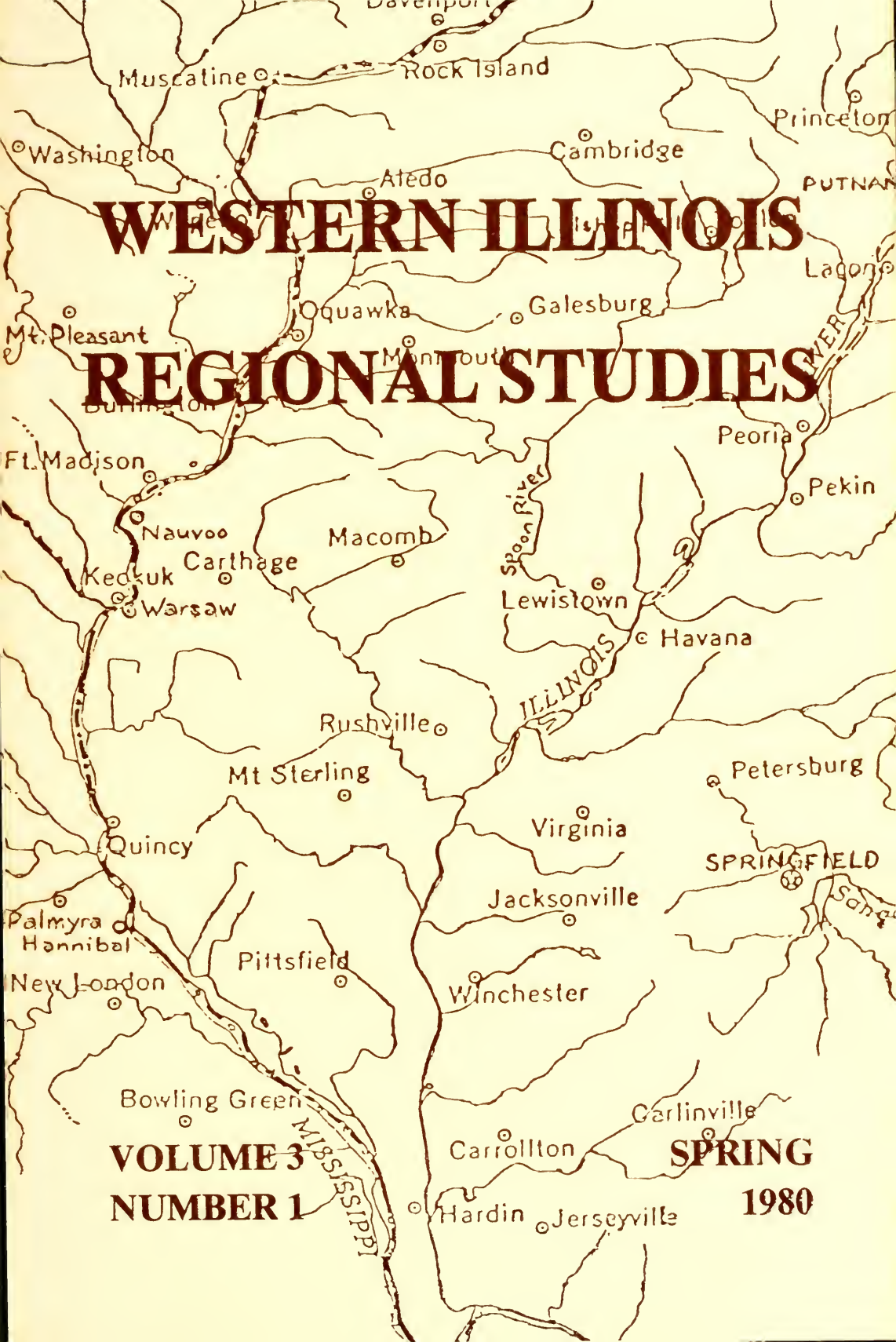

WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES

VOLUME 3
NUMBER 1

SPRING
1980

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WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES

VOLUME III SPRING 1980 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PERCEPTION OF LAND QUALITY AND THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTHERN PIKE COUNTY 1821-1836

Siyoung Park

The initial evaluation of the Illinois prairie by early settlers has been a subject of some debate. One interpretation of this matter is that easterners and southerners who migrated to Illinois felt that the absence of trees indicated infertile soils and hence believed the prairie areas should be avoided because they were less productive than the timbered lands.[1] Additionally, the absence of timber for buildings, fences, and fuel, the inaccessibility of prairies to navigable waterways, the difficulty of securing a dependable domestic water supply, the exposure to severe weather in winter, the dangers of infection thought to be associated with grassland areas, and the frequent grass fires have been presented as factors that delayed settlement of the prairie.[2]

The purpose of this study is to determine what early settlers regarded as good farmland by examining the prices they paid for prairie and forest land in a portion of Pike County, Illinois. The data on land prices were taken from Pike County deed records for 1821-1836, which are located in the Archives and Special Collections Department at Western Illinois University Library. In addition to land prices, the deed records include information on the year a parcel of land was sold, its location, and the buyer and seller.

Pike County is part of the Illinois Military Tract, the area between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers that was set aside as bounty land for veterans of the War of 1812. Between 1821 and 1823, Pike County encompassed the entire Military Tract. Prior to that time, the Tract was part of Madison County, and in 1823, the area east of the Fourth Principal Meridian became Fulton County. The present boundaries of Pike County and the other counties in the Military Tract are shown in Figure 1. The illustration also shows the location of that portion of Pike County which was selected as the focus for this investigation.

The study area is a tier of seven townships between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers in northern Pike County (Fig. 2). It was selected as a geographic focus for two reasons: the contrasting

