all Indian warfare in the State which gave a new and rapid impetus to its development.

At the time that the trouble with Black Hawk commenced Mr. Gillespie was ready to begin the practice of his profession. He then decided to take two terms of the law course at the Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., and after his return was elected Probate Judge of Madison County. At the expiration of his term he began to travel the circuit. The bar of this circuit, at that early day was composed of men who became well known later in both State and national history. It is not probable that any future generation will see assembled, ever, a galaxy of more brilliant legal minds than those of the early bench and bar of Illinois. It is perfectly natural that people will reverence the past and desire to be fully posted as to the men and events of by-gone periods. It was with such men as Judge Breese, Abraham Lincoln, Adam Snyder, Cyrus Edwards, A. P. Field, James Shields, Wm. H. Bissell, Lyman Trumbull, U. F. Linder and numerous others, that Mr. Gillespie had the privilege of mingling and deriving the benefit of the legal clashing of steel against steel, in the thirties. In 1840 he was elected on the Whig ticket to represent Madison County in the State Legislature. As the Whigs were then in a hopeless minority, there was little for him and his colleagues, Mr. Cyrus Edwards and Mr. James Reynolds to do. He served in the Legislature until 1844 and having decided to make Edwardsville his home he again commenced the practice of his profession there.

He was married in June, 1845, at Greenville, Ill., to Miss Mary E. Smith, a native of Harper's Ferry, Va., but who had emigrated to Illinois when a child, in 1832, with her mother and stepfather, Thomas Keyes, who settled at Greenville.

The summer of 1845 was marked by almost as great a flood as the previous season, which is considered the record season for high water, and in attempting to make the trip from Greenville to St. Louis by carriage the wedding party found great difficulty and very hazardous

traveling. Some bridges were washed away, and the entire country a flood of water in places, before reaching St. Louis, where they took a boat for a journey up the Mississippi River. The boats went to the head of navigation where St. Paul now stands, but there was no St. Paul at that time and no Fort Snelling. The Falls of St. Anthony were a few miles above. The country was occupied by the Indians who swarmed around the boats at the landings. Upon their return trip they stopped at Potosi, Wis., to visit Mr. Gillespie's father, who had removed there after his second marriage, and who died there.

After his return to Edwardsville, he remained at his practice until 1847, when he was elected a member of the State Senate in which body he continued until 1857. During these ten years the trips to Springfield in the winter were attended with discomforts and inconveniences that the present generation could hardly imagine. It was nearly always the case that there would be snow enough for good sleighing. It usually took about three days to make the trips with the stops that necessarily had to be made, and he would make all preparations for a three days' exposure to cold, by having the sleigh well provided with buffalo robes, which were plentiful then, and with numerous heated bricks, and wearing a heavy overcoat, fur cap, fur gloves and fur-lined overshoes and accompanied by a driver, would think he was very comfortably fixed. Of course it consumed as much time for the driver's return, so that altogether he was as long on the way as it would require now for one to go and return from New York, besides having the cold to suffer, and the responsibility of keeping the horses in good shape. The subject of this sketch often in later years, contrasted this mode of traveling with what he had lived to experience; that of journeying to Springfield in the coldest of weather in a comfortably heated, luxurious, smoothly moving railroad car, with no thought or responsibility for the motive power and only consuming three hours of his time. During his legislative service of fourteen years, extending over the most important period in the history of the State, he became one of the factors in framing the future policy of the commonwealth.

Internal improvements were beginning to be demanded, and the condition practically amounted to this—the people wanted them but did not want to be taxed to pay for them. Judge Gillespie has related that, "The subject of railroads became uppermost in the public mind about the years 1836-37. Previous to that the bare mention of the word railroad was like waving the red flag, but after the furore started applications for railroad charters began coming thick and fast. Everybody became willing to grant charters. From being hostile the people had become first indifferent, then enthusiastic, almost frantic for railroads. A man who was not for every project that was presented to the Legislature, in the precise shape it was asked for, was regarded as a public enemy. A great many people, in and out of the Legislature were in favor of exempting railroads from taxation entirely, and it became, as many of us thought, an imperative duty, to see that no charter passed without the taxation feature fully assured."

In this idea of the public pulse of the time, Mr. Gillespie's opinion is fully corroborated by Judge U. F. Linder in "Early Bench and Bar," who said, "The years 1836-37 were a sort of formation period,

the starting point of many great men who distinguished themselves in the subsequent history of Illinois. It was at that session that the subject of internal improvements became the all absorbing question of the day. We ran perfectly wild on the idea of internal improvements. A map of that scheme with the various routes along which our contemplated roads were to run, would be somewhat amusing to look at, at this day."

The most important being the Illinois Central, the Chicago and Galena and the Great Northern Cross Railroad. These are hardly a tithe of the roads that were mapped out and authorized to be built, every member of the Legislature wanted a road to his country town, a great many of them got one; and those counties through which no road was authorized to be constructed were to be compensated in money; which was to be obtained by a loan from Europe, or—God knows where. The enthusiastic friends of the measure maintained that instead of there being any difficulty in obtaining a loan of the fifteen or twenty millions authorized to be borrowed, our bonds would go like hot cakes and be sought for by the Rothschilds and Baring brothers, and that the premium would range from 50 to 100 per cent and would, itself, be sufficient to construct important works, leaving the principal sum to go into our treasury. The law authorized these works to be constructed by the State, without the intervention of corporation or any individual interest whatever."

Hon. O. B. Ficklin, a prominent lawyer of Charleston, Ill., in relating the events of that time said, "In 1850, Gen. Linder was a member of the House from Coles County, Hon. Anthony Thornton, a member from Shelby County and Judge Joseph Gillespie was a member of the State Senate from Madison County, and they stood together to require the Illinois Central Railroad Company by provision in its charter, to pay into the State treasury 7 per cent of its gross earnings. The scheme was a wise one and required herculean efforts of its friends to engraft the provision upon its charter. Gillespie, Linder and Thornton and their associates were persistent and unyielding and success finally crowned their well directed efforts."

Mr. Gillespie, while recounting this exciting period, said: "It was when things were in this state that the bill for chartering the Illinois Central Railroad came up. It was managed by Mr. Rantoul of Boston, the agent for the company of capitalists who proposed to build it. The bill had passed the House as he had drawn it up; that the company should pay to the State 7 per cent of its gross earnings and no taxes. Thirteen Senators, myself among the number, then determined to preserve the principal of taxation, and we struck out *7 per cent* and inserted *5 per cent,* providing the company should pay State taxes at the rate of seventy-five (75) cents per hundred dollars; and if that did not equal 2 per cent of its gross earnings, the company should make it up to that—so that it was not to pay less than 7 per cent in the shape of bonuses and taxation; but, as they understood it, it might have to pay more. We thirteen Senators were all favorable to and desired to charter the road; but desired above all things to retain the principal of taxation, and to show that we in no way surrendered it. The action was misunderstood at the time. The friends, *par excellence* of the

company looked upon what were called the "State Policy-men," as enemies of the Central Railroad, and as intending to strangle it. When the bill came into the Senate it was referred to a select committee. Rantoul declared that if it was altered in any way he would pick up his traps and return to Boston. But the majority of the Senate was not to be dragooned into measures. His threats had the effect, however, of putting the immense delegations from every county through which the road was to pass, into a perfect fury. We were threatened and insulted on our way to our boarding houses and denounced in unmeasured terms. But there was not a man among the thirteen who was not an ardent friend of the Central road project, but under no circumstances would they consent to allow a charter for a road, to pass, which exempted the company from the payment of what was deemed its proper proportion of taxes.

"We considered the building of a railroad along the back-bone of the State was compensated for by the 2,600,000 acres of fertile land granted by Congress. The report of the Special Senate Committee was that the State was to receive 7 per cent bonus and taxation together. Time has proven that we were right and our position well taken."

About the same time the Terre Haute and Alton Railroad, now the "Big Four," had been chartered and about $1,000,000 was invested in its construction, when a charter for the Atlantic and Mississippi, between nearly the same terminals was asked for (this was afterwards the Brough or Vandalia Road). As more than two-thirds of the district represented by Mr. Gillespie would be benefited by the Terre Haute and Alton, he naturally desired to save that road to them, and as it had the disadvantage of being a longer and more irregular route than its rival, it was necessary to have it built first; as he contended that you could build a straight road after building a crooked one, but never a crooked one after a straight one had been completed between the same terminals. He desired to make Alton, which was the largest town in his constituency, the western end of a railroad and to uphold the supremacy of that city in a rivalry with St. Louis. With this in view he rendered his assistance to the promoters of the Terre Haute and Alton, who were Messrs. E. B. Litchfield and Wm. Mattoon, two eastern men who had realized the value and importance of railroads that would run through that section of the State. Their untiring efforts were successful and a town is named in honor of each of the three, on that line.

The Legislature held back the charter for the Vandalia Road, until the Terre Haute and Alton was safe. The battle for the Terre Haute and Alton was a hard fought one, and the men who stood by it and pushed it through were naturally greatly abused for it by the Brough Road promoters and the people in that territory who were eager to get their road. (Similar scenes and animosities were shown when the idea was first broached of moving the Capitol from Vandalia to Springfield.) Both roads were built in time, and Mr. Gillespie was in favor of building all the roads possible and letting competition reduce rates and regulate traffic without the interference of legislative bodies.

As a lawyer Judge Gillespie took rank with the men who were then the leaders of the bar. Judge Linder said of him, "He had read Coke's Commentaries on Lyttelton and had made himself familiar with the

black letter law of England. He had studied Chitty on Pleadings with passionate fondness and was perfectly at home in the science of pleading."

His record as a practitioner may be found in connection with some of the most important suits in the Illinois reports. One of the Illinois historians has said, he had a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the privileges of law. He also knew that litigation was a two-edged tool and from a sense of duty and his obligations to his clients, he frequently advised them to give up suits if there was a chance of settling them out of court.

Beside his private practice he was for many years the attorney for the Alton and Terre Haute Railroad and was frequently employed as consulting counsel by other roads.

One opportunity for public service which he always appreciated came to him, when, as a law-maker, he was able to assist in perfecting a public school system for the future, and he was actively interested in the formation and adoption of the present school system of the State, which places Illinois in the front rank in that respect. The Legislature of 1841 of which he was a member, made a complete revision of the school laws that had existed before.

By this change each township could have as many schools as the inhabitants of such town desired. The people of every organized district were required to meet and elect from their number three trustees, and to agree upon their plan and manner of conducting the school. These trustees or directors were vested with power to execute the plan adopted and were required to visit and superintend the schools. This law was the first that required schedules to be kept by the teachers and returned to the township treasurers. It also required a teacher to pass an examination for a certificate to teach. The law did not mention the branches to be taught or the branches in which the teacher should be examined. Of course this law has been revised from time to time; but not always to advantage.

In relating his efforts in his youth to perfect himself in a literary way, the subject of this sketch attended a "Night School" in Edwardsville conducted by Mr. William Barrett. In his "Recollections" of that time he tells of his acquaintance with Gen. James D. Henry who was afterwards considered the hero of the Black Hawk War. "It was about 1820 when Henry settled in Edwardsville. He was a shoemaker and a very remarkable man. His courage was that of a lion, his gentleness, that of a lamb. He was raised in indigence and obscurity, but felt that he possessed the highest qualities of manhood and greatness. He was extremely ambitious and knew that he was greatly admired; still he would never go into society. He found himself at maturity, illiterate, and he resolved to supply this defect. He became almost frantic at the thought of his deficiency. His circumstances would not permit him to neglect his business in the daytime and we attended the night school together. He was the most earnest student I ever knew. He would beg me (Gillespie was about fifteen then) to come to his shop and read to him while he was at work, which I often did. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable, and history was his favorite study, next to that was "Brown's Dictionary of the Bible." He studied history on account

of the light it shed on military affairs, in which direction his ambition tended. He studied everything pertaining to military life with the most intense application and idolized Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon.

This experience with Gen. Henry was not only a recreation to the boy student but helped to direct his mind toward substantial reading, and this, together with his mother's early instruction formed in young Gillespie the habits of reading only such things as would be invaluable to him as a fund of information. He said he resolved that he would never read fiction; that he would devote that time to something that he knew was truth; and he was never known to read a novel. While he was thoroughly learned in Scottish history and admired Walter Scott's poetry, he never read one of Scott's novels.

He also, had no desire to see anything theatrical; subjects represented on the stage had no attraction for him. He was very fond of Washington Irving as a humorist, and thought nothing finer had ever been written as a satire than the history of the Knickerbockers, yet, when he was induced once by some friends to witness "Rip Van Winkle," the shams and artificialities of the stage spoiled the story for him. He said he regretted the time he had wasted in being there, and then to see the spectacle of a hard working Dutch woman bending over a wash-tub with a lot of diamond rings on her fingers, was preposterous. His friends considered this a very subtle criticism, as he was probably the only one in the large audience who had taken notice of that inconsistency.

He was a firm believer in the importance of knowing the foreign languages and advocated the teaching of French and German in the public schools. He considered it a great misfortune for young people not to have the opportunity for knowing more than one language. He had acquired some knowledge of French himself, from his association with those people, and it was always a great pleasure to him, and he regretted that his opportunities did not permit him to have the same privilege of learning German. His range of reading was large and varied as he was a deep researcher into scientific subjects of all kinds. He was a scholar in mythology, in the works of pre-historic man and of travels and explorations and discovery as well as of astronomy and inventive progress. All economic and politico-social problems interested him and he was fond of the study of statistics.

He was, in the strictest sense of the term a self made man; without any classical advantages but with the natural characteristics of culture and refinement that reflect in the student. Many of his associates of the bar were men of collegiate education. They were knights of the law with whom he had to contend for professional laurels, but, with or without scholarly honors, they were men of great minds, profoundly versed in the law. That his advice was solicited in important cases is apparent in a perusal of this correspondence, where he was frequently called for consultation. In one instance a telegram was received by Hon. George T. Brown at Alton, dated at Springfield, October 31, 1856, saying:

"Bring Joe Gillespie here immediately, don't fail.

A. LINCOLN."

There was no telegraph line to Edwardsville and it was necessary for Mr. Brown to send the telegram by messenger. He enclosed a note saying: "By all means go—if you have a hope for the future go—I know not what he wants, but must deem it important. I send a man for you.

BROWN."

At the same time a letter was received from Hon. Lyman Trumbull from Alton, saying:

"The enclosed dispatch has just come to hand. It evidently relates to a matter of importance to us all—what of course, I do not know, but you know Lincoln would not have sent a dispatch without an urgent cause. Let me urge you to come down in time for the evening train.

Truly yours,

L. TRUMBULL."

After Mr. Gillespie's tenth year in the Senate had expired, he decided to settle permanently at his profession and entered into partnership with his nephew, David Gillespie, who was a young man of twenty-one years at that time, but who soon developed into one of the strongest, most logical and talented lawyers of that time. This partnership continued for more than ten years, (David Gillespie afterwards was elected county judge for two terms; the same office in which his father, Matthew Gillespie, and his uncle had served). His practice had taken Joseph Gillespie over a large circuit before that time, comprising a number of counties, as the lawyers followed the judges, wherever court was to be held. The lawyers traveled on horse-back with all of the wardrobe that they carried, packed in their saddle bags. Two or three often made these trips together and from the natural intimacy arising from such close association, many strong friendships were formed. It was on sojourns of this sort that Joseph Gillespie frequently met Abraham Lincoln, and a warm and enduring friendship was established between them, although their first meeting had been in the Black Hawk War. In all these journeys upon the circuit Lincoln seems to have been the jovial spirit, the life of the tavern fireside, when they gathered in the evenings to discuss the affairs of the day.

Judge Gillespie has said, "Sometimes I feel that my life has been a mere delusion; that I could personally have known and been on terms of intimacy with one who fills so large a measure of space in the world's estimation, appears impossible and unreal. And now that his fame knows no bounds, that the loftiest intellects and those occupying the highest positions in the world bow in deference to his greatness and his virtues, I can hardly realize that it was my lot to have been on terms of personal intimacy with one of his almost superhuman endowments. I see him at one view the rough, awkward, good-natured backwoods boy delighting his companions with his apt and amusing stories and illustrations; next, I see him in the forum convincing the court and entrancing the juries; then I behold him in the halls of legislation and on the hustings, the peer of all his antagonists, but yet he was not beyond rivalry; others were his equals thus far, but his time had not yet come. Now, without any adventitious aids he has worked himself into the Presidential chair. He takes the helm of the ship of state in the most turbulent and trying period in the world's history. Will he be equal to this supreme occasion? We doubt! We almost despair.

Day by day, however, his powers unfold and he meets and overcomes every difficulty with transcendant ability. We are beginning to feel that in the ungainly Illinois lawyer we have the right man in the right place. We soon make up our minds that providence has raised up Abraham Lincoln for this special occasion, and we trust with childlike confidence in his wisdom and patriotism. Now he begins to attract the attention and command the admiration of all mankind. A colossus had risen in the West. Two millions of men have sprung to arms at his bidding. Is he to be a disturber or has he come for the repose of the nations? Let us see. He crushes out the rebellion. He strikes the shackles from the limbs of 4,000,000 slaves. He preaches good will to all men, even those who had been striving to destroy the blest government. He has demonstrated that ours is not only the best, but the strongest government in the world. At this juncture he is stricken by the hand of the assassin while in the full blaze of his glory, when the whole earth was filled with his praises and with deep regret at his death."

Of his first meeting with Abraham Lincoln, Joseph Gillespie said, "I became acquainted with the great Commoner in 1832, the second year of the Black Hawk Campaign. He was wrestling at the time with one Dow Thompson, the champion wrestler of Southern Illinois. Lincoln was captain of a company from Menard County* and was champion of the Northern section. They were both men of hugh proportions and herculean strength. Thompson was six feet tall, and Lincoln six feet four, and bystanders concluded that Dow had the advantage in that respect, but Lincoln came out triumphant owing to his greater mental resources, as he was more skillful. I have talked with Mr. Lincoln about this incident after he became President, and it amused him exceedingly to recall the scenes of his early life in the backwoods. After the Black Hawk War the next I saw of Lincoln was at Vandalia as a Representative in the Legislature from Sangamon County. He was one of the celebrated 'long nine.' By this time he had studied law and was the acknowledged leader in the House of the Whig party and was always put forth to squelch some poor wight of a Democrat who had made himself troublesome, by one of his inimitable stories. Lincoln and I were born in the same year, we were of the same political faith and the same calling; and raised in the same backwoods fashion and soon became intimate. I ever afterwards followed his lead, and regarded him as a rough diamond of the purest water. But with all my admiration for him it never entered my head that he had those supreme qualities that are essential to enable a man to guide the ship of state safely through the storms and over the quicksands of direful war."

It has been frequently said there was one incident in Mr. Lincoln's political career that he wished to forget—and that was when he and Joseph Gillespie tried to avoid voting and jumped out of a window for that purpose. It is doubtful whether either one of them ever attached any importance to it. It happened as follows, according to Judge Gillespie's "Recollections of Early Illinois": "The banks throughout the country became crippled during the panic of 1837 and were, throughout the West, allowed to suspend specie payments. At the session of the Assembly of 1837-38 an Act was passed authorizing the State Bank

* At that time a part of Sangamon county.

of Illinois to suspend *until the end of the next General Assembly.* Governor Carlin convened the next session two weeks earlier than the time prescribed for its meeting by the Constitution. A quarrel occurred between some of the members of the dominant party and the bank, and it was secretly determined to adjourn the Legislature *sine die,* at the end of the first two weeks of the next session. That would be the next session after the Act allowing the bank to suspend and it would be compelled to resume, while the banks in the other states were suspended, and they would drain the specie from our bank and pay out none themselves. The Whigs regarded this move as being unjust to the bank and detrimental to the welfare of the people. They got wind of the thing on the morning of the day when the adjournment was to take place, and instantly resolved that they would absent themselves, and thus break up a quorum, but, as the Constitution of 1818 would allow such a vote to be taken without a call of the ayes and noes, it was necessary that two Whigs should be in the House to call for them, so that it should appear that a quorum was not voting, in which case the Legislature could only adjourn from day to day, and the following Monday they would be convened by the Constitution. Lincoln and I were selected to call the ayes and noes and the Whigs promised to keep out of the way. When the motion was put we called for the ayes and noes, and there was no quorum voting. A call of the House was ordered and the sergeant-at-arms was sent out for the absentees, many of whom we discovered, allowed themselves to be caught and brought in, Lincoln and I began to suspect that they had a quorum. Finding that the Whigs who had been brought in would not withdraw, we got them to agree to call for the ayes and nayes, and we concluded to leave, but, ascertaining that the doors were locked, we raised the windows of the church in which the session was being held, at Springfield and jumped out. The sergeant-at-arms came in and reported that he had commanded Cyrus Edwards to attend in his place. "What did he say?" inquired the speaker of the House. "He said he would not."

With the year 1857 Joseph Gillespie's service as a legislator ended. His experience and memories of the exciting times may add some pages to affairs of that day and explain some events that have not been entirely understood. In his "Recollections" he reviews with satisfaction the history of his State up to 1880. He said, "I have seen Illinois emerge from a population of 40,000 to upwards of 3,000,000. I have seen her expand to be the third State in the Union. Her public buildings, her educational and charitable institutions are equal to those of any State. Her Escutcheon is without a blemish. Her credit in the money markets of the world is above par. The devotion of her children to the maintenance of our glorious Union was conspicuous in the highest degree. Within her limits belonged the great champions of the two great national parties of the country, Lincoln and Douglas. Illinois is the heart of the Nation, from her geographical position. Of our grand Nation, I may say that we have passed through the most trying ordeal to which a people was ever subjected, but we emerged from the conflict with our power and prestige not only uninjured but immeasureably increased. We had only to say the word and the hordes of the treacherous scion of the illustrious family of Napoleon would have scampered in hot haste from the soil of our sister

Springfield, July 25. 1858.

Hon. J. Gillespie

My dear Sir

Your dolefil letter of the 18th was received on my return from Chicago last night— I do hope you are worse scared than hurt though you ought to know best— We must not lose that district— We must make a job of it, and save it— Say Hold of the proper agencies and procure all the American you can at once— I do hope on closer inspection you will find they are not half gone— Make a little list— Run down one of the poll-books of the Edwardsville precinct, and take the first hundred known American men— Then quietly ascertain how many of them are actually going for Douglas— I think you will find less than fifty— But even if you find four fifty, make sure of the other fifty— That is, make sure of all you can at all events— We will set other agencies to work, which shall com-

pensate for the loss of a good many Ameri-
cans— Don't fail to check the stampede
at once— Trumbull I think will be with
you before long— There is much he can not do,
and some he can— I have reason to hope
there will be other help of an appropri-
ate kind— Write me again—

Yours as ever

A. Lincoln—

Republic of Mexico. He ruthlessly and recklessly involved his country in a war with Germany, then France, reduced to the lowest depths of humiliation and despair, threatened universal war against mankind. On that dreadful occasion in Paris, the only foreign minister who stood to his post was the American Minister, a citizen of Illinois—the Honorable Elihu B. Washburne. The voice of our heroic minister rose above the din of that infuriated mob and through his influence the lives of thousands of prisoners were saved."

The year 1858 was fraught with great political significance for Illinois, the question of slavery or no slavery, as a national issue was being forced boldly to the front. In 1854 the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill had been introduced into Congress. This divided the territory previously known as Nebraska into two, one part to be called Kansas. Both of these territories, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820 were barred to slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854 practically proposed to repeal the Missouri Compromise and to leave to the people of each territory the right to say whether or not slavery should prevail within their borders. Both houses of Congress passed the bill and that marked the final disruption of the old Whig Party. Those faithful partisans found themselves scattered into three opposing parties. The Democratic, the Republican and Native American. Events developed rapidly after that making Illinois the pivotal State in 1860. The contest between Lincoln and Douglas for the Senate in 1858, in which Lincoln forced Douglas to explain his vote on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, attracted the attention of the whole country. Douglas won the election, but the sequel of that contest has passed into history as Lincoln, the President and then—the Civil War.

W. H .Herndon says, "Lincoln's importance in the conduct of the campaign was apparent to all, and his canvass was characterized by his usual vigor and effectiveness. He was always calculating and always planning ahead. The vicissitudes of a political campaign brought into play all his tact and management, and developed to its fullest extent his latent industry." His optimism and confidence too, would attract men and make others follow where he led.

This letter written during that campaign to Joseph Gillespie proves that Lincoln was on the alert to leave nothing undone, even attending to the smallest details.

Springfield, July 25, 1858.

Hon. J. Gillespie,
My Dear Sir:—

Your doleful letter of the 18th was received on my return from Chicago last night—I do hope you are worse scared than hurt, though you ought to know best. We must not lose that District—we must make a job of it and save it—lay hold of the proper agencies and secure all the Americans you can, at once——. I do hope, on closer inspection you will find they are not half gone—muster a little tact—— Run down one of the poll books of the Edwardsville precinct, and take the first hundred known American names, then quietly ascertain how many of them are actually going for Douglas. I think you will find less than fifty—but even if you find fifty, make sure of the other fifty, that is, make sure of all you can at all events. We will set other agencies to work which shall compensate for the loss of a good many Americans—don't fail to check the stampede at once—Trumbull, I think will be with you before long. There is much he can not do, and *some* he can—I have reason to hope there will be other help of an appropriate kind—Write me again.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

After the correspondence in regard to the conduct of the campaign in Madison County, it was no doubt considered necessary for Lincoln to visit this section of the State. He visited Edwardsville, then Highland and continued into Bond County to Greenville. Of the meeting at Edwardsville one citizen now living there remembers; "it had been advertised that Lincoln was to speak at the courthouse. He was received by a delegation and escorted to the home of Matthew Gillespie where he was entertained at dinner. Afterwards the band came to escort him to the courthouse but no procession was following it. It was a poor showing for a political meeting, with Joseph Gillespie and the distinguished guest the only ones following the band up the street to the place of the meeting." Some boys followed in the wake at a safe distance, who had gathered, expecting to see a "parade," and who were expressing their chagrin in a very characteristic manner, at the lack of the crowd—they saw no future ruler in the tall, plain, form, in its long linen duster and high stove pipe hat; they saw only the "black" republican, the abolitionist—Lincoln. The crowd at the courthouse appeared larger than the street demonstration indicated that it would, but it was a new and untried experiment for many who were wavering on the outskirts of the new party; a perilous proceeding—that of disturbing slavery. Some were waiting for the developments. They did not desire to commit themselves too strongly on the disputed question. It involved so many incriminating suggestions that might even effect the social standing of people; the one especially harped upon being the spectre of "negro equality," and Douglas' shrewd use of the epithet "black" Republican, rendered in such a significant manner in the first joint debate, augmented the feeling, as it was intended it should.

But Edwardsville was an old town of southern antecedents and traditions and if its people were apathetic or cautious, that was not the case throughout the district. Among Judge Gillespie's papers is found the following: "In 1858 Mr. Lincoln delivered a political address in Edwardsville. In the afternoon he said to me, quite excitedly that he was to speak the next day at Greenville and had forgotten to mention it sooner. I told him I would take him over to Greenville, but that he could only go as far as Highland that evening. He seemed delighted with the idea of stopping at Highland, as he said he had understood that place was a little Germany. We stopped there and had a good time. It was soon noised around that Lincoln was in the place and the house where we were stopping was crowded and jammed. The people were perfectly enraptured; the bare sight of the man threw them into ecstacies. I, here got the first inkling of the amazing popularity of Mr. Lincoln among the Germans. I could perceive that there was some magnetic influence at work, that was perfectly inexplicable, which brought him and the masses into a mysterious correspondence with each other. (This relation increased and was intensified to such an extent that afterwards at Springfield I witnessed a manifestation of regard for Mr. Lincoln, such as I did not suppose was possible.) After our night at Highland we started the next morning for Greenville, and Lincoln did not seem then, to be aware of the fact that he had a reputation outside of Illinois. He thought Douglas had an advantage in having a national reputation, not realizing that his own had become national." The ride from Highland to Greenville was

through a beautiful, rolling, fertile country and Mr. Gillespie continues: "I asked him how much land he owned. He said that all his real estate consisted of his house and lot in Springfield and forty acres he got for his services in the Black Hawk War." I said, "You might have made money entering land at a dollar and a quarter an acre," "Yes," said he, "That is true, but I never had any money sense. I had no conception of a speculation, the first thing I would know about one was, that some one would say, "Well, Don Morrison has been making another big speculation." He said he did not think that he had much more money making sense than a dumb brute.

Of the meeting in Greenville there is no record in Judge Gillespie's papers. Lincoln was, of course, more widely known in the central and northern part of the State than he was south of Springfield, a region outside of the circuit of his practice and consequently he had not come in contact with the people, many of whom had never known of him before he commenced his debates with Douglas, so the crowds he encountered in this district must have seemed discouraging to him, compared with those at Springfield, Bloomington, Jacksonville and other places. A letter received by Joseph Gillespie, dated September 7, 1858 from Jacksonville, gives an indication of the enthusiasm in that part of the State. The letter stated, "I am desired by our committee to write to you, requesting that you will favor us with your presence on the 27th of this month when Lincoln is to visit us. It is the universal desire of our friends, one and all, to have you if possible, and the belief is general that you can greatly aid us. We will give you an audience of at least 10,000 on the occasion. We shall have very hard work to carry Morgan and Scott, but we mean to do everything possible and to keep working till the last vote is deposited. We are confident that under these circumstances you will be with us if you can, with justice to yourself. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am, dear sir. With much respect,

Yours very sincerely,

B. Lewis."

By 1860 the new Republican party had become very formidable and, according to "Politics and Politicians of Illinois," Abraham Lincoln, O. H. Browning, Richard Yates, John M. Palmer, Owen Lovejoy, Lyman Trumbull and John Wentworth were the minds which directed the destiny of the new party, and its platform was so framed as to have no uncertain sound regarding the further extension of slavery. A State convention was called which met at Decatur May 9, 1860, and continued through May 10th, for the purpose of nominating State officers and to appoint delegates to the National Presidential Convention. Joseph Gillespie had the honor of presiding at this convention. It was at this meeting that the famous "rail-splitting" feature was made the campaign battle cry. Numerous campaign songs about "splitting the rails and mauling them too," were soon circulated and sung at the Republican meetings. The incident came up after Mr. Lincoln had entered the convention hall when, according to Arnold's Lincoln General Oglesby announced that an old Democrat of Macon County desired to make a contribution to the convention. Immediately some farmers brought in two old fence rails bearing the inscription, "Abraham Lincoln, the rail candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Two rails from

a lot of 3,000 made in 1830 by Thomas (John) Hanks* and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer of Macon County." The effect of this is impossible to describe. For fifteen minutes cheers upon cheers went up from the crowd. Lincoln was called to the stand, but this was only a signal for renewed cheering. The enthusiasm of that convention ran high. After Lincoln's endorsement for the Presidency, Richard Yates was nominated for Governor. On the 10th a characteristic telegram was received by Joseph Gillespie from Hon. John Wentworth, the famous "Long John" it was sent by the Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company, Caton lines:

Chicago, May 10th, 1860.

To Prest. Republican Convention, Decatur.

The nomination of Yates and Hoffman is rec'd with the wildest enthusiasm. Cook Co. will give a larger majority than ever before or my name is not Long John. JOHN WENTWORTH.

In connection with the closing scenes of that campaign of 1860, when the Republicans had carried the Presidential and State tickets, before Mr. Lincoln left Illinois for the last time, Joseph Gillespie has written: "In one or two visits to Springfield before the day of Lincoln's departure for Washington, I noticed that a look of settled despondency had come upon his face. The historians say that that look was natural and habitual to him. Perhaps it was after the historians came to know him, but I believe that it was during those weary months of watching and waiting before the inauguration that the look of deep anxiety became fixed upon him. I could see that he was wearing himself out in his desire to get into action and determine his course by the policies of his enemies, just as he had always done as a lawyer, when his greatest strength was shown in meeting what his antagonists held in reserve as the strong points of their case. I told him of my belief that the delay was wearing on him." "You are right," said he, "but no one but an old friend like yourself would know it. When you were here last you spoke of amending the Constitution for the benefit of some man who will be caught, in the future, in the same fix that I am in now. I think it had better be let alone, Joe, I have thought a good deal about that since you spoke of it, and while it might answer the present purpose, the fixing of an inaugural day too soon after the election might, if the result was disputed, plunge the country into civil war before party passion could cool or means of settlement be adopted." I could not see the force of his reasoning then, but since I have lived to see a party conflict, such as he described, arise, I am moved to greater reverence for his memory. About that time the Republican majority in the two branches of Congress assumed the remarkable attitude of organizing the two territories of Colorado and Nevada without any expression upon or restriction of slavery. This was not only in conflict with the avowed policy of the Republican party, but it was a virtual abandonment of the position previously taken in Congress on such questions by all the elements opposed to the extension of slavery, which the Republican party assumed to represent. This action upon the part of the Republicans in Congress aroused the resentment of the party throughout the North. No one was quicker to see its full significance than the President-elect.