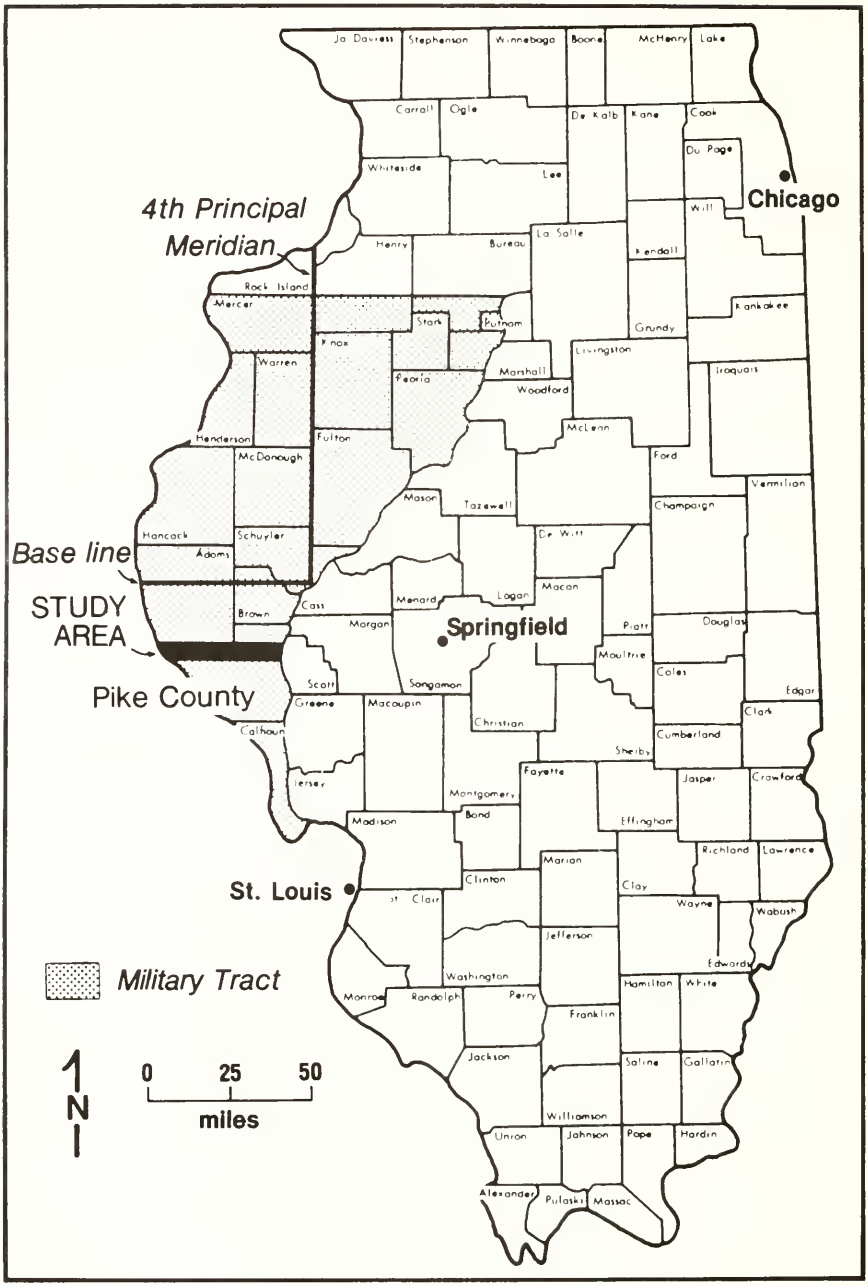

4th Principal Meridian
Base line
STUDY AREA
Pike County
Springfield
Chicago
St. Louis
Military Tract
N
0 25 50
miles
Ja Daviess
Stephenson
Winnebago
Boone
McHenry
Lake
Carroll
Ogle
De Kalb
Kane
Cook
Du Page
Whiteside
Lee
Will
Henry
Bureau
La Salle
Kendall
Rock Island
Mercer
Stark
Putnam
Grundy
Kankakee
Knox
Warren
Peoria
Marshall
Woodford
Livingston
Iroquois
Henderson
Fulton
McLean
McDonough
Ford
Vermilion
Mason
Tazewell
Champaign
Hancock
Schuyler
Adams
De Witt
Brown
Cass
Menard
Logan
Macon
Morgan
Piatt
Douglas
Moultrie
Scott
Sangamon
Coles
Edgar
Greene
Macoupin
Christian
Clark
Calhoun
Cumberland
Shelby
Jersey
Fayette
Jasper
Crawford
Montgomery
Madison
Bond
Effingham
Richland
Lawrence
Marion
Clinton
Clay
St Clair
Wayne
Wabash
Jefferson
Edwards
Washington
Hamilton
White
Monroe
Randolph
Perry
Franklin
Jackson
Saline
Gallatin
Williamson
Union
Johnson
Pope
Hardin
Alexander
Pulaski
Massac

FIGURE 1

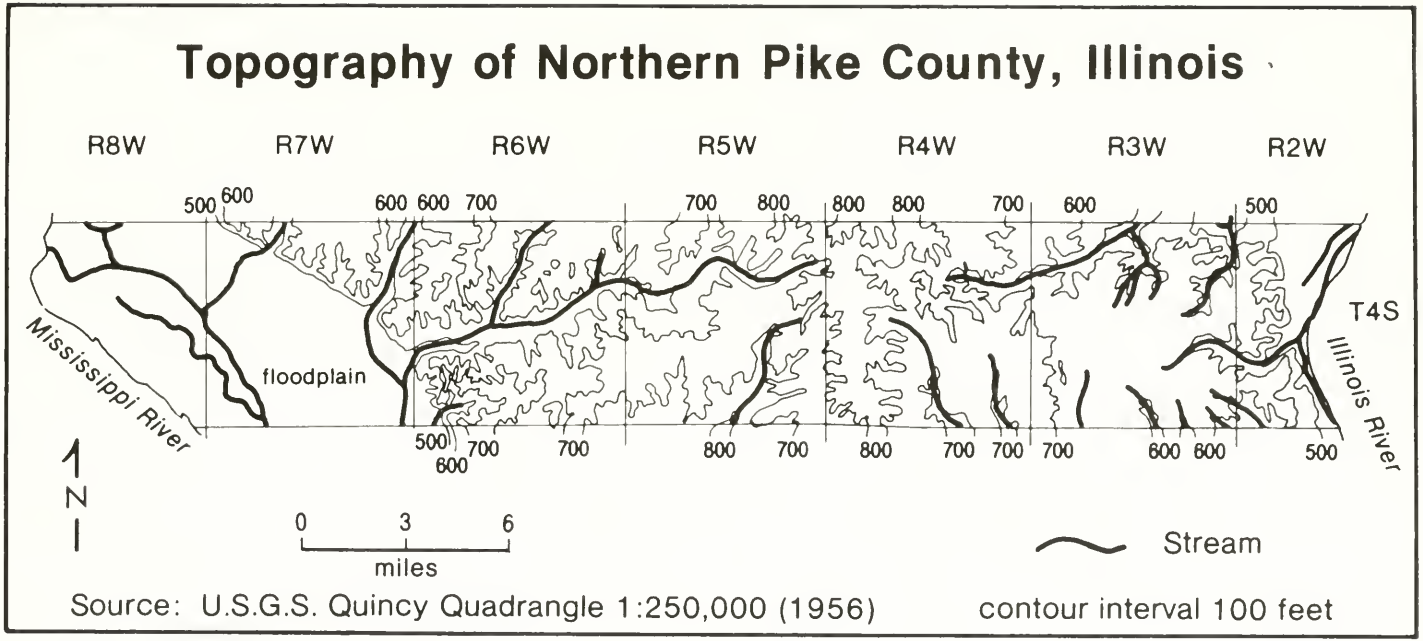

Topography of Northern Pike County, Illinois
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Mississippi River
floodplain
Illinois River
N
0 3 6
miles
Stream
Source: U.S.G.S. Quincy Quadrangle 1:250,000 (1956)
contour interval 100 feet

FIGURE 2

local topography, which ranges from floodplains and sharp bluffs near the two rivers to flat and dissected upland areas, and the distance between upland prairie areas and navigable waterways.[3] These contrasts were undoubtedly as vivid at the time of settlement as they are today.

Methodology

As mentioned previously, the data on land prices and transactions were taken from the Pike County deed records for a sixteen-year period between 1821 and 1836. The information was recorded on computer tapes by township, range, section, and quarter section, and a simple computer program was developed to retrieve the deed record information for northern Pike County. Next, the original vegetation of northern Pike County was reconstructed. Three sources were considered for the reconstruction—namely, the impressions of the early public land surveyors, the 1872 *Atlas Map of Pike County*, and the 1915 Pike County soils report.[4]

Initially, it was thought that the field notes of the public land surveyors would provide a reasonable portrayal of pre-settlement vegetation in the study area. However, these initial impressions were often subjective, and various adjectives were used to describe similar topography. Also, no maps were available to check the land descriptions. For these reasons, the early surveyors' perceptions of northern Pike County, while colorful, were discounted as a suitable basis for a map of original vegetation.

The 1872 *Atlas Map of Pike County* shares many of the same shortcomings as the descriptions of the public land surveyors. While the individual township maps, plus the general Pike County map, indicate the location of wooded areas, the illustrations are hand-sketched with only a general reference to specific sections. Also, the symbols that are used to show the wooded areas can be interpreted as portraying either apple orchards or forests. Finally, it should be noted that the *Atlas Map of Pike County*, like other Illinois county atlases prepared at the time, was designed to extoll the most influential farmers, who financially supported its publication. Accurate geography was an accidental by-product.

The 1915 Pike County soils report proved to be the best source for reconstructing the natural landscape as it probably existed in 1821. One main advantage of the report as a data source is the identification of soils as having been formed under upland prairie, upland timber, and bottomland conditions. A second advantage is the series of detailed soils maps that accompany the text. Both the detailed descriptions of the soil types and their location were used to map the prairie and forest areas for the seven townships in the

Burial Marker for a Veteran of the War of 1812.

Gently Rolling Uplands.

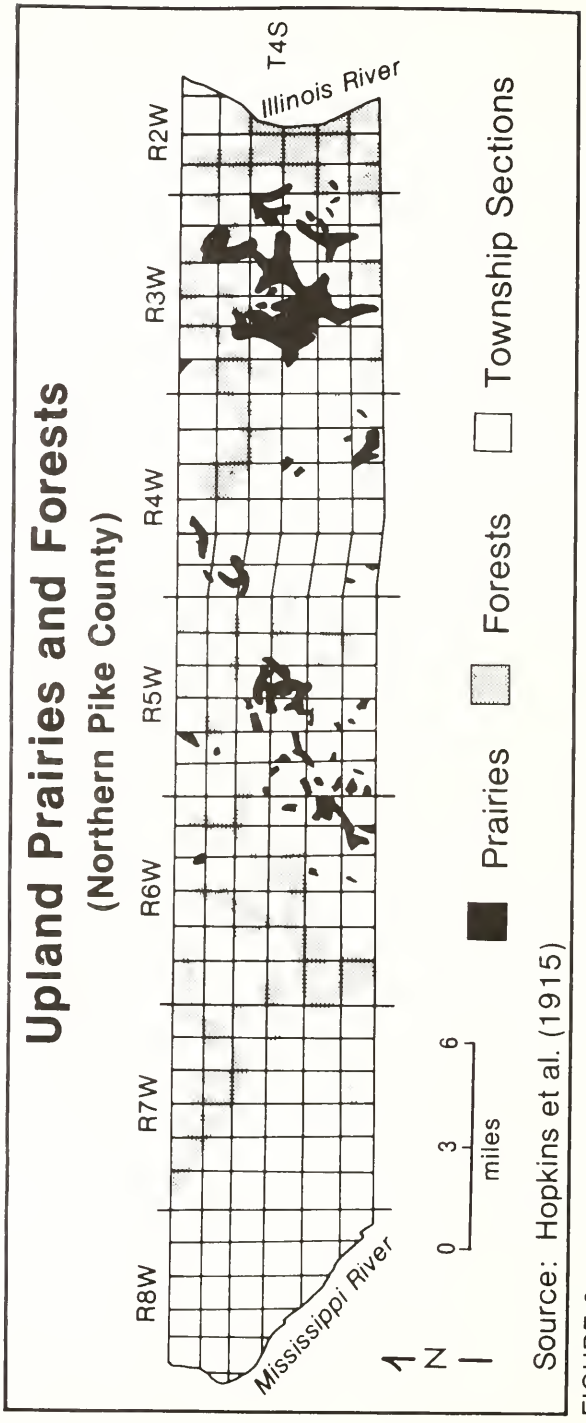

Upland Prairies and Forests
(Northern Pike County)
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Illinois River
Mississippi River
N
0
3
6
miles
Prairies
Forests
Township Sections
Source: Hopkins et al. (1915)

FIGURE 3

study area. The result is shown in Figure 3. Upland forests were concentrated along the bluffs of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, while upland prairies were found primarily in the flat eastern townships.

The Settlement of Northern Pike County

The settlement of northern Pike County was similar to the settlement of the whole Military Tract. The details of this settlement have been treated elsewhere, notably by Carlson in *The Illinois Military Tract*, and so they will only be summarized here.[5]

Few veterans settled in the Military Tract. Most of the persons who were granted land remained in the East and transferred their deeds to other easterners. Land deeds were initiated in October, 1817. By early 1819, some 17,000 deeds had been issued by the War Department. The typical deed, or warrant, entitled the veteran to a quarter-section (160 acres) of land in the Tract. However, a limited number of 320-acre warrants were issued to officers.

During the 1820s, most of the persons who bought or sold land in the Military Tract were from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. The names of several well-known early speculators, such as Romulus Riggs of Philadelphia and Stephen Munn of New York, appear repeatedly in the deed records as land buyers.

Types of Deeds

Four types of deeds are found in the land records for northern Pike County: conveyance, indenture, warranty, and quit-claim. A conveyance was any written instrument that involved the transfer of land, while an indenture was a deed that bound the seller and the buyer to the terms of a land transfer. A warranty deed guaranteed that ownership of the land was undisputed and the title was clear. Accordingly, a warranty deed commanded the highest price per acre in comparison with other deeds. Land obtained from the purchase of original land patents carried a warranty deed, and was termed a patent title. Land parcels were sold with a quit-claim deed when the seller did not have full title to the property. This was usually the case when the property was sold at public auction by the State Auditor in order to recover delinquent taxes. The new owner of such property held a "tax title" rather than a patent title, and the original owner had the right to reclaim the land within two years from the date of sale by paying twice the purchase price of the land parcel.

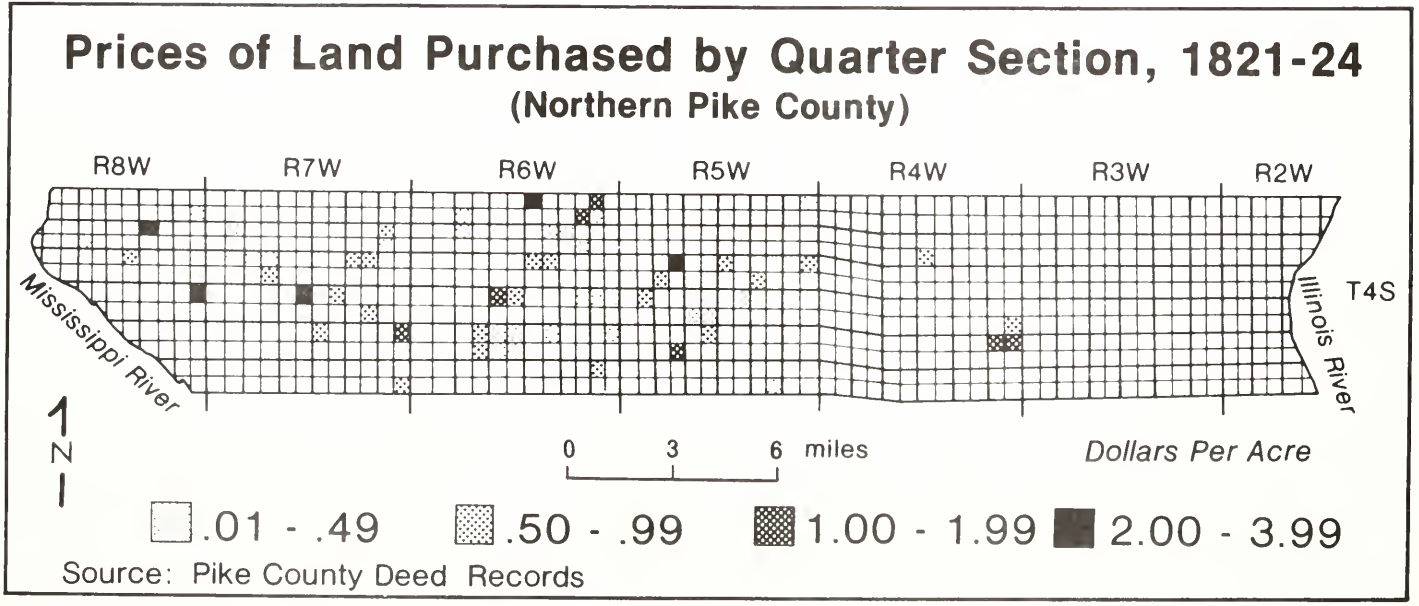

Prices of Land Purchased by Quarter Section, 1821-24
(Northern Pike County)
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Mississippi River
Illinois River
N
0 3 6 miles
Dollars Per Acre
.01 - .49
.50 - .99
1.00 - 1.99
2.00 - 3.99
Source: Pike County Deed Records

FIGURE 4

Land Sales, 1821-1836

Because there were relatively few land sales between 1821 and 1824, that period is a starting point in identifying what early settlers in northern Pike County regarded as good quality land. Figure 4 illustrates the average per-acre price for each quarter section that was sold between 1821 and 1824. Quarter sections commonly sold for $100, or $.62 per acre. Many of the quarter sections purchased were gently sloping stream terraces, or bottomland near the Mississippi River. Although not documented here, these areas were covered with woodland vegetation at the time of purchase.

Furthermore, a comparison of Figure 4 and Figure 3 shows that most of the upland purchases during the 1821-1824 period were associated with forest areas; very few transactions were recorded for the prairie areas in the eastern townships. This early preference for stream terraces, bottomland, and upland forest areas suggests that timbered areas were regarded as desirable sites for either settlement or speculation. Proximity to waterways was probably a significant factor.

TABLE 1. LAND SALES IN NORTHERN PIKE COUNTY

Year	Total sales	Average Acreage per sale	Average price per acre	Illinois residents	Percent quit-claim sales
1821	35	160	$ .67	0	2.8
1822	22	160	.76	4	4.5
1823	7	148	.52	0	0
1824	17	172	1.03	10	23.5
1825	30	167	.30	9	66.6
1826	14	146	.44	3	21.4
1827	0	0	0	0	0
1828	1	160	1.00	1	0
1829	8	99	.34	6	50.0
1830	14	151	.76	7	26.6
1831	21	99	1.94	18	14.3
1832	26	110	3.39	16	11.5
1833	66	108	2.77	42	18.2
1834	87	110	4.21	56	24.1
1835	168	147	1.86	80	60.7
1836	189	105	3.50	143	30.7

Source: Pike County Deed Records.