* John Hanks brought the rails into the Decatur Convention of 1860.

"It seems to me," said he at the time, and only a day or two before he started to Washington, "that Douglas got the best of it at the election last fall. I am left to face an empty treasury and a great rebellion, while my own party indorses his 'popular sovereignty' idea and applies it in legislation." I ventured to ask him what his inaugural message would recommend, and he replied, as well as I can remember, that he should not "run ahead of the hounds," being fully satisfied that war was inevitable, and he determined to do or say nothing which could be tortured into responsibility for it. I told him I believed it would do him good to get down to Washington. "I know it will," he replied, "I only wish I could have got there to lock the door before the horse was stolen, but when I get to the spot I can find the tracks." He bid me goodby with a hearty grasp of the hand and an earnest request that I should come to Washington. I promised him to do so, and I did. Upon one of my visits he said, "Now, I am going out to the Soldiers' Home to spend the night and I want you and Speed (Hon. Joshua F. Speed of Louisville, Ky.) to go with me." We accepted the invitation and spent a very pleasant evening in that privacy with him. During the evening a delegation from New Jersey called to get him to pardon some young men from that state who had deserted, been captured, court-martialed and sentenced to be shot, which was to take place in a few days. He told the delegation that he would not give them his decision until the next morning at nine o'clock at the White House. Before retiring I told him I could not sleep unless I had some inkling as to how he was going to decide in regard to those poor fellows. He said, "I can't tell you, but I will say this, that I have always found that mercy bears richer fruits than strict justice." That is the direction in which his mind always leaned. He said that as certainly as the sun would rise the rebellion would soon be crushed out. I remarked that that was gratifying news, and I further asked what would be done with the rebels. "Well," said he, "some think their heads ought to come off; but there are too many of them for that, and for one, I would not know where to draw the line between those whose heads (it might be said) ought to come off or stay on. My policy would be different," he said, "I would prefer to follow the example of King David, I have been recently reading the history of the Rebellion of Absalom, and would be inclined to adopt the views of David. When David was fleeing from Jerusalem, Shimei cursed him. After the rebellion was put down Shimei craved a pardon. Abishai, David's nephew, the son of Zeruiah, David's sister, said, 'This man ought not to be pardoned, because he cursed the Lord's anointed.' David said, 'What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that you should this day be adversaries unto me? Know ye that not a man shall be put to death in Israel.'"

In 1861 Mr. Gillespie was elected to the office of Circuit Judge, which position he occupied for twelve years. With his declining years he took no active part in politics but his interest continued as great as ever in the political issues of the day. When the exciting question of a third term for Grant came up, Judge Gillespie's opinion of it was solicited by a newspaper, and he wrote that he "favored abandoning the old established precedent of only two terms for a President, in the case of Grant," as he said he "believed in a third term when we had a good

man for the office, and in only one term when we had an incompetent one." After his retirement from the bench he devoted his attention, in conjunction with judges and ex-judges and others of the legal fraternity, to considering legislation for improving the judicial system of the State. Conferences were held at Springfield, and the most important measure considered was the one framing a bill designed for creating an Appellate Court which was to relieve the over burdened docket of the State Supreme Court so that causes could be heard within a reasonable time after appeal. This Court was established. This was probably the last public measure in which he took part. "Bench and Bar of Illinois," contains this reference to him as judge, "His judicial opinions were marked by great clearness, exhibiting great research, careful analysis, a sound knowledge of elementary law and great erudition in his chosen profession, as shown by the limited number of reversals by the highest courts during the twelve years of his administration on the bench."

As a citizen he was always progressive and public spirited, deeply interested in all improvements and scientific inventions. He kept in touch with the present, and on many questions, decades ahead of his day. He had never united with any church, but had always adhered to the faith of his parents—the Presbyterian belief—and in his judicial capacity always upheld the Sabbath laws. His character rested on a strong basis, and sustained a lofty public virtue and private integrity.

There was nothing in his nature which was fictitious or artificial, and in all the relations of life he came up to the full measure of a noble manhood.

By nature he was social and genial and he made friends wherever he went. He passed away January 7, 1885, at his home in Edwardsville, preceding his beloved wife about six years. Three of his children are still living, one daughter and two sons.

No more seemly tribute can be made to his memory than the one from a contemporary in describing his career in his State's History, the one from his old friend Hon. E. B. Washburne in dedicating his "Sketch of Edward Coles," to him:

"To the Hon. Joseph Gillespie:—

One of the connecting links between the earlier and the later Illinois, and who, in his career as a lawyer, a magistrate, and a citizen, has illustrated the history of our State for more than half a century, this paper is dedicated, as a slight token of the profound respect and high esteem in which he is held by THE WRITER."

In some extracts from a memorial address of Hon. D. B. Gillham before the Illinois Senate upon the life of Judge Gillespie, he said, "occupying as I happen to do, the position in this body that he so long filled with such forcefulness of character, with such honor to himself, with such grand and noble results, not alone to his immediate constituents, of whom I was one, but the people of the great State, whose foundations for greatness he helped to lay, and whose grand destiny he aided in shaping results, which bring to the people of the whole State as a constituency of all political creeds to unite in honoring him as one of the noblest of her many noble sons, now that his honorable and useful life is ended. And while I shrink from the office of eulogist, I will not

fail to raise my voice and speak as best I may in honor of the dead, and, though always differing with him in political faith, I would be an unworthy son or citizen of this great Commonwealth if I could not speak gratefully of him, who, during a life of sixty-five years in our beloved State labored all the while, whether in public or private life, to encourage her enterprises, and to increase her greatness, were there no personal ties between us. Born of humble parentage, destined to hew his own way, either to fortune or to fame, by hard and unremitting toil, he boldly marked out his line of work and eagerly entered the fight that was to know no truce, nor to cease until success should crown his efforts.

When he first came upon the prairies, Illinois was little less than a howling wilderness, from whence the red men and the buffalo had not yet disappeared. We behold the ambitious lad toiling on his father's acres from early morn, through the glare of a summer's sun to the softening twilight of the evening, by which to obtain the actual necessaries of life, returning to the humble abode of frontier life, weary and tired from an incessant day's toil, there to spend his evenings in earnest search for that power that was to crown his efforts in after life. We behold him in early manhood in the ranks of a frontier army battling with the wild Indian, next we see him delving in the murky depths of the lead mines of the Northwest, endeavoring to earn the means to carry him through professional studies. Without the means of culture, his was the finish genius gives her favored sons, when she, as she is wont to do often coldly takes them from the sunbeams of classic advantages to her sun hidden mines of wisdom, strength and power, there to rear and train them for successful competition, with those more fortunate. In all his acquirements he was but the apex of the liberal form of government under whose nurturing flag he was reared and which renders it possible for him and those born under like circumstances to make life a success without wealth or the influence that wealth can give, but through unremitting toil and untiring zeal.

Judge Gillespie was a man of great public spirit and enterprise as evinced in the internal improvement legislation of our State from 1847 to 1860, during which period he was an acknowledged power in this branch of the General Assembly. Few men have lived in Illinois, whose opportunities were so great, who grasped those opportunities with a firmer hand, and conducted them with clearer perceptions of their importance and value, into channels of greater usefulness, whether to the generation then present or those that were to follow. He belonged to that body of statesmen to whom fell the duty and responsibility of formulating the internal improvement legislation of the Empire State of this great valley, as well as to shadow forth the policy of sister states and embryo states of the West, Northwest and Southwest. That he was a leading spirit in that work the records prove; that the duties were well and wisely performed, time has developed. His herculean frame, steady, healthy, vigorous and well trained brain, backed up by a prudent life, enabled him to perform these tasks, and to endure great hardships, either mentally or physically, and gave to him great power in casting the horoscope of the future of his State. Early in the in-

ternal improvement era of the State he probably, more nearly than others of his day, had altered her internal improvement map, and especially her railroad map, and had taken the bearings of their successful competition. As a lawyer he was the successful contemporary of many men of great fame in the annals of the Illinois Bar, who, with him have crossed the dark river."

WAS THERE A FRENCH FORT AT CHICAGO?

(By M. M. Quaife, Ph. D.)

In the summer of 1795 was held at Greenville, Ohio, one of the most important and picturesque conferences between the red men and the white in all American history. Over a thousand dusky warriors, the representatives of half a score of tribes, assembled at the call of their conqueror in battle, Mad Anthony Wayne, to agree upon the terms of a treaty which should bring peace to the troubled Northwestern frontier. In the negotiations which ensued Wayne assumed, as was fitting in view of his recent victories, the attitude of a conqueror. The war had been fought by the Indians to hold, by the Americans to break, the Ohio River as the dividing line between the two races. The whites had triumphed, and accordingly Wayne demanded of the red men the cession of a vast tract of land north of the Ohio. In addition he required a considerable number of small reservations scattered at points of strategic importance throughout the Indian country, for the erection of forts to control important highways of communication and commerce. In the course of the negotiations a spirited debate arose concerning the extent of the French occupation of the Northwest, involving the historical question which forms the subject of this paper. Little Turtle, the famous Miami chieftain, claimed for his tribe the extensive tract of land reaching from Detroit and Chicago on the north to the Ohio River on the south; and from the Scioto on the east to a line from the mouth of the Wabash to Chicago on the west.[1] Wayne objected that the French had had establishments at various places throughout this region, asserting among other things that he discovered a "strong trace" of them at Chicago.[2] This Little Turtle bluntly denied, and in the course of a vigorous rejoinder several days later tersely exclaimed: "You told us at Chicago the French possessed a fort; we have never heard of it."[3]

Whatever the historical validity of the opposing contentions the immediate decision of the controversy was made on other grounds. The red leader was compelled to bow before the power of Wayne's grim legion, and accordingly one clause of the treaty as finally drafted conveyed to the whites a tract of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago River "where a fort formerly stood."[4] But over the conclusions of the student Wayne's legion has no power. Our final judgment upon the issue which the two leaders debated will be determined not by the might of batallions but by the weight of historical evidence. And it

[1] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 570 571.
[2] *Ibid*, 573.
[3] *Ibid*, 576.
[4] *Ibid*, 562.

is of sufficient importance to the history of Illinois and the Northwest to repay an examination of the available historical evidence with the view of answering at last the question whether the French ever in fact had a fort at Chicago.

A great deal has been said and written, aside from the assertions of Wayne in the negotiations at Greenville, on the subject of a fort at Chicago in the French period. Thomas Hutchins, the first and only civil "geographer of the United States,"[5] who had himself travelled extensively in the Northwest, placed an "Indian village and Fort" at the entrance of the Chicago River on the map which accompanied his famous *Topographical Description* of 1778. Whether he intended to indicate that the fort as well as the village was of Indian origin is not entirely clear, although Butterfield cites the *Topographical Description* as his authority for asserting that at the time of the revolution there was "a stockaded fort" at the mouth of the river, which, he adds, was occupied only by traders.[6] Many earlier maps might be cited to show the existence of a fort at Chicago in the French period.[7] The testimony of these sources, reinforced by a number of contemporary narratives which will be considered presently, has commonly been accepted by historians. Most of the State and local histories which treat of early Chicago with any degree of fullness credit the French fort tradition.[8] Mr. Edward G. Mason, a zealous worker in the field of Illinois history thought there was a fort here from 1685 until the end of French control in this region,[9] and the most recent historian of Chicago concludes that "no doubt a succession of forts and stockades" existed here "at one period or another."[10]

In spite of these numerous assertions, however, it is extremely doubtful whether the French ever had a regular fort at Chicago, and it can be shown conclusively that if so it existed for but a short period only. La Salle and Tonty passed by Chicago at various times and their movements are known during the entire period of La Salle's activities in Illinois. But for two exceptions, to be noted shortly, they nowhere speak of a fort at Chicago at this time, and the evidence that there was none, though negative, may be regarded as conclusive. There was no establishment at Chicago in 1687 when Cavelier's party was here vainly seeking to push on to Mackinac, nor in 1688, when the same party, having wintered at Fort St. Louis, again tarried at Chicago while on its way to Canada.[11] There is no evidence that such a fort was established in the succeeding decade; and there is negative evidence

[5] Biography of Hutchins, Hicks' edition of Hutchin's *Topographical Description*, 7.

[6] Butterfield, "Chicago," in *Magazine of Western History*, III, 409.

[7] e. g., Hennepin, *Nouvelle Decouverte D'un Tres Grand Pays Situe dans l'Amerique*, Utrecht, 1697, I, (facing) 1. This map was frequently copied in the years following its first appearance. Jean Baptiste Homann's map of North and South America (copy in Chicago Historical Society library) of unknown date, but probably about the year 1700; Bellin's *Carte de L'Amerique Septentrionale*, 1755; Jean Roque's map of North America, 1754-1761.

[8] e. g. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 163-164; Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities*, 164, 171, 360, 592; Blanchard, *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest with the History of Chicago*, I, 68; Davidson and Stuve, *History of Illinois*, 260. Many other works and historical articles speak more or less briefly of the supposed French fort at Chicago: e. g. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, 79; Shea, "Chicago from 1673 to 1825," in *Historical Magazine*, V, 103; Parrish, *Historic Illinois*, 174; Moody, *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago*, 67.

[9] Mason, "Early Visitors to Chicago," in *New England Magazine*, VI, 201-202.

[10] Currey, *Chicago: Its History and its Builders*, I, 43.

[11] For the account of Cavelier's party see Joutel's Journal printed in Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans L'Ouest et dans le Sud de L' Amerique Septentrionale*, II, 89-535. An abridged and inaccurate English translation was published in 1714, and this was republished under the editorial direction of Henry Reed Stiles, Albany, 1906.

to the contrary both in the fact that St. Cosme makes no mention of a fort at Chicago at the time of his visit, and that the French government gave only a grudging permission to Tonty to continue at Fort St. Louis, limiting his yearly trading operations to two canoes of merchandise, and finally, by royal decree, directing the abandonment of the fort.[12]

We have thus arrived at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Did the French have a fort at Chicago between the years 1700 and 1763? James Logan's report to Governor Keith in 1718, upon the French establishments in the interior, which was used by Keith in his memorial to the British Board of Trade so asserts. By the latter the statements of Logan were incorporated in a report to the king,[13] and this, apparently, was the source of Popple's representation of a "Fort Miamis" at Chicago on his great *Map* of *the British Empire in America,* of 1732.[14] In spite of this contemporary evidence, which has gained the approval of many historians, it seems very probable that no such fort existed at Chicago in the eighteenth century. That there was no fort here in 1715 is shown by two independent sources. In November of this year, Claude de Ramezay, acting-governor, and Begon, intendant of New France, in a report[15] to the French minister dealing in part with the military situation in the region between the Upper Lakes and the Mississippi, recommended the establishment of several new posts. Among the number a post at "Chicagou" was urged, "to facilitate access to the Illinois and the Miamis, and to keep these nations in our interests."[16] If a fort already existed at Chicago the two highest officials in New France would have been aware of the fact, and there would have been no reason for this recommendation. In this same year, 1715, as part of an elaborately planned campaign against the Fox Indians of Wisconsin the French arranged for the rendezvous at Chicago of forces from Detroit, from the Wabash, and from the lower Illinois settlements.[17] A series of mishaps caused a complete miscarriage of the plans for the campaign; but these very mishaps show that if there was a fort, there was at all events no garrison at Chicago. The three parties which were to effect a junction here arrived at different times, and each in turn, ignorant of the movements of the others, abandoned the expedition and retired. Obviously if there had been a garrison at Chicago it would have constituted an important factor in planning the campaign; and the various bands which were to effect a junction here would have been informed, on their arrival, of the movements of the others.

That there was no French establishment at Chicago in 1721 is shown by the journal of Father Charlevoix.[18] In this year he was

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[12] Legler, "Henry De Tonty," *Parkman Club Publications,* No. III; Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac,* 340; Parkman, *LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West,* Chap. XXIX.

[13] Printed in Michigan *Pioneer and Historical Society Collections,* XIX, 2-8; also in O'Callaghan, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York, V, 620-621.

[14] Popple expressly states that his map was undertaken with the approbation of the "Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations"; and that it is based upon maps, charts, and especially the records transmitted to the Lords of Trade by the governors of the British colonies and others.

[15] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* XVI, 327 *et seq.*

[16] *Ibid,* 332.

[17] *Ibid,* 312 *et seq.*

[18] Charlevoix's work, first published in 1744, is entitled *Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par l'Ordre du Roi dans L'Amerique Septentrionale.* There is a great variety of editions and of changes in the parts comprised in the work. The portion above referred to occurs in the letters of September 14 and 17, 1721, in the *Journal Historique.*

touring the interior of America on a royal commission to examine and report to his king the condition of New France. His letters and history constitute the most authoritative eighteenth century source for the history of New France. In the very month of September, 1721, when the British Board of Trade report was made, Charlevoix passed from Fort St. Joseph, where the city of Niles, Michigan, now stands, down the Kankakee and the Illinois to Peoria, and beyond. He had first intended to pass through Chicago, but a storm on the lake, together with information of the impossibility of navigating the Desplaines in a canoe at this season, led him to follow the route by the St. Joseph Portage and the Kankakee. His journal is detailed and explicit; he carefully describes the various posts and routes of communication. He had planned to pass by Chicago, and informed himself concerning the portage and the Desplaines River. Yet he gives no hint of a fort here, a thing incomprehensible if such a fort had in fact existed.

There is abundant evidence in the sources pertaining to the operations of the French in the Northwest that they had no fort at Chicago after 1721. In connection with the Fox wars, numerous campaigns were waged in which the Chicago garrison, if there had been one, would have participated. Yet no such force is ever mentioned, and some of the sources make it positively evident that there was neither garrison nor fort here. In 1727 the holding of a great conference with the Foxes the following year at Starved Rock or Chicago was proposed.[19] If this were done, it was deemed necessary for the French to be first on the spot appointed for the rendezvous "to erect a fort" and otherwise prepare for the council. The project never materialized, however, and so the fort was not built. In 1730, when the French succeeded in trapping and destroying a large band of the Foxes in the vicinity of Starved Rock,[20] parties came to the scene of conflict from many directions—from Ouiatanon, St. Joseph, Fort Chartres, and elsewhere; but none came from Chicago, although it was nearer the scene than any of the places from which the French forces did come—obviously because there was no garrison at Chicago. In the early winter of 1731-32 a Huron-Iroquois war party passed from Detroit to St. Joseph and thence around the southern end of Lake Michigan and on into Wisconsin to attack the Foxes.[21] The party paused at Chicago long enough to build a fort in which to leave their sick. This fort was evidently a temporary Indian shelter, but it is also evident that if an ungarrisoned French fort had been standing here the construction of such a shelter would have been unnecessary. An official list of the commanders of the various western posts a dozen years later is preserved in the French colonial archives.[22] The posts at Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Ouiatanon, and elsewhere are mentioned but the name of Chicago is not included in the list. Finally an exhaustive memoir[23] by Bougainville in 1757 upon the posts and trade of the interior of the continent makes no mention of a post at Chicago, although the neighboring posts which are known to have existed at this time receive careful attention.

19 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*. XIX, 3-6.
20 *Ibid*, XVII, 109-130.
21 *Ibid*, 143-150.
22 *Ibid*, 432-433.
23 *Ibid*, XVIII, 167 *et seq*.

It seems evident, then, that the French had no fort at Chicago during the eighteenth century. Did they have one here at any time during the seventeenth? Two exceptions to the proposition that La Salle and Tonty make no mention of such a fort have been noted. In a letter[24] written from the Chicago Portage, June 4, 1683, La Salle speaks of a "fort" here built by two of his men the preceding winter. This structure Mason describes as a "little stockade with a log house within its enclosure"[25] and declares it to have been the first known structure of anything like a permanent character at Chicago. But a log hut constructed by two men and never garrisoned by any regular force hardly merits the name of a fort, in the ordinary acceptation of this term, even though it was surrounded by a stockade. Those who speak of a French fort at Chicago in this period refer not to this structure but to the "fort of Chicagou" commanded by M. de la Durantaye in the winter of 1685-86.

Our information concerning this fort is very scant, being confined to a simple mention of it with the name of its commander in Tonty's memoir of 1693.[26] At the end of October, 1685, Tonty started from Mackinac in a canoe on Lake Michigan to go to Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River. Because of the lateness of the season his progress was rendered impossible by the formation of ice in the lake. This compelled him to return to Mackinac, whence he again set forth, this time by land, for Fort St. Louis.[27] An earlier account of this trip than that of 1693, but of equal brevity, was written by Tonty in the summer of 1686.[28] It does not even mention Durantaye's "Fort of Chicagou," but it adds certain details concerning Tonty's trip of importance in determining the location of that establishment.

Tonty was, of course, familiar by 1686 with both sides of Lake Michigan. In view of this fact it is extremely improbable that having to go by land from Mackinac to Fort St. Louis in the winter time he would make the long detour around the head of Lake Michigan and Green Bay, and down the western side of the lake, rather than follow the shorter route down its eastern side and around its southern end. This reasoning finds support in the statements of Tonty of the distances he traversed. The entire distance from Mackinac to Fort St. Louis he gives as 200 leagues and states that after travelling 120 leagues he came to Durantaye's fort. It was, therefore, 80 leagues from Fort St. Louis. The usual estimate of French travellers of this time of the distance between Chicago and Fort St. Louis was 30 leagues;[29] while the distance overland from St. Joseph to Fort St. Louis was approximately 80 leagues.[30] It is incredible that Tonty would estimate the distance from Mackinac to Chicago by land at 120 leagues, and that from Chicago to Fort St. Louis at 80 leagues, a distance two-thirds as

[24] Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements, etc.*, II, 317.
[25] Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 144.
[26] French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, I, 67.
[27] Letter of Tonty to M. Cabart de Villermont, August 24, 1686. Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements, etc.*, III, 560.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] E. g., see St. Cosme's statement in Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, 59.
[30] LaSalle, in his search for Tonty, in January, 1686, ascended the Desplianes some distance and then crossed the prairie to Fort Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph. He estimated the distance from the point where he left the Desplaines to the fort at sixty leagues. Since it was reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort St. Louis to the mouth of the Desplaines, LaSalle's estimate of the distance does not differ materially from that given above.

great. The supposition that Durantaye's fort was on the St. Joseph River rather than the modern Chicago harmonizes well both with the probabilities of the case and the distances given us by Tonty.

The foregoing reasoning is not, of course, absolutely conclusive of the location of Durantaye's "Fort of Chicagou." It is strengthened, however, by one other consideration. If such a fort was in fact here in January, 1686, what had happened to it in the interval between this time and Cavelier's visit in the autumn of 1687? Joutel's narrative of the adventures of this party is given with a wealth of detail. Both in the autumn of 1687 and again in the spring of 1688 the travellers stayed at Chicago for several days. Not only does the narrative impliedly show that there was then no garrison or fort here, but it contains no mention of such an establishment at any previous time.[31]

The French had no fort at Chicago in the eighteenth century, then, and if they had in the seventeenth it could only have been a temporary structure which quickly disappeared. It remains to suggest an explanation of the origin of the widespread belief that there was a French fort at Chicago. It seems evident that it was due largely to the cartographers, who, residing for the most part in Europe, found themselves at a loss to interpret correctly the narratives of the explorers, which were themselves oftentimes confused and inaccurate, or lacking in detail.[32] That the cartographers often labored in the dark, and that their work was frequently erroneous, will be apparent from a comparison of their maps with those of an authoritative modern atlas. The representations of the map-makers can no more be relied upon implicitly than can the narratives of the time; and there is as much reason in the one case as in the other for subjecting them to critical scrutiny.

In the present instance the erroneous belief in the existence of a French fort at Chicago in the eighteenth century probably originated with Father Hennepin, the garrulous companion of La Salle. He had been at La Salle's Fort Miami on the St. Joseph, and had passed thence with his leader down the Kankakee and the Illinois. Yet his *New Discovery,* first published in 1697, contains a map[33] showing "Fort des Miamis" at the mouth of a stream emptying into the southwestern corner of Lake Michigan. It is obvious from a comparison of this map with the one in Hennepin's earlier work, the *Description of Louisiana,* published in 1683,[34] that this representation is intended for the St. Joseph River and La Salle's Fort Miami, which, by a stupid blunder, have been transferred from the southeastern to the southwestern side of the lake. The *New Discovery* enjoyed widespread popularity, and

[31] The carelessness even of reputable historians in discussing the subject of the French fort at Chicago is well illustrated by Shea. Speaking of Durantaye's supposed fort at Chicago he says it became "a kind of depot; as Joutel mentions, in 1687, the arrival of three canoes from Canada, with supplies for Fort Louis." *Historical Magazine,* V, 103. Joutel does indeed speak of this, but there is not the slightest ground for inferring that they made use of Durantaye's fort whether as "a kind of depot" or in any other way. Of these men from Montreal Joutel merely informs us that there not being enough water in the (Desplaines) river they were obliged to leave their canoe at the edge of the lake (*au bord du lac*) Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements, etc.,* III, 484 and 497. At the same time Joutel shows that his own party, being compelled to leave its canoe and goods at Chicago, put the former on a scaffold and the latter in a cache in the ground. *Ibid,* 489. This would hardly have been done had there been a fort in use as "a kind of depot."

[32] See the letters which passed between DeLisle, the great French cartographer and Joutel, printed in Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements, etc.,* III, 648-649.

[33] Hennepin, *Nouvelle Decouverte D'un Tres Grand Pays Situe dans l'Amerique,* Utrecht, 1697, I, (facing). For reproductions of this map see Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 251; and Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery,* I, (facing) 22.

[34] For a reproduction of this map see Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 249; Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery,* I, frontispiece.

numerous editions were issued during the following years, not only in French but also in foreign languages.[35] Hennepin's maps, too, were widely copied in other works, and so the blunder with respect to the location of Fort Miami was perpetuated. Evidently this was the source of Logan's error. Ignorant both of the fact that Fort Miami had stood at the mouth of the St. Joseph, and that it had been destroyed nearly forty years before, he located it at Chicago in 1718. How his statement, incorporated in the Board of Trade Report of 1721, and Popple's map of 1732, became in turn the fruitful parent of fresh error, we have already seen. Despite the fact that the public school children of Chicago are today being regaled, in one of the authorized text books, with a picture of the early French fort at this point, the weight of historical evidence tends to support Little Turtle's contention that such a fort never in fact existed.

[35] Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery*, I, introduction, p. 33.

VIRGINIA CURRENCY IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

(Minnie G. Cook, Milwaukee, Wis.)

NOTE.

The story of Clark's conquests is too familiar to need outlining here. Only such data as applies directly to the financial questions under consideration are referred to. Anything like a comprehensive discussion of the finances of the western department during the Revolution is impossible in a paper of this kind for the reason that it involves, from first to last, an intimate discussion of the politics of the Mississippi Valley at the same time. The subject is by no means summed up in the fact that Clark and his troops, and the people on whom they were quartered, suffered pecuniary losses. It is a problem that must be gone into much more fully than is attempted in this brief sketch of the situation, to get at the bottom of some of the policies shaping the history of the middle west.

Fully as important to the historian as documents themselves is their interpretation; for documents taken at their face value without regard to the intelligence, motives or veracity of their authors often seriously pervert the truth of history. The conscientious historian must often laboriously work his way through a maze of conflicting contemporary statements, official and unofficial and made by all sorts of men, before he can reach an intelligent and just conclusion. This is true of the historical materials discussed in this paper in which I have attempted to determine the value of the assertions by some of the French inhabitants of the Illinois, during and after the revolution, accusing the Virginia officers of deliberate deceit in passing the depreciated Continental and Virginia currency at par in the Illinois country. The charge was usually made in connection with the denunciation of some of Clark's officers for compelling the French inhabitants to feed and clothe the troops who were defending the Illinois from the British and Indians, or in the petitions and memorials for reimbursement, which oftenest at the instance of interested attorneys-in-fact were drawn up for the French inhabitants to sign and sent on to the Virginia Assembly or to Congress.

Clark early won the confidence and affection of the Illinois French and the great mass of them remained his loyal admirers to the end and evidenced their faith in him in many ways. But even he did not always escape in the general denunciation of the Virginia officers or the Virginia government of which he was the chief representative in the west. It was almost inevitable that he should be held responsible for any real or apparent wrongs which the French suffered. Indeed, considering the vacillating temperament of many of them, the unsettled times, the hardships and losses which they and Clark's troops were alike compelled to bear, the hatred of the French for most of the troops and some of the officers and the almost universal suspicion and recrimination which prevailed (as they always do prevail when public credit is gone and poverty and bankruptcy are common) it is one of the most significant facts of Clark's remarkable career that the French people generally believed him and trusted him as their friend to the last.

In the history of the United States there are few problems more complicated or more far-reaching than that created by the unsettled currency and the western accounts during the revolution; and it is absolutely essential to understand the main causes of these complications in order to even approach the true history of the Middle West, not only during, but for some years after that war. The first of these complications arose from the introduction of a kind of money hitherto unknown to the French inhabitants—and its sudden fall in value.

The colonists found themselves launched in a war without any funds for conducting it. They were practically without money at all except a limited amount of paper issued by the individual colonies with the permission of the Crown, as a medium of exchange within the colonies. The only specie at their command was what was brought in from abroad by their exports. There were neither state nor national funds, and nothing out of which to create any. Although we have always credited our forefathers with fighting for the principle of "no taxation without representation," the truth is, that taxation *with* representation proved to be equally unpopular. While there were those who warmly advocated the tax as the only means of establishing a sure fund, the temper of the people was too uncertain to press the matter. Great numbers were opposed to the war and to independence. Some of the colonies were slow in joining the Union. So, at the beginning, the subject of an immediate tax for the support of the war was dropped, and bills of credit, redeemable in gold or silver, were issued on the promise of the colonies to pay at some future time. On June 22, 1775, Congress *"Resolved,* That a sum not exceeding two million of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by Congress in bills of credit, for the defence of America.

"Resolved, That the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit, now directed to be emitted."[1]

On July 25, an additional million was directed to be struck off with this first emission; and a large committee was appointed to sign and number the bills when issued.[2]

On the 29th of July, it was *"Resolved,* That the provincial assemblies choose treasurers," taking proper security; that "each colony provide ways and means to sink its proportion of bills ordered to be emitted by this Congress, in such manner as may be most effectual and best adapted to the condition, circumstances, and usual mode of levying taxes in such colony. * * * That the proportion or quota of each colony be determined by the number of inhabitants including negroes and mulattoes."

On this basis, Virginia's quota was about one-sixth of the entire Continental expenses besides such as she might incur on her own account.[3] These quotas were to be redeemed in four annual payments on the 30th of November in 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, respectively. The said bills to be received by collectors in payment of taxes.[4]

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[1] Vol. 2, Journals of Continental Congress. p. 103.
[2] The first bills ordered were to be in denominations of 1 to 8 dollars respectively; and in 20 dollar bills. The extra million were all to be in 30 dollar bills. (2 Jour., Cont. Cong. 105; 207.)
[3] 2 Jour. Cont. Cong., 221.
[4] 2 Jour. Cont. Cong., 222.

The proof sheets of this first emission were not ready until the 29th of October, 1775.[5] All the while, the need of ready money was becoming more and more pressing. Although so many were appointed to attend to the work, the signing of the bills moved slowly in comparison with the growing demands.[6]

On November 29, Congress "took into consideration the report of the state of the treasury" and resolved to emit three millions more, the arrangements and terms to be the same as in the first emission.[7] The same plates were to be used[8] but a special paper for the new money was contracted for;[9] and the colonies were to redeem their quotas of this second emission on November 30, in 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, respectively.[10]

Having made pledges as far into the future as they dared, the next few emissions were redeemable as "Congress shall hereafter direct:"[11] and still later ones issued simply "on the faith of the United States."[12]

Some, who anticipated the depreciation bound to result from a currency based on nothing more solid than good intentions, took measures before ever there was an emission, to protect themselves against the inevitable. They were accused later of being the real cause of depreciation, and undoubtedly, they did contribute to it.[13] Others, at the very outset, particularly in Philadelphia where naturally, the currency made its first appearance, "refused to receive in payment or give currency to bills issued by order of this Congress, and also to those emitted by the Assembly of this province."[14]

Congress tried to prevent the spread of this disaffection to the paper money by appealing to the patriotism of the people. On the 11th of January, 1776, it was *"Resolved,* That if any person shall hereafter be so lost to all virtue and regard for his country, as to refuse to receive said bills in payment; or obstruct or discourage the currency or circulation thereof, and shall be duly convicted by the committee of the city, county or district, or in case of appeal from their decision, by the assembly, convention, council or committee of safety of the colony where he shall reside, such person shall be deemed, published, and treated as an enemy to his country, and be precluded from all trade or intercourse with the inhabitants of the colonies."[15]

A fair trial of this method proved ineffectual so at the close of 1776, Congress decided to try more drastic measures and *"Resolved,* That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to take the most vigorous and speedy measures for punishing all such as shall refuse Continental currency; and that the General [Washington] be directed to give all necessary aid to the Council of Safety, for carrying their measure on this subject into effectual execution."[16]

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[5] 3 Jour. Cont. Cong., 310.
[6] *Ibid.* 345, 378.
[7] *Ibid,* 390.
[8] *Ibid,* 398.
[9] *Ibid,* 342.
[10] *Ibid* 457, 459.
[11] *Ibid,* 339, 374, 380.
[12] Jour. Cont. Cong., 873.
[13] Richard Henry Lee to Patrick Henry, 26 May, 1777 (W. W. Henry's "Life of Patrick Henry," Vol. 3, p. 73).
[14] 3 Jour. Cont. Cong., 367.
[15] Jour. Cont. Cong., Vol. 4, p. 49.
[16] 5 Jour. Cont. Cong., 1046.