Between 1824 and 1830, land sales and the average price per acre declined in northern Pike County (Table 1). Land sales during the period were concentrated either in the upland forest areas and bottomland in the western townships, or else they involved land sold previously. No prairie lands were sold during the 1824-1830 period.

After 1830, total land sales in northern Pike County steadily increased. Land prices, however, fluctuated greatly from year to year, just as they had in previous years. Much of this fluctuation was tied to the number of quit-claim sales, which, because of their low prices, depressed the average value of land. In contrast, by 1836 land with warranty deeds was selling for more than $5 per acre. Finally, Table 1 shows the change in ownership from out-of-state purchasers to Illinois residents, many of whom had already settled in Pike County.

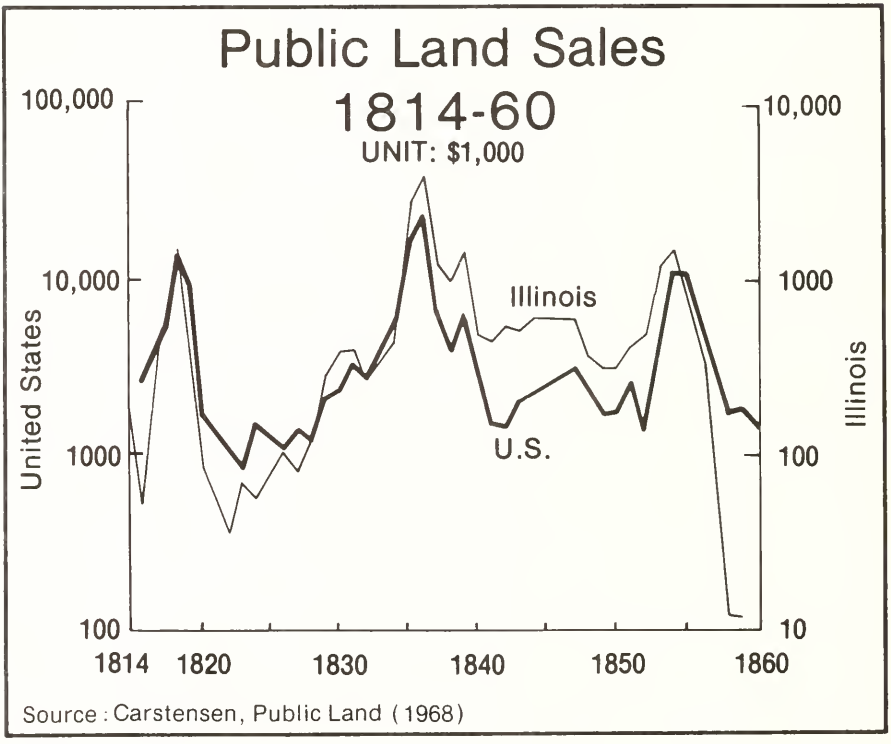


FIGURE 5

The trend of increased sales after 1830 was not unique to northern Pike County, but was taking place throughout the state and nation (Fig. 5).[6] The active land sales in northern Pike County were triggered by the opening of the Land Office in Quincy in 1831, through which over two million acres were offered for public sale. In contrast with bounty land purchases, settlers could secure clear title to parcels sold at public sales and were therefore more likely to make subsequent improvements.

Previously, it was shown that the initial land sales in northern Pike County were in forest areas. A further indication of the kind of land that early settlers valued most highly was provided by plotting

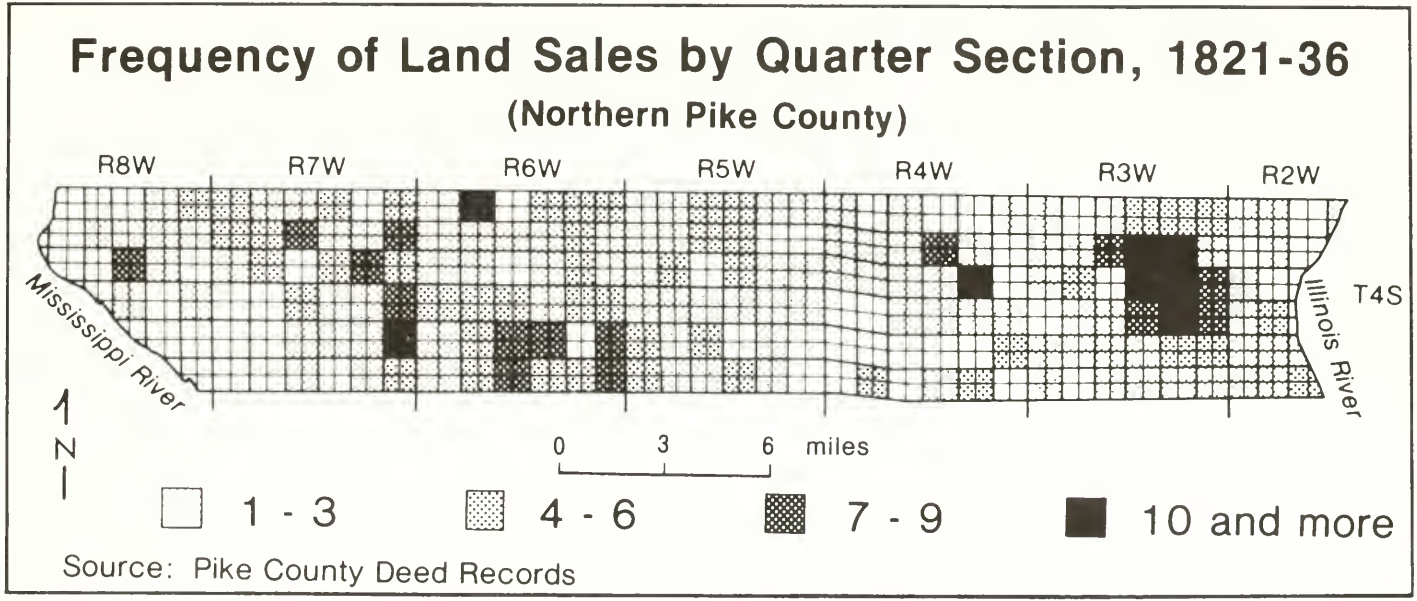

Frequency of Land Sales by Quarter Section, 1821-36
(Northern Pike County)
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Mississippi River
Illinois River
N
0 3 6 miles
1 - 3
4 - 6
7 - 9
10 and more
Source: Pike County Deed Records

FIGURE 6

the number of sales to determine if the land that changed ownership most frequently was in upland forest or prairie areas. This information is presented in Figure 6. A visual comparison with Figure 3 shows that while there is some correlation between the location of upland forests and prairies and the number of sales recorded for a parcel of land, the relationship, at best, is quite general. Instead, the number of times that land was purchased and resold in northern Pike County appears related to two factors: the type of property deed, and the establishment of early communities.

Between 1821 and 1836, land with quit-claim deeds changed owners more frequently than land held under other deeds. In 1836, for example, parcels with quit-claim deeds were heavily concentrated in the upland forest areas of the western townships. Most of the forest areas were owned by absentee landowners who made little if any improvements to their properties. It is likely that the absentee landowners were primarily speculators who were more interested in short-term profits than in permanent settlement. It should be remembered that quit-claim deeds could be purchased for as low as the amount of delinquent taxes. To be sure, the previous owner had the option of re-purchasing the land within two years, but the odds that this would happen were so slim that quit-claim deeds could be bought with little financial risk to the new owner. Because there was a minimum of investment and the promise of a substantial profit if land prices increased, quit-claim deeds were highly speculative and, accordingly, had successive owners.

The establishment of new communities may have influenced the number of land sales as well. The largest concentration of successive land transfers shown in Figure 6 corresponds to the location of Griggsville, which was platted in 1834. It is possible, although by no means certain, that the number of times land was bought and resold in the Griggsville area was due to land speculation that often accompanied the founding of a new community. A lesser concentration of land transfers is found in the vicinity of Barry, which was platted in 1836. Here, the pattern appears related more to speculation associated with quit-claim deeds than with the founding of a new community.

Figure 7 shows that land sales in 1836 were concentrated in both upland forest and prairie areas. It also illustrates that the price of prairie lands often exceeded $10 per acre, while forest areas were sold for as little as $.01 per acre.

Several explanations may be given for this contrast in land prices. One is that most of the prairie areas were not entered for sale until after 1830, and so they automatically commanded higher

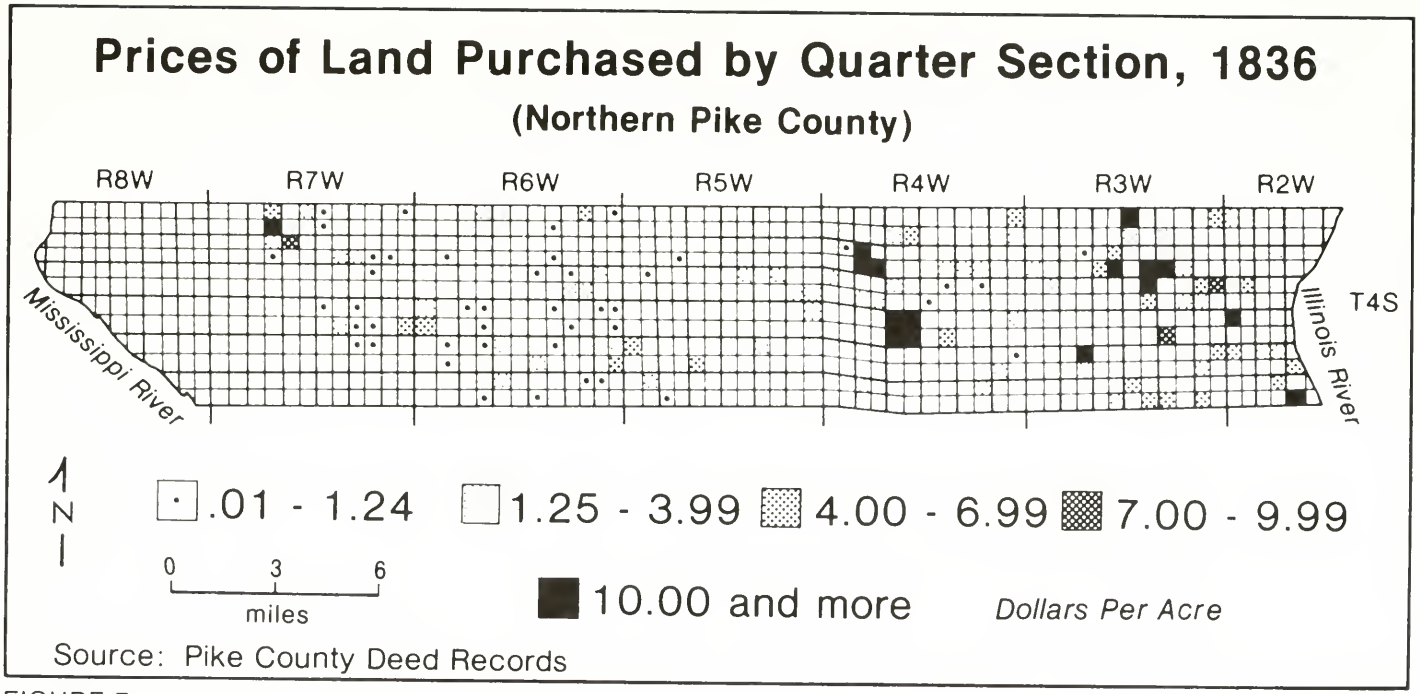

Prices of Land Purchased by Quarter Section, 1836
(Northern Pike County)
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Mississippi River
Illinois River
N
.01 - 1.24
1.25 - 3.99
4.00 - 6.99
7.00 - 9.99
0
3
6
miles
10.00 and more
Dollars Per Acre
Source: Pike County Deed Records

FIGURE 7

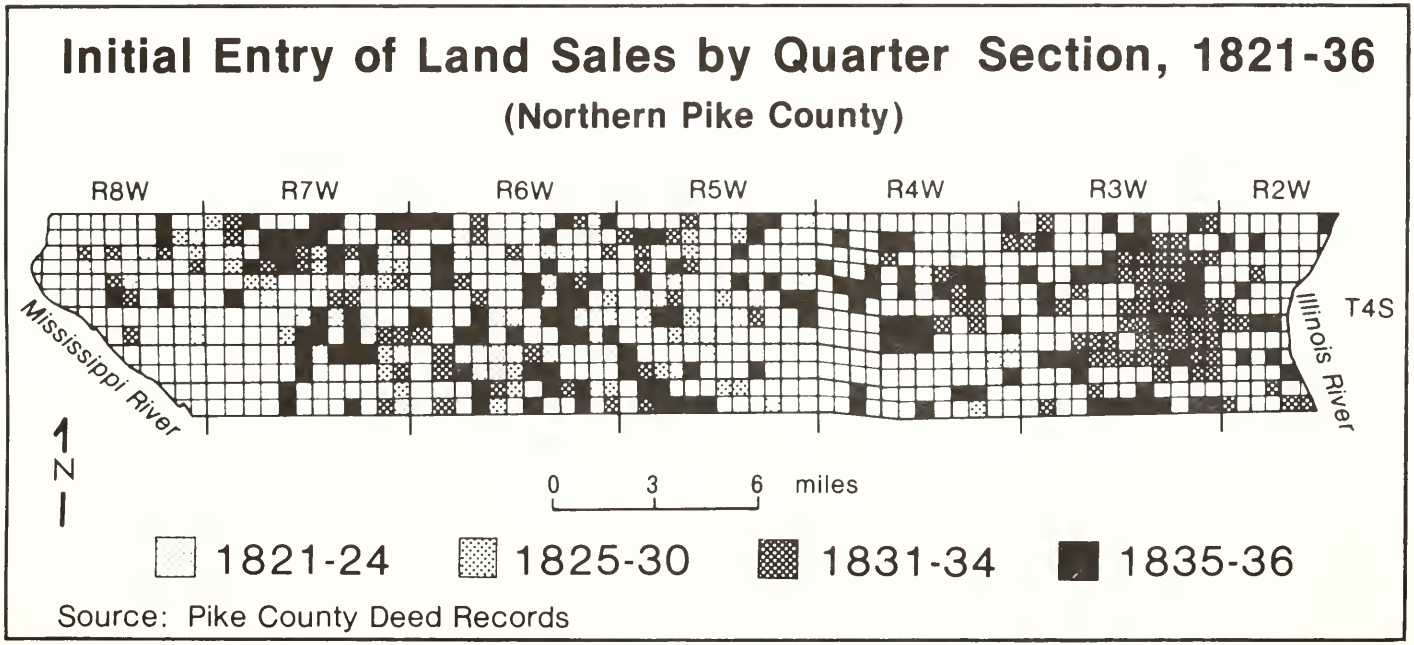

Initial Entry of Land Sales by Quarter Section, 1821-36
(Northern Pike County)
R8W
R7W
R6W
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T4S
Mississippi River
Illinois River
N
0 3 6 miles
1821-24
1825-30
1831-34
1835-36
Source: Pike County Deed Records

FIGURE 8

prices because there were relatively few parcels available for purchase. A second explanation is that prairie areas were more expensive because they were sold with a warranty deed while most of the forest areas were sold with quit-claim deeds. A third explanation is related to the parcel size of the prairie areas that were purchased. The most common warranty deed was for 40 acres, which suggests that the land was purchased for agriculture and not for speculation.

A final step in tracing the pattern of settlement in northern Pike County involves determining how the initial entry of land sales varied over the 1821-1836 period of investigation. Figure 8 shows that land sales before 1830 were concentrated in the forest areas of the western townships. After 1830, other land parcels were purchased for the first time, notably the prairie areas in the eastern townships. Most of these parcels were bought by Pike County residents.

A closer examination of the post-1830 land entries indicates that the parcels sold and subsequently settled were mainly on the edge of the prairie where there was access to timber. Some scholars have argued that settlement on prairie land was due to population pressure—that is, as more people migrated into an area, the late arrivals were forced to settle on prairie areas.[7] The higher prices paid for prairie land in 1836 support this view. However, a counter argument is that the prairie lands were selected by preference. By locating on the prairies or on the prairie-forest margin,[8] early settlers had reasonable access to both agricultural land and to timber for building materials, fences, and fuel.

Summary

This study of land deed records from northern Pike County demonstrates that the earliest land transactions were concentrated in the forest areas of the western townships. These areas were often held in quit-claim deeds by absentee landowners and went through a succession of land transfers during the fifteen-year period under investigation. By 1836, the concentration of land sales had shifted to the prairie or prairie-forest margin areas of the eastern townships. The latter parcels carried warranty deeds; they were sold at a higher price than upland forest areas, and they were purchased primarily by Pike County residents.