The next month, Congress called upon the states to declare the paper legal tender,[17] and Virginia complied a few months later.

Another thing that greatly affected the currency was the avarice of a lot of people who bought up great quantities of provisions for speculative purposes; and others who offered fabulous prices in the depreciated paper money, and who were believed to be enemies taking this course simply to ruin the credit of the country. This practice caused distress in every direction and to relieve it, Congress recommended that the states co-operate in ascertaining the prices, in the different localities, of labor, manufactures, internal produce, importations etc., and in accordance thereto, to fix the prices of necessities and to "take from any engrossers, forestallers, or others holding commodities or provisions in excess of private needs and who shall refuse to sell the surplus at the prices to be ascertained."[18]

As usual, Virginia was one of the first to carry out the recommendation of Congress.[19]

One of the most serious causes of depreciation is to be laid to the government. Promises are easily made. The paper money was almost as easily made; and the shortsighted authorities, untrained in finance, had emitted money far beyond the need before they realized what they were doing. Richard Henry Lee wrote that Congress alone had issued "sevenfold" what was needed besides all that the individual states had emitted.[20] With the first reckoning day four years off and a crisis at hand, the temptation to be reckless was strong; and Congress, to further its first campaign voted bounties in money before ever there was an emission, in a resolution adopted October 3, 1775,

"That General Washington may, if he thinks proper, for the encouragement of an attack on Boston, promise, in case of success, a month's pay to the army and to the representatives of such of our brave countrymen as may chance to fall, and in case success should not attend the attempt, a month's pay to the representatives of the deceased."[21]

Kindred policies together with actual need made the demands increase so much faster than the paper could be floated when it did begin to appear—in spite of the refusal of some to receive it—that for a time the only fear seemed to be of inadequate production, without any thought of turning the money back into the hands of the government, except through future taxes for the purpose of sinking the money itself at the distant dates fixed by Congress. It was not until they began to reap the harvest of over-issue that they took steps to effect a system for real circulation.[22] The first effort in this direction was on October 3, 1776, when Congress resolved that five millions of dollars be immediately borrowed for the use of the United States at 4 per cent per annum—

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[17] Jour. Cont. Cong., Vol. 7, p. 35.

[18] 9 Jour. Cont. Cong. 956-957.

[19] 9 Hening's Statutes at Large, 386. A six month's trial of this law proved to be impracticable, so in June, 1778, Congress recommended its repeal and the substitution of the embargo. (11 Jour. Cont. Cong., 569, 578.)

[20] Richard Henry Lee to Patrick Henry, 15 November, 1778. (2 "Life of Patrick Henry," II).
Richard Henry Lee was delegate from Virginia to the first Continental Congress, and continued to be active in Virginia's service.

[21] 3 Jour. Cont. Cong., 273.

[22] Even the inexperienced Americans were bound to awaken to the fact that this steady stream of money could not go on forever. On November 23, 1776, Samuel Chase, delegate from Maryland, wrote to the Committee of Safety of that State: "On yesterday I procured a statement of our treasury as a few days ago: Emitted, 20,000,000 dollars; expended, 16,817,737 dollars; in treasury, 3,182,263 dollars. This is for your private information and not to be made public." (6 Jour. Cont. Cong., 974 n)

"that the faith of the United States be pledged to the lenders, etc." —that certificates, none for less than $300 be given—a loan office to be established in each state and a commissioner to be appointed for each to deliver the certificates—these to be redeemable in three years at the offices where the sums were lent.

Another scheme to get hold of money already floating was by means of a lottery resolved upon in November, 1776, "for defraying the expenses of the next campaign."[23]

To still farther substantiate the currency, on December 23, 1776, Congress resolved to ask a loan of two millions of dollars from France.[24] In January, 1777, a further loan of two millions of Continental money was authorized.

The measures resorted to all took time to work out and perfect, however, and in the meantime, issue after issue of the paper money was emitted and continued to be; but the states were asked to begin their levies for the coming year, 1777, for the purpose of calling in and sinking their respective quotas of the Continental debt.[25] In Virginia at this time, currency had dropped to one and a half. As the tendency continued downward, in February, Congress "earnestly recommended that the United States avoid as far as possible, further emissions of paper money, and to take the most effectual measure for speedily drawing in and sinking their paper currency already emitted."[26] This referred to the money emitted by the individual states which, by its quantity, had helped to lessen the value of the Continental as well as the state currency.

Abstract principles and ideals are good things to preach about and for our neighbors to live up to; but when it comes to ones self, it is often easier to find reasons why they should not apply than to put them into practice. So it was with the majority of the colonists. They had subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, and had promised to make good the currency for the support of that independence. All were feeling the ill effects of this unsubstantial paper fabric—yet, they were loath to institute that greatest bugbear to civilized man—an ample tax. (Was there ever a man who was not excessively, if not unjustly taxed?)

But little heed was paid to the recommendation of Congress to begin their levies, with the result that the paper continued to depreciate. So, on September 10, 1777, Congress "Ordered, that the Committee [Ways and Means of Finance] be instructed to prepare an earnest recommendation to the several states to proceed to taxation;"[27] * * * and on November 22, this committee reported that "Congress * * * supported by the confidence of their fellow citizens, without burdening them with taxes or pecuniary contributions, have hitherto raised all the necessary supplies on the public faith.

To maintain our fleets and armies, large sums have been emitted in bills of credit, and the same method has been embraced by the respective

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[23] 5 Jour. Cont. Cong., 845; 6 Jour. Cont. Cong., 917. R. H. Lee to Patrick Henry, January 9, 1777, "Be pleased to let the scheme of lottery be published in our papers, that people may be prepared against the tickets are out." (2 "Patrick Henry," 39.)

[24] 6 Jour. Cont. Cong., 1036.

[25] 7 Jour. Cont. Cong., 36.

[26] *Ibid*, 125.

[27] 8 Jour. Cont. Cong., 731.

states to answer their internal wants. By these expedients, our paper currency, notwithstanding the solid basis on which it is founded, is multiplied beyond the rules of good policy. * * * Hitherto spared from taxes, let them now with cheerful heart contribute according to their circumstances. Let the sordid wretches, who shrink from danger and personal service, and merely prefer their own inglorious ease and emolument to the good of their country, be despised, and their ill-gotten wealth be abhorred as a disgrace, &c, &c. * * * *Resolved,* That it be most earnestly recommended to the respective states to raise in the course of the year 1778, commencing on the first of January next by quarterly payments, the sum of 5,000,000 dollars by taxes.

"*Resolved,* That it be earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the several states to refrain from further emissions of bills of credit, and where there is a sufficient quantity of Continental bills of credit for the purpose of a circulating medium, forthwith to call in by loans or taxes and to cancel the paper money, small bills for change under a dollar excepted. * * * and for the futuer, to provide for the exigencies of war, and the support of government by taxes to be levied within the year, or such other expedient as may produce a competent supply."[28]

Virginia promptly responded to this stirring appeal;[29] but in the meantime, some 7,000 British and Indians did more to restore confidence than all the resolutions of Congress, by surrendering at Saratoga, October 6, 1777. Just as war news will affect the financial world today, so it did then; and, combined with the efforts of Congress and the state authorities in that direction, it served to bring the currency back to par, and for a time there was some hope of keeping it at that level. The first item in the report of the Virginia Commissioners of Western Accounts is for 1,000£ voted on May 7, 1777, to James Barret as commissary to the troops that marched to Kentucky under Colonel Bowman in the summer of 1777.[30] This money was exchanged at specie in October of that year.[31]

It was under these propitious circumstances—the only time during the whole war that the financial situation wore a favorable aspect—that George Rogers Clark arrived at Williamsburg to settle his accounts as commanding officer of the Kentucky militia, and to propose the expedition into the Northwest Territory, as we learn from the following extracts from his diary:[32]

"[November]

5/ got to Williamsburgh lodged at Andersons had a Confirmain of Burgoins Surd 4/ 24ms [The 4 shillings were for lodgings; and the 24 miles, the distance that he had traveled that day.]
6/ Bought a ticket in the State lottery £3 Number 10..693 first Class
7/ went to the Auditors laid before them the Kentuck Acts. they refused to settle them without the consent of the Council
8/ got orders from the C C. for the auditors to settle them
9/ Sunday went to church

[28] 9 Jour. Cont. Cong., 954-955.
[29] 9 Hening, 349.
[30] Virginia State Library, Executive Journal.
[31] Virginia State Library, Vol. 6, Illinois Papers, p. 1.
[32] The original diary is in the Draper Collection (48J12) Madison, Wisconsin. A letter from Orlando Brown, son of the Honorable John Brown of Kentucky, to Mr. Draper, 4 November, 1845, says, "I had at one time General Clark's Manuscript Journal of a few of the first years of his residence in Kentucky which I loaned to Governor Morehead who never returned it." Governor Morehead published the greater part of the diary, together with his "Address;" and it was from him that Mr. Draper acquired it, as shown by their correspondence.

10/ Pased the accounts with the Auditors except my own which they refuse without the consent of the Councill
11/ [Nothing but this date is entered; and nothing at all for the next five days.]
18/ Settled with the Auditors drew the Money of the treasurer £726..23 Bought a piece of Cloth for a Jackote Price £4..15 Buttons & Morehairs 3/
19/ left Williamsburg after Breakfast Expense 9£..18 lodged a Warrens
20 got to Mr. Guthmeys Exp. 13/ [Gwathmeys. The name is pronounced as Clark spells it here. He spells it correctly sometimes.]
21 Staid at Do [Ditto]
22 Came to my Fathers
[Here follow two and a half blank pages, evidently left with the intention of filling in with the happenings at his father's during his visit there. This is as far as the Diary has ever appeared in print; and as all students seem to have used the printed copies, I have never seen any reference in print to the rest of it, dating from December 6, 1777, to March 30, 1778.]
December Monday 1st
the 6/ Started from my Fathers to Williamsburg....
.....
10/ Got to Williamsburg bought 2 Shirts and a Book £5
Proposed an Expedition against F. C. [Frontier Country] to the governor and council which they afterwards agree to I continue hear untill the 2/ day of Jany 78 Receivd orders to Carry out the Expedin agains F. C. oppoint W B Smith Majr he is to Raise 200 men and meet me at Kentuck last of March
3/ January 78 advance to Majr smith 150£ for sd. purpose
Received 1.200£ Publick Money for the Use of sd. Expedition
taken in partnership by his Excellency P Henry in taking a a [*sic*] Body of Land
4/ Started from Wmburg Expins £41..10.11 lodged at Kingw C house" [King William Court House.]

Every salutary measure which had been proposed was either in operation in Virginia upon Clark's arrival, or Acts were passed putting them into operation while he was there. His investment on November 6, shows that the lottery was in full swing. In June, the Assembly had made the currency legal tender in Virginia.[33] That same month, the loan office was established there and was proving successful.[34] Congress had added value to the loan system by giving the lender the option of drawing his interest in Continental bills of credit, or in bills of exchange on the United States Commissioners in Paris at five livres to the dollar.[35] It was while Clark was in Virginia that the Assembly, acting upon the recommendation of Congress, passed an Act authorizing the seizure of all provisions in excess of what was needed for the consumption of families, the value to be fixed by three freeholders.[36] In December, Congress recommended the recall of the paper money emitted under the authority of the Crown—all before April 19, 1775, "to stop circulation by enemies of false money"—meaning, that the enemy was circulating counterfeits of those emissions.[37] It was at the very time that Clark was laying before the Governor and Council his plans for the conquest of the British posts in the Northwest, that the Assembly adopted—December 13—the new tax schedule which covered practically

[33] Journal of the Virginia House of Delegates.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] 8 Jour. Cont. Cong., 724.
[36] 9 Hening, 386.
[37] 9 Jour. Cont. Cong., 935, 990.

all property, real and personal, including an income tax;[38] and ratified the confederation of the states—December 15. So, when Clark left Williamsburg on January 4, for the purpose of executing his plans, he had every reason to have faith in the ability of Virginia to maintain her credit; and we can believe him when he wrote later that at the time he drew his bills on Pollock—from the summer of 1778 to June, 1779—that he "knew no such thing as depreciation of currency."[39]

Even if Clark had not had personal confidence in the currency, as an officer of the state, he had no option to do otherwise than to pass it at par for it was legal tender. The law making it so reads:

"That all bills of credit emitted by authority of Congress ought to pass current in all payments, trade and dealings in this Commonwealth, and be deemed in value equal to the same nominal sum in Spanish milled dollars, or any other coin; and that whoever shall offer, ask, or receive more, in the said bills of credit emitted by authority of this Commonwealth, for any gold or silver coin, or other species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum or amount thereof, or more, in the said bills, for any lands, goods, or commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased at from the same person or persons in gold or silver, etc. . . . . or shall offer to sell any goods or commodities, etc. . . . . and refuse to sell the same for the said continental bills, or bills of this Commonwealth, every person so offending ought to forfeit the value of the money so exchanged, or house, or lands, or commodities so sold or offered for sale. That the bills of credit emitted by authority of Congress shall and ought to be a lawful tender in payment of all public and private debts, and a refusal thereof, or a refusal of the bills of credit emitted by the authority of this Commonwealth, an extinguishment of such debts. That debts payable in sterling money be discharged in either of the above kinds of money at the rate of 4s.6d. sterling per dollar, and that, in discharge of all other debts and contracts, continental dollars, and the dollars of this Commonwealth, pass throughout the same at the rate of 6s. per dollar.

"That this Commonwealth will make provision for calling in and sinking her just quota of the bills emitted by Congress at the several periods fixed, or that shall be fixed, by Congress, for that purpose."[40]

It does not take a moment's reflection to realize what the result must have been, had the officers acting for the state, declared the money to be less than its face value, when introducing it among a strange people.

Clark is accused amongst some of the interested French of having circulated this currency in great quantities. It hardly needs argument to refute this. He was given only £1,200 of public money to raise troops and carry on his expedition. One hundred and fifty pounds of this he turned over to Major Smith the day he received it. It is easy to believe what he wrote Jefferson when he said he arrived at the Illinois without any public funds, especially when we remember that he had appointed twelve others, besides Major Smith, to assist in the recruiting. That there was any *great quantity* of private capital amongst the whole of Clark's forces probably is not believed by any one. Clark speaks of drawing his pay as major. Most of his available private funds he had had before that, he had spent in improving his lands in Kentucky. He speaks, also, in his diary, of a partnership with Governor

[38] Jour. Va. House of Del., Virginia already had a tax on land and a pole tax. These were repealed when the new schedule was adopted.
[39] Clark to Pollock, 12 October, 1782, Va. State Lib., loose MSS., Illinois Papers.
[40] Jour. Va. House of Del., June 26, 1777.

Henry. What cash this may have involved, if any, I have never seen stated; but on the whole, making allowance for all probable monies in the party, it is hardly supposable that any very great quantity of money went with Clark's troops to the Illinois. A very large amount of American paper money did find its way there, however, through other channels.

The various expedients depended upon to sustain the money proved to be inadequate—some altogether impracticable, because of the foe without and dissensions within. On December 28, 1778, Congress issued the following proclamation:

"WHEREAS, A report hath circulated in divers parts of America, that Congress would not redeem the bills of credit issued by them to defray the expenses of the war but would suffer them to sink in the hands of the holder, whereby the value of the said bills hath, in the opinion of many of the good people of these states, depreciated; and lest the silence of Congress might give strength to the said report,

"*Resolved*, That the said report is false and derogatory to the honor of Congress."

Could Congress have given greater evidence of its impotence? This resolution probably served no other purpose than to remind the people of the place said to be paved with good intentions. They—the people—were becoming painfully aware that Congress could do little but to recommend and promise. The money kept on its downward course, in spite of the "honor of Congress," faster and faster as one expedient after another proved an utter failure. Taxation was started too late and was too slow to stem the tide of depreciation that set in again. The natural causes were bad enough, especially that of over-issue; but what threatened destruction to the whole financial fabric and with it the American cause, was the counterfeit money. Every state suffered from this practice. Virginia, in November, 1778, passed a law making it a "felony punishable with death without benefit of clergy, to counterfeit the currency, or to pass knowingly counterfeit money; or to have in possession instruments or material for the purpose of counterfeiting."[41]

The Continental emissions of April 20, 1777 and April 11, 1778 were counterfeited by the enemy in New York and the entire country so flooded with this spurious paper, that Congress decided to immediately call in these entire emissions. On January 2, 1779, a resolution was passed to that effect, and on the 13th, a circular letter was sent to each governor. The money was to be accepted for either state or Continental taxes at the several loan offices, or exchanged for new bills of like tenor. June 1, 1779, was the date fixed as the limit of time in which the bills would be received.[42]

Clark, away out in the Illinois, was ignorant of all these transactions. From the time he left Williamsburg, in January, 1778, until after his capture of Vincennes in February, 1779, he had never heard a word from the government. News of his capture of the British posts on the Mississippi had spread over the east, however, and as this gave promise of safe passage down the Ohio, traders flocked to that region.

[41] 9 Hening, 541. The first instance on record of counterfeiting in this country is that reported to Congress June 7, 1776, of a New Jersey woman who, "with the Privity of her Husband, has counterfeited several Bills of the Continental Currency," which she and the said husband both passed. It is noted with satisfaction that this Adam and Eve received exactly the same punishment.

[42] 13 Jour. Cont. Cong., 22, 59.

They arrived at the Illinois towns during Clark's absence on the Vincennes campaign. Here, among a people unfamiliar with American conditions, and in the absence of the American officers, these traders "engrossed" everything they could, especially provisions, knowing that the troops would have to depend upon them for supplies; and unloaded at par currency that they had acquired in the East at a value from eight to ten for one; also, a great deal of the counterfeit money that probably came to them direct as emissaries of the enemy issuing it. Having been assured by Clark and Vigo[43] that the Virginia currency was as good as Spanish gold or silver, the credulous French readily accepted for a time, any paper that promised "hard money." The traders soon "killed the goose that laid the golden egg," however, by outbidding each other in offering excessive amounts of this depreciated and counterfeit money. In April, when Clark returned, to his consternation he found that money had dropped to five for one. He did not know that even this was three times what it was then worth in the East. He wrote to the Governor on April 29:

"There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our moneys being discredited to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who came in my absence, each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent, by which the people conceive it to be of no value, and French and Spanish refused to take a farthing of it. Provision is three times the price it was two months past, and to be got by no other means than by my own bonds, goods or force. [Clark gave his own bonds freely to sustain the credit of the State and to feed his troops.]

"Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property, rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible that they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin. . . . . Public expenses in this country have hitherto been very low, and may still continue so if a correspondence is fixed at New Orleans for payment of expenses in this country, and gold and silver sent."[44]

John Todd, Jr.,[45] who had been appointed county lieutenant for the new county of Illinois, the December before, wrote from Kentucky on his way out, warning Clark against the counterfeits, and telling of the recall of the Continental money; but the damage had already been done before Clark received this letter. Unfortunately for all concerned, Todd delayed in Kentucky some weeks. When he did arrive at his post, he found the situation a most unenviable one—having to instill new ideas of government into a people whose language he did not know; to adapt his own ideas of justice to unfamiliar usages and temperaments

[43] Francis Vigo was an Italian by birth but known as the "Spanish merchant" because of his residence at St. Louis at the time of Clark's arrival at the Illinois towns. Later he moved to Vincennes. He was in full sympathy with the Americans from the first and rendered signal aid, not only to Clark but to every American officer in command in the Northwest Territory who applied to him in any way. He was of signal service to General Wayne who employed him upon important secret missions. It was largely because of Vigo's acceptance of the American currency and because, "in pursuance of the request of Col. Clark, and from a sincere disposition to aid him in the cause of his country, he requested the Inhabitants who were well acquainted with this deponent, to furnish Col. Clark with whatever might be needed and look to him for pay," that the French inhabitants of that country accepted the currency and Clark's bills. (Vigo's Memorial, written in his 88th year, praying for the payment of several thousands of dollars still due him for money he had advanced during the Revolution. Vol. 10, Illinois Papers, Virginia State Lib.)

[44] English's "Conquest," 395; Isaac Kellar's deposition, Va. State Lib., Ill. Papers, loose MSS.

[45] John Todd, designated as "Junior," to distinguish him from an uncle of the same name, came out to Kentucky in May, 1775, in company with about 30 "Young Gent. of good Families" who were viewed with suspicion at first by Henderson; because they were Virginians, he feared they would oppose his claim. They did not however, but settled there, and Todd was elected to the "first Kentucky Legislature," which convened at Boonesboro that same month. When Kentucky was erected into a county of Virginia, he was elected Delegate to the Virginia Legislature, and was serving in that capacity when word of Clark's success got to Williamsburg. He was immediately appointed to take charge of Illinois upon the erection of that county.

he did not understand; and worst of all, to restore confidence in what the French aptly termed, an "imaginary money."

Although Todd knew that the first of June was the final date for receiving the called in money, he counted upon a longer time being allowed the far away French to return theirs for redemption—merely because he thought it should be, not that he had any other known reason that it would be.[46] So he delayed issuing any orders for its recall until the latter part of July, over a month after the period for its redemption under the law had expired.[47] He did this undoubtedly for the purpose of first trying to re-establish the credit of the currency. Almost every method used in the East was tried here: First, he tried to *force* the people to receive it at par, not knowing that the legal tender law had become such a dead letter in the East that Virginia repealed it just after Todd reached the Illinois.[48] According to Colonel LeGras, many were imprisoned in Vincennes for refusing it.[49] Next, he tried to force down the prices of provisions, or in common parlance, he turned "bear," by imposing the embargo for a time, hoping thus to raise the purchasing value of the money by lowering the cost of what was to be bought, while laying in stores for Clark's proposed expedition against Detroit.[50] He tried, also, to apply the loan and land office system which was under consideration in Virginia at the time that he left there.

The first direct result of Clark's conquests was the sense of security given Virginia in her asserted right to the territory northwest of the Ohio, and the "Crown lands" on the southeast side of that river. The same day—November 19, 1778, (Clark's birthday)—that the letters and papers from Clark telling the result of his expedition were laid before the Assembly, "leave" was given George Mason and others to bring in a bill to establish the territory into a county of Virginia. This was followed, on December 18, with the promise that Virginia would, "in conjunction with such other of the United States, as have unappropriated back lands, furnish out of its territory, between the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, in such proportion as shall hereafter be adjusted and settled by Congress, its proper quota or proportion of such lands, without any purchase money, to the troops on continental establishment of such of the United States, as already have acceded, or shall within such time, given or indefinite, as to Congress shall seem best, accede to the confederation of the United States, and who have not within their own respective territory, unappropriated lands for that purpose."

The next day, the Assembly "Resolved" to reserve a portion of the crown lands—so called—for the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line.[51] The rest of her "waste and unappropriated lands" were to be used to "encourage the migration of foreigners hither, promote population, increase the annual revenue, and create a fund for discharging the public debt."[52]

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[46] John Todd to the Governor of Virginia, (4 Chicago Historical Society Collections, 317.)
[47] *Ibid.*, 305, Todd's Proclamation.
[48] Jour. Va. House, Del., June 19.
[49] LeGras to Governor of Virginia, May 22, 1780. (4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll. 329.) Colonel J. M. P. LeGras was a resident of Vincennes and one of the principal merchants of the new Illinois County. He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the militia at Vincennes by Clark; and Chief Magistrate of that place by Todd.
[50] 4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll., 321; 5 Illinois His. Coll., 101.
[51] Jour. Va. House Del., December 18, 1778.
[52] 10 Hening 50-65; Illinois His. Coll., Vol. 5, p. 75.

It was in view of the above plans which were under consideration while Todd was still in Virginia, that he proposed to borrow 33,333⅓ dollars for two years in amounts of not less than 100 dollars, issuing land certificates redeemable in a title to the holder's allotment of land, or gold or silver, at five per cent. Nearly 21,000 acres near Cahokia was the tract selected as collateral. The letter introducing this plan reads:

"Gentlemen—The only method that America has to support her present just War is by her Credit. That Credit at present is her Bills emitted from the different Treasuries by which she engages to pay the Bearer at a certain time Gold and Silver in Exchange. There is no friend to American independence who has any Judgment but soon expects soon to see it equal to Gold and Silver. Some dissatisfied persons & designing Speculators discredit it through Enmity or interest; the ignorant multitude have not Sagacity enough to examine into this matter, & merely from its uncommon quantity & in proportion to it arises the Complaint of its want of Credit. This has for some years been the Case near the Seat of War; the disorder has spread at last as far as the Illinois & calls loudly for a Remedy. In the interior this Remedy is a heavy Tax, now operating from which an indulgent government has exempted us, &c, &c."[53]

Up to this time, the French had never considered land in the light of a commodity. Neither, in the main, were they agriculturists;[54] but the suggestion of a tax was effective and large sums were exchanged for land certificates in the Illinois.[55]

Todd submitted his plan to the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor replied in the absence of the Governor, expressing his personal approval,[56] but the Assembly was already deeply engrossed with—what seemed to them—more serious land problems, and nothing was done for the inhabitants of Illinois County until June 20, 1780. Then at the instance of Colonel LeGras,[57] the Assembly *"Resolved,* That the called in emissions of Continental money, sealed up by the county or district commandants in Illinois, and certified, ought to be exchanged for other emissions.

"Resolved, That from the time they were so sealed up, until time of exchanging the same, the owners be allowed an equivalent for the depreciation, to be settled by the Governor and Council; provided application be made for such exchange within twelve months from the date hereof."[58]

In the meantime, an Act had been passed discouraging settlements northwest of the Ohio,[59] so the land certificates in that section were worthless as such. Todd had not considered it safe to send the money from the Illinois up to the time he left the country in November, 1779,

[53] 4 Chicago His. Soc Coll., 297-300. See also, 2 Illinois His. Coll., LXXI-III for Professor Clarence W. Alvord's discussion of Todd's financial policies.

[54] 5 Illinois His. Coll., 469.

[55] Jour. Va. House of Del., June 20, 1780; 2 Illinois His. Coll., LXXI-III.

[56] 4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll., 320.

[57] On Todd's return to Kentucky, he was again elected Delegate to the Virginia Legislature. He attended the May session and was on the committee to whom this matter was referred. (Jour. Va. House of Del., June 20, 1780.)

[58] *Ibid.* LeGras and Major Godfrey Linctot, Indian agent for Clark, set out the latter part of 1779, for the capital to present their bills. LeGras also represented the people of Vincennes, as District Commandant.

[59] 10 Hening, 161-162.

and had advised the inhabitants there to wait for a safe conveyance.[60] He never returned, and there was never again a regularly appointed civil commanding officer resident there. As conditions grew worse instead of better, the year allotted for making application for exchange passed, with the money still sealed up in Kaskaskia, and the people left to get satisfaction as best they might with the certificates in hand. Those who had put their certificates into the hands of Colonel LeGras, appear to have fared all right—that is, to have received new bills in exchange for the old.

This land scheme was tried to overcome the effects of Colonel Montgomery's arrival with still more of this paper money. It, as well as all other methods of restoring credit, failed. Money had remained at five for one at Kaskaskia until the arrival of Colonel Montgomery, who had been appointed to raise reinforcements to join Clark at the same time that Todd was appointed commandant and county lieutenant; but he did not arrive at Kaskaskia until the 29th of May. He had been given £10,000 of paper money as pay for the western troops and other expenses, all of it being of the called in emissions; but it had been given him before the resolution of Congress was known. Before he got away from the eastern settlements, money was worth only ten for one in that section. Consequently, upon his arrival at Kaskaskia with this information, money dropped from five to ten—that is, at Kaskaskia. At other Illinois points, it rated higher all during the year of 1779 than at Kaskaskia. When Major Bowman joined Clark with the Cahokia militia in June, he wrote his uncle Isaac Hite, in Frederick: "Money has become so plenty here with us by traiders from Different Quarters that it does not rate at above half as high as it does any where else in the United States."

Bowman's knowledge of the rest of the United States at that time was confined to the Illinois towns. At the time he wrote that, when paper was worth 10 to 1 at Kaskaskia, it had really dropped to 20 at the seaboard. This fact was ascertained by Captain Linctot and LeGras when they went on shortly after to try to settle with the government.

Being without public funds on taking the Illinois, (July, 1778) to meet his expenses, Clark drew bills of exchange on Pollock[61] and the Treasurer of Virginia, payable in the money current at New Orleans and Virginia, respectively; but all at the specie rate until after he learned that the state's credit was not good. These bills were all drawn after depreciation had taken place in Virginia, however. Of course, those on Pollock went to New Orleans. Many drawn on Virginia went

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[60] John Todd to the Governor of Virginia, August 18, 1779. (Chicago His. Coll., 318.) Todd's own clothes were "captured by the enemy on their removal from the Illinois." (Jour. Va. House of Del., June 23, 1780.)

[61] Oliver Pollock was an Irishman by birth. He came with the rest of the family to America when he was quite young. They settled in Pennsylvania and Oliver later became a merchant in Philadelphia. When the trade of this country with the colonies of other nations was cut off, he removed to the West Indies, and finally, in 1769, to New Orleans where, under the patronage of the Spanish Governor, he acquired a monopoly of the British trade at New Orleans. Like most Americans of Irish descent, he espoused the cause of the United States from the first, and ruined himself financially in the interest of the country to which he "owed everything but birth." (See "George Rogers Clark's Campaign of 1780," Chicago Historical Society.) He acted as commercial agent for both Virginia and Continental Congress.

there also, and found a ready market as negotiable paper through Pollock's support of American credit.[62]

After depreciation began on the Mississippi, Clark and Todd still believed that the government would be able to restore the credit of the currency. Both the state and Congress were promising to redeem their bills in gold and silver. The new Continental bills issued to replace the called-in emissions, read:

"The bearer is entitled to receive [an equal number of] Spanish milled dollars, or an equal sum in gold or silver, according to the resolution of Congress of the 14 January 1779."

It was only when his bills on Pollock came back protested for want of funds, with word from Pollock that he had exhausted every private resource without ever having received the "scrape of a pen" from Clark, Virginia or Congress about remittances or the establishment of credit;[63] and hearing from Jefferson that he, likewise, had had to protest Clark's bills, that Clark became fully aware of the real situation. He wrote to Jefferson:

"It shocks my pride to find the credit of my country so totally lost on the Mississippi and elsewhere. . . . . It has been as impossible for me to conduct myself agreeable to the times as it was for me to know them, owing to my distant situation."[64]

Even after hearing from Pollock, that the state had not established credit of any kind at New Orleans, they still supposed that Virginia had command of some specie at home, until learning differently from Jefferson, more than seven months later; and, in anticipation of the higher prices that they feared would arise because of the protest at New Orleans, both Clark and Todd laid in large quantities of peltries —which were current in that country as nearly the equivalent of gold and silver—as funds to supply the future needs of their respective departments, giving drafts on the government but expecting payments to be made on specie basis, even at the prevailing high prices. Had they attempted to pay for those furs in bills payable in the paper money at the rate then current, it is plain to be seen what would have happened to the prices of peltries before Clark or Todd could have laid in a supply.[65]

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[62] As long as there were any resources at his command, Pollock accepted even our paper money which was not current at New Orleans—at "dollar for dollar—silver for currency." (Pollock to Patrick Henry, July 17, 1779. Draper Coll., 49J60.)

[63] Draper Coll., 49J5.

[64] Draper Coll., 23J224-228.

[65] Illinois His. Soc. Coll., V. 363: 115; 130-131; 146-147; 128. Clark to LeGras, (Jour. Va. House of Del. May 5, 1783); 4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll., 348; 358.