Of course, the founding of the first communities, such as Griggsville, influenced the early settlement of northern Pike County. While the platting of new towns undoubtedly encouraged speculation and led to high land prices, their presence as early market centers made them focal points for permanent settlement

around which farmland could be purchased, improved, and made the basis of an agricultural economy.

What, then, can be said about the pioneers' evaluation of good farmland in northern Pike County? The answer to this question is complicated by the initial sale of bounty land deeds to absentee owners, especially speculators. While these early land transactions were concentrated in forest areas, the evidence presented suggests that the parcels were purchased for speculation and not for agricultural settlement. In other words, speculators probably did not consider soil fertility or ease of cultivation, but availability of wood and access to water, as the prime factors in determining which parcels to purchase for resale. This may or may not have been the view of the earliest homesteaders.

Later land transactions were in the prairie areas. Because most of the buyers were Pike County residents, it can be assumed that there was some first-hand knowledge of the parcels and that they were clearly regarded as good farmland. In short, later settlers did prefer prairie parcels for agricultural reasons. This pattern of land evaluation was probably repeated in the early history of other western Illinois counties where there was a similar diversity of timber and prairie, and where speculation and homestead purchases were both in evidence.

NOTES

[1] Douglas R. McMannis, *The Initial Evaluation and Utilization of the Illinois Prairies, 1815-1840*, Research Paper No. 94 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 2.

[2] Carl O. Sauer, *Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley and History of Development*, Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 27 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1916), pp. 153-56; Harland H. Barrows, *Geography of the Middle Illinois Valley*, Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin 15 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1910), pp. 76-80, and Ralph H. Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1946), pp. 206-11.

[3] Arlin D. Fentem, "The Physical Environment," in *Illinois: Land and Life in the Prairie State*, ed. Ronald E. Nelson (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, for the Illinois Geographical Society, 1978), pp. 87-89.

[4] *Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois* (Davenport, Iowa: Andreas Lyter and Co., 1872); and Cyril G. Hopkins et al., *Pike County Soils*, Soil Report No. 11 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, 1915).

[5] Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract: A Study in Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure,* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 2-44.

[6] Arthur N. Cole, "Cyclical and Sectional Variations in the Sales of Public Lands, 1816-1860," in *The Public Lands: Studies in the History of Public Domain*, ed. Vernon Carstensen (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 241.

[7] William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1908), p. 397.

[8] Terry G. Jordan, "Between the Forest and the Prairie," in *Geographic Perspectives on the American Past: Readings on the Historical Geography of the United States*, ed. David Ward (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), p. 60.

LAND SPECULATION IN FULTON COUNTY 1817-1832

Gordana Rezab

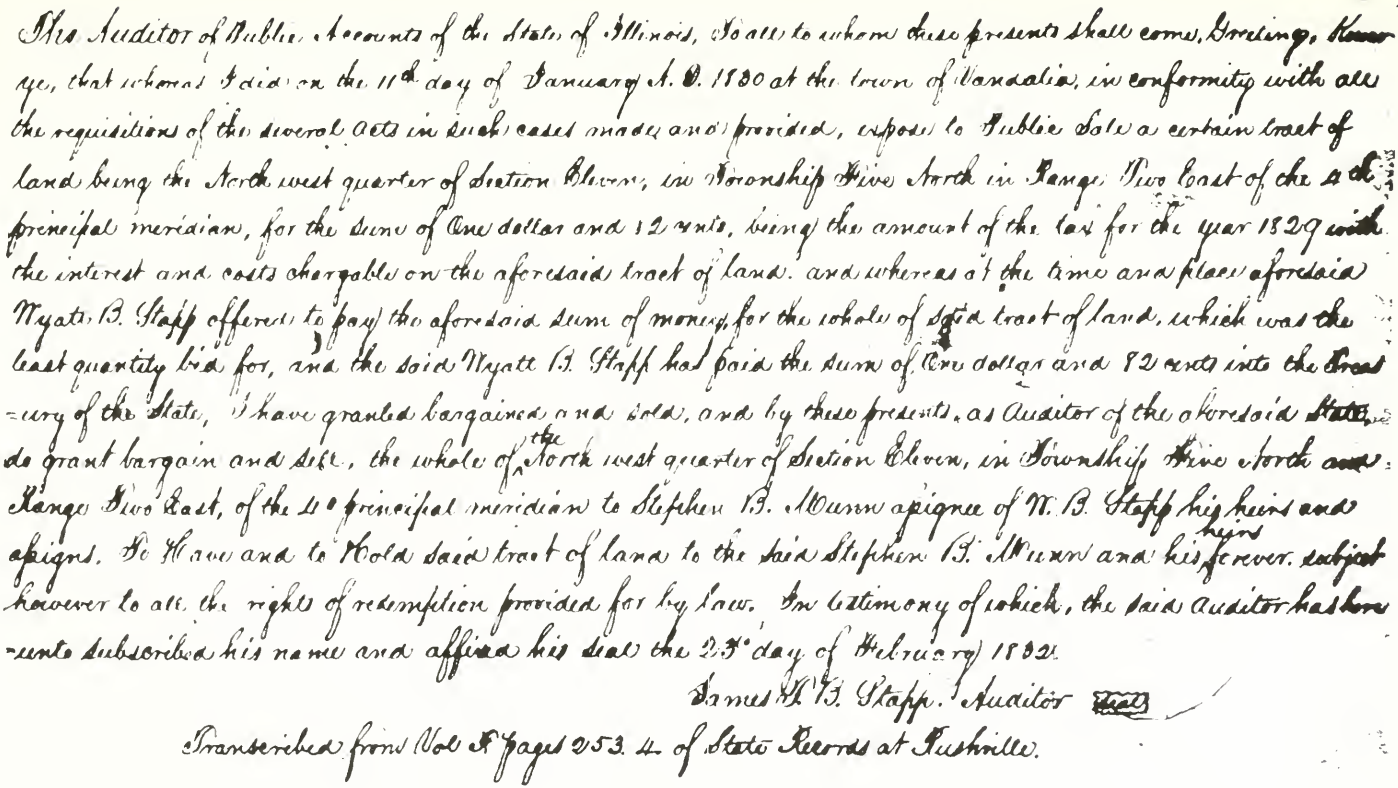
When Congress voted to distribute free land to veterans of the War of 1812, it hoped to achieve two objectives: pay off its soldiers and encourage migration to the West. By granting land which was located in the most remote frontier sections of Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, Congress sought to secure firmly those territories. It expected that the hardy veterans would become pioneer settlers in lands which the Indians still contested. But this second objective of Congress did not materialize. Theodore Carlson has given a thorough account of what actually happened.[1] As land titles first were issued in October of 1817, they rapidly passed into the hands of speculators. Only a few veterans ventured west and even fewer actually settled on their lots. Thus, the lands which Congress meant to populate with sturdy pioneer stock instead became the investment properties of eastern businessmen.

Research on Land Speculation

In the early phases of midwestern land ownership, investors and speculators played an important role, not only in the Illinois Military Tract, but also throughout the frontier. Whenever new territories became available for purchase, speculators were among the most important prospective buyers. They commanded more money and political influence than either settlers or squatters and thus were able to compete successfully for any land they desired. At federal land sales they frequently acquired large unbroken tracts, which were easier to administer than scattered holdings.

Speculators' purchases in the Illinois Military Tract differed from those at federal land sales. In the Tract, speculators had to buy in increments of 160 acres, the amount given to each individual soldier. They could not hope to build up large contiguous holdings because the locations of soldiers' grants were determined by lottery and thus were widely scattered.

There has been considerable research devoted to nineteenth-century midwestern land speculation in general and that of the



This Auditor of Public Accounts of the State of Illinois, To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting, Know ye, that whereas I did on the 11th day of January A. D. 1830 at the town of Vandalia, in conformity with all the requisitions of the several Acts in such cases made and provided, expose to Public Sale a certain tract of land being the North west quarter of Section Eleven, in Township Five North in Range Two East of the 2d principal meridian, for the sum of One dollar and 12 cents, being the amount of the tax for the year 1829 with the interest and costs chargable on the aforesaid tract of land. and whereas at the time and place aforesaid Wyatt B. Stapp offered to pay the aforesaid sum of money, for the whole of said tract of land, which was the least quantity bid for, and the said Wyatt B. Stapp has paid the sum of One dollar and 12 cents into the Treasury of the State, I have granted bargained and sold, and by these presents, as Auditor of the aforesaid State do grant bargain and sell, the whole of the North west quarter of Section Eleven, in Township Five North and Range Two East, of the 2d principal meridian to Stephen B. Munn assignee of W. B. Stapp his heirs and assigns. To Have and to Hold said tract of land to the said Stephen B. Munn and his heirs forever. subject however to all the rights of redemption provided for by law. In testimony of which, the said Auditor has hereunto subscribed his name and affixed his seal the 25th day of February 1832.

James W. B. Stapp. Auditor [Seal]

Transcribed from Vol X pages 253. 4. of State Records at Vandalia.

Figure 1. Tax deed as it was entered in Fulton County Deed Book C, p. 73. The 160 acres of land were sold for $1.28. The buyer was Stephen B. Munn from New York, but his field representative was Wyatt B. Stapp. Note that Wyatt has the same surname as James Stapp, the state auditor.

Illinois Military Tract in particular. This research is characterized by three main points of view regarding early speculation activity on the frontier.

Some scholars consider speculation a hindrance to the orderly development of pioneer communities. Their conclusions reflect settlers' complaints that withholding property from the market in anticipation of higher prices resulted in fewer farms and less population to bear the burden of taxes for supporting schools, roads, and local political offices.[2] Settlers harbored particular resentment against out-of-state land owners, because taxes on land belonging to non-residents went to support state government while taxes owned by resident owners benefitted the local counties.

A second group of scholars feel that speculators were indispensable to the money-tight frontier market because they frequently purchased land which was offered at auction by the state in order to collect delinquent taxes. In many instances, original owners re-purchased their lots when able to pay. Speculators thus extended a form of credit to frontiersmen which contributed to the survival of pioneer homesteads and communities.[4]

The third major view regarding speculative activities concentrates on profit margins. After examining land transactions by a number of speculators, Carlson concludes that only large landholders realized profits and that small investors almost always lost money. He explains the difference by the ability of large speculators to retain their holdings while they waited for land values to rise.[5] Robert Swierenga, on the other hand, contends that speculators made profits less by holding land than by buying tax-defaulted properties and reselling them for amounts far in excess of standard interest rates.[6]

Most scholarly literature on land speculation has bypassed the question of what type of land and what geographic locations speculators preferred. This lack of attention may have stemmed from contemporaneous nineteenth-century views on speculation. According to Michael Chevalier, land speculation was not confined to any class of real estate. Wild lands, swamp lands, improved agricultural lands, town lots, and city real estate were all included.[7] Governor Robert Morris, America's foremost land boomer, is said to have preferred large tracts. He claimed they insured against mistakes and misrepresentations by surveyors and that even inferior land brought good prices when adjacent land was already developed.[8] Allan G. Bogue maintains that the highest profits were realized by speculators who scattered their holdings enough so that they would benefit from the improvements of neighboring farmers but yet concentrated them sufficiently so that administration was

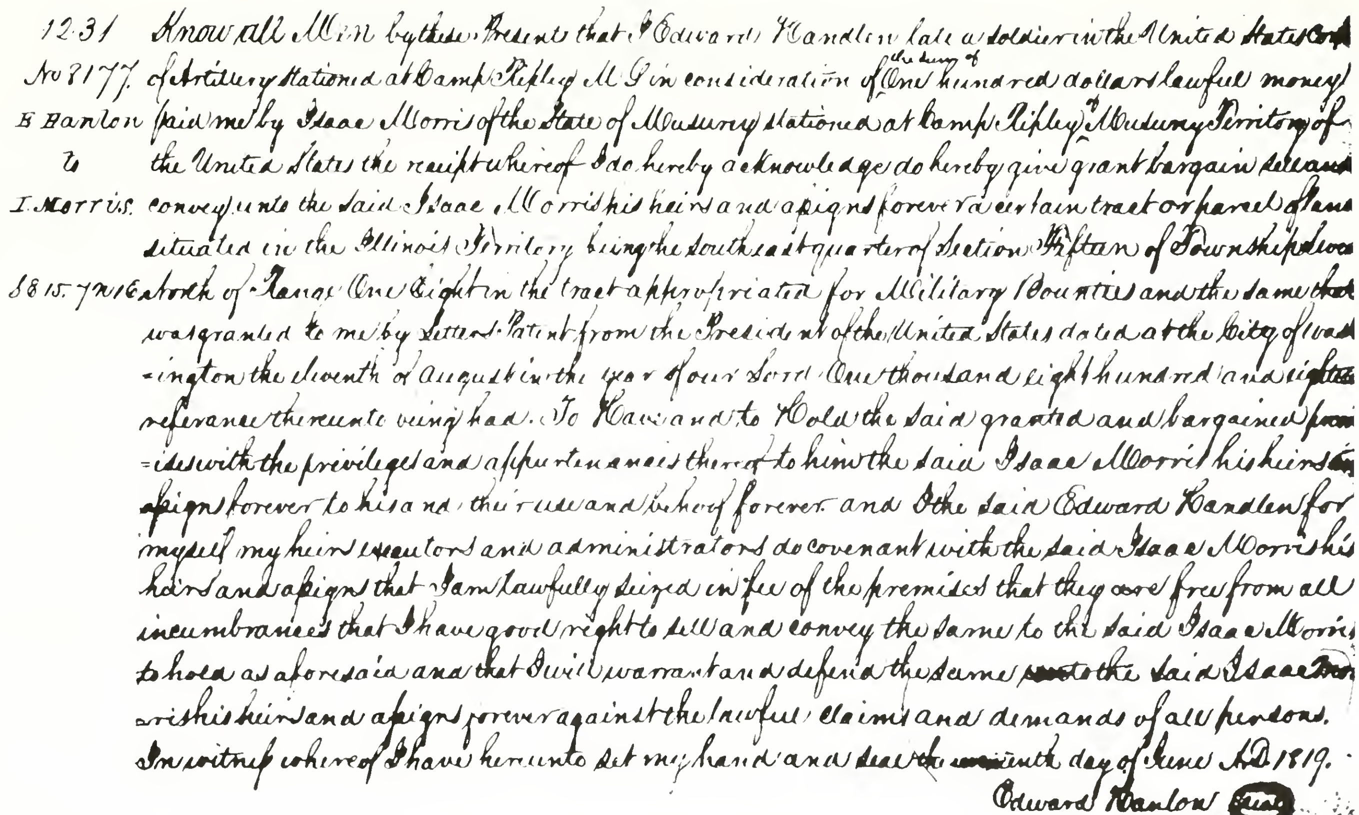

12.31 Know all Men by these Presents that I Edward Handlen late a soldier in the United States Corps
No 8177. of Artillery stationed at Camp Ripley M.T. in consideration of the sum of One hundred dollars lawfull money
E Hanlon paid me by Isaac Morris of the State of Missouri stationed at Camp Ripley Missouri Territory of
to the United States the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge do hereby give grant bargain release and
I. Morris. convey unto the said Isaac Morris his heirs and assigns forever a certain tract or parcel of land
situated in the Illinois Territory being the south east quarter of Section Fifteen of Township Seven
8815. 7N16 North of Range One Eight in the tract appropriated for Military Bounties and the same that
was granted to me by Letters Patent from the President of the United States dated at the City of Wash
-ington the eleventh of August in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighteen
referance thereunto being had. To Have and to Hold the said granted and bargained prem
-ises with the privileges and appurtenances thereof to him the said Isaac Morris his heirs and
assigns forever to his and their use and behoof forever. and I the said Edward Handlen for
myself my heirs executors and administrators do covenant with the said Isaac Morris his
heirs and assigns that I am lawfully seized in fee of the premises that they are free from all
incumbrances that I have good right to sell and convey the same to the said Isaac Morris
to hold as aforesaid and that I will warrant and defend the same unto the said Isaac Morr
-is his heirs and assigns forever against the lawfull claims and demands of all persons.
In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the [illegible] day of June A.D. 1819.
Edward Hanlon (Seal)

Figure 2. Warranty deed from Fulton County Deed Book B, p. 185. A soldier sold his bounty deed to a comrade for $100. Two months later the buyer, Isaac Morris, sold the property for $200.

not too expensive.[9] Such generalizations about speculators' preferences did not encourage research which emphasized spatial aspects of speculation activities.