The western commissioners, in trying to adjust Todd's papers, after he had died, had no way of telling whether his bills for the peltries had been drawn for specie or currency, but as the peltries were worth two livres per pound and Todd paid three, they concluded that the price must have been in currency. They lost sight of the fact that one silver dollar was worth from ten to fifteen paper dollars in Illinois at that time; and that if he had drawn for currency, the price would have been ten times, at least, the specie price, instead of only half as much again, as the peltries were the equivalent of specie on both sides of the river. The 50 per cent probably was charged for the trouble, time and expense of collecting, at Richmond, since the price of two livres meant payment *at St. Louis or the Illinois.* The Officers had that condition to contend with almost from the first, in Kentucky as well as in Illinois. Cash prices were often just about half what was asked for credit accounts—when the latter could be had at all.

It was Beauregard, from whom Todd bought the furs, who brought the word from Pollock that he was out of funds. (Pollock to Clark, Draper Coll., 49J31.) There came with him one Joseph Perrault whose bills were among those protested. Being unable to get any satisfaction from Clark (5 Illinois His. Coll., 99) he set out with Colonel David Rodgers in October, 1779, to go to Congress about them. He was captured by the Indians when Rodgers was defeated by them on his way up the Ohio, and horribly tortured; but was released a few years later The bills captured with him amounted to over 11,000 dollars. (3 Virginia Calendar of State Papers, 538.)

The French had a grudge against Beauregard for his part in letting Todd secure the furs, and referred to him later as a tool of Pollock's. (5 Illinois His. Coll., 334.)

It was not until after these furs had been contracted for and Clark's delivered, that Todd wrote (23 August, 1779) to LeGras to call for and seal up the called-in emissions, explaining for the first time that certificates "will be necessary for this reason, because after the first of June it [the called-in money] was lost to the owner by order of Congress, if it was not paid into some Continental office. The Congress, I expect, have made provision for Illinois on account of the impossibility of transmitting it down by the first of June. It is therefore necessary that Illinois money be prevented from mixing with any other, lest the whole be rejected on that account. I enclose you a copy of the certificates granted by me, with the advertisement."[66]

For ordinary supplies, Clark ordered his "Conductor General"[67] to draw all bills of exchange on the Treasurer of Virginia, in making his purchases.

Having been disappointed in the reinforcements he had expected in the summer and in consequence thereof, having to abandon his plans against Detroit for the time being, he made his headquarters at the Falls of Ohio which he had ordered fortified. After establishing there, he put into execution in Kentucky, a loan scheme similar to Todd's, by which he hoped to recruit sufficient forces to conduct the expedition he had set his heart upon; and at the same time to relieve the western country of some of its excess paper. He accordingly issued the following advertisement:

"WHEREAS, The Expenses of Government require a far Greater quantity of Money, than I am at present Supplied with, and persons entitled to the preemption of land Will be obliged to send their Money to the Registry office, which will be attended with risque—this is therefore to notify all persons that I will Borrow on behalf of Government Such Sums as they Shall be disposed to Lend, giving the lender such Certificates thereof as shall entitle him to receive the same Sum in Williamsburg with out delay from the Treasury on application to his Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) Geo R Clark

Borrowed of—A—B—one thousand Dollars to answer the demands of Government in my department, which is by contract to be repaid by the Treasurer on demand.

Given under my hand and Seal Head Quarters at the falls of Ohio this.....day.....1779

(Signed) G R C.....(seal)"[68]

By the time that Clark went on to Virginia, the latter part of 1780, he had collected a large amount which he took on to Richmond together with his own vouchers for expenditures, and turned them in at the Auditor's office, just before Arnold's raid on that city. Misfortune seems to have followed Clark from the time he captured Vincennes, and this occasion was no exception; for all of his papers were among those burned by the traitor. He had a certificate for the money and was allowed for the full amount of the loans; but the burning of the vouchers caused an almost unsurmountable obstacle to the final settlement of his accounts.[69]

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[66] 4 Chicago His. Coll., 320; 5 Illinois His. Coll., 333.

[67] William Shannon. In his Order Book is a copy of the order from Clark dated June 13, saying, "As I find an inconvenience in your continuing to issue Notes for provisions, &c.....you will in future draw Bills of Exchange on Treasurer of Virginia." (Virginia State Library, Illinois papers, loose MSS. P.)

[68] Draper Coll., 46J34.

[69] Draper Coll., 2ZZ75, 46J54, 46J22, 46J25; Jour House Del., 1783, Dec. 9 and 12.

LeGras, who had bills for large sums of his own that he had advanced to the state; and Linctot, who had furnished Clark's supply of peltries,[70] were the first to go to the seat of government for a settlement, however; and it only needed the protesting of their bills to utterly demoralize the currency in the Illinois.

Not knowing conditions, and because the bills of credit read that way, Clark made his bills exchangeable for Spanish milled dollars, but the two Frenchmen presented their bills expecting Spanish dollars. Jefferson wrote to Clark: "The demands of Colo. Legras and Capn. Lintot coming on us now, and it being impossible to raise hard money to discharge them, we are utterly at a loss what to do with them."[71]

And he asked Clark for light upon the subject.

While Jefferson was awaiting information from Clark, LeGras went on to Philadelphia[72] to see what Congress was going to do about the Illinois called in bills. After waiting for two months around that place for first Congress than the Virginia delegates to consider his case, he was referred back to the Virginia Assembly, which, as before stated, settled the case in favor of the western inhabitants to the extent of giving them new paper for old.[73] During his absence in Philadelphia, another man appeared in Richmond who was to interfere with his getting the other bills settled, for some time at least.

To anyone who has made a study of the western accounts, the name of Simon Nathan is almost as familiar as that of Clark. He was referred to in Virginia as the "Philadelphia Jew;" but he had been a merchant at Havana. The arrival of the British fleet in the southern waters and the military operations in that direction put a stop to all trade between the West Indies and the continent. Nathan came to this country at that time by way of New Orleans, bearing a letter of introduction from Oliver Pollock to the authorities in the East.[74] He bought up a number of Clark's bills—it is said at Havana and New Orleans; but a bill in favor of Mme. Rocheblave at Kaskaskia for 200 dollars, was endorsed by her directly to him.[75] So he probably took in the Illinois towns on his way East. At any rate, he took up some bills that he probably would not have taken, had he been a resident in America for a longer period, namely, some of Todd's and Clark's loan certificates, for which he claimed to have paid dollar for dollar. The majority of the bills were for goods; but all of them were drawn after depreciation had taken place in Illinois.[76]

It happened, that among Nathan's bills, were some drawn in favor of LeGras and Linctot,[77] who had, shortly before Nathan's arrival in

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[70] One thing that took Linctot to Richmond, was to conduct a party of Indians who wished to see their great Father.

[71] 5 Illinois His. Coll., 146.

[72] Linctot left LeGras to look after money matters and he started back with his Indians. At Pittsburg he met Colonel Mottin de La Balme, one of the French soldiers of fortune seeking fame in America. He and Linctot became very friendly and in a few months, La Balme went out to the Illinois.

[73] 16 Jour. Cont. Cong., 362; 17 Jour. Cont. Cong., 416; Jour. Va. House of Del., June 5 & 20.

[74] No. 50 Papers Cont. Cong., loose MSS.

[75] Va. State Lib., Illinois papers, loose MSS.

[76] A list of Nathan's bills, giving their values at depreciated rates &c, is printed in the Va. Jour. House of Del. May Session, 1783, p. 83.

[77] Inhabitants of Illinois to the Commissioners: "Some of us sent these bills by way of New Orleans and others by land, while others, still confiding in the justice of government, are keeping them in their possession." 5 Illinois His. Coll., 332.

Richmond, claimed to have contracted for specie.[78] So, when Nathan presented his bills as having all been negotiated at that rate, Jefferson accepted them on that basis, to be paid for in tobacco. He personally endorsed each separate bill: "March, 1780, accepted, to be discharged in tobacco at twenty-five shillings the hundred, by advice of Council. Th Jefferson."[79]

Then, hearing from Clark that he had begun to draw on Virginia at current rates, and that he had not meant that Linctot's and LeGras' bills *must* be in actual coin[80]—as they supposed—Jefferson feared he had been hasty in accepting Nathan's bills at par and refused to accept any others until certified by Clark, since LeGras insisted upon specie.[81] So the latter had to return home unsatisfied as to this part of his business. He wrote to Clark:

"The Governor and Council of Virginia have refused to pay me for want of such Certificate. They are in doubt if your intention was to draw for hard cash or for limber Dollars."[82]

Right here is the root of the chief cause of confusion and delay in the adjustment of the western accounts. Believing, as he did, that Virginia would be able to redeem her promises and her currency, Clark had known no necessity for specifying the nature of the money expected in payment of his bills beyond the expression used in the bills of credit.[83] When he did begin to draw at current rates, his bills simply called for so many dollars "due from the state of Virginia." It was because Jefferson did not understand the distinction, and thought that Clark had drawn on the Governor and Treasurer of Virginia *only* at the depreciated rate, that he stopped payment on the bills he had just accepted from Nathan, and thus created one of the tangles in western finances that threw both Virginia and Congress into spasms for many years; and in its ramifications, had an international bearing.[84] It was Nathan's seizure of some government goods that precipitated the appointment of the Commissioners of Western Accounts.[85]

A word as to this commission. Why was a special commission pointment of the Commissioners of Western Accounts.[85]

The first reason lies in the Act creating the County of Illinois and its interpretation by the Auditor General and Jefferson. Todd's account first brought up the subject. He was anxious to quit his office before six months were up and asked to have his accounts settled and to be relieved. Jefferson turned the matter over to the General Assembly with the message that[86] "The expenditures of the Illinois have been deemed from some expressions in the act establishing that county not subject to the examination of the board of Auditors as the Auditing

[78] It is a question whether a business man like LeGras really believed he should expect specie for the depreciated money he had advanced; for some of it at least, he and the others must have acquired after its depreciation.

[79] Jour. Va. House of Del., Mat Session, 1783, p. 74.

[80] Draper Coll., 23J224-228.

[81] LeGras to Governor of Virginia, May 22, 1780. (4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll., 328.)

[82] Draper Coll., 50J54.

[83] Pollock had the same kind of experiences over bills that he contracted for Congress, through the holders interpreting literally the expression borrowed from the bills of credit about payment in gold or silver.

[84] It was in the fall of 1780 that Todd and Clark made out the scale of depreciation from memory for Jefferson. Their "bills drawn on the Governor and Treasurer of Virginia (when it was known that none but paper dollars were in circulation) such were negotiated as paper dollars according to depreciation at time of drawing." (Jour. Va. House of Del., 1783, p. 74.)

[85] Vol. 2 Va. Cal. State Papers, p. 236.

[86] Vol. 1 Va. Cal. State Paper., p. 360.

these accounts is very foreign to the ordinary office of the Council of State * * * and as their powers would not enable them to take into the consideration the justice and expediency of indemnifying Col. Todd for his losses and services, as desired in the enclosed letter from Him, of the thirteenth instant, they beg leave to submit the whole to the consideration of the General Assembly."[87]

The *chief* reason for the appointment of such a commission was the contemplated cession of the Northwest Territory by Virginia to the Continental Congress, with a condition that Congress should reimburse Virginia for its outlay in conquering and defending it. This made it most desirable to keep those accounts separate from the accounts of the state in general, so as to have them in convenient form to present to the joint commission to be appointed by Congress and the state.

A word too, about the sincerity of the French in accusing Clark and his officers of personal deceit. Did they themselves believe this?

When La Balme arrived in that country (September, 1780), it was the *government* of Virginia that they were railing against. They had learned through Linctot and LeGras that the government as well as Pollock, was protesting the bills which they had received. The worthless money that had been sent by the government had been replaced by other paper almost as worthless in that country.[88] In the spring, while LeGras was in the East, they had been threatened with destruction by the British and Indians, and had had to provide for the expedition that was sent after the retreating invaders from the North—this too, when their crops of the previous summer had failed; and, what seems to have been the greatest offense of all, Todd's purchase of the peltries just at the time that they learned of the worthlessness of the currency that Todd's state had foisted upon them. The inhabitants wrote to the western commissioners, March 1, 1783, and in speaking of this purchase said: "It was the fatal epoch of our ruin, for he announced a short time thereafter, that there was a quantity of counterfeit money which he identified and valued for each individual who, guided by the best intentions in the world, had received it up to that time * * *."[89]

It is no wonder, then, that they accepted LaBalme as a leader with the hope that he would drive out both the Americans and the British, when trading upon the temper he found them in, he told them:

"It is well that you be informed, gentlemen, that the troops of the state of Virginia have come here against the will of the other states of America, as I learned from the members of Congress, even before my departure from Philadelphia . . . . it is important that you try to compel the state of Virginia to redeem the paper money . . . . and you must solicit for the recall from your country the troops which annoy you against all right, since you are espousing the cause of the King of France and his allies, &c., &c."[90]

Later, when they wished something at the hands of the government of Virginia, the state was all right, but it was her officers who had practiced deceit and wronged them by trading upon their simplicity. This may have been true of some, for there were all sorts of characters in that region and period, but certainly no one could have played upon

[87] While in Richmond, LeGras wrote to Jefferson: "Persons in authority (by your orders) have circulated them as such the paper bills as of the value of the piastre and have assured us authentically that there would be nothing lost." (4 Chicago His. Soc. Coll. 328.)
[88] 5 Illinois His. Coll., 333.
[89] *Ibid.*, 183.
[90] *Ibid.*, 233.

that simplicity with more ingenuity or variety than did some of the French themselves. They learned its value early and they worked it late. In almost every petition and memorial, from 1780 on, the writers impressed upon the persons addressed that the French were a most simple-minded people and *so* easily deceived.

Sometimes, their denunciation of the troops was general; at others, they excepted Clark, as in the petition from the inhabitants of Kaskaskia to the Governor of Virginia, May 4, 1781: "which provisions were paid for in a paper-money and letters of exchange which Colonel Clark told us were equal in value to Spanish piastres; and with this money [those who received it] *sic* were not able to procure what they needed or to make any use of it. Consequently it remained in our hands, since it was of no value. In regard to this we have no complaint to make against the said M. Clark."[91]

If some of the memorializing French did question Clark's motives in regard to the matter, their opinion was not shared by the man who, next to Clark was most instrumental in getting the people to accept the paper money, and next to Clark and Pollock, was the greatest loser by it—Francis Vigo. He wrote to Clark on July 15, 1811:

"Permit an old man who has witnessed your exertions in behalf of your country in its revolutionary struggle to address you at the present moment. When reviewing the events which have succeeded those important times, I have often thought that I had reasons to lament that the meritorious services of the best Patriots of those days were too easily forgotten and almost taxed my adopted Country with ingratitude, But when I saw that on a late occasion the fourth of July last, the Citizens of Jefferson County and vicinity from a spontaneous impulse of gratitude and esteem had paid an unfeigned tribute to the veteran (to whose) skill (and valor) America and Kentucky owe so much, I (then) repelled the unwelcome idea of national ingratitude and my sentiments chimed in unison with those of the worthy Citizens of Kentucky towards the savior of this once distressed Country. Deprived of the pleasure of a personal attendance on that day, I took this method of manifesting to you Sir, that I participated in the general sentiments.

Please Sir to accept this plain but genuine offering from a man whom you honored once with your friendship, and who will never cease to put up prayers to heaven that the evening of your days may be serene and happy.

I have the honor to be Sir your most obed Sert

Vigo"[92]

If there be any who question Vigo's fitness to form an estimate of a man's character, let them read this testimonial to Vigo. This is not an opinion, but the affidavit of a man who became President of the United States seven years after offering this in support of Vigo's petition in 1834, for money spent to save the Illinois. William Henry Harrison wrote:

"I have been acquainted with Colonel Francis Vigo of Vincennes, for 39 years, and during the thirteen years I was governor of Indiana, I lived in the same town with him, upon terms of the most intimate friendship . . . . with respect to the credibility of Col. Vigo's statement, I solemnly declare, I believe him utterly incapable of making a misrepresentation of the facts however great may be his interest in the matter; I am also confident that there are more respectable persons in Indiana, who would become the guarantees of his integrity, than could be induced to lay under a similar responsibility for any other person. His whole life, as long as his circumstances were prosperous, was spent in Acts of kindness & benevolence to

[91] Draper Coll., 55J77.

individuals—& his public spirit and attachment to the institutions of our Country, proverbial."[92]

Surely the opinion of a man who can call forth such an endorsement as that, is worth something as against interested general assertions of memorialists—assertions oftenest made for them by interested agents. Not once, does Vigo in his memorial or elsewhere, question Clark's honor in any way, although he lost so much money through him.

Let it be remembered that when a man has been involved in what turns out to be a questionable affair, in which he loses his own money, he is usually credited with being personally honest in the matter. Clark certainly proved his faith in the government back of the money he spent in Illinois Country when he made himself personally responsible for the state's debts. But what hurt him most was what others lost through him. When he went to Richmond after the close of the war to settle his accounts, and learned the attitude of many in the East towards the Illinois, he wrote to Governor Benjamin Harrison:

"It is with pain equal to the misfortune that cause it that I daily view persons in this city and reflect on others not here that have reduced themselves to a state of indigence by supporting the credit of the state to the westward with a zeal that I at one time thought actuated the breast of every friend to this country."[93]

A great many of those accounts that he had endorsed, he had to pay—Linctot's among them—until he had little left but encumbered lands. In 1805, he sent his last, and, as usual, unsuccessful appeal for relief. The government did eventually pay all that was owing to him, but not until he had been dead for many years. Still, in the letter to Colonel Breckenridge, asking the Colonel to present his last memorial, he said:

"The quantity of land called for is considerable it will not more than compensate me for the losses I have actually sustained by my involving myself so imprudently in the public expenses which I doubt without assistance I never shall get clear of, but a country was at Stake, and if it was imprudence, I suppose I should do the same should I again have a similar Field to pass through."[94]

[92] Draper Coll., 52J86.
[93] *Ibid*, 54J49.
[94] Va. State Library, Vol. 10, (Illinois Paper.)

SENATOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND THE GERMANS IN 1854.

(By F. I. Herriott, Professor of Economics and Political Science Drake University.)

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 Stephen A. Douglas reached the zenith of his power and fame. In the shocks and storms of that momentous struggle his picturesque and potent character stood forth triumphant. His victory, however, was the beginning of the end of his influence; for it let loose the cosmic forces in opposition that co-ordinated and concentrated in the person of Abraham Lincoln, who rived and sundered his strength and finally overwhelmed him and drove the guardians of slavery from the seats of authority.

In the time at my disposal I wish to deal with some of the relations of the Germans to the storm of opposition that suddenly darkened the political heavens in January, 1854, and culminated and broke with terrific force upon the head of Senator Douglas because of his part in the introduction and passage of the Nebraska bill that worked the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

It is not my purpose to discuss the pros and cons of Senator Douglas' bill or his course in respect of the Missouri Compromise, or his character or consistency as a statesman, or the justice of the conduct of the Germans in regard to the Nebraska bill and its author. What the Germans did, why and how they acted, and the consequences to Douglas and to themselves—these constitute my objectives. Even thus limited, it is obvious that only a general outline of the chief events and a summary of major facts are feasible if the objectives contemplated are compassed.

I.

Professor von Holst has given currency to an opinion respecting the course of the Germans in that struggle that has been almost universally accepted. Prior to 1854, we are told, Germans, while philosophically opposed to slavery rarely made direct attacks against the institution, regarding it, subject to the restrictions of the ordinance of 1787 and the Compromise of 1820, as a matter of course—an obnoxious thing to be sure, but to be endured, if thus confined. The Nebraska bill of Senator Douglas shocked their peace of mind; and the opposition of the Germans to its passage was instant, intense and widespread. Their opposition was the protest of militant consciences aroused by what seemed in their eyes, "an outrageous breach of faith against which the German consciousness of right and German rectitude rebelled," and their keen apprehension of danger to the Republic whose safety was as

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dear as life itself to the refugees from oppression in Europe. So sudden, sweeping and violent was their opposition that it resembled a tidal wave following a seismic convulsion.

Professor von Holst does not specify any immediate considerations, such as particular or peculiar interests, as the efficient causes of the belligerent attitude of the Germans towards the Nebraska bill. The four pages devoted by him to the Germans in his History (IV-426-430) consist virtually of metaphysical assertions as to the character and causes of their indignation at the violation of the sacred pact of 1820. One might conclude from his narrative that the Germans were impelled and controlled simply and solely by philosophical data, legal canons, and ethical maxims. Save two facts barely mentioned in a foot note he does not refer to any particular activities or expressions of the Germans in that controversy; and one phase of the bill that had peculiar significance for the Germans he pronounced unimportant.

Mr. Rhodes in his History assumes the exposition of Dr. von Holst and adds but little thereto.

The assertions and assumptions of these two major historians have been generally accepted by those writing since their volumes were published. Thus Professor Faust in his recent encyclopaedic study of the Germans reproduces the essential portions of von Holst's narrative.

Students who desire a bill of particulars as to the causes and conditions producing such a revolution in German sentiment in 1854 will suffer both disappointment and surprise if they seek light in the *Memoirs* of Gustav Koerner or in the *Reminiscences* of Carl Schurz. Koerner was a party associate of Douglas and a potent chief in the party councils of the Democratic party of Illinois; but he promptly revolted when his party champion introduced his notorious measure. Schurz in 1854 was alertly, intently studying the matters in issue, the attitudes of the parties in controversy, and for some time was present in Washington, watching at close range the actors and measures in that eventful drama. But aside from vast generalities prompted by philanthropy or philosophy, expressing natural abhorrence of slavery or dread of the extension of that obnoxious institution, their recollections give us no details that suggest prosaic, practical considerations that had an immediate personal interest to Germans, as Germans—considerations that ordinarily alone impel and compel human nature to energetic action and endeavor.

In what follows I have no reckless or impious purpose of breaking lances with either of the distinguished historians cited; prudence prevents and benefits deter. Some of their assumptions and assertions, may be disturbed; but subject to qualification their generalizations can to a very considerable degree be sustained, as substantial. Here, I venture to undertake an exhibit of some of the major particulars in the politics of 1854 that produced the upheaval among the Germans upon the introduction of the Nebraska bill.

II

On Wednesday, January 4, 1854, Senator Douglas, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported a bill for the establishment of the Territory of Nebraska and submitted with it a report setting forth the committee's reasons for incorporating the provision therein affecting

slavery. Its revolutionary character was instantly felt and the great New York dailies, the *Herald, Evning Post,* and *Tribune,* proclaimed the fact and anti-slavery guardians began sounding the alarm. The somewhat dubious circumlocution of the pivotal provisions of the bill produced confusion and perplexity. Its equivocal character was soon rent and the real object of the bill made clear by the amendment proposed on Monday, January 16, by Henry Clay's successor, Senator Dixon of Kentucky, declaring in flat terms that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was specifically designed. On Monday, January 23, Senator Douglas offered a substitute for his first bill incorporating the Dixon amendment and providing for two territorial organizations—namely for Kansas and Nebraska. Monday, January 30, the battle was on, and the great council chamber of the nation was in an uproar. Senator Douglas in a towering rage attacked Senators Chase of Ohio and Sumner of Massachusetts for language used by them in an "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States." Meantime in the country at large the opposition was in full hue and cry—the like of which the country probably had never witnessed before.

Except the object of the bill itself and the consequences to Germans of introducing slavery into the territory, there was little in the measure Douglas at first personally urged to which Germans could object on the ground of direct discrimination. One clause, however, created adverse inquiry and suggested prejudice. The privileges of suffrage and of holding office in the new territories was to be confined to citizens or to those who had "declared their intention" to become citizens and who further had taken "an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act." These clauses seemed to squint towards an adverse policy as regards immigrants. The bill in the oath prescribed apparently enforced approval of the institution of slavery permitted thereunder. Not a little was made of the clause in public discussion.

On March 2 Senator Clayton of Delaware moved to amend the clause just mentioned by confining the rights of voting and office holding solely to citizens of the United States. Senators Walker of Wisconsin and Chase of Ohio vigorously opposed the amendment. Each Senator represented states wherein Germans were at once potent and preponderant at the polls as they possessed the balance of power. The amendment passed nevertheless by a narrow majority—the vote being 23 to 21. Only two northern Senators—Messrs. Broadhead of Pennsylvania and Clayton of Delaware—voting for it. Senators Douglas and Shields of Illinois both voted against it. Neither, however, spoke against it.

The Clayton amendment if concurred in by the House would have marked a radical change—a reversal in fact—in the liberal policy of the national government of half a century in respect of the foreign-born in our policies and polity. It would have been the first national nativistic statute since the repeal of the alien and sedition laws of malodorous memory.

Thus amended the Nebraska bill passed the Senate on the morning of Saturday, March 4, by a vote of 37 to 14. Senators Douglas and

Shields of Illinois, Dodge and Jones of Iowa, Stuart of Michigan, Broadhead of Pennsylvania, were among those voting for it.

Professor von Holst curtly dismissed the Clayton amendment with a bare mention, as a matter of slight importance only in the parliamentary maneuvers in the progress of the bill through the two houses —but of no general interest or significance, save as it suggested nativistic prejudice then rapidly assuming importance. If I do not utterly misjudge the political situation in 1854 the Clayton amendment was a fact of paramount importance.

Sundry explanations of the purpose of the amendment were current. The ardent support given it by Senator Atchison of Missouri was taken by the *Anzeiger* and other papers of St. Louis, as indicating a plot of that statesman again to unhorse ex-Senator Benton—as the latter faced the crux of satisfying the belligerent Know Nothings of the rural counties of Missouri and holding the support of the militant Germans of St. Louis. The New York *Herald* correspondent declared (May 12) that Senator Clayton had moved its adoption in order to load Douglas' bill down and thus kill it. The sincerity of the Senator from Delaware can, I think, hardly be questioned in the light of his well known "Americanistic" attitude. But the charge that his amendment was one of the chief obstructions to prompt consideration of the bill in the House is true.

The storm produced by the Nebraska bill terrified even sturdy Democrats. Mr. Cutting of New York, no doubt with a weather eye on his German constituents on Manhattan, declared, March 21, that in "such a grave and serious question" deliberation was desirable, and despite protests moved its reference to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and resorted to that measure of daring or desperate men in parliamentary crises, the previous question—well knowing that he was consigning it to a Serbonian bog whence measures seldom emerge. Therein the bill slumbered for two months although there were intermittent debate and speeches upon it. Many dispatches pronounced the bill dead; but the New York *Abendzeitung* warned against over-confidence. On April 27 the bill's demise was announced, as it were, *ex cathedra,* by Greeley's *Tribune.* But Senator Douglas had not been reckoned with.

On April 23 the *New York Herald* announced that the friends of the bill were "going to make a desperate effort" to rush it through on a "double quick." The opposition however was too stout and stubborn. Finally, its advocates realized that the *Herald's* assertion that it could not pass with the Clayton amendment was correct. Hence we begin to observe the comment that said amendment was not originally included in the bill; and that it was not essential to the principle of the bill; and hence the suspicion of many that it was shrewdly added to serve as a mill stone. Early in May rumors of designs to get it out of the committee began circulating. On May 8, Col. Richardson of Illinois, Douglas' efficient and faithful supporter, assisted by the astute Stephens of Georgia, began a series of shrewd parliamentary maneuvers, cut through the calender, took up the House file, substituted the Senate bill, minus the Clayton amendment, and by masterful tactics after a

furious battle finally forced the measure through May 22. Three days later the House bill was put through the Senate and sent to President Pierce for approval and the epoch-making Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law.

The Clayton amendment was a fact of primary distinction in producing the agitation among the Germans in March, as we shall see; and its excision was the *sine qua non* whereby Senator Douglas in the desperate battle in the House at last rescued his fatal bill from the pit of oblivion.

The ghost of the Clayton amendment, however, would not down. Throughout later congressional proceedings and in the discussions in the partisan press and on the hustings anti-slavery leaders saw the apparition and warned the Germans against its malign presence. Col. Benton discovered it in the law in June and proclaimed that it had been surreptitiously inserted in the provisions controlling suffrage and office already referred to. The *Abendzeitung* of New York again took alarm. During the campaign the *National Era, The New York Evening Post, The Chicago Daily Tribune,* and several papers in Iowa contended that the law governing Kansas and Nebraska excluded foreigners after the first election. Thus the *Illinois Journal* of June 26, closed a cogent leader with the following paragraph:

"As the great bulk of the future settlers of Nebraska will be foreigners and emigrants from the free states, it is obvious that so far as governing themselves, the inhabitants of the territory will have comparatively little to do with making or administering the laws. * * * Such is the character of the bill which Senator Douglas said was based upon the right of the people to govern."

The *Register* replied with a broadside of denials and explanations. Nevertheless, the *Journal* continued steadily firing shots of this sort during the campaign.

Let us now realize the direct appeal made to the Germans by the anti-slavery leaders at Washington and throughout the North in the agitation precipitated by the introduction of the Nebraska bill in January.

III

The Germans we shall see were as quickly and as keenly aware of the significance of the Nebraska bill and Douglas' report as native anti-slavery leaders and editors. But had they not been, they would have been duly aroused by the direct appeals made to them by the chief organizers of the fight in opposition.

The National Era, in many respects the most influential of the strictly anti-slavery organs of the country, in an editorial January 19th on "The Nebraska Affair" directed attention to the interest of foreigners in the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Sundry facts should be kept in mind in measuring the significance of the editorial and of the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" that is subsequently quoted.

The editor, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, had lived for many years at Cincinnati where he had edited an anti-slavery paper—the *Philanthropist* —and he knew the temperaments and sentiments of the German population of that city; moreover Dr. Bailey was an intimate of Salmon P.

Chase, a resident of Cincinnati—it is an even chance that Chase wrote the editorial quoted.

"We are glad to see that the Bill & Report on the subject of Nebraska * * * are beginning to be understood. * * *

Another element will soon be added to the agitation. Hitherto the naturalized Germans of this country have generally supported the Administration of Gen. Pierce, not because they particularly like his position on the slavery question but because they deem him and his party favorable to the cause of freedom in Europe. But they have interests in America as well as in Europe. They have no fondness for slavery, and do not choose to labor with slaves. They have always considered the 'Far West' sacred to freedom and felt grateful that there, they and those whom they love in their fatherland when driven into exile might find free homes and free institutions. What will they think of this new policy of the Administration which aims insidiously to destroy the bulwarks of Freedom around this magnificent domain so as to leave no spot of American territory sacred against the intrusions of Negro Slavery. Let them not be deceived. Such is the policy. The Report and the bill means this, and nothing else. * * *"

Obviously Dr. Bailey regarded the Germans as major parties in interest and his attempt to arouse them in opposition indicated that he regarded them as forces of the greatest strategic and tactical importance in the contest with the pro-slavery party. The correctness of his conclusion is certainly a clear inference from the conduct of Senator Douglas. The occasion of his ferocious attack on Senators Chase and Sumner on January 30th was language used by them in "The Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States." The first draft of that celebrated document was made by Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio and it was recast and put in final form by Senator Chase. Both men knew well the relations of Germans to anti-slavery success in Ohio. The phrasing of the Appeal and the editorial just given suggest common authorship or close conference between Chase and Dr. Bailey in the composition of that tocsin call to arms. I make a generous quotation from the Appeal:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1854.

"Fellow citizens:

We arraign this bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own states and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves.

Take your maps, fellow citizens, we entreat you, and see what country it is which this bill, gratuitously and recklessly, proposes to open to slavery. * * *

What will be the effect of this measure, should it unhappily become a law, upon the proposed Pacific railroads. If slavery be allowed there * * * Inducements to the immigration of free laborers will be almost destroyed. * * *

From the rich lands of this large territory, also, patriotic statesmen have anticipated that a free, industrious, and enlightened population will extract abundant treasures of individual and public wealth. There, it has been expected, that freedom-loving, emigrants from Europe, and energetic and intelligent laborers from our own land will find homes of comfort and fields of useful enterprise. If this bill shall become a law, all such expectations will turn to grievous disappointment. The blight of slavery will cover the land. The Homestead law, should Congress enact one will be worthless there. Freemen, unless pressed by hard and cruel necessity will not, and should not, work besides slaves. Labor cannot be respected where any class of laborers is held in abject bondage. It is the deplorable necessity of

slavery that to make and keep a single slave there must be slave law; and where slave law exists, labor must necessarily be degraded.

We earnestly request the enlightened conductors of newspapers printed in the German and other foreign languages to direct the attention of their readers to this important matter. * * *"

The Appeal, thus obviously designed for circulation among Germans was at once translated and published entire in the *New York Demokrat* and by January 30th constituted one of the primary causes of the "tornado" that was sweeping the North to the amazement of public and politicians alike. Senator Douglas proclaimed that "this tornado has been raised by abolitionists and abolitionists alone." We may well suspect his entire sincerity in that statement.

Indeed we may doubt if Douglas would have taken such huge offense at the language of the "Appeal" had he not realized its effect among the Germans. He was too good a party man and too closely in touch with his outposts not to know that the Appeal would create explosions and fires in his own camp. He knew the Germans intimately, he appreciated their sentiments on slavery and their intense interests in the settlement of the public domain.

The direct appeal to Germans to bestir themselves in opposition is discernable constantly throughout the first three months of 1854 and it is noticeable in both the Eastern and Western press. The New York *Evening Post* had many a solid leader pointing out and emphasizing the grave importance of the Appeal to Germans and these were extensively reprinted in the Western press. During the debates in Congress the *National Era, Greeley's Tribune, the Cincinnati Gazette, the Chicago Daily Tribune* frequently called attention to phases of the bill and amendments hostile to Germans. We may notice frequent quotation of German anti-Nebraska editorials translated for their English readers. Letters of Germans on the subject were printed and given prominent place. The tremendous effect produced by Col. Schouler's list of German papers opposed to the Nebraska bill indicates strikingly the direct appeal of anti-slavery leaders to their Teutonic brothers and the great importance attached to their antagonistic attitude. Such editors as Bailey, Bowles, Bryant, Dana, Greeley, Ray, Raymond, and Schouler, did not deal in academic abstractions or poetical fancies; they did not give heed to myths or remote eventualities. They had their eyes on concrete forces and factors and appealed to concrete considerations that they believed animated and controlled the German voters.

Again we may discern the court paid Germans in many of the calls for anti-Nebraska meetings. Germans are particularly invited to attend —as at the meeting at Pittsburg January 30. Sometimes as in New York the calls are addressed to "Native and Adopted Citizens." At such meetings Germans are accorded places of honor. Their presence is noted; their remarks referred to and quoted and commended. The alert and constant anxiety of anti-slavery leaders to secure the favor of German voters was frequently demonstrated in congressional proceedings. Thus Senator Chase took delight in presenting the petition of the Germans of Cleveland and Cincinnati against the bill and he took particular pains to assure the Senate that the petitioners were persons of the highest respectability and intelligence. Later he sprang to the defense of the Germans of Indiana when Senator Pettit of that

state sneeringly referred to some Germans of his own state who protested against the Nebraska bill.

IV.

Who first among the Germans led off in opposition to the Nebraska bill, when precisely their heavy artillery began to play upon Senator Douglas himself, it is not easy to say but it is certain that the German press reported the true nature of his proposal and sounded the alarm as soon as the American or English papers did. The *Staatszeitung* of New York in December, 1853, notified its large circle of readers that Senator Douglas was about to propose a bill that "promised to be of lively interest." This was reprinted January 1st in the *Anzeiger Des Westens* of St. Louis. Again on January 3d a despatch to that journal made renewed prophecy of the importance of the bill in contemplation. These notices and warnings coincided with—if indeed they did not precede the despatches to the great English dailies of New York.

Alarms were sounded by German editors almost simultaneously in all the cities where Germans congregated in large numbers and before Senator Dixon had given notice of his amendment. The *Staatszeitung* of Chicago at once condemned Douglas' proposal. Later it bluntly declared that he was merely bidding for Southern votes for his candidacy for President and it announced "Keine deutsche stimme fur einer Douglas!" The columns of the *Anzeiger* of St. Louis bristled with news items and despatches, general and special, relating to the bill, reprints of articles showing the nature and drift of the debates and the course of the opposition and editorials short and long assailing Douglas in no gentle terms. He was a "Union Retters Humbug." Indeed his name it derisively insisted, was really Stephen Douglas Arnold—a favorite epithet of Germans as of English editors. He was dubbed the "Don Quixote der Sklave ritter partei;" and those who followed his lead were miserable "deutschen Pudels"—"Nebraska pudels" a phrase that had its mate in "Nebrascals" current in English press.

Criticism of the Nebraska bill was heated and harsh in the English anti-slavery press but it fell short of the vigor of the German journals as anyone familiar with teutonic frankness may easily imagine. Blunt and contemptous criticism, rough and slashing characterization, sweeping and vehement denunciation were at once the echo and the incentive of violent discussion among their compatriots in their homes and on the streets, in club rooms and hostelries, in saloons and public halls.

But the ungracious, hasty speech of hot passion did not make up their entire argument. Earnest appeal and solemn warning, serious historical exposition of the course of our laws and policy respecting slavery, keen analysis and solid argument weighted their pages. Their articles were written by powerful and flashing pens, wielded by men trained in Germany's ancient universities, and tried in the storm and stress of the revolutions of 1848. Dr. William Haussmann of Philadelphia has generously furnished me with a calendar of the editorials and articles appearing in the *Freie Presse* of Philadelphia of 1854 with extended transcripts verbatim of many. Before the Dixon amendment was accepted by Douglas that journal began training its guns on the

bill; and during the next six months in many solid leaders insisted upon its injustice and unwisdom and the iniquity that would follow should it pass. For dignity and force, pith and point its expressions will stand well in comparison with the best editorial expressions of the English or American press.

The limits of this paper preclude generous extracts so as to show the force and flavor of German editorial expressions or the course of the discussion in the German press. But its energy may be easily inferred from the mere mention of such names as Bernhard Domsche and Louis M. Dembitz, Dr. A. Douai and Frederick Hassaureck, Karl Heinzen, August Marxhausen, Theo. Olshausen, Carl Roesser, Geo. Schneider and A. Thieme. These men were vigorously supported by stout champions such as Jacob Brinkerhoff, Julius Froebel, Frederick Hecker, Frederick Kapp, Gustav Koerner, and Charles Ruemelin. Readers of Koerner's *Memoirs* will recall the commotion produced by his articles in the *Belleville Zeitung* and the *Anzeiger Des Westens.*

The terrific reaction among the Germans is discernible in the assertions current at the time and since as to the unanimity of German editors and leaders. The New York Evening Post declared in February that the Germans of the United States "to a man" were opposed to the bill and it cited in proof the hostile attitude of the New York *Staatszeitung,* a staunch supporter of President Pierce. The fact is asserted in a striking fashion in some resolutions adopted at Newark, N. J., March 9, which proscribed the New York *Staatszeitung* as "the only German paper which defends the bill" and proclaiming a purpose to oppose its circulation.

A few days later Col. Schouler of the Cincinnati Gazette gave a list of eighty-eight German papers and stated that eighty of that number were opposed to the Nebraska bill. They were distributed as follows: One in New England; thirty in the middle states; sixteen in the southern states; thirty-two in the states of the Old Northwest Territory; one in Iowa and one in California. Greeley's Tribune asserted that nearly every one of the eighty had "hitherto supported the sham Democracy." Those listed as favoring or not opposing the bill were—one each in New York, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and four in Ohio.

These figures which have been taken by Messrs. Von Holst and Rhodes are to be used with some hesitation on two counts. First, there is some reason to suspect that those opposed were not all listed, and second, that some of those given as opposed could only be so classed in a vague philosophical sense and not in a belligerent political sense. Iowa is accredited with one paper in opposition and none for, whereas *Der Demokrat* of Davenport manifested little if any hostility towards the measure. Doubtless all German editors *sub rosa* deplored the disturbance produced by Senator Douglas' bill and had they had their way would not have precipitated the controversy but the fight being on they did not all assail its author and the administration with hammer and tongs. Thus the proprietor of the New York *Staatszeitung,* if opposed at the outset, very soon summarily discharged one of the junior editors for writing an article attacking the Nebraska bill and brought down on his head the wrath of the radical Germans.

What the actual numbers of those who stood staunch in support of Senator Douglas may have been—the conspicuous fact was that the vast preponderance of the German press was tremendously opposed to his bill, particularly as it passed the Senate.

The alarms and protests of German editors soon aroused the German masses. From seaboard to the frontier they rose up in opposition. Mr. William Vocke claims for the Germans of Chicago the honor of holding the first meeting to protest against the Nebraska bill. It was called by Mr. George Schneider, editor of the Illinois *Staatszeitung,* for January 29th, six days after Senator Douglas accepted the Dixon amendment. I can find no account of its proceedings. Mr. Vocke's claim is almost, but not quite, true. A call for a mass meeting of all opposed to the repeal regardless of creed or politics or race was in circulation in New York City January 20, but the meeting apparently did not occur till Monday, January 30. Mr. Rhodes tells us that a similar meeting took place in Cleveland Saturday night January 28. On both of the latter occasions Americans were the chief movers.

In many conventions composed chiefly of natives, Germans were foremost and divided honors. In the state anti-Nebraska convention at Columbus, Ohio, B. F. Leiter made a "telling speech" and Jacob Brinkerhoff exerted an influence second only to that of Senator Chase who was president. At a meeting in the Tabernacle in New York, Sigismund Kauffman was one of the leading speakers with John A. King, Curtis Noyes and others. At Alton, June 2, Mr. Rudolph Bondi divided time and honors and applause with Rev. W. D. Haley. But Germans meantime were moving independently. Their clubs, associations, industrial leagues, saengerbunds and turnvereins acted with vigor and frequently with a vehemence that engendered violence.

Who exerted the greatest influence in arousing the German opposition to the Douglas bill it is difficult to say, but certainly Charles Ruemelin of Cincinnati won the greatest applause and the widest fame because of his phillipics against the Nebraska bill. A Democrat, tried and true, he was energetic in organizing the German opposition. His speech at a mass meeting in Cincinnati on March 9, had a tremendous effect. Concerning it Chase wrote (March 12) from the Senate Chamber to Edward L. Pierce (later the biographer of Sumner): "It gave me real pleasure * * * Ruemelin * * * is a man of genius, force and knowledge. If he and Molitor side with the independent Democracy we may hope for great things." Ruemelin's letter (March 15) to Mr. Hulsmann, chairman of a committee of Germans at Dayton, Ohio, urging a plan of action rang out like a bugle call:

"Allow me to make the following proposition: 'Let all the free Germans hold a German May Feast as of old in the plains of Germany. There we will swear eternal warfare against slavery and oppression, and as true Democrats form a new Union for freedom and justice * * * Up! Up brother Germans, Turners, Singers, let us have a Feast of Freedom.'"

In contemporary accounts of German mass meetings sundry interesting items strike one. One or two may be noted in passing.

In the great meetings in New York City March 3d a procession of German turners had unfurled at its head a "Red Republican Flag" and

as they marched their band played the Marseillaise and vociferous hurrahs rent the air as they progressed along the thoroughfares. The fact has a basic significance in the attitude of Germans toward Douglas' bill that it would be interesting and instructive to dwell upon if time permitted.

Again at two of the noteworthy meetings in New York (February 23 and March 3) in both the emblems or transparencies and in the resolutions the Nebraska question divided attention about equally with the "Maine Law." The same was true in a meeting at Muscatine, Iowa. In that eventful decade Germans in New York as in Iowa and Wisconsin were fighting two black beasts that constantly harrassed their peace of mind—slavery and prohibition. The *Wisconsin Banner* of Milwaukee and *Der Demokrat* of Davenport devoted more attention to the "Temperance" question as they contemptously called it than to the Nebraska bill. The *Banner* did not oppose Douglas' bill at the start and only criticised one of the Clayton amendments and ceased opposing when that was rejected by the House.

The strategic and tactical importance of the "Maine Law" movement in the anti-slavery controversy of 1854 appears to have been hardly realized. Germans had no more use for one form of governmental interference and oppression than the other; and they struck quick and hard at the form nearer their hearthstones. When one considers the fact that malevolent prejudice in the cloak of Knownothingism was already beginning to rear its ugly head and stalk about the land and this was coupled with widespread agitation for drastic sumptuary laws interfering with their Sundays, amusements and forms of refreshment, one may realize somewhat the intense antipathy of the Germans towards slavery when they turned so furiously upon Douglas' proposal and deserted the standards of the party that then chiefly stood between them and the fanatical propagandists threatening their local peace.

I have transcripts of the proceedings of conventions and resolutions adopted by German meetings in nearly a dozen cities in various portions of the country. A description of some of the conventions—the dramatic episodes frequently occurring together with a summary of the sentiments expressed by the speakers and a resumé of the points in the resolutions adopted would be instructive and withal interesting. The speeches and resolutions are explicit and emphatic. There is no feathering the edge, no equivocation. The language is blunt, outright and downright. Men in high office are accorded no ceremonial courtesy, no polite deference. Legislators and Presidents were merely public servants —mere clerks. Instant obedience to the popular will was imperiously insisted upon. Popular demand constituted commands of paramount authority and defiance thereof should result in resignation or recall.

Although quotation is hardly permissable I cannot resist the temptation to give an extract from Karl Heinzen's *Pionier*. The Nebraska bill had just passed the Senate and German indignation was raging at flood tide and that Titan of radicals scornfully declared:

"The nation is—a Nothing. It is the sea that floats the ship of Congress. To what purpose all these Anti-Nebraska meetings. The people ought to be able to recall their representatives at any time, then they could have whisked the whole crowd away from Washington and

no Nebraska bill would have passed. Now the nation is a Nothing, but when the constitution is changed to this effect, it will become everything."

If Heinzen's shade takes an interest in mundane affairs it must enjoy the present Presidential contest in which three of the great parties proclaim their demand for the initiative, referendum and recall.

V.

Human decisions as they enter into conduct are seldom, if ever, resolvable into a single element or factor. Determinations in politics are resultants of a complex of antecedent forces or influences and concurrent factors. It was pre-eminently so in the revolt of the Germans against Douglas' bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Germans already had several scores against the pro-slavery party that aroused their ire and made them alert critics of any measures likely to be of marked benefit to the promoters of slavery. Some of these causes of resentment are worth briefly noting.

Prior to and coincident with the introduction of the Nebraska bill, Germans had become intensely interested in the propaganda of the National Reformers, who from the forepart of the preceding decade had been urging land reforms—chief among which were land limitation and free homes to actual settlers and cultivators. The desire for these two proposed reforms became a popular demand in the West and Northwest in 1848-1850 and so powerful was it that Webster, himself, gave way and proposed to incorporate them in the laws shortly before he left the Senate to enter Fillmore's Cabinet.

In this propaganda Germans were peculiarly interested. In their fatherland ownership of farms had been virtually denied them, as land was mainly the right and possession of the aristocracy. German immigrants came to us "land hungry" and consequently they settled largely in the rural regions of the states of the West. Frederick Kapp estimated that 75 per cent of the Germans became farmers. Cheap lands consequently represented their *summon bonum* and as the propaganda took form in Congress and popular demand therefor increased free homesteads became more and more the heart's desire of the German.

Although the first homestead bill had been introduced in Congress by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee in 1846 the advocacy of such a measure was mainly furthered by anti-slavery champions. Horace Greeley was a noted advocate thereof. He became an advocate as early as 1842 and introduced a bill to realize his views when he first entered Congress in 1848. Gerritt Smith was a promoter of the reform. More he demonstrated his faith by works as well as by programs and preachments—by giving away thousands of acres of his own landed estates. The Free Soil party in 1848 and in 1852 in their national platforms had advocated free homesteads. In 1850 and again in 1852 homestead bills were urged in Congress by Giddings and Julian, Chase and Seward and Sumner, and other staunch anti-slavery leaders.

Southern representatives gave such proposals short shift. They ridiculed them, adversely amended them and finally killed the measures. In 1854 another bill was pending while the Nebraska bill was under

way. All the anti-slavery papers and leaders urged its passage. Almost all the opposition thereto came from south of Mason and Dixon's line. Amendments in the House confined its benefits to the "heads of families" and to "citizens of the United States." Both conditions constituted in effect grievous discriminations against Germans. It denied the privilege of homesteads to unmarried men anxious to acquire premises for a home. It probably was designed to work denial to Germans who had come to our shores but had left their wives and children in Germany pending the time when they could earn enough to pay their passage to the United States; and it presumably denied heads of families the right to enter and cultivate government lands prior to fulfillment of the prerequisites of naturalization. It does not require a poetical imagination to realize that insistance upon provisions thus hostile to foreigners did not enhance the loyalty of Germans to the Democratic party.

In the course of the congressional debates on the homestead bill in 1854 southern Senators and Representatives gave vent to opinions as to the character and conduct of then recent immigrants that greatly incensed and alienated Germans. Academic or philosophical opinions in opposition may or may not disturb men; but aspersion and insult and promiscuous indictment of character energizes men tremendously. Such was the effect of the debates in the Senate dominated by pro-slavery men.

Senator Wade of Ohio on April 19 had moved to amend the House bill by giving foreigners equal privileges with natives. In the debate engendered Senators Thompson (Whig) of Kentucky and Adams (Democrat) of Mississippi, let fly some shafts that found lodgment and rankled long in German minds. Senator Thompson denounced the homestead bill as a demogogical scheme to give away the public domain to adventurers, criminals, paupers and "ragamuffins from all creation congregating here as buzzards do around a carcass." Senator Adams likewise refused to vote for Senator Wade's amendment. His reason in some part was the petitions of Germans against the Nebraska bill, but in major part because of the fact that " a mob of foreigners under the style of foreigners, has assembled together and hanged in effigy an honorable member of this body * * * the chairman of the Committee on Territories, * * * and for what, Sir? For doing his duty * * * to the Constitution. * * * But I am opposed to the bill on principle."

We have seen that Senators Chase and Sumner coupled the Nebraska bill and the homestead law in their "Appeal to the People" as stultifying contradictions, and mutually antagonistic. Anti-slavery editors east and west rang the changes on the fact; and German editors thundered their protests in constant chorus against such denial of free homesteads to the aliens, ambitious, nay anxious to secure homes and political status among us and enjoy to the full our inheritance of liberty.

Such discrimination against the foreign born in the homestead bill and its final defeat by Southern votes constituted a prodigious fact in breaking up the faith of Germans in the Democratic party and shaking their loyalty to its standards. Before the Nebraska bill passed such discriminations were emphasized with increasing effect by anti-slavery leaders in the party campaign then in progress in many of the

states. Mr. Grimes in his "Address to the People of Iowa," on April 8, which became the working platform of the anti-Nebraska forces in Iowa protested against them and declared his abhorence of the invidious language indulged in by Southern leaders regarding Germans. On the defeat of the homestead bill in August, Mr. Wentworth telegraphed (August 10) his paper at Chicago that the same votes which passed the Nebraska bill had throttled and killed the homestead bill—and the same consideration—slavery—impelled both transactions—a dispatch that was extensively copied in the Western press.

VI

Besides the instinctive dislike of slavery and dread of the degradation it would entail upon their countrymen if the "Far West" was thrown open to slavery and their resentment of the opposition of the South to the homestead bill, the Germans had sundry other scores against Southern leaders. For some time Germans had realized a persistent antagonism of pro-slavery statesmen to their dearest wishes in other directions.

Since 1848 Germans had fondly hoped for American intervention in German and Hungarian and Italian revolutionary movements. Southerners while now and then sympathetic—sometimes effusively so—constantly balked at actual intervention and thwarted it. The visit of Professor Kinkel and Louis Kossuth to this country and their campaigns for funds and national assistance were rendered futile largely because pro-slavery leaders frowned upon their propaganda. Again Germans had been aroused to wrath in the forepart of the congressional session by courtesies extended the Pope's Nuncio, Bedini, who was charged by Germans with gross brutality in suppressing an insurrection at Bologna and in compassing the death of Ugo Bassi. The Nuncio's presence in Cincinnati produced a frightful riot involving fatalities and the arrest of sixty Germans including the brilliant Hassaurek, then editor of the *Hochwachter*. Courtesies tendered Bedini by Southerners provoked violent expressions in the German press. In various cities German mass meetings in their resolutions simultaneously condemned the consideration given the papal Nuncio and the Nebraska bill, as was the case at Pittsburg (February 9) and at Philadelphia (February 12).

I shall conclude this phase of the subject by reference to another expression of a Southern Senator that flashed a brilliant light upon the irrepressible conflict between free and slave labor, a light that made Germans realize sharply that their best interests were on the anti-slavery side.

Senator Chase in his rejoinder in the Senate (January 30) to Douglas' attack upon him for language used in the "Appeal" reiterated its declaration that the Nebraska bill would virtually close the new territories to the "emigrants from Europe" and again emphasized the evil it would work. On February 24 when the debates were culminating Senator Butler of South Carolina spoke at length upon the matters in issue. He gave particular attention to the speeches of Senators Sumner and Chase. He took issue with the latter's remarks on the benefits of immigration and the need of encouraging immigrants. In contradistinction Senator Butler lauded the conditions prevailing in the South between master and slave and said: "Why, sir, the slaveholder with his

slaves well governed forms a relation that is innocent enough, and useful enough. I believe that it is a population which Iowa would tomorrow prefer to an inundation of those men coming as emigrants from a foreign country, wholly unacquainted with the institutions of this country—and nearly all continental comers are of that class.

Senator Butler's observation evidently produced a decided flurry, if not commotion, among his Democratic brethren from the North and they must have pointed out to him the serious trouble it would cause them among their constituents for the following day he took pains to refer to it as a "playful remark" and sought to soften its effect by an explanation less derogatory to the Germans. The damage, however, was done beyond recall.

In Ohio and Iowa, Senator Butler's remark did service in editorials, and speeches and party manifestoes. Mr. Grimes in his address on April 8 already quoted gave to Senator Butler's advocacy of a slave population for Iowa in preference to Germans conspicuous mention. His pointed comments evidently did serious damage for Senator Dodge and Jones of Iowa at once appealed to Senator Butler to deny the remark lest Iowa's Germans desert the Democratic party. The genial Senator promptly complied but in a fashion that is designated in legal parlance as "confession and avoidance." The organ of the administration, the Washington *Union,* was greatly exercised by the matter for it came out with a three column leader denouncing Mr. Grimes as a miserable abolitionist for so perverting the South Carolinian's playful remark. Mr. Grimes in a plump rejoinder returned blow for blow. Whatever Calhoun's colleague intended by his remark there was no denial of his observation. It was in accord with the animadversions of Southern statesmen and foreigners. Coupled with the discriminations against aliens in the Clayton amendment and the homestead bill, the hostility of the South to Germans could hardly be gainsaid. Certain it is that such a conclusion was a potent fact in the complex of causes that produced the revolution in Iowa in 1854 that made Mr. Grimes Governor, and to the astonishment of the country wrested from Democratic control a state that had long been regarded as an impregnable stronghold of the pro-slavery Democracy in the North.

VII

The Germans of Chicago attained national notoriety in connection with one of their meetings. Edward Schlaeger, editor of the *German-American* was prime mover in calling a mass meeting at North Market Hall Thursday evening March 16. Current print tells us that the hall was crowded. Mr. F. Wagner called it to order; Mr. G. Leverence was nominated president; and Messrs. Geo. Schneider and Fritz Baumann acted as secretaries. The Committee on Resolutions was headed by Mr. Hillgaerdtner and included Mr. Schlaeger, Mr. Baumann et al. While waiting for the committee to report, calls were made for favorite speakers. The *Journal* gives at some length portions of the speech by Francis Hoffman then as later one of the prominent citizens of Chicago, a leading banker and at the time an alderman of the city. One fact that enhanced the flavor and the force of his words was the close personal

and political relations he had theretofore sustained with Senator Douglas. But the Nebraska bill overwhelmed the bias of admiration and friendship. Some of his remarks are worth repeating but time does not permit.

The proceedings were going forward in usual course when some facetious or patriotic friends of Judge Douglas varied the program by turning off the gas. In the Egyptian darkness which prevailed confusion and uproar ensued and riotious disturbances and the failure of the meeting threatened. Many were leaving the hall. Suddenly above the hubbub in trumpet tones was heard the voice of Alderman Hoffman saying, "When I sit in darkness the Lord shall be my light." "Whatever you have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light." "To the upright there ariseth light amid darkness." Order reigned; the exodus stopped; and when quick-witted friends soon restored the lights there flashed forth from the ready speaker: "The darkness is passed and the light now shineth." "Moreover you are now called out of darkness into marvelous light," and there "will be brought to light hidden things of darkness." Mr. Hoffman had been a Lutheran preacher in Germany and he had histrionic ability to a marked degree; one who was present writes me that the effect of his apt words was dramatic in the extreme and gave him complete mastery over the crowd.

Upon the restoration of light and order the resolutions were reported and enthusiastically adopted. None could complain that they lacked in clarity, pith and point. They assailed slavery in blunt terms. They branded popular sovereignty as a "lying pretense" and its advocates as the "worst enemies of the republic." They discovered in the Nebraska bill then pending in the House "a spirit especially inimical to us Germans, pioneers of the West." They asserted the necessity of Germans organizing for offense as well as defense to protect their interest. They proclaimed Stephen A. Douglas as a "dangerous demagogue, a blemish upon the honor of the State" and declared it their duty to "rid themselves of him as soon as possible." And they condemned the "servile manner" in which the Legislature then in session in the Capitol had endorsed him. A supplemental resolution declared his public career at an end and demanded that he resign.

Then followed a lurid climax. On adjournment a large portion of the crowd formed in procession and with banners flying, started down Michigan Avenue preceded by a band. It halted at the public square. An effigy of Judge Douglas was then and there burned amid the "jeers and groans of the vast assembly." The affair, needless to say produced a sensation. Bitter denunciation of the indignity came from Judge Douglas' friends. His critics were divided. Some expressed sharp disapproval of the Act as did the *Journal* of Chicago and the *Journal* of Springfield. Others frankly approved the Act as did the *Daily Tribune* of Chicago, holding the demonstration to be an allowable mode of expressing intense feeling. Germans themselves were no less divided in opinion as to the propriety of the affair. The occurrence was the subject of frequent animadversion in Congress. Besides the results already mentioned it was the moving cause of Senator Adams of Mississippi later introducing a bill in Congress to increase the period of probation in naturalization from five to twenty-one years.

The episode in the public square while subject to adverse criticism did not justify particular discrimination of the Germans as the chief offenders in such proceedings. They may have been influenced by the example of Puritan patriots and philosophers in Boston or in Cambridge thereby, who in February had hung the senior Senator of Illinois in effigy in the public commons of those classic cities. Later in Trenton near by Princeton he received the same distinguished consideration and likewise in Auburn and Buffalo and Utica, New York, and in Cleveland, Ohio. And probably Americans only were the malefactors in those exhibitions.

The biographers of Douglas dwell upon the protest of the clergy of Chicago against the Nebraska bill but none of them notice the actions of the Germans at North Market Hall or pursuant thereto in the public square. Of the two events the protest of the clergy was the less serious as regards his political fortunes. Senator Douglas' course, it seems to me, demonstrates it.

He repelled the harsh language of the New England clergy in scathing terms. He retorted to the charges of the clergy of his home city in a powerful rejoinder. But not once during the heated debates of 1854, either in Washington or later on the hustings, did Douglas hurl back a single hot word or protest to his German constituents. Was he indifferent? No one who knows Douglas' superior acumen as a party tactician would so conclude. His silence anent the Germans was golden; for it was the very essence of political wisdom. Germans constituted one of the most powerful corps among his supporters. He knew that his bill—especially as amended in the Senate—was obnoxious to Germans in the extreme. He knew also that argument would avail nothing. Soft words could not appease their anger and scorching rejoinders would but make their wrath cyclonic. Senator Douglas knew too that German votes go with German voices—a consequence not always true when preachers protest. I believe that it was his clear apprehension of the fury of German opposition that caused him to advise Col. Richardson to resort to the tactical maneuvers whereby the bill was passed in the House without the Senate amendment.

PART III

CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HISTORY.

Proceedings Attending the Admission of the Name of

James Nicholas Brown

to the

Illinois' Farmers' Hall of Fame

Wednesday, Jan. 25, 1911,

In the Memorial Hall, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Jas. N. Brown

PROGRAM OF EXERCISES ATTENDING THE ADMISSION OF THE NAME OF JAMES NICHOLAS BROWN TO THE ILLINOIS FARMERS' HALL OF FAME, ON THE AFTERNOON OF WEDNESDAY, JANUARY TWENTY-FIFTH, ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN, AT TWO O'CLOCK IN THE MEMORIAL HALL, COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILL.

Invocation.....William N. McElroy, D. D., Springfield, Ill.
Opening Remarks.....By the President of the Commission, Hon. A. P. Grout
Address of Welcome.....Edmund J. James, D. D., LL. D., President University of Illinois
Response.....Col. Charles F. Mills, Ex-Secretary Illinois Department of Agriculture
Address—"James N. Brown as a Breeder and Importer of Live Stock".....
.....Hon. Alvin Sanders, Editor Breeders Gazette and member of National Tariff Board
Address—"James N. Brown, The Useful and Public Spirited Citizen".....Hon. Paul Selby
Address—"James N. Brown, In Public Life".....Hon. Clinton L. Conkling
Address—"James N. Brown, the First President of the Illinois State Fair".....
.....Hon. John M. Crebs, President Illinois State Fair
Address—"James N. Brown, as an Ideal Illinois Farmer"..Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois
The Unveiling of the Portrait of James Nicholas Brown.....
.....By Miss Lynette May Brown, the Great Grand-Daughter
Benediction.....Euclid B. Rogers, D. D., Champaign, Ill.

THE ILLINOIS FARMERS' HALL OF FAME.

The members of the commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame have selected five men to date for places in this hall, which is the first of its kind. These men represent the several lines of activity that have conduced largely to the success of the Illinois farmer. (1) The inventor of the reaper; (2) the organizer and the active promoter of the Illinois State Fair and the early importer and successful breeder of pure bred livestock; (3) the originator of the idea of the national system of land grant colleges, that led to the establishment of the State colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts and later to the organization of the agricultural experiment stations; (4) a pioneer farmer who attained to a marked degree of success in the cultivation of crops, the feeding and breeding of market stock and in setting the pace for the best known methods of farming and feeding of his day, and (5) the leading spirit of his time in developing a large profitable and central market for live stock and creating a widely distributed home and foreign demand for animal products.

The first candidate admitted to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame on December 15, 1909, was Cyrus Hall McCormick, the inventor of the reaper.

The second candidate, the late James N. Brown, the first president of the Illinois State Fair, who did so much for the agriculture of the State in connection with this great exposition, and the early introduction from Great Britain of the various breeds of live stock, received like honor on January 25, 1911.

Prof. Jonathan B. Turner, the father of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations will be duly honored by the commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame June 12, 1912, the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of such colleges and stations.

The large farmer and feeder of early day, the late Isaac Funk will be the candidate for admission in January, 1913, and on the succeeding January, 1914, the late Philip D. Armour, the great packer and exporter of meat products will be likewise honored.

The purpose of the commission in charge of these exercises is not only to give historic permanence and value to the labors of these great leaders but by example and instance to stimulate endeavor on the part of the younger men in order that this development so gloriously begun may proceed to its highest achievement.

The Farmers' Hall of Fame will be at the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, and each candidate when admitted will be represented by a high class painting and a tablet reciting in brief his contribution to the evolution of Agriculture.

Each of the names selected by the commission is to be installed into the Hall of Fame by separate and appropriate exercises to be varied according to the achievements of the individual.

The Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame is the result of a movement to record the services and commemorate the lives of the great leaders of the State in the development of Agriculture from a pioneer art to a civilized science on which the prosperity of all classes will ultimately depend.

This is one of the most significant steps taken in this or any other country in the name of agriculture. It is not only just a tribute to this class which has hitherto gone unrecognized but it can but encourage further effort on the part of the ambitious and capable men in a field by no means yet exhausted.

Its location at the College of Agriculture will not only be favorable to this end, but it will constitute one of the chief attractions and influences of the institution.

The monographs that will be issued in connection with the several names will constitute in themselves a history of Illinois and national agriculture in such form as to attract both local and world-wide attention not only to the achievement of these men, but to the general cause of Agriculture, as well.

The commission elected at the recent annual meeting of this organization and authorized to complete arrangements for the admission of candidates to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame includes the following:

President, Hon. A. P. Grout, a representative farmer residing at Winchester, the farmers' choice on the Board of Trustees, University of Illinois.

Vice-President, Dr. Eugene Davenport, of Urbana, Dean of the Agricultural College, University of Illinois.

Second Vice-President, E. W. Burrows, President Illinois Farmers' Institute.

Secretary, Col. Chas. F. Mills, Springfield, editor of The Farm Home and ex-Secretary of the Illinois Department of Agriculture.

Treasurer, Hon. George A. Anthony, President of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture.

PROGRAM.

Invocation.....William N. McElroy, D.D., Springfield, Ill.
Opening Remarks .....
.....By the President of the Commission, Hon. A. P. Grout

The following is an abstract of the opening address delivered by Hon. A. P. Grout the President of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame at the exercises connected with the admission January 25, 1911, to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame of the name of Captain James N. Brown the first President of the Illinois State Fair:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—We are today assembled to honor the memory and deeds of one of Illinois' pioneers, one who has left the impress of his personality and character upon the great agricultural interests of the State.

The wonderful progress in scientific knowledge relating to agriculture and the widespread and rapid advance in every line of agricultural industry, is not due to present-day efforts alone, but much of it must be credited to the wisdom and forethought of the leaders of a past generation, who blazed the trail which is now being followed.

To men of this character are we indebted for the beginning of many of the movements which have taken on new accretions as the years have rolled by, until today they are the pride and admiration of the country.

Chief among those to whom we are indebted for the progress and advancement made in the great paramount industry of Illinois, is James Nicholas Brown.

The exercises of today are in commemoration of his great worth as a citizen and leader among the early farmers of Illinois.

It is a service of appreciation and, perhaps, tardy recognition of a life spent in unselfish devotion to the material advancement and well being of his fellow-men.

By this tribute to the worth of one of the pioneers of progress in Illinois, we not only hope to give honor to whom honor is due, but make it an incentive for the doing of something of the unselfish, broad-minded public spirited kind which shall benefit those who come after us, even as we are now reaping the benefits of his acts and deeds.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

(By Edmund J. James, Ph.D., LL. D.)

The following is an abstract of the address of welcome at the exercises connected with the admission January 25, 1911, to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame, of the name of Captain James N. Brown, first president of the Illinois State Fair, by Edmund J. James, PH.D., LL.D., president of University of Illinois:

It seems almost a work of supererogation for me, a mere agent of the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, to welcome you, the farmers of this State, to the halls of your own institution. But I assure you I take great pleasure in extending to you on behalf of the faculties and students of this institution our thanks for your attendance on this occasion. The people of this State have seen fit to constitute us for the time being, the persons charged with carrying out this great trust, of developing the scientific and practical aspects of instruction in agriculture for the benefit of those who are here in attendance and those who in such large numbers are scattered throughout the length and breadth of this great commonwealth.

I have just completed an address upon the origin of the Land Grant Act of 1862. I have claimed for the farmers of Illinois the credit of having been the originators of that great act of statesmanship, and I believe I have demonstrated beyond a doubt that such credit belongs to Illinois. It was the farmers of Illinois who began in 1851 an agitation for a national land grant to each state in the Union for the purpose of promoting scientific and practical education in agriculture, and I believe that if it had not been for their active and persistent agitation, this result would not have been brought about until a full generation later at any rate, and perhaps not at all in its present magnificent dimensions.

I feel a very special interest on this occasion not only because the best years of my youth were spent upon a farm here in the corn belt where I obtained some of the most valuable instruction and some of the most valuable inspiration which has ever come to me from any source, and am therefore glad to do whatever I can to magnify the calling of the farmer, but also, and especially, because of my personal relations to the public spirited and able man in whose honor we are gathered here today.

I knew Captain James M. Brown as a small boy knows a large man, large in every way, as it seemed to me even then.

From October, 1859, to October, 1861, my father's family, of which I was a very young and insignificant member at that time, lived at Island Grove, just opposite the entrance to the estate of Captain Brown, and almost the earliest vivid recollections which I still retain of my boyhood were of the time spent at the Browns and Smiths, whose farms joined each other and whose families were closely related.

My favorite resort next to the house of Captain Brown where Mrs. Brown always made me welcome, was the stables of the Captain himself, in whose yard I remember I saw the first animal which ever made

a great impression upon my imagination. It was King Alfred, the most gigantic bull which I had ever seen. Captain Brown, I remember very distinctly indeed as a man who was always kind to the children, at least to me, always seemingly glad to see me and whom therefore I regarded with that kind of awe and reverence which a six year old boy gives to a man whom he admires and trusts. When we left the Grove my personal connection, so to speak, with Captain Brown ceased, though I remember distinctly seeing him on one or two occasions afterward when he called upon my father in Jacksonville where we subsequently lived.

I had occasion in later years as I became better acquainted and more appreciative of the interesting sides of agriculture, to know more of the services which Captain Brown did for agriculture in the State of Illinois.

Certainly the man who in a pioneer country sets out definitely and consciously to improve the practice of farming and to encourage the scientific study of the subject, deserves marked recognition from his fellowmen. And the man who proceeds to raise the level of agriculture by improving the breeds of domestic animals, which constitute such an important element in a permanent and profitable agriculture, deserves that a monument should be erected to him. The specific things that Captain Brown did for Illinois agriculture will be set forth by other speakers who are experts in this field, and I shall content myself, therefore, with the simple remark that the University of Illinois honors itself in honoring the men who are important elements in the establishment, development and improvement of this great science and practice of agriculture upon which, without any derogation to the importance of other industries ,we may say that at bottom all society rests.

I have felt for my part ever since I knew anything about the University of Illinois, and that was many years ago, the institution was destined to become a great and influential institution if beginning with the great departments of agriculture and the mechanic arts it should proceed to develop upon this basis, erecting, so to speak, upon this substructure, the superstructure of an institution which should answer in a comprehensive way the scientific and practical needs of a great commonwealth, and I am only too glad to repeat here what I have said before, that I believe the farmers of Illinois have been more awake as a class to the advantage of scientific investigation and practical demonstration in connection with an educational institution as a valuable element in the life of a great industry, than any other class in our society. The example which our farmers have set to our engineers, our manufacturers, our lawyers, our physicians, is one which they may well follow, and even though they follow it at a long interval of time and at a long distance in State of development, they can do no better thing than to take the action of the farmers as a model by which to measure their own conduct.

When this University shall have developed all departments symmetrically, shall have answered in the fullest way the scientific and practical needs of the people of this great commonwealth, we may expect to see agriculture, agricultural science, agricultural practice, keep pace with

the most rapid advance to be achieved in any department of our intellectual, political, or industrial life. I congratulate the members of Captain Brown's family who are here with us today upon the great work which was accomplished by him. I congratulate the farmers of Illinois that they recognize in this public way the eminent service which he rendered to their interests and through them to the interests of the State, and I congratulate the University of Illinois that you have chosen it as the agent through which you may best express your recognition and appreciation.

RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

(By Colonel Charles F. Mills.)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The eloquent address of welcome of President James is very suggestive and what might be expected of such a gifted native son of Illinois, whose view point makes it possible for him to see the grand possibilities so rapidly unfolding in the development of our agriculture.

Illinois is to be highly congratulated in having at the head of its great University, a man of such exceptional ability and one so fully in accord with the progressive spirit of the promoters of its farming industry.

Our farmers have no lack of pride in the high standing of the University of Illinois and in the splendid work characteristic of its College of Agriculture which has proved to be one of the most effective agencies in promoting the interests of all engaged in rural pursuits.

The constituency of our College of Agriculture is fully assured of the deep interest and hearty co-operation of President James and Dean Davenport and their associates in the great work of developing this premier agricultural State.

Illinois leads not only in the production of corn and other crops but has an extended reputation for men of great achievement in all the walks of life.

Your greeting to the commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame is highly appreciated by the men especially interested in this movement to record the services and commemorate the lives of the great leaders of the State in the development of Agriculture from a pioneer art to a civilized science on which the prosperity of all classes will ultimately depend.

Your welcome to the constituency of this commission, the Illinois farmer is most fitting and a graceful recognition of the men who have made the State noted for its vast production of the field, men whose crops have provided no small part of the funds that have made prominent the extensive investments in our railroads, factories, mines and other industries.

The members of the State Board of Agriculture in attendance on this occasion of such great significance to its illustrious record and the splendid achievement of its first president whose memory we have met to honor today, have abundant cause for pride in the cordial welcome of President James.

The promises of the future of our agriculture, the farm boy will be thrilled with ambition and inspired with commendable pride to reach the highest standard of usefulness when he considers the full meaning of your welcome to him and heeds the admonition to be worthy of a place in the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame.

The purpose of the commission in charge of these exercises is not only to give historic permanence and value to the labors of the great leaders selected for the honors attending the admission of their names to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame, but by example and instance to stimulate endeavor on the part of the younger men in order that this development so gloriously begun may proceed to its highest achievement.

There is no lack in the heartiness of the response to your cordial welcome on the part of the assembled family of the candidate selected for admission to this Hall of Fame.

In 1853 a great movement was started in this State having for its object the co-operation of the most enterprising farmers in the endeavor to develop the Agriculture of Illinois.

At that time Illinois was sparsely settled lacking in transportation facilities with a very limited number of breeders of improved live stock and few men likely to be interested in making exhibits at an agricultural fair.

It is nearly sixty years since Captain James Nicholas Brown conceived the idea of organizing the Illinois State Fair, which from its modest inception and first exhibition in a small field enclosed with a rail fence has become the pride of the State and is not surpassed in the extent of its exhibits and influence for good by any similar exposition in America or elsewhere.

A speaker to follow will favor you with a brief history of the remarkable growth of the Illinois State Fair from a handful of exhibits in October, 1853, to a grand exposition that now crowds an area of nearly two hundred acres. This large enclosure with beautiful park effect is covered with exhibit palaces that each fall accommodates a million displays representing the best achievement of home and foreign breeders of live stock, the makers of every line of implements used on the farm and the choicest products of our fields, orchards and factories. We will refer with equal pride to the attractions assembled at this great exposition each year that please all interested in art, educational, culinary and other exhibits of utility and ornament.

In the development of the basic industry of this State no agency has rendered more effective service than the Illinois State Fair and no man interested in its organization and development is entitled to more of the gratitude of all interested in our agricultural supremacy than the great man whom we meet to honor today, Captain James N. Brown, its first president.

There is no lack of unanimity in the opinion, that the motive that prompted the organization of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame is

one of the most significant steps taken in this or any other country in the name of agriculture. It emphasizes not only this just tribute to the memory of James Nicholas Brown, but will likewise honor a class of patriots which has hitherto gone unrecognized. This Hall of Fame can but encourage further effort on the part of the ambitious and capable men in a wide field of endeavor by no means yet exhausted.

This large gathering of the leaders and active promoters of Illinois Agriculture will join me most earnestly in voicing a hearty response to the admirable address of welcome of President James. Will we not make unanimous the vote of thanks of the farmers of this State to the University of Illinois for the very complete and satisfactory arrangements provided for the installation of the name of Captain James Nicholas Brown to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame?

JAMES N. BROWN AS A BREEDER AND IMPORTER OF LIVE STOCK.

(Address of Alvin H. Sanders, at the University of Illinois, January 25, 1911.)

Mr. President:

I have gladly responded to the invitation of your commission to participate in the ceremonies of the day because I am one of those who feel that in the past we, as a people, have been altogether remiss in the matter of extending adequate recognition to the great service rendered to the State and Nation by those who were pioneer captains in the development of our basic industry. It is surely our duty to keep forever green the memory of those who have been master-builders in the domain of our national agriculture. We cannot too often demonstrate here and elsewhere to the rising generation the fact that great accomplishments are possible in this field, and that men or women who do things that mark milestones in the progress of those who live upon the soil shall not hereafter be forgotten in the State of Illinois, at least; that they shall not pass into oblivion unhonored and unsung. It is certainly true that each additional portrait to be unveiled in this great collection in the years to come will serve as an added inspiration to those who seek instruction in these halls, or who visit this institution to learn what Illinois is doing for her sons and daughters in behalf of higher education, higher ideals, and a higher standard of citizenship.

Mr. President, I am temporarily absent from our State. I am exiled for the moment from the scenes that are nearest and dearest to those who were born and bred in the Middle West. But there is at least one thing in my environment at the national capitol that stimulates the activities of any man who knows the touch of thick blue grass sod, or who has ever heard the music of the autumn breeze as it stirs the ripening corn.

Opposite the windows of my Washington office in the Treasury stands the loftiest monument ever erected to the memory of mortal man since the dawn of recorded time. I suppose it speaks only to most

of those who see it of one who founded a nation on these shores at the point of the sword. To me, however, it speaks eloquently also of the great man who, in practice at Mount Vernon, and in precept at all times, taught those who entered upon this priceless heritage of ours that "agriculture is the most useful, the most healthful and the noblest employment of man."

Across the Potomac the historic hills of old Virginia lie basking in a mild mid-winter sun. Beyond I know there is a valley where, immediately after the close of the War of the Revolution, the industry that has made the middle western states, had its inception. The man who carried the beginnings of that great business into the heart of Illinois is the man whose memory is honored here today by this distinguished company. For services less valuable to a state, men in other lands have been made belted knights.

The one great gift of nature to these United States was the plant known as maize or Indian corn, or, as Professor Henry has dubbed it, the "giant grass." Argentina alone of the competing nations can grow it in considerable quantities. But even there production has sharp limitations. Australia may threaten to submerge the world's markets with cheap meats, but no grass-fed beef, and no frozen mutton will, in our lifetime, ever satisfy the demands of those who know the taste of the richly-marbled meats produced in the feed lots and pastures of the corn belt of the United States.

During the three decades ended with 1910 live cattle to the value of $750,363,571 were exported from the United States to Great Britain. During the same period fresh beef to the value of $531,673,614 was exported to the same country, a total of 1,282,037,185 gold dollars coined from our foreign business alone. If to this stupendous total you add the vastly greater sum representing the value of the beef going into domestic consumption during the same period, you may begin to appreciate what this wonderful combination of corn and good cattle, first worked out in the valley of Virginia, has done for Illinois and adjacent states.

Let us add one or two other facts to complete the thought we wish to make clear today. An overwhelming percentage of that $750,000,000 worth of bullocks sold abroad bore unmistakable evidence in their conformation of the presence of the blood of the great breed that had for its ancestral home the little valley of the River Tees that separates the English counties of York and Durham. This Shorthorn, or Durham blood was first introduced into America by Messrs. Gough and Miller, in the valley of the south branch of the Potomac River about 1783. It was there that the business of making prime beef by the use of Indian corn and an improved type of cattle had its origin, and the early settlers of Kentucky (mostly Virginians) were not slow to realize the advantages offered by the blue grass country for a material extension of such an industry. And so we find them driving across the mountains, down into the fair and fertile lands west of the Blue Ridge, fine specimens of the newly introduced British breed. We read that as early as 1817 Colonel Lewis Sanders, an enterprising Kentuckian, placed an order in England for a direct importation of fresh blood from Yorkshire pastures. These were the first imported cattle of any breed ever brought west of the

Allegheny Mountains. How wisely and how well did those rare old worthies of that period utilize this blood to lay broad and deep the foundations of the most prosperous agriculture the world has ever known! We have only to recall the names of the Renicks, Warfields, Cunninghams, Van Meters, Clays, Bedfords, Alexanders, Duncans and their contemporaries, to indicate the real fathers of the great meat-making industry which afterwards turned such a golden stream into the purses of the best farmers of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Valley states.

James Brown, grandfather of James Nicholas Brown, was born in Virginia in 1742 and died in 1825. Colonel William Brown, father of the subject of our sketch, was born in Frederick County, Virginia, in 1779. He was one of those who emigrated from the Old Dominion to Kentucky in the early days of the state last named. He married Harriet Burgess Warfield, daughter of Captain Ben. Warfield, and was farmer, lawyer, soldier and statesman; serving in the State Legislature, elected to Congress over Richard M. Johnson, who was afterwards Vice-President of the United States, and was an officer in the War of 1812. In 1833 he removed to Illinois, locating lands in Morgan and Sangamon counties. Captain James N. Brown, therefore, was of the blood of the sturdy stock that wrested the great West from foreign foes and primitive conditions.

Amidst scenes famous the world over for their pastoral beauty James N. Brown was born in Fayette County, Kentucky, October 1, 1806. In the green pastures and by the still waters of the old Kentucky home he early imbibed that love for good cattle, good horses, good sheep, good blue grass, good cornfields and good farming that was to prove of so much value to the newer West in the years that followed. He was educated in the common schools of Kentucky, finishing at Transylvania University at Lexington. While he followed his father to Illinois in 1834 at the age of twenty-eight, it appears from a copy of the Lexington (Kentucky) Observer and Reporter, printed September 16, 1835, containing among other interesting news matter of the period an account of a fair held a short time previous, that the young man was awarded first prize for his two-year old Shorthorn heifer Helen Eyre, in competition with some of the most eminent cattle breeders of the day. He had obtained his first Shorthorns from his uncle, Captain Warfield, and surely he could not have made a better beginning, for the names of Benjamin, Elisha and William Warfield will be forever famous in the annals of Kentucky agriculture. He had seen enough of the broad-backed, deep-ribbed, thick-fleshed and heavy-milking cows in the woodland pastures of his native state to realize that stock of that description would necessarily prove a valuable asset in the subduing of the prairies of the West, and he determined to advance the flag that had already been successfully carried from Virginia to Kentucky still farther into the interior; and so the "Red, White and Roan" came, by his hand, into the land called Illinois. Hence our presence here today.

Whatever may have been the achievements of Captain Brown in those other relations of life to be discussed by others upon this occasion, the most enduring basis of his fame in the records of his adopted State will be found to rest upon the fact that he was the first to recognize that

the best way to get the most profit out of good grass and good corn without robbing the land of its fertility was to stock it with good cattle. He was therefore our first great advocate and apostle of conservation. And when he departed this life, in 1868, he left behind not a run-down, worn-out, ready-to-be-abandoned farm that had been worked as a mine and stripped of all its native treasures, but instead he bequeathed the three thousand acres of blue grass pasture known as Grove Park, tenanted by well-bred animals, with every acre richer than when it came into his possession.

Full details as to his earlier operations in pure-bred livestock are unfortunately wanting. All we know is that he brought the Shorthorns and the blue grass of Kentucky into Central Illinois, and that as fast as the early settlers were able to avail themselves of the benefit of his example they profited by it. They came to him from far and near and went away convinced that he had shown the way to be pursued. As fast as they were able they bought the seed that was to blossom into the harvest that lies today at the bottom of many Central Illinois fortunes.

In the early fifties he made a journey to Ohio and brought back the noted bull Young Whittington, that had been imported from England by the Sciota Valley Company in 1852, and about the same date, in partnership with his brother, Judge William Brown, of Jacksonville, bought a number of valuable cattle from leading Kentucky breeders. Meantime he had been elected to the State Legislature in 1840-'42-'46 and 1853, serving in that body as a colleague of Abraham Lincoln. During this service he introduced and secured the passage of a bill creating a State Board of Agriculture, and was elected its first president. At the first exhibition held at Springfield in 1853 he was met in competition by Henry Jacoby, of Piatt County, Stephen Dunlap and G. M. Chambers, of Sangamon and others who by this time had become interested in the introduction of good blood into the State. Upon that historic occasion Captain Brown carried away six prizes; the beginning of a long, successful, and always honorable career as an exhibitor at this show. The following year he returned to the fray at Springfield, and in 1855 made his way to Chicago to meet old and new antagonists. At Alton, in 1856, he broke a lance for the first time with James M. Hill, of Cass County, a man destined to prove from that time forward a foeman worthy of his steel.

On September 11, 1856, a public sale of Shorthorns was held at Grove Park; the top price paid being $715 for the six-year old cow May Dacre, descended from the Sanders importation of 1817. Other good specimens brought from $400 to $600.

By this time, thanks largely to Captain Brown's persistent enthusiasm, interest in the work of live stock improvement was spreading rapidly, and in 1857 he helped to organize the Illinois Importing Company, formed for the purpose of bringing out fresh blood from the fountain-head in Great Britain. Dr. H. C. Johns, of Decatur; Henry Jacoby, of Springfield, and Captain Brown were selected as a committee to carry out the purpose. Of the weary weeks of travel by land and sea at that date it is scarcely necessary to speak. Money was freely risked and time and comfort sacrificed in a supreme effort to place Illinois in the front rank of this essential branch of husbandry. The

herds of England and Scotland were seen, selections made, shipments arranged for, and the commissioners returned. Weeks elapsed with no tidings of the good ship "Georgia" that carried the precious cargo, and it was only when fears were bordering upon despair that she was finally reported safe at anchor at Philadelphia, sixty days out from Liverpool, with several valuable cattle and a fine thoroughbred mare lost at sea. The shipment included besides cattle, a choice selection of Southdown and Cotswold sheep and Berkshire pigs; and Captain Brown afterwards became a successful breeder of these as well as of high-bred horses of the roadster type.

In accordance with the practice established by various companies of similar character in Ohio and Kentucky the imported animals were sold at auction soon after their arrival, and the success of the sale was largely due to the vigor and confidence with which values were supported by Captain Brown. He realized that at this crucial period in the introduction of the breed into the prairie states those who were most actively espousing the cause of live stock improvement as a means to a prosperous agriculture must show their own faith by their works. He knew the advertising value of good prices. He doubtless knew that Lewis Sanders had ordered out the great importation of 1817 by reading an account in an English paper of the sale of Charles Colling's famous bull Comet for one thousand guineas; his reasoning being that if such a public valuation were possible it indicated a degree of merit in the breed that rendered such animals an important element in the proper advancement of American farming. And so we find Captain Brown at the great sale of the Illinois Importing Company of 1857 taking out the choice animals of the entire offering, the two-year-old heifer Rachel 2d, against the bids of a syndicate of Central Illinois breeders, at the then very large price of $3,025. This was the second highest price ever paid up to that date for a Shorthorn female in North America. The sale was a great success; twenty-seven head bringing $31,455, an average of $1,165. Henry Jacoby and Captain Brown jointly acquired the bull King Alfred at $1,300. The heifer Western Lady also went to Grove Park at $1,325, and became the ancestress of a very valuable family of cattle.

It is of interest to note that this great importation included the first specimens of the afterward famous Aberdeenshire type of cattle ever brought into the State—four head from the then comparatively unknown but subsequently world-renowned herd of the late Amos Cruickshank, of Sittyton.

During the years that followed the Grove Park Shorthorns gained a national reputation. A constant competitor at the State Fair, and a regular exhibitor at the County Show of his own beloved Sangamon, Captain Brown's entries were always presented in the pink of condition, and in the famous show-yard battles of the ensuing twenty years with Pickrell, Spears, Duncan, Hill, Sodowsky, Taylor and all the invading hosts from other states, there was never a time when his exhibits failed to evoke admiration and gain judicial recognition. To undertake to set forth the names and breeding of the Grove Park show-yard celebrities would be to place an unwarranted tax upon your time and patience. One needs but to mention the names of Grace Young, Illustrious, and Tycoon

to conjure in the minds of the old-time fair goers almost all that heart could wish in the line of bovine beauty and perfection. From 1856 to 1867, inclusive, for eleven years in succession, the grand herd price at the Illinois State Fair was won by Captain Brown's cattle. At one of the great St. Louis fairs, after Robert A. Alexander's great bull, imported Duke of Airdrie had won a special one thousand dollar prize, the regular championship of the show was awarded to Captain Brown's imported King Alfred. A volume could easily be written about his work as a breeder and importer of live stock, but I have perhaps already overstayed my allotted time, and hence will go no further into details. No man can calculate the money value to Illinois and other western states of the example set by James N. Brown as a farmer and cattle breeder. He not only won fame for his fine cattle, but as early as 1856 Grove Park was awarded the prize offered by the Illinois State Board of Agriculture for the best arranged and most economically conducted grazing farm in the State. He was a great lover of trees, and his black locust groves and lines of black walnut called forth the admiration of all visitors. He was also awarded a prize for a valuable treatise on raising and feeding cattle on the prairies of Illinois. This will be found on page 372 in volume 2 of the Transactions of the Illinois Agricultural Society.

Captain Brown was the foremost advocate of the value of blue grass in this State. He always claimed that one hundred acres of it were equal in value to sixty-six and two-thirds acres of corn, in the rearing and management of live stock. Would that his voice could be raised today by way of protest against the wholesale destruction of pastures that has attended the grain-growing craze of recent years in our leading agricultural states.

During the later years of his life the three sons, William, Charles and Benjamin, were in partnership with their father in the management of the estate, and after his death, under the firm name of James N. Brown's Sons they carried on the breeding and feeding operations with profit to themselves and the live stock interests of the West; a marked instance of their influence for good being their insistence, at the foundation of the Chicago Fat Stock Show, late in the seventies, that the big four and five-year-old bullocks then so popular were really unprofitable and should not be encouraged. Captain Brown had always insisted that early maturity was the keynote of success in meat-making, and his sons succeeded in inducing the State Board of Agriculture to include in the prize list for the initial show a class for yearlings and calves. This they followed up by winning first prize on a yearling steer weighing 1,400 pounds. They thus pioneered a proposition that has revolutionized the American cattle trade.

Adjacent to Grove Park is a hallowed spot called "Woodwreath." There the blue grass he so fondly loved runs riot around the grave of James N. Brown. The State of Illinois is the better for his having lived.

JAMES N. BROWN, THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED AND USEFUL CITIZEN.

(By Hon. Paul Selby.)

While it devolves upon my chosen colleagues, on this impressive occasion, to discuss the more important events and achievements in the business and the public life of one whose deeds and honored name we are here assembled to commemorate, it is none the less a valued privilege on my part, in view of the character he established and the far-reaching results he accomplished by a life of intelligent industry and unselfish enterprise, to pay a brief but deserved tribute to his memory as that of the "Public-spirited and Useful Citizen." "Character," says the philosophic Emerson, "is nature in its highest form," and it is difficult to conceive of a higher or more inspiring order of manhood than that which seeks results not merely from the spirit of narrow-minded selfishness, but for the public good no less than for personal profit.

As I am expected to speak of Capt. James N. Brown's individual traits of character, some reference to his personal history will be appropriate in this connection. Born near Cynthiana, Harrison County, Kentucky, October 1, 1806, the oldest son of Col. William Brown, a native of Frederick County, Virginia, James N. Brown received his educational training in the public schools of Cynthiana and at Transylvania University, and in early manhood entered upon his vocation as a farmer in his native county. On the maternal side he was descended from the Warfield family, his mother being Harriet Burgess (Warfield) Brown, whose relatives were prominently identified with the stock-growing business in Kentucky, and from them James N. undoubtedly acquired many ideas and impressions which influenced his future business career. On the paternal side, his father, Col. William Brown, was a soldier and commander of a Kentucky regiment during the War of 1812, and for four years was a Representative in Congress from his Kentucky district, having defeated for this position Richard M. Johnson, the reputed slayer of the famous Indian Chief, Tecumseh, at the battle of Tippecanoe, and who later became Vice-President of the United States. Colonel Brown was also a close friend and political ally of Henry Clay, and from this source it is evident that James N. inherited much of the patriotic and military spirit which won for him the title of Captain of a militia company in early manhood in his native state, and had much to do in establishing his future political relations.

On February 6, 1828, Captain Brown married Polly Ann Smith, a native of Kentucky, born March 23, 1807, and for the next six years followed his chosen vocation in his native state. By this time a feeling of unrest had grown up in the Brown family, with a desire to free themselves from contact with the institution of slavery, and Col. William Brown, after having visited Illinois and one or two other western states, made extensive purchases of land in what is now known as Island Grove in the western part of Sangamon County, and in 1833 removed with a portion of his family, locating in the present city of Jacksonville, where he died October 6th of the same year. During the following year Cap-

tain Brown came with his family and established his permanent home on lands in the Island Grove settlement. This location was especially well chosen for his future life-calling and public career, being midway between what were then two of the most flourishing villages of the State—one of them later becoming the State Capital and the other already the seat of Illinois College. It was in the heart of one of the most fertile sections of a State now recognized as the most prosperous agricultural portion of the Union, and here Captain Brown, with the aid of his sons, began the development of what became one of the most successful grain-producing and stock-growing enterprises in the State. While other sections have developed immensely in wealth and population, none has retained more uniformly the basic features of its prosperity than that chosen by Captain Brown as his future home, thus illustrating his sagacity at that early period. Here it was that, after a period of thirty-four years of industrious activity and public-spirited enterprise, his useful career was ended by death on November 16, 1868, at the age of little more than sixty-two years, in what is now the house of his son, Hon. Benjamin Warfield Brown, the only surviving member of his family—and his remains now rest in peace in Woodwreath Cemetery.

Few men devoting their attention primarily to private business in Illinois have left so deep an impress upon State history. In no proper sense of the term a mere politician or seeker for office, he was yet deeply interested in political issues as a matter of principle, and the confidence of his fellow-citizens was shown in his being called upon to serve four terms as Representative in the General Assembly and as the first president of the State Agricultural Society which he had been a principal factor in incorporating and organizing. Other measures which he advocated while in the Legislature and as a private citizen included the founding of State charitable institutions, and in his later years, by appointment of the elder Governor Yates, he served wisely and unselfishly as a trustee of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Jacksonville.

A native of the same State, and originally a member of the same political party as Abraham Lincoln, whose coming to Sangamon County he antedated by two years, it was natural that a strong personal friendship should have been developed between Captain Brown and the future President and Emancipator. Evidence of the strength of these bonds is furnished in the "Scrap Book" prepared by Lincoln, containing extracts from his most noted speeches on national issues between 1854 and 1858, and presented to Mr. Brown during the latter year. A *fac simile* reproduction of this unique volume, containing also *fac simile* copies of Lincoln's accompanying letters, issued by the publishers of McClure's Magazine, about the time of the publication of Miss Tarbell's "Life of Lincoln," will long be held by friends of both the giver and the recipient as a highly valued memorial of each. For the preparation of this souvenir production and the explanatory notes accompanying it, thanks are due to Mr. J. McCan Davis, present Clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois, who was a most efficient aid of Miss Tarbell in the preparation of her excellent "Life of Lincoln."

Although compelled to face partisan prejudice and misrepresentation on account of the race hatred and unscrupulous methods which prevailed at that time, Captain Brown could not be truthfully classed as a radical politically, yet there is abundant evidence that he was in full sympathy then—as he would be, were he living today—with the vigorous sentiment implied in J. G. Holland's inspiring ode:

"God give us Men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will,
Men who have honor, men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.
For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps."

While always active in his business relations and ever true to the public interests intrusted to his care, Captain Brown gave evidence of his high moral standing, his religious faith and unselfish devotion to the public good, by his long service as superintendent of the Sunday School of the Methodist Church at Island Grove, of which—both church and Sunday School—he had taken an active part in the founding and was a most liberal supporter. A banner bearing the inscription, "Island Grove Sunday School—All the year around," placed there by him perhaps fifty years ago, bespeaks his devotion to his task at all seasons, and deserves to be preserved, as a valued memento of his services, by those who have since passed from the ranks of pupils and teachers to veteran soldiers and heads of families.

Another phase of Captain Brown's civic career—one which gave evidence of his foresight and public spirit—is especially worthy of mention here. This was the zealous support which, as a private citizen and as a member and officer of the State Agricultural Society, he gave to the scheme, of which the late Prof. Jonathan B. Turner, of Jacksonville, was the originator, for the establishment of a system of industrial institutions in the several states and territories of the Union. In this work he had the co-operation of Bronson Murray, the first (and for several years) corresponding secretary of the State Agricultural Society, and according to my latest intelligence still surviving in New York City at the age of ninety-four years, and Col. John P. Reynolds, Mr. Murray's successor, also still living in Chicago, aged over ninety years. One of the last acts of Captain Brown in this connection was as president of a convention of advocates of this measure, held in Bloomington, June 27, 1860, for the purpose of promoting the passage of the "Morrill Bill," then pending in Congress, and which became an accomplished fact two years later, when, on July 2, 1862, the bill became a law by the approval of Abraham Lincoln. As a result of this act there are now sixty-eight separate institutions in existence, including at least one in each state and territory except Alaska and the Philippines, but including

Hawaii and Porto Rico. Of the more than 70,000 pupils attending these institutions, according to the last report of the Commissioner of Education, the largest number in any single state are connected with the University of Illinois. With the exception of the persons already named, the prominent champions of this measure have all passed away; but were they here today, there is abundant reason for believing that they would recognize the fitness of linking the names of Brown and Turner in the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame—as will be done a year hence—the one as the practical, progressive and successful farmer, and the other as the deviser (in other words—as is capable of demonstration —the first projector) of a system of education—all training and institutions having such far-reaching results in all the states. The stately buildings and their appliances, by which we are here surrounded, will stand as a monument to the foresight and sagacity of the promoters of the movement, as well as to the faithful industry and enterprise of their followers.

Approaching the close of this paper I feel impelled to quote, as a fitting tribute to the memory of Captain Brown, a brief extract from an obituary as published after his death on November 16, 1868, in the columns of the Chicago Republican, but from the pen of my personal friend and associate journalist, the late Charles D. Bragdon, for many years at a later period, editor of Moore's Rural New Yorker. In part Mr. Bragdon said:

"Capt. James N. Brown was a man of the royal stamp. He was a nobleman by nature. His integrity was of the strictest sort. No man had a nicer sense of honor. No man was more imperative and unyielding in his advocacy and defense of what he believed to be right; and no man could more quickly perceive and appreciate justice in his relations to others. There was no nobler Roman among the farmers of Illinois. While he was a progressive man, his conservatism was marked; he was in no sense an unreasoning enthusiast. With a far-reaching foresight he grasped and comprehended results, while others were struggling with doubts."

Such was the character of the man whose name and fame we here commemorate. Modest, unostentatious and unpretentious, he relied upon action and merit, instead of self-advertising and self-laudation, to accomplish results and establish for himself a name. In the language of one of the noblest and wisest of Romans, "Of all things human, nothing is more honorable than to deserve well of one's country," and "Honor is the reward of virtue." On this basis of high moral character and devotion to business which insured confidence in his judgment and brought success, Capt. James N. Brown deserved the honors here paid to his memory. Long may the character which he established, with evidence of the results which he accomplished, live to perpetuate his memory and furnish for the instruction and elevation of the wisely ambitious youth of future generations, an example of the "Public-spirited and Useful Citizen."

JAMES NICHOLAS BROWN IN PUBLIC LIFE.

(By Hon. Clinton L. Conkling.)

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame:

The span of the individual life is extremely short. The days of work and achievement are very few. Time that has been is without beginning, and that which is to be is without end; while the narrow present lies between the two. Within its limits all that individualizes any man must be done.

The forceful man of the day is a concentration of that which *has been,* energized by the vitality of the *present.* Thus is he enabled to start from the outposts of his predecessors and to advance into the unknown and untried. Where they stopped he commences. On their foundations he builds. Sometimes he destroys but it is only to reach a more solid basis, and always something of the past is to be found in the building of the present. We may not always recognize it and the minds that planned or the hands that worked may be all unknown, except, where here and there, the story of a master workman has come down to us.

The vast majority of men have passed into utter oblivion. But this does not mean that their lives have been failures or that they have left no impress upon succeeding generations. Each generation is the product of all preceding generations. The human race ever grows though the individual members are ever dying. All men live, work, die and in a brief time are absolutely forgotten for all time, except however, those very few who by reason of character or achievement stand out or apart from their fellows. Their activities may have been bounded by neighborhood lines or may have been world-wide. In either case they are notable men.

The stories of their lives become the inspiration of the many who follow. The circle of those affected may be small or may vary through many degrees till it may be national or even world embracing. The names, the character and the work of these men should be recorded by their fellows and the records should be preserved for those who come after. This should be done not merely from motives of pride or of gratitude but for the positive benefit which such histories bring to other minds. They inform, they encourage, they warn, they inspire the workers of later days. A country rich in memories of men of honorable success has a royal heritage; an asset of rare worth. The pages of the world's history have heretofore been too much concerned with those who claimed kingly honors or have been great warriors. Today we are seeking more and more to honor the man who benefits his fellow man. Honors are not chiefly to be won on battle fields, in the forum or in political life. The good citizen, the leader in the activities which make for the uplift of his own community and of the State, the one who stands for principle in business and morality in every day life, who has the courage of his convictions, and dares to maintain them, is worthy

of honor and remembrance. The laudable desire to honor and remember such a citizen is the motive that brings us here today.

The cavalier ancestors of James Nicholas Brown came from England at an early day and settled in Middlesex County, Virginia, where their son, James Brown was born, April 29, 1708. To him a son, also named James Brown was born April 19, 1742, in Spottsylvania, County, Virginia; and to him a son, William Brown, was born April 19, 1779, in Frederick County, in the same state. Five years afterwards James Brown removed with his family to Bourbon County, Kentucky, where he died in 1825. His son, William Brown, became a large land owner in that state and had a country seat overlooking the town of Cynthiana and the valley of the Licking River. Here, with the aid of his negro slaves, he raised fine cattle and farmed his extensive acres. In the War of 1812 he was Colonel of a regiment of Kentucky volunteers. He was active in politics, being a Henry Clay Whig, and at one time represented Harrison County in the Legislature of Kentucky and later, about 1819, represented his district in Congress, being a colleague of Henry Clay in the National House of Representatives. His unsuccessful opponent for this place was Richard M. Johnson, for many years a distinguished statesman of Kentucky and later Vice-President during the term of President Van Buren. Colonel Brown was also a lawyer of distinction and ability, the influence of whose strong character had a marked effect upon his children.

In 1805 he was married to Harriet Burgess Warfield, in Fayette County, Kentucky. She came of the Warfields of Maryland a family which took a prominent part in the War of the Revolution. One of her ancestors was Richard Warfield, who came from Berkshire, England, and settled in Maryland in 1662. He traced his ancestry back through Robert de Warfield, a member of The Order of the Knights of the Garter, to John de Warfield who, in the times of King John, had his abode near Windsor Castle in the Parish of Warfield. This John de Warfield was descended from a Norman knight of the same family name who is mentioned in the "Domesday Book" compiled by order of William the Conqueror in the year 1080.

The male ancestors of James N. Brown, both on his father's and mother's side were men of large affairs, prominent in the public matters of their day and distinguished for their abilities. On the distaff side his progenitors were the worthy helpmeets of strong men.

To William Brown and his wife were born ten children, one of whom died in infancy. James Nicholas Brown, the oldest of these children, was born October 1, 1806 at the Warfield homestead, near Bryan's Station, Fayette County, Kentucky.

He received his early education in the common schools of that state and finished at Transylvania University at Lexington. This university now forms a part of the University of Kentucky.

Like his father, he loved an agricultural life and became a farmer and raiser of fine Shorthorn cattle. At a fair at Lexington, he took his first of a long line of trophies, more than a thousand in number, won in the prize ring, for fine stock. This first prize was presented to him at the hands of Henry Clay, it being the custom of the day to have the prizes delivered to the winners by the most illustrious men of the state.

His first public position was that of captain of a company of Kentucky militia. During the remainder of his life, he bore the title of captain.

Colonel William Brown, his father, owing very largely to his dislike to the institution of slavery, determined to emigrate from his native state. In 1832 he, with his son-in-law, James D. Smith, visited Central Illinois and acquired a great body of land in what are now the counties of Sangamon and Morgan. The following year, accompanied by his nine children and the families of those who had married, he came to Illinois making his home at Jacksonville, where after a brief illness he died October 6, 1833. With him came some of his former slaves, to whom he had given their freedom but who, though now free, still clung to the old master and mistress who continued, so long as they each lived, to care for these faithful servants.

Captain Brown was married near Cynthiana, Ky., February 6, 1828, to Polly Ann Smith. They had three children, in Kentucky, all of whom died in infancy. On removing to Illinois he located in what is known as Island Grove in Sangamon County, midway between Springfield and Jacksonville. Part of his purchase included the Robert's farm on which was located what tradition says was the first mill for grinding wheat and corn in the central part of the State north of Alton. Peter Cartwright the noted Methodist preacher then lived at Pleasant Plains about seven miles away. He used to speak of the hardship of going to Alton with his grist but said that after this mill was located he felt as though he had a mill at his very door.

In a beautiful grove in the midst of the fertile prairie lands of his estate, Captain Brown, built his dwelling and called the place Grove Park. It was on the old stage-coach route between Springfield and Jacksonville and in his and in his sons' hands, has ever been an abode of hospitality and good cheer. Under its trees many meetings, political, patriotic and religious have been held. On the fourth of July, 1861, a great gathering from all the neighboring country was held there, Peter Cartwright being the orator of the day. Captain Brown having learned that Colonel Ulysses S. Grant at the head of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers was on that day marching overland on the way to Quincy, sent him an invitation to stop at Grove Park with his troops. This invitation was accepted and for about two hours near midday the regiment rested under the green trees and took part in the celebration, Colonel Grant and his officers being guests of Captain Brown. During the years of the Civil War these woods were the scene of other gatherings, inspired by the zealous patriotism of Captain Brown.

Here on the fateful 14th day of April, 1865, there was a great celebration, organized and promoted by him. With boom of cannon, songs of triumph and eloquent words of hope, the people of the whole countryside celebrated the fall of Richmond with its presage of coming victory. That night he went to sleep with visions of coming years of peace and prosperity and a happy reunited country under the presidency of his old friend President Lincoln. When morning came, the blackness of darkness had swept over the land and there was sorrow unspeakable in that loyal home.

When a few days later the mortal remains of Abraham Lincoln were borne to Oak Ridge Cemetery, Captain Brown, wearing a somber sash, the emblem of mourning, was, with other notable men, one of the pall bearers. Hardly four more years went by when on November 16, 1868 he also passed away. As he too was borne to his grave, there lay on his breast to be buried with him, that same emblem placed there at his own request. His widow, Polly Ann Brown who lived until May 18, 1873, now rests beside her husband. To them four children were born in Illinois of whom, but one, Benjamin Warfield Brown, is now living.

Captain Brown was an earnest and influential advocate of scientific education for the agricultural classes and an efficient co-laborer with Prof. Jonathan B. Turner of Jacksonville, in securing the passage by Congress of the Act of July 2, 1862, sometimes known as the Morrill Act, granting to the several states lands for the endowment of "colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The University of Illinois, chartered in 1867, under the name of Illinois Industrial University, is founded on this land grant from which and other grants, comes its endowment. It is most fitting then that he should now receive honor here at an institution whose existence was made possible by work in which he took such an efficient part.

He was ready with his pen and wrote many articles, some being prize essays, on his favorite topic. At the great banquet at Springfield on October 5, 1868, given to celebrate the laying of the corner stone of the new State House, he responded to the toast "Agriculture." This was perhaps his last public speech.

From the first Captain Brown devoted himself to his farm and his cattle and became famous throughout the country for his fine herds which were second to none. The great improvement in the grade of cattle in this State is very largely due to his personal efforts and example. At first he was in business by himself but in the early forties he and his brother William Brown, became partners in farming and in the breeding of Shorthorn or Durham cattle. His brother being a lawyer, as well as a banker and literary man, left the management of this business to Captain Brown. In 1856 this connection was dissolved and later the famous firm of James N. Brown & Sons continued the business. The two sons, were Charles and William, both now dead. This firm was dissolved by the death of Captain Brown in 1868 after which his two sons, together with his son, Benjamin Warfield Brown, continued the business under the name of James N. Brown's Sons until the death of Charles in 1897 and later the death of William in 1908 dissolved the firm. The business of raising blooded cattle is still continued by his surviving son.

Captain Brown gave his personal attention to the details of his business and usually walked with his herd into the exhibition ring. If fairly defeated in the prize ring he was ever ready to congratulate the winner but if he was unfairly discriminated against, his voice was sure to be heard in vigorous protest. Not only did he raise his cattle to a grade before unknown here, but he also maintained his broad acres of land in unsurpassed fertility.

While he thus devoted his main energy to the successful management of his chosen occupation and to the attainment of supreme excellence in it he still found time to engage in the politics of the day both, local, State and national. He, himself, in his early days had been a slave holder, but when he came to the free State of Illinois, he emancipated his slaves. To the credit of each the bond between master and servant was too strong to be broken and by their own choice some of these slaves lived and were cared for in his immediate family until they died, the last having passed away in 1860.

In 1840 he was elected from Sangamon County to the lower house of the Twelfth General Assembly, Mr. Lincoln being his colleague. He was re-elected in 1842 to the same House in the Thirteenth General Assembly and also in 1846 to the Fifteenth and in 1852 to the Eighteenth General Assembly.

The bill passed February 8, 1853, creating the Illinois State Board of Agriculture was introduced by him into the Legislature and received his earnest and active support. In the same year he was made the first president of the board and continued to be identified with it in one position or another until his death. When the United States Agricultural Society was formed he was made one of its vice-presidents. His activities in these connections are more fully told by others.

He took an active part in the campaigns preceding each election and also was frequently heard on the floor of the House. His style of speaking was conversational and argumentative rather than oratorical for he made no pretense of being an orator. What he had to say was plainly but forcefully spoken and there was no mistaking his position. The strong influence he had upon others was the result of his own earnestness and his unquestioned reputation for honesty and ability. To him men came for advice and counsel not only in political but in business and private affairs.

From a very early day he was brought into intimate social and political association with Abraham Lincoln. They were both natives of the same state. They thought alike on the burning questions of the day about slavery. They were both Old Line Whigs. For years they had fought together in the battles with Democracy. The Whig party in 1856 was doomed to extinction. The new Republican party was coming into existence and the Whigs were being compelled to choose between this new party opposed to the further extension of slavery and their old antagonist, the democratic party, which defended slavery. The hatred of abolitionism and the fear of negro equality, both social and political, greatly prejudiced many Whigs against the new party; while opposition to the further extension of slavery into free territory and dislike of the pro-slavery Democracy which they had ever fought inclined many of the Whigs towards the Republican party. Mr. Lincoln disclaimed all intention to bring about social and political equality between the white and black races—but contended that the negro was entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that in this sense all men were created equal. He was opposed to any interference with slavery where it was then established but on the other hand he was opposed to its extension into territories then free. Captain Brown held

the same views. Under these circumstances there met in 1857 in Springfield, for friendly conference, a group of men prominent in the councils of the Whig party in the State. Captain Brown was one of these men. Each gave his views and stated his position with reference to the two dominant parties. When called on to state his position, Captain Brown said, "My friends, I have been a Whig all my life. I cannot be a Democrat. From this time on I am a Lincoln Republican." And such he remained until the day of his death.

In 1858, the year of the great Lincoln and Douglas debates Captain Brown at the earnest personal solicitation of Mr. Lincoln consented to run for the lower House of the General Assembly of Illinois.

To aid him in this campaign Mr. Lincoln compiled a little book of extracts from his speeches accompanied by comments in his own hand, intended to disprove as false the charge of the Democrats that the Republican party and Mr. Lincoln were in favor of negro equality, both social and political, but the prejudices of the voters, very many of whom had come from Kentucky were too strong to be overcome and Captain Brown was defeated.

"It is the unique renown of this book that it is the only one ever written or compiled by Abraham Lincoln."

Again in 1860 his friends urged his nomination for the State Senate but failed to succeed, Dr. William Jayne being nominated and elected.

Captain Brown was a member of many political conventions, both county, State and national. He was in the Republican State Convention which met in Decatur May 9, 1860, and took part in the occurrences which caused Mr. Lincoln thereafter to be called the "rail-splitter."

He was also a delegate from Illinois to the National Republican Convention held in Baltimore in 1864 which nominated Mr. Lincoln for his second term as President.

By Richard Yates the old "War Governor" he was made in 1861 a member of the Board of Directors of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Jacksonville and was re-appointed to the same position by Gov. Richard J. Oglesby, but did not live to finish his term.

At the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion, he gave valuable assistance to the State Government in the organization of troops. It was his desire to raise a regiment of volunteers and himself lead them to the front but physical inability to withstand the hardships alone prevented.

He was an active and efficient member of the Union League of America which was organized in 1862. This was a secret political and patriotic order founded for the avowed purpose of sustaining the cause of the Union and counteracting the work of the traitorous Knights of the Golden Circle, the Ku-Klux-Klan and other secret organizations designed to promote the success of the Rebellion. By the close of the war the Union League numbered upwards of two million of members. It rendered most efficient aid to the State officials, and to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy and continued its silent but effective operations until the complete overthrow of the rebellion when it ceased to exist as a political organization.

Captain Brown was a deeply religious man. He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in his early manhood and continued to be an active member until his death. He, with his brother-in-law, James D. Smith, who lived on an adjoining farm, were the founders, sometime in the thirties, and the most liberal supporters of Island Grove Station, the *first rural* station established in the Illinois Conference.

Such a station, which implied a settled pastor holding regular services each Sabbath, was very different from a rural church, one of several, ministered to at intervals, by a circuit rider only.

It indicated the existence in that locality of a generous company of believers under forceful lay leadership and this leadership was found in these two men.

During all his married life he maintained family worship in his home. In the class meeting he was ever ready to lead in prayer or to testify; and when occasion demanded he would conduct the Sabbath services, excepting only the sermon. He was for many years, trustee or steward, and sometimes both, of his church, and was frequently found at the Quarterly Conference.

For over thirty years he was superintendent of the Sunday School. When the various schools would gather for picnics or on other occasions he was present leading the procession of his own school in person. Today there stands in the church at Island Grove a banner over fifty years old which he had made and on which are these words "Island Grove Sunday School All the Year Around."

He did not propose to let the summer heat or winter cold close the doors of that Sunday School. His spare form in a suit of blue cloth with swallow tail coat and brass buttons was a familiar figure at Sunday school conventions in the early days in the central part of the State. One of our most honored citizens, who has also gone to his reward, heard him address such a convention and in after years told of how deeply Captain Brown's earnest words impressed him and made him feel that he was indeed a leader of influence, an ideal man, one to be followed.

The old log meeting house first used by the church was abandoned in 1859 and in a beautiful grove across the road from his home place was built a new brick church and a parsonage on ground given by him. To these enterprises he and his brother-in-law gave largely of their time and means. There also was located beautiful Woodwreath Cemetery beneath the shadows of whose trees he now peacefully sleeps.

Of him, Saint Paul's words may most appropriately be spoken: "Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord."

JAMES N. BROWN, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE FAIR.

(By Hon. John M. Crebs, President Illinois State Fair.)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The commission having charge of the program for these exercises has conferred upon me the great honor of calling your attention to the

work of Captain James N. Brown as the first president of the Illinois State Fair.

It has been deemed fitting by the commission that the president of the Illinois State Fair at the time the program for this meeting was arranged should thus honor the memory of the first president of an organization that for nearly sixty years has endeavored to follow the wise leadership of the very worthy man whose splendid achievement we have assembled today to commemorate.

Illinois has exceptional advantages in the way of rich soil, favorable climate and its geographical location makes the State the great thoroughfare from east to west for much of the travel and traffic of the Nation and trans-continental business.

The leading men of the East and South at an early date manifested their high appreciation of the unsurpassed natural and other advantages of Illinois and made this their home and field for future usefulness. Illinois men in all the walks of life have been characterized as pace makers and especially has this been the case in Agricultural lines.

Captain James N. Brown was not the least of the pace makers referred to above. He came to Illinois from Kentucky in 1834 and purchased 3,000 acres of land near Berlin, Sangamon County, on which farm he resided until his death on November 16, 1868.

My knowledge of Captain Brown is largely the result of reading of his work in the early reports of the Illinois State Board of Agriculture which in the face of present conditions makes the story of his achievement read like a romance.

He is credited as being among the first if not the very first to bring Shorthorn cattle into Illinois and from that early date made the Grove Park herd well and widely known for its excellence.

He was a very successful exhibitor of Shorthorn cattle in his native state and brought to Illinois many grand champion trophies won in competition with the leading breeders of Kentucky and other states.

In that early day the great fair at St. Louis was the leading American exposition and attracted each year in large numbers the best exhibits from many states.

There was no more successful exhibitor in the classes in which he competed at St. Louis than Captain James N. Brown. His exhibits did much to make Illinois famous for improved live stock and in every possible way he encouraged many to breed the best of horses, cattle, sheep and swine.

The great need of a fair in Illinois that would meet the requirements of a rapidly growing state was apparent to Captain Brown from his earliest residence in Illinois. No effort was spared on his part to interest the leading farmers and business men in the completion of such an organization and in the meantime he was active and efficient as an officer in promoting the Sangamon County fair.

The passage of the Act providing for the incorporation of the Illinois State Agricultural Society approved February 8, 1853 was largely secured through the effort of Captain James N. Brown who was a popular and influential member of the General Assembly that passed said Act. This Act specifies that the object of the society shall be "to promote the agricultural, horticultural, mechanic and household arts."

The first Act of the General Assembly providing for an appropriation for the State Fair was approved February 11, 1853 and called for $1,000 annually for two years. Arrangements were promptly made after securing needed legislation for the holding of the first State Fair and on October 11, 12, 13 and 14, 1853 the exposition was held on a twenty acre field now a part of Springfield.

The total receipts of the first State Fair of $4,751.20 paid the prize list of $944.45 and the expense of $2,954.04 leaving a balance of $852.71 for the next exhibition. Thus was the exposition now known as the Great Illinois State Fair started in a small field enclosed with a rail fence, under the able and popular leadership of Captain James N. Brown. From such a small beginning the Illinois State Fair has grown with the rapid development of State until the annual receipts now exceed $100,000 and the premiums are now more than fifty times larger than those paid at the first State Fair.

The history of the steady and healthy growth of the State Fair would fill volumes and its brilliant achievements and expenditure of more than $1,000,000 for prizes and as much more for permanent improvements and a like sum for current expenses is well known to this audience. No man could wish for a more flattering testimonial than the remarkable record for usefulness made by the Illinois State Fair. This exposition has exerted an influence favoring the highest achievement in agricultural pursuits on the part of every enterprising man, woman and child in the State that cannot be measured.

The early records of the State Fair speak of "the active exertions of our excellent president, J. N. Brown, whose service and friendship were highly appreciated by a most worthy class of co-laborers as well as the farmers of the State."

The reports referred to above contain many evidences of the scholarly attainments and comprehensive views of present and prospective conditions of Mr. Brown as shown in his able and practical addresses and prize essays on various topics of especial interest to the stock breeder and farmer of his day.

The State Fair of that early period assembled not only the best herds and flocks and other exhibits but the best talent obtainable was secured to discuss all the topics of especial interest to the progressive farmer and each member of his family.

It was the ambition of President Brown to have addresses delivered on the State Fair grounds during the exhibition by the leaders in all lines of investigation pertaining to rural pursuits. The early reports of the Board of Agriculture contain not a few of such scholarly addresses that are still considered as standard by our most successful farmers.

During the four terms that Captain J. N. Brown served as a member of the General Assembly he had the hearty co-operation of Abraham Lincoln and other leaders in securing the passage of a number of laws that have operated much to the benefit of the State Fair and the farming industry.

His active participation in the State Fair had much to do with his visit to Great Britain in 1857 for the purchase of the best obtainable specimens of the leading breeds of horses, cattle, sheep and swine.

Live stock to the value of $25,000 was purchased in England on said trip which on its arrival in Illinois was sold at public auction to the highest bidder, greatly to the advantages of the purchasers and the live stock industry of this and other states.

This importation of livestock by Captain Brown, Henry Jacoby and Dr. S. C. Johns gave a great impetus to the breeding of improved livestock in many states and added much to the well earned prestige of Illinois as the leading American headquarters for pure bred horses, cattle, sheep and swine of the best lines of breeding known to that period.

Captain Brown was an exceptionally gifted man with successful experience as a farmer, a breeder and importer of livestock, a promoter of the Illinois State Fair, a wise legislator and his neighbors ranked him second to none as a patriotic citizen, a faithful friend and a most exemplary Christian gentleman.

The managers of Illinois State Fair only need to follow the leadership of its illustrious first president, Captain James N. Brown to attain to the highest standard of usefulness and to fully meet the expectations of the progressive farmers of Illinois.

All present I am confident share in the most commendable ambition of Captain James N. Brown to keep Illinois far in the lead as the premier agricultural State, noted for the enterprise and thrift of its farmers and a patriotic citizenship worthy of the memory of a Lincoln, a Grant and other noted sons whose achievements grace our history and prove them as most worthy promoters of liberty, peace and the highest standard of civilization.

"JAMES N. BROWN AS AN IDEAL ILLINOIS FARMER."

(By Hon. Charles S. Deneen.)

The establishment of the Farmers' Hall of Fame was a proper recognition of the dominant part which agriculture has played and still plays in the development of our State. It was also a recognition of what may be, I think, called a distinctively American conception of human worth, which pays, perhaps, its greatest homage to men of action —to those whose lives and works have contributed most and most directly to the welfare of their communities or of the nation at large. And this is above all the case when such achievements are linked, as was the case with the man whose name is installed here today, with unsullied personal character.

In some respects, this attitude may be, I say, deemed typically American. Not that other countries have failed to yield high tribute to their men of deeds; but from the very beginning of American history, of that story of restless energy which has compassed and compressed the conquest of a continent into so brief a space of time, American life has been so largely occupied with the practical problems presented by our rapid industrial and political development, that our views of life and its meanings have naturally taken on a somewhat utilitarian color.

But this, though an obvious reading of the characteristic American point of view, is by no means an exhaustive one. On the contrary, it is superficial. I think it could be successfully contended, on an appropriate occasion, that America has been duly devoted to the encouragement of art, of letters and of education in its so-called higher phases, just as surely as it could be contended that our history shows us to have held fast to those lofty ideals of patriotic devotion to country and to liberty out of which our nation sprung.

I take it, therefore, that the name which is found worthy of a place in this Hall of Fame must bring some combination of these great American qualities and some other evidence of fitness for such an honorable distinction besides mere practical achievement, essential as that may be. Practical achievement is indeed an essential element in such a claim, but I take it that a far more controlling consideration is that of devotion of this practical achievement to the advancement of the common welfare.

And this test of worthiness of a place in this memorial hall is amply met by the man whose name we are met to honor on this occasion. With the details of his personal history, his birth in Kentucky, his fine educational training and his choice of farming as a vocation, I shall not attempt to deal. Nor shall I deal in any general way with his long and honorable public career as a member of the General Assembly of this State or in other positions of public trust and confidence. In all of these he distinguished himself by a devotion to official duty and the public interests which marked him as one of the strong and upright men in the public life of his day.

The fact to which I shall briefly call your attention, however, is that throughout his career he never permitted the multifarious demands of official position to cause him to forget the needs and interests of the industry with which his whole mature life was associated.

It was during his service as member of the Illinois General Assembly that he became one of the strongest advocates and ablest champions of the State Agricultural Society which he did so much to organize and incorporate and of which he was the first president.

The creation of the Agricultural Society was a pioneer step in the recognition by the State of the importance of agriculture to our commonwealth. It antedated by more than a quarter of a century the establishment of the Illinois Industrial University, now the University of Illinois, or the establishment of agricultural experiment stations under the provisions of the federal law. Captain Brown had the wisdom to forsee at this early date the necessity for placing our agricultural industries upon a permanent basis by bringing to the aid of the farmer the scientific knowledge which could only be gathered and preserved through the establishment of some public agency for that purpose. And it was because of his foresight and of all that has followed from the efforts of Captain Brown and men like him that Illinois today ranks as one of the foremost states in the number and excellence of its public agencies devoted to advancing the interests of farming and its related industries.

It is to such men that we owe the fact that our State possesses the largest Agricultural Experiment Station in the world, whose work has

done and is doing so much to revolutionize farming methods and to increase farming profits and that we have an Agricultural College which is affording to the young farmers of the present generation an education and training which must accelerate this movement and advance our agriculture to higher levels of efficiency, productiveness and permanency in the future.

In the livestock industry, also, Captain Brown must rank as a pioneer. Unlike many others engaged in that business, who simply raised and fed livestock for the market, he was one of the first among those who sought to improve the grade of Illinois livestock by the importation of high grade cattle from other states and from foreign countries. In this case also, he took a long look ahead and foresaw the far-reaching effects of his action upon the livestock interests of the State. It was in connection with his interest in this branch of the farming industry that Captain Brown became one of the earliest and most influential workers for the establishment of a State Fair, for which provision was made by the General Assembly and the first State Fair held in 1853.

In these and many other ways Captain Brown identified himself with the promotion of agriculture and its various related industries. It is because in that promotion he looked beyond his own interests and recognized and promoted the larger and more permanent interests of the great business which he had made his vocation, and of the great State in which he had spent all of his maturer years; and because to his efforts and influence we owe so much of the progress in agriculture which has to this day maintained for Illinois her foremost place among the agricultural states of the country and of the world, we have met here today to honor his memory and install his name in the Farmers' Hall of Fame as a fitting tribute to his life and works.

UNVEILING OF PORTRAIT.

By Miss Lynette May Brown, the great granddaughter of James N. Brown.

(Address by Hon. Benjamin W. Brown, the son of James N. Brown.)

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Commission:

I would not be true to my father, my family or myself if I did not try, at this time, to say something in appreciation of the kind words spoken here today. I wish to thank the commission for the zeal and wisdom displayed in forming and planning the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame. I wish also to thank you for having thought that the work of my father was of sufficient importance to entitle his portrait to a place there. I will remember with pleasure the interest taken by the Illinois State Board of Agriculture in connection with this occasion, our chief executive, Governor Deneen and the University of Illinois from its noble and gifted president, Edmund J. James, and the efficient faculty, even to the students of the university, who all deserve special mention at this time for what they have done to draw the attention of the people of our commonwealth to the farmer. The various gentlemen

who today have kindly given us papers, dealing with the different sides of my father's career, have made the family of James N. Brown their debtor for life. The installation of names of exponents of agriculture, and of those whose lives have been closely interwoven with the agriculture of Illinois and the world, is just beginning. The unveiling of portraits will go on forever. The lives of these men will be preserved in history; their work will be an inspiration to us, and to future generations.

Benediction by Euclid B. Rogers, D.D., Champaign, Ill.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SENATE OF ILLINOIS, TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1911, IN MEMORY OF JAMES N. BROWN.

(COPY OF SENATE JOURNAL.)

The President of the Senate presented a communication from the Commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame, inviting the members of the Forty-seventh General Assembly to join with the farmers of Illinois in honoring the memory of James N. Brown, a former member of the General Assembly, on the afternoon of January 25, 1911, at the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame at the University of Illinois.

By unanimous consent, Mr. Dunlap offered the following resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION No. 25.

WHEREAS, The memory of the late James Nicholas Brown, an honored member of former sessions of the General Assembly of Illinois is to be commemorated at the University of Illinois on Wednesday, January 25, 1911; and,

WHEREAS, James Nicholas Brown rendered the State distinguished services as a member of four sessions of the General Assembly of Illinois and made for himself a most enviable record as a patriotic citizen and efficient promoter of the agriculture of the State; and

WHEREAS, James Nicholas Brown as a member of the General Assembly of Illinois as the first President of the Illinois State Fair and as a leader in the development of the farming and other industrial interests of the State made a most commendable record; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate of Illinois, That it is most fitting that the name of James Nicholas Brown be admitted to the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame on Wednesday, January 25, 1911, with appropriate exercises setting forth his eminent services as a most useful man to the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions suitably engrossed be sent to the Commission of the Illinois Farmers' Hall of Fame and the College of Agriculture, University of Illinois.

By unanimous consent,

On motion of Mr. Dunlap, the rules were suspended and the foregoing resolution was taken up for immediate consideration, and,

The question being, "Shall the resolution be adopted?" it was decided in the affirmative.

THE OLD TOWNS OF ILLINOIS.

(By W. D. Barge.)

In reading the various books containing information of our State, it was noticed that the names of many of the towns had been changed, and that some of the towns had ceased to exist. Many of them were mere town sites, and others were towns under the township organization law. The following is a copy of my list of the changes.

The list is *not* complete. It contains errors, the great majority of which are due to the faulty printing of the State edition of our statutes.

It is hoped that the list will be of service to those who want to know something more of our State:

Old name.	County.	New name.
Allin	McLean	Stanford
America	Pulaski, vacated, 1861	
Amity	Bond	Pocahontas
Appletion	Perry	Smith's addition to Tamaroa
Argyle Park	Cook	In Chicago
Athens	St. Clair	New Athens
Auburn	Tazewell, vacated, 1839	
Auburn Park	Cook	In Chicago
Augusta	Pike	Florence
Avondale	Cook	In Chicago
Baden	Clinton	New Baden
Bainbridge	Williamson, vacated, 1847	
Bates	Sangamon, vacated, 1867	
Benton	Sangamon, vacated, 1857	
Benton	Sangamon	Williamsville
Berlin	Mercer	Swedona
Berrian	Henry	Kewanee
Beverly Hills	Cook	In Chicago
Blackberry Station	Kane	Elburn
Blue Town	Tazewell	Hilton
Bluffdale	Greene, vacated	
Bourbon	Douglas, vacated, 1865	
Boonville	Pike, vacated, 1836	
Bourbonnais Grove	Kankakee	Merged with Kankakee and named Kankakee.
Bowensburg	Hancock	Bowen
Bowmanville	Cook	In Chicago
Bowling Green	Warren	Berwick
Bradley City	Kankakee	Merged with North Kankakee to form Bradley.
Bridgeport	Cook	In Chicago
Brighton Park	..do	..do
Bristol	Marshall, vacated, 1840	
Brookline	Cook	In Chicago
Brooklyn	Massac	Brookport
Brooklyn	St. Clair, vacated, 1845	
Broughton	Effingham	In Effingham
Brownsville	Jackson vacated	
Brussels	Scott, vacated, 1847	
Buena Park	Cook	In Chicago
Burnside	..do	..do
Butler	Winnebago	Cherry Valley
Byron	Fulton, vacated	
Caledonia	Peoria, vacated, 1839	
Caledonia	Putnam, vacated, 1841	
Calhoun	Sangamon	In Springfield
Caloma	Washington	Dubois
Camden	Logan	Postville, now Lincoln

The Old Towns of Illinois—Continued.

Old name.	County.	New name.
Camden Mills	Rock Island	Milan
Canalport	Cook	In Chicago
Carbonia	LaSalle	Ottawa
Carroll	Greene, vacated, 1845	
Carroll	Warren, vacated, 1845	
Carthage	Monroe	Harrisonville, 1816
Caryford	Clark, vacated, 1857	
Centreville	Fulton	Cuba
Centreville	McHenry	Woodstock
Centreville	St. Clair	Millstadt
Centreville	Schuyler	Ripley
Charleston	Kane	St. Charles
Chatham	Whiteside	With Harrisburg to form Sterling
Chester	Randolph	In part Menard
Chicago Lawn	Cook	In Chicago
Chillicothe	Vermilion	With Dallas to form Indianola
Cicero	Sangamon, vacated, 1845	
Cincinnati	Tazewell	In Pekin
Clarksville	McDonough	Sciota
Cleaverville	Cook	In Chicago
Clement	Clinton	Huey
Clintonville	Kane	South Elgin
Columbia	Marshall	Lacon
Concord	McLean	Danvers
Concord	Putnam, vacated, 1837	
Cottage Grove	Cook, vacated 1840	
Cottage Hill	DuPage	Elmhurst
Coulterville	Randolph	Grand Cote, Act of March 30, 1869
Cragin	Cook	In Chicago
Dallas	Vermilion	With Chillicothe to form Indianola
Danby	DuPage	Prospect Park, now Glen Ellyn
Danforth	Tazewell	Tullamore
Dauphin Park	Cook	In Chicago
Delavan	Fulton, vacated	
Dement	Ogle	Creston
Dunlieth	JoDaviess	East Dubuque
East Burlington	Henderson, vacated 1857	
East Washington Hts.	Cook	In Chicago
Edgebrook	..do	..do
Egandale	..do	..do
Eggleston	..do	..do
Ellsworth	LaSalle	Lostant
Elyda	Winnebago	Winnebago
Emporium City	Pulaski	Mound City
Englewood	Cook	In Chicago
Enterprise	LaSalle, vacated 1845	
Fairfield	Adams	Mendon
Fairfield	Pike	Pleasant Hill
Fairmont	Bureau, vacated 1840	
Farnamsburg	Rock Island	In Rock Island
Florence	Ogle	Oregon
Florence	White	Grayville
Forest Glen	Cook	In Chicago
Franklin	Pike, vacated 1855	
Gainesville	Marion	Now Haltslaw's addition to Central City
Galewood	Cook	In Chicago
Gano	..do	..do
Garfield	..do	..do
Gassville	Jackson	Sato
Geneva	Warren	Bedford
Georgetown	Kendall	Newark
Germantown	LaSalle, vacated 1861	
Glascoe	Peoria	Glasford
Grand Cote	Randolph	Coulterville, Act of April 15, 1869
Grand Crossing	Cook	In Chicago
Granville	Jasper	Tennerytown
Grayland	Cook	In Chicago
Greenfield	Bureau	LaMoille
Greenfield	Warren	Greenbush
Greensburg	Menard, vacated 1845	
Haldane	Ogle	Campus
Hanno	Lee	Sublette
Hanover	Woodford	Metamora

The Old Towns of Illinois—Continued.

Old name.	County.	New name.
Harlem	Cook	Formerly Oakridge, then Harlem, then to Noyesville, to Oak Park
Harrison	Stephenson	Cedarville
Harrisonville	Knox	Hermon
Hartford	Adams, vacated 1853	
High Ridge	Cook	In Chicago
Hilton	Tazewell	East Peoria
Hollidaysburg	Greene	Kane
Holstein	Cook	In Chicago
Houston	Bond	Mulberry Grove
Howlett	Sangamon	With Jamestown to form Riverton
Howard	Winnebago	Durand
Hudson	Peoria, vacated 1839	
Hyde Park	Cook	Annexed to Chicago
Illinois City	Rock Island, vacated 1845	
Illinois City	Whiteside, part vacated	Balance named Uniontown
Illinoistown	St. Clair	East St. Louis
Independence	Coles	Oakland
Indiantown	Bureau	With Windsor formed Tiskilwa
Iowa	Perry, vacated 1841	
Irondale	Cook	In Chicago
Irving Park	..do	..do
Jamestown	Sangamon	With Howlett to form Riverton
Jefferson	Cook	Annexed to Chicago
Jefferson	Kane	Oak Park, 1849
Jo Duncan	Hancock, vacated	
Juliet	Will	Joliet
Junction	DuPage	Turner, now West Chicago
Kankakee	Grundy, vacated 1855	
Kankakee Depot	Kankakee	With Bourbonnais Grove formed Kankakee
Kensington	Cook	In Chicago
Keokuk Junction	Adams	Golden
Keokuk Mills	Peoria, vacated 1847	
Kinnorwood	Bureau, vacated 1845	
Koerner	Clark, vacated 1857	
LaGrange	Brown, vacated 1845	
Lake View	Cook	Annexed to Chicago
Lancaster	Henderson, vacated	
Lancaster	Henry, vacated, 1841	
Lane	Ogle	Rochelle
Lapier	Knox	With Walnut Grove to form Altona
Laurel Hill	Fulton	Table Grove
Lawndale	Cook	In Chicago
Leesburg	Montgomery	Zanesville
Liberty	Morgan, vacated 1845	
Liberty	Randolph	Rockwood
Little Fort	Lake	Waukegan
Littleville	McLean, vacated 1853	
Livingston	Bureau, part vacated	Balance annexed to Dover
Lodi	Kane	Maple Park
Lower Guilford	Calhoun, vacated 1853	
Lysander	Winnebago	Pecatonica
Macedonia	Hancock	Webster
Mantua	Woodford	Washburn
Mechanicsburg	St. Clair	Mascoutah
Melrose	Clark	Melrose Park
Middletown	Hamilton, vacated	
Middletown	McDonough	Young
Middletown	Marion	Iuka
Middletown	Will, vacated	
Midway	Edgar	Kansas
Milton	Coles	Humboldt
Mt. Pleasant	DeWitt	Farmer City
Munroeville	Henry, vacated 1865	
New Albany	Coles	Camargo
Newburgh	Macoupin	Cummington
New Bremen	Hamilton, vacated	
New Hartford	Macoupin, vacated	
New Lexington	Morgan	Arcadia
New Liberty	Jasper	Liberty Hill
New Quebec	Rock Island, vacated 1845	
New Rutland	LaSalle	Rutland

The Old Towns of Illinois—Continued.

Old name.	County.	New name.
New Salem	Edwards	West Salem
New Swansea	St. Clair	Swansea
Ninewa	LaSalle	In Peru
North Bloomington	McLean	Normal
North Dixon	Lee	In Dixon
North Kankakee	Kankakee	With Bradley City to form Bradley
Norwood Park	Cook	In Chicago
Noyesville	Cook	Formerly Oak Ridge, Harlem, now Oak Park
Oak Ridge	Cook	Noyesville, Harlem now Oak Park
Ogle Station	Lee	Ashton
Old Caledonia	Pulaski, vacated 1861	
Oneida	McLean, vacated 1855	
Oporto	Lee, vacated 1853	now in Dixon
Osceola	Stark, vacated 1855	
Pecatonica	Winnebago	Rockton
Peru	McLean, vacated 1839	
Peru	Union, vacated 1857	
Pittsburgh	Jersey, vacated, 1853	
Pleasantville	Fulton	Ipava
Port Clinton	Lake	Highland Park
Portland	Cook	Blue Island
Postville	Logan	In Lincoln
Prospect City	Ford	Paxton
Rand	Cook	Des Plaines
Randall	Knox	East Galesburg
Randolph	Jersey, vacated 1853	
Rantoul	Marion	Alma
Rapids City	Whiteside, vacated	
Ravenswood	Cook	In Chicago
Reedfield	Pike, vacated 1843	
Richmond	Washington	Richview
Ridgeville	Cook	Evanston
Rienzi	Sangamon, vacated 1851	
Rock Island City	Rock Island, vacated 1843	
Rogers Park	Cook	Annexed to Chicago
Romeo	Will, vacated 1845	
Rushton	Schuyler	Rushville
St. Louis	Pike, vacated 1855	
Salu	Madison	Upper Alton
Sangamontown	Sangamon, vacated, 1845	
Sarahsville	Pope	Golconda
Saratoga	Union	Western Saratoga
Savannah	Iroquois, vacated 1839	
Savannah	Warren	Cold Brook
Selma	Wabash	Mt. Carmel
Sewardsville	McDonough, vacated 1847	
Shepherdstown	Vermilion, vacated 1840	
Sheridan	McDonough	Goodhope
Sherman	Bureau	Depue
South Middleport	Iroquois	Watseka
South Pass	Union	Cobden
South Peoria	Peoria	In Peoria
Stephenson	Rock Island	Rock Island
Steuben	Randolph	Shiloh Hill
Sumner	McHenry, vacated	
Sutton	Hancock	Bentley
Tazewell	Woodford	Spring Bay
Thatcher	Cook	River Forest
Tioga City	Hancock	In Warsaw
Trenton	Bureau	Sherman
Uniontown	Woodford	Mantua, Washburn
Urbana	St. Clair	Freiburg
Velasco	Pike, vacated	
Venus	Hancock, vacated 1835	
Victoria	White	Phillipstown
Vienna	Fulton	Astoria
Walnut Grove	Knox	With Lapier to form Altona
Wapello	JoDaviess	Hanover
Washington	Fulton, vacated 1840	
Washington Heights	Cook	In Chicago
West Peoria	Peoria	In Peoria

The Old Towns of Illinois—Concluded.

Old name.	County.	New name.
West Ridge	Cook	In Chicago
West Windsor	Putnam, vacated 1837	
Whitfield	LaSalle	Leland
Williamsburgh	Morgan, vacated 1845	
Wilson	Sangamon	Illiopolis
Winchester	Will	Wilmington
Windsor	Bureau	With Indiantown to form Tiskilwa
Winona	Bureau	Malden
Woodlawn	Cook	In Chicago
Worcester	Pike	Barry
Xenia	Logan	Atlanta
Yalrome	Hancock, vacated	
Yellow Creek	Stephenson	Pearl City
York	Carroll	Argo
Young America	Warren	Kirkwood
Zabriski	DeWitt	
ADDITIONAL NAMES.		
Chaplin	Lee	In Franklin Grove
Harrisburg	Whiteside	Merged with Chatham to form Sterling
Paw Paw	Lee	Wyoming
Fremont	..do	China
Stockton	..do	Viola
Lake town of	Cook	Annexed to Chicago
Edgewater	..do	In Chicago
St. Marian	Ogle	Buffalo
Bloomingville	..do	Byron
Harrison	..do	Maryland
Eagle	..do	Pine Rock
Brooklyn	Ogle	Rockville
Haldane	..do	Lincoln
Midway	Winnebago	Rockford
Fairview	Ogle	Byron
Juniata City	..do	A resurvey of Woo Sung

SANGAMON COUNTY ILLINOIS LADIES' SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETY.

(By Mrs. Eva Munson Smith.)

"When you heard your country calling, Illinois,
There were none more brave than you, Illinois."

The above couplet which was intended by the author, Charles H. Chamberlin, to refer to the men who took up arms in defense of their country, and who so beautifully glorified them in his famous song, "Illinois," applies also to the women of the State.

Sangamon County was not behind her sister counties, in the display of patriotism and exercise of sacrifice to aid fathers, husbands, sons and sweethearts who responded to their country's call, and to keep going the business in store and on farm which they felt called to leave for awhile, and perhaps forever, as it indeed proved in many cases.

In nearly or quite all the towns and hamlets, aid societies were organized. Unfortunately the records, in many instances, were not preserved, so that at this late date, including a lapse of fifty years, the historian can say little in regard to some of the societies, save that they did well their part, sending or bringing their generous contributions in to the Springfield Society, to go out with its supplies, so that they were virtually tributary or auxiliary to the Springfield organization as a central point.

The opening of the war found women unskilled in business methods. They had never had occasion to keep books and balance accounts, but they possessed warm, sympathetic mother hearts, and they soon found a way to do substantial deeds, and to keep financial accounts, in a systematic manner.

Monday, August 19, 1861, the following anonymous article was printed in the Illinois Daily State Journal: "Women of Illinois, the cold weather will be advancing after a little time. Let us do all in our power for the comfort of our soldiers. They should be supplied with flannel undergarments and woolen socks, and the sick and suffering with every comfort. I would recommend that committees of ladies be chosen in every city and town, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the number of garments needed, take the responsibility of purchasing materials, seeing that they are properly made up and sent on. Let the elderly ladies knit, and if funds are needed, let the younger ones collect them." In accord with the above call, the pastors of all the churches announced from their pulpits the next Sabbath, August 25, that there would be a mass meeting of the ladies of the city on Wednesday, in the basement of the Baptist Church, then on Seventh and Adams Streets.

In response to this announcement a meeting was held which was opened with prayer by Rev. Francis Springer, who presumably stated the object of the gathering, no chairman's name appearing on any existing record. Mrs. John W. Chenery was chosen temporary secretary.

It was voted that the name of the proposed society should be "The Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society," and the object should be to furnish needed supplies for our soldiers during the winter months.

A nominal membership fee of ten cents was decided upon, and a sufficient number paying the required fee, the society was launched, manned by the following officers, in the election which immediately followed: President, Mrs. W. W. Watson; Vice-President, Mrs. Henrietta Ulrich; Treasurer, Mrs. N. W. Miner (wife of the Baptist minister); Secretary, Miss Mary E. Springer.

A committee of four from each ward was appointed to solicit subscriptions to purchase materials.

There were six thousand troops stationed at Camp Butler, and calls for aid on the society soon showed the necessity of securing a larger membership. At the next meeting one hundred and sixty names were added to the roll of members. The society continued to meet in the Baptist Church until the last of September, when Mr. W. W. Watson offered gratis the second floor of his confectionery store on the south side of the Square. Meetings for work were held on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, which were often supplemented by evening meetings for making bandages and scraping lint.

December 18, 1861, several ladies accepted an invitation extended by Col. John Williams of the Sanitary Commission, to go to Cairo and personally distribute clothing and delicacies to the sick in hospitals at that point and adjacent camps, among them being Mrs. R. B. Zimmerman, Mrs. Isaac Nutt, Mrs. Lotus Niles and Miss Mary Springer.

The enlarged field of work demanding a larger board of directors, the following were added: Mesdames R. H. Beach, John W. Chenery, J. D. Chenery, John McCreery, O. B. Babcock, J. C. Conkling, P. A. Dorwin, J. C. Ives, James L. Lamb, N. W. Miner, Paul Selby, Miss Matilda Babcock, and Mrs. M. E. Halbert.

A new election of officers to fill vacancies also occurred at this time, resulting in: Vice-President, Mrs. P. C. Latham; Treasurer, Miss Catherine P. Tilton; Secretary, Mrs. Lucien Tilton; Mrs. W. W. Watson still retaining the presidency. The account of one month's work, printed below and taken directly from the treasurer's book, serves to give some idea of what was done by these faithful women:

RECEIPTS.

Membership fees and contributions	$ 64 40	
General contributions	378 04	
Government work	157 83	
Two concerts	304 40	
Tableaux exhibition	201 00	
Loami Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society	5 00	
Sale of rags	5 40	
Sale of miscellaneous	8 00	
		$1,214 07

DISBURSEMENTS.

To material for hospital bedding and clothing	$939 99	
To materials for slippers	19 50	
To articles for hospital	90 61	
Clothing for female nurses	58 70	
Spinning and washing yarn	39 84	
Miscellaneous goods	9 99	
Postage and stationery	4 16	
Expressage and cartage	14 20	
		1,176 99
Balance on hand		$37 08

It was while the "boys in blue" were encamped in the malarious region of Cairo that much severe illness was endured, from which a large number never recovered. Besides the everywhere present "chills and fever," there were many cases of measles and mumps which left some of those who survived, in debilitated condition for life. A few had to be honorably discharged and sent home, after weeks and months in hospital, with the parting message from the medical staff, "Nothing but mother's nursing can ever fully restore you. We have done the best we could, with what we had to do."

It was during this period that Mother Bickerdyke came down from the northern part of the State, with her chickens and cows, and doubtless did more than any other one person to bring comfort to the sick soldier boy. Our own Central Illinois women bless her name, and were proud of her. Perhaps no name among women of our State is today spoken with more loving reverence, than that of Mother Bickerdyke. Sangamon County women did not confine their ministrations to Alton, but as the war went on, and the soldiers were advanced to other points, they were personally followed, when appeals for relief came, with food, delicacies, bandages and lint.

The long weary hours of watching, the patient, persistent endeavor, the furnishing of money when it was scarce, for it *was*, in those war days, all this and much more, can never be estimated. It is told only in the blessed words—"She hath done what she could."

After the battle of Fort Donelson, February 14, 1862, ten thousand prisoners of war were divided between Camp Douglas at Chicago, and Camp Butler. A government contract secured in the summer of 1862 for furnishing prisoners' hospitals at Camp Butler with needed supplies greatly increased the work and the demand upon the funds of the society. Liberal donations of money and material were given by patriotic citizens, and substantial aid poured into the society's rooms from neighboring towns of Mechanicsburg, Wolf Creek, Loami, and Chatham. Many public entertainments were given, and the proceeds turned over to the Springfield society's treasury. The first annual report showed, in addition to the work done in the hospitals of Camps Yates and Butler, that twenty-nine boxes of supplies were forwarded to the hospitals of Cairo, Birds Point, Mound City, Paducah, Cape Girardeau, Shawneetown, Keokuk, the Mississippi Harbor Fleet, and the wounded upon the field after the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh.

August, 1863, Mrs. W. W. Watson resigned, and at the next annual meeting the following officers were elected: President, Mrs. P. C.

Latham; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. P. A. Dorwin and Mrs. R. B. Zimmerman; Treasurer, Miss Katie P. Tilton; Secretary, Mrs. Lucien Tilton. Miss Mary Beach and Miss Lucy A. Starne were added to the directors.

On Thanksgiving Day, the regular routine was changed by giving a sumptuous dinner to the soldiers at Camp Yates. A committee consisting of Mesdames Mendell, J. D. B. Salter, John W. Chenery, J. E. Brown, Joel Johnson, W. W. Watson, C. A. Higgins, Dr. Brown, O. H. Miner and Robert Officer met with great success in obtaining supplies. More than seven hundred soldiers sat down to that dinner, and after doing full justice to the bountiful repast, there were upwards of thirty turkeys and chickens remaining untouched.

Soon after the first invasion of the Northern troops in the Southland, the North began to be overburdened with destitute contrabands and white refugees, as ignorant as they were needy. Possibly a few knew that Jackson was not still President of the United States. Very many firmly believed that Abraham Lincoln was a negro; but all were quite sure that the North was overflowing with milk and honey, and if they could only reach that Canaan land, their happiness and comfort would be assured.

In order to properly care for Springfield and Sangamon County's share of these unfortunate and undesirable people the society appointed a committee to solicit aid, consisting of Mrs. G. M. Brinkerhoff, Miss Mary Springer, Mrs. Mary E. Nutt, Mrs. A. W. French, Mrs. Paul Selby, and Mrs. J. P. Reynolds.

To still further extend the work, the local society joined hands with the Ladies' Loyal League, to which many of the members already belonged. Acting with a Citizens' Committee of gentlemen, the city was canvassed by wards to ascertain the number of needy ones and supply their wants. Even this added strenuous work did not tax to the utmost the endurance of this band of earnest, patriotic women, for in response to invitations far and wide, they extended aid to other cities in conducting fairs to help the National Sanitary Commission. Mrs. George N. Black, together with Mrs. and Miss Tilton, were elected delegates from the joint organizations to represent Springfield at the Northwestern Sanitary Fair held at Chicago during a large part of October, 1863. They went to the Fair taking with them liberal donations.

As a matter of interest, to present-day housewives who complain of the now existing high prices, the following is quoted from the advertising columns of the Illinois Daily State Journal, by the purchasers of the mentioned articles. Mrs. J. D. B. Salter quotes choice Rio coffee, 2½ pounds for $1; white sugar, 5 pounds for $1; yellow C. sugar, 5½ pounds, $1; young Hyson tea, $1.50 per pound. Another mentions good butter at 90 cents a pound.

In June, 1864, so many wounded in recent battles were arriving at Camp Butler—sixty poor fellows from Red River coming in one day, and more to follow, that preparations were made to build four more hospitals. Governor Yates called for donations of vegetables, fruits and wines, stating that two-thirds of our losses were from disease and exposure, and that our veteran soldier saved and nursed back to health and strength, was worth two raw recruits. Springfield and Sangamon

County generously responded with necessary supplies, and in addition on July 4, 1863, gave a dinner to the inmates of the hospitals, some one or more members almost daily thereafter visiting the sick and wounded carrying with them jellies, fresh eggs, etc., and writing letters home for them, and speaking the welcome word of cheer and sympathy, and this in more than one instance reached the immortal soul of the recipient, often pointing them to Christ as the Great Physician and healer. This was the sweetest work of all, and was appreciated by the poor boys so far from home and loved ones.

During the week ending July 27, 1864, the record shows that there were given to the general hospital, twenty-four rocking chairs, one barrel of vegetables, thirty-three cans tomatoes, much fruit, and a dozen fat hens for broth and stew, which with the cheerful assistance rendered from the outlying towns, supplied much comfort, and doubtless was the means of saving many lives. Among the contributions were many gallons of blackberry cordial, so useful in certain ills incident to life in camp.

The Ladies' Loyal League of Mechanicsburg, held a fair September 1, 1864, which netted $200, which was at once turned over for hospital supplies. The Sanitary Fair at Loami was a grand success, netting $1,100 dollars, which was also used for hospital supplies.

Thus was the government nobly and ably assisted by the women all over the land, and although there were numerous so-called Copperheads among both men and women, their refusal to aid, though a few did give reluctantly, did not stay the wheels of bounty and beneficence which revolved with unabated power until the cruel but just war was over.

About a year before the sounds of "Victory" were wafted on the happy breeze, a soldiers' home was built where the post-office is now located. The Ladies' Aid Society, with its broad, generous mother heart, believing that a hen can scratch as successfully for a brood of a dozen chicks as for one, took the home under her maternal wing, and returning soldiers were given a hospitable welcome, whether coming singly or by regiments. Mr. T. C. Schreeve, superintendent of the home made the following statement, still on record: "Largest number of meals served at the Soldiers' Home in one day, was during October, 1864, to 605 men; smallest number, 188; total number of meals served during October, 10,564.

When sweet peace was proclaimed, but which alas! found scarcely a home without some one or more loved one's vacant chair, the society discontinued its meetings for some twenty-five years. It was then decided to re-organize, this time not for war, but to perpetuate old memories, and for social intercourse which could not be indulged in while every effort was bent toward furnishing relief to suffering soldiers.

In August, 1887, the re-organization was effected, with the following officers: President, Mrs. P. C. Latham; Vice-President, Mrs. Josephine Stonebarger; Treasurer, Miss Mary E. Springer; Secretary, Mrs. M. E. Halbert. Mrs. Latham was continued as president until her death a number of years later, when Mrs. P. A. Dorwin was elected to fill the vacancy. A few years later, Mrs. Dorwin, too, was called to the reward beyond, and Mrs. Lotus Niles was chosen to preside, which she did most acceptably until her "going away" some years later, since

which time the indefatiguable Miss Anna Clinton has occupied the position to the eminent satisfaction of all. The secretary, Mrs. Halbert, was succeeded by Mrs. Lida A. Oldroyd, a daughter of Mrs. Stonebarger, deceased. Mrs. Olyroyd made an ideal secretary, but removing to Washington, D. C., some thirteen or more years ago, Miss Mary E. Springer has since filled the office. Mrs. J. M. Garland is the present treasurer.

Although, of the twenty-one original members still living in this and other towns and states, only about nine active members remaining, the organization still keeps up its regular monthly meetings, always having an elaborate luncheon and excellent program, in which one or more old war incidents,. which are of intense interest, especially, perhaps, to the invited guests who are generally descendents of the deceased original members or those who did a similar labor of love elsewhere during the war.

One never tires hearing the story of how Mrs. Charles G. Averill, when she was little Julia Ordway, had one of her curls clipped off by a zealous and admiring soldier boy, to take as a sort of mascot to the wars.

Oh, many a tale stranger than fiction might here be told. In this article no further reference will be made to these incidents, save to retell the well known story of how seven-year old Jessie Loose, afterwards the wife of Dr. Jacob F. Price, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Loose, went to the proper authorities to enlist, giving as her qualifications that although she could not fight, she could nurse sick soldiers, make bandages and scrape lint, and she wanted to 'help put down the war." Col. John Williams "swore her in," and she was the happiest little girl in all the land.

At these regular meetings some one always has something to relate or read, which is new to the others. While there is yet an inexpressible sadness connected with these gatherings, there is also ever present the sweet satisfaction of having done something that really counted for good during those dark days of internicene warfare, which helped to bring about the liberation of more than four million slaves, and preserved Old Glory to wave on high victorious, the most beautiful banner in all the world.

As W. D. Nesbit sings:

Your flag and my flag,
And how it flies today
In your land and my land
And half a world away.
Rose red and blood red
Its stripes forever gleam,
Soul white and snow white,
The good forefather's dream.
Sky blue and true blue,
With stars to gleam aright,
A gloried guidon in the day,
A shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag!
And oh how much it holds
Your land and my land
Secure within its folds.
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight,
Sun kissed and wind tossed,
The red and blue and white.
The one flag, the great flag,
The flag for me and you—
Glorified all else binds
The Red and White and Blue.

Although only a small remnant of the original two hundred remain, they still faithfully keep filled the vases or urns around the soldiers' monument, remembering Memorial Day by decorating the graves of deceased members, and contributing flowers for the graves of veterans. Miss Susan P. Enos is always a liberal contributor of flowers, and the

florists of the city are commendably generous with the most beautiful of fragrant blossoms, whenever occasion comes. They also donate to charitable and benevolent institutions.

The names of those known to be living at this time, October 14, 1912, of the two hundred members of the Springfield Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, are the Misses Anna Clinton, Jennie Chapin, M. Lou Moran, Elizabeth Harris, Mary E. Springer, M. Fannie Chenery, (or Frances, if you prefer) Lucy Salter, Mesdames O. H. Miner, M. A. Ordway, Nellie Harris-Tresize, A. W. French, Sarah S. Chatterton, Elizabeth J. Matheny, Mrs. J. M. Palmer, E. M. Nafew, A. S. Edwards, Martha E. Lord, J. M. Garland, Sarah Dickerman, Eleanor M. Chenery, Jennie Salter-Wolcott.

The years will come and the years will go. Much will be forgotten; but the memory of the noble work done by the soldiers' aid societies all over the land will stand on historic record as long as time endures.

"Not without their worthy story
Can be writ the nation's glory,
Illinois, Illinois."

EVA MUNSON-SMITH,
(MRS. GEORGE CLINTON SMITH),
Member of Springfield Chapter D.A.R., and former Historian, four years.

October 14, 1912.

I am indebted to the Daily Illinois State Journal, Daily Illinois State Register, Miss Elizabeth Harris, Mrs. Eleanor Chenery, Miss Mary Springer, and Miss Anna Clinton for most of the data in above article. Much that never found its way into print, was in the possession of Miss Tilton, one of the secretaries, now deceased, whose trunk containing the society's records, was burned in the great Chicago fire of 1871, where she was stopping at that time. MRS. G. C. S.

NAMES OF MEMBERS OF LADIES' SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETY, SPRINGFIELD, 1861-1865.

Mrs. S. V. Arnold.
Miss E. V. Arnold.
Mrs. M. H. Allen.
Mrs. J. Armstrong.
Mrs. J. F. Amos.
Mrs. Grover Ayres.
Mrs. P. Ackerman.
Mrs. Jacob Bunn.
Mrs. L. Boynton.
Mrs. G. Boynton.
Mrs. E. J. Brown.
Mrs. Barnes.
Mrs. George N. Brinkerhoff.
Miss Salome Butler.
Mrs. George Barrell.
Mrs. W. H. Bailhache.
Mrs. Mason Brayman.
Miss Mary Brayman.
Miss Mary Beach.
Miss H. A. Eastman.
Mrs. T. C. Elkin.
Mrs. William T. Elkin.
Miss S. Elkin.
Mrs. A. S. Edwards.
Mrs. K. Eberman (or Oberman).
Mrs. M. Englemann.
Mrs. Sarah Ferguson.
Miss Margaret Frails.

Mrs. E. H. Frolich.
Mrs. E. L. Foote.
Mrs. A. M. Foster.
Mrs. Dr. A. W. French.
Mrs. Doolittle.
Mrs. Henry S. Dickerman (Sarah H.)
Mrs. J. K. Dubois.
Mrs. E. Devoe.
Mrs. C. C. Duboce.
Mrs. Dingle.
Mrs. S. D. Dooly.
Mrs. D. Brown.
Mrs. J. W. Chenery.
Mrs. George W. Chatterton.
Mrs. B. Campbell.
Mrs. John Cook.
Mrs. L. Cranson.
Miss Ann Clinton.
Miss Jennie E. Chapin.
Miss J. P. Cleveland.
Miss E. Clark.
Miss Fannie Chenery.
Mrs. M. S. Churchill.
Mrs. L. F. Eastman.
Miss Ann Eastman.
Mrs. Samuel Gibson.
Mrs. M. C. Gehlman.
Mrs. Jas. L. Lamb.
Miss M. E. Morris.
Miss Ella McIntyre.
Mrs. John McCreery.
Miss Lou Moran.
Mrs. Lotus Niles.
Mrs. M. A. Ordway.
Mrs. L. E. Pheasant.
Mrs. L. Potter.
Mrs. W. Pease.
Miss L. Pease.
Mrs. Palmer.
Miss Pickrell, later Mrs. Governor Routt, of Colorado.
Miss P. Pease.
Mrs. A. F. Patterson.
Mrs. John Roll.
Mrs. Jacob Ruckel.
Miss M. B. Ruckel.
Miss C. Roberts.
Miss Rockhill.
Mrs. M. Reynolds.
Mrs. Francis Springer.
Miss M. E. Springer.
Miss S. Smith.
Miss Alma Sell.
Mrs. Paul Selby.
Mrs. G. B. Stonebarger.
Mrs. Simmons.
Mrs. Dr. Shelton.
Mrs. O. N. Stafford.
Mrs. B. C. Suesserott.
Mrs. J. B. Shepard (Shepherd?).
Mrs. S. A. Schaum.
Mrs. J. D. B. Salter.
Miss J. Slater.
Miss Lucy A. Starne.
Mrs. J. P. Reynolds.
Miss Mary Reynolds.
Mrs. J. D. Roper.
Mrs. N. M. Ransom.
Mrs. M. Remann.
Mrs. Tholes.
Mrs. Thomas.
Mrs. Tomlinson.
Mrs. J. J. Taylor.
Mrs. G. S. Thompson.
Mrs. L. Schlitt.
Miss C. E. Sell.
Mrs. Henrietta Ulrich.
Mrs. George Wood.
Mrs. H. Wyatt.
Mrs. John Williams.
Mrs. N. W. Matheny (Elizabeth).
Mrs. S. M. Cullom.
Mrs. Jack Hough.
Miss Laura Hough.
Mrs. E. B. Hawley.
Mrs. I. A. Hawley.
Mrs. M. E. Halbert.
Mrs. J. Hutchinson.
Mrs. M. Hickox.
Mrs. C. A. Higgins.
Miss Katie Hale.
Miss E. Hay.
Miss H. Hamilton.
Miss S. C. Harris.
Miss L. M. Harris (Elizabeth, called "Lizzie").
Miss Nellie Harris.
Miss B. F. Hoopes.
Mrs. Dr. T. S. Henning.
Mrs. R. Irwin.
Mrs. I. Irwin.
Mrs. W. F. Kimber.
Mrs. Hannah Lamb Kimball.
Mrs. Dr. W. Jayne.
Miss Ellen Jayne.
Miss Maria Johnson.
Mrs. Joel Johnson.
Mrs. L. Johnson.
Mrs. Isaac Keyes.
Mrs. T. B. Lee.
Mrs. A. W. French.
Mrs. Dr. Lathrop.
Mrs. J. Loose.
Mrs. R. C. Latham.
Miss L. M. Latham.
Mrs. P. C. Latham.
Mrs. L. D. Lamb.
Miss E. Lamb.
Miss Sue Lamb.
Miss S. Logan.
Mrs. T. S. Little.
Miss M. Little.
Mrs. M. Lloyd.
Mrs. H. LeClaire.
Mrs. Dr. Rufus Lord.
Miss J. Lightfoot.

Mrs. O. H. Miner.
Mrs. N. W. Miner.
Mrs. S. H. Melvin.
Mrs. S. B. Moody.
Mrs. B. Mallet.
Mrs. M. Moore.
Miss E. Moore.

Mrs. William McCague.
Mrs. A. A. McQuesten.
Mrs. Moffett.
Miss Sallie Moffett.
Mrs. Dr. McCulloch.
Mrs. Mendell.
Miss Kate Mendell.

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