Swierenga's studies of deed records in Iowa are a notable exception to the predominantly economic treatment of land speculation. He specifically concentrates on the question of site and soil preferences. Based on land transactions from ten Iowa counties, his research concludes that speculators were more interested in good agricultural lands than in proximity to county seats, major towns, or important rivers.[10]

This article will examine deeds from one county of the Illinois Military Tract in order to determine how land purchases by residents of that county differed from those made by speculators. Because land purchases in the Military Tract could be executed only in increments of up to 320 acres per holding, it is assumed that speculators purchased land here with more discrimination than when buying large unbroken tracts, thus revealing a more detailed pattern of soil and site preferences.

Land Sales in the Military Tract

It has been mentioned earlier that, rather than take possession of their land grants, most veterans were happy to sell their warrants for whatever price they could get. Carlson estimated that by 1825 most land had passed into the hands of speculators who, in future years, became the main suppliers of land for settlers.[11]

The history of land transactions from speculators to settlers is far from simple. Land records indicate that properties often changed hands with no evidence that there was any change in the use of land. This was due to the system of taxes. If veterans owned their land, they were not required to pay taxes the first three years. Any owner who was not the original grantee was required to pay immediately. If taxes were not paid, the land was auctioned to the lowest bidder, usually for the amount of unpaid taxes. The original owner had the right of repossession within two years if he compensated the new owner for all taxes and in addition paid a stiff interest rate. If the land was not redeemed in this way, full title passed on to the new owner. In case the latter wanted to dispose of property for which he held the tax title prior to the expiration of the two-year redemption period, he could sell it with a quit-claim deed. The new owner, however, still did not possess full right to his land until the two years had passed. Land prices thus depended to a large measure on the type of deed. Tax deeds could be bought for less than one cent per acre, while quit-claim and warranty (full title) deeds ranged from one cent to $6.25 per acre. The price of a

quit-claim deed was largely dependent on how "secure" the title was. Properties for which the two-year redemption period was about to expire brought more than recently auctioned ones. Resale of tax-defaulted properties occurred frequently. Land was sometimes resold on the same day it was bought at auction, often for double the price.

Another reason for frequent changes of land ownership resulted from the process of settlement. A pioneer farmer seldom settled on the first piece of land he acquired. Usually his family made several moves, most of which involved land purchases. Labor on the frontier was scarce and expensive; hence any type of improvement brought good returns. Farmers frequently settled on one lot, built a cabin and laid out fields, then sold it to buy another larger or better property. "Farms—somewhat improved, are almost daily exchanging owners, and a considerable spirit of enterprise has been awakened," wrote John M. Peck in his guide for emigrants.[12] Deed records, however, do not include information on any improvements, although these must have substantially affected sale prices.[13]

Study Area and Methodology

Fulton County was chosen for analysis because it was the earliest county in the Military Tract to develop sizeable towns. Lewistown, later to become the county seat, was platted and promoted as early as 1822. The founding of Canton followed three years later. Fulton County was also in the path of major migration routes into the Tract's northern and western prairie counties. By 1839 the county had well-established roads connecting Lewistown with Canton, Knoxville and Peoria to the north, and Rushville, Quincy, and Springfield to the south and west. Havana, on the east side of the Illinois River opposite the mouth of Spoon River, served as a major connecting link with St. Louis.

Fulton County is basically an eroded upland. Nearly one third of the county is rough land where narrow divides alternate with steep slopes. One fourth of the surface is bottom land along the Illinois and Spoon rivers. Prairies located in northern townships account for another seventeen percent of the area. It is estimated that at the time of settlement sixty percent of the county was timbered, covering primarily slopes and some bottom land. This mix of woodland and prairie was particularly conducive to early settlement. As Carlson has stated, any distance of more than one half mile from farm to timber was considered an intolerable burden.[14]

As mentioned above, the purpose of this study is to analyze early land transactions in Fulton County in order to distinguish

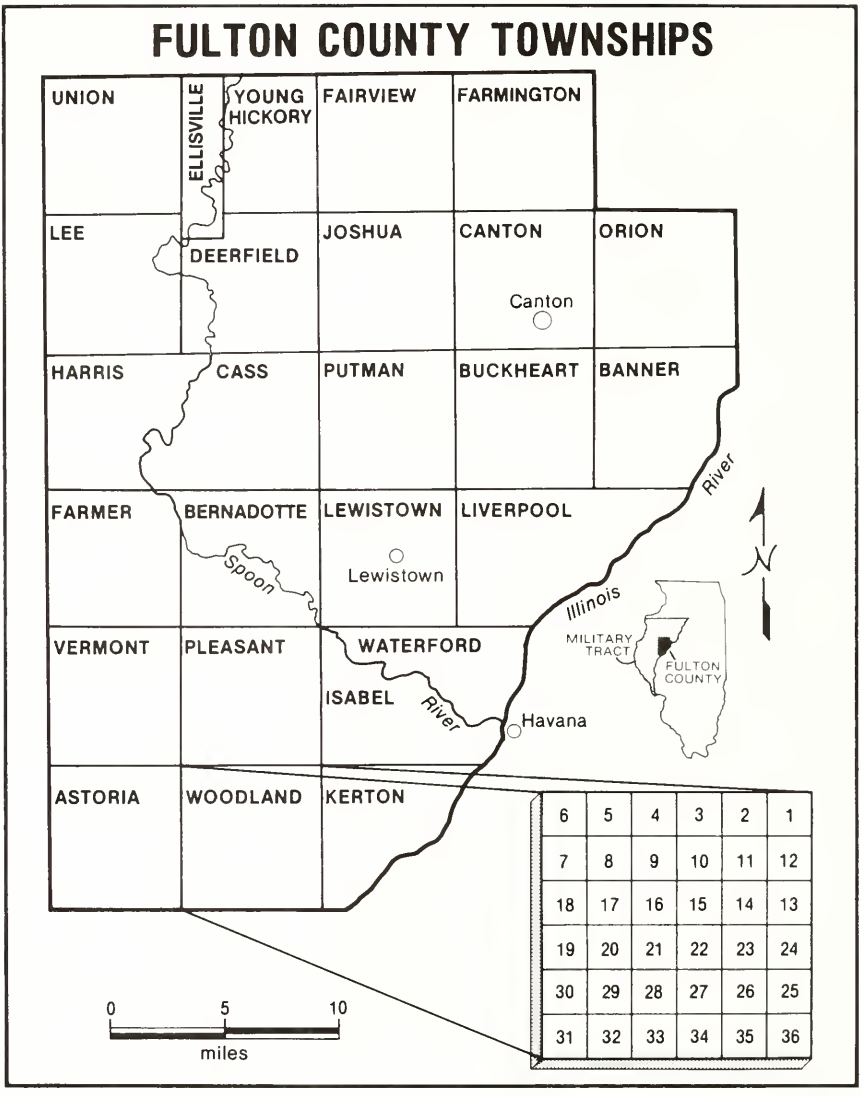


Figure 3. Fulton County Townships.

between purchases made by county residents, those executed by local speculators, and those involving out-of-state investors. More specifically, this study is designed to answer questions as to who paid higher prices, what quality of land and location were preferred, and whether time affected choices. A computerized data set developed in conjunction with the West Central Illinois Land Deed Conversion Project was utilized. Data from Fulton County covered all transactions from 1823 to 1832 and a number of deeds from 1817 to 1823.[15] This data set was analyzed with the SPSS program (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), a choice which made it possible to isolate and examine a number of elements: price, category of buyer, location of purchase, soil quality, and type of deed.

In order to arrive at a scale which would measure the desirability of land for each lot or quarter section, the study utilized one of the earliest published descriptions of the Military Tract.[16] Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt's guide described every quarter section's capacity for agriculture, nature of soil, and vegetation. Occasionally, additional information was appended regarding navigability and velocity of streams, availability of milling stone, and the presence of coal. This volume and similar publications must have guided purchases by non-residents of the county. For this reason, Van Zandt's land descriptions, although somewhat loosely worded in comparison to modern soil evaluations, were utilized to construct a scale of land types (Table 1).

Land Sales in Fulton County 1817-1832

It was pointed out above that land purchases in the Military Tract could be executed with a warranty, a quit-claim, or a tax deed. Table 2 summarizes information on prices paid for these three types of deeds and the average land type purchased. In this tabulation several values stand out. Fulton County residents paid by far the highest average price for warranty deeds and bought the lowest land-type property. The high purchase price undoubtedly reflects improvements in which the other two kinds of buyers were not interested. The low land type probably reflects the fact that farms with poorer land changed hands more often than better types. By buying poor land, improving the property, and selling it, pioneers increased their equities. Once they were able to afford good quality land, they usually did not trade it.

Purchases by the Ross family exemplify activities by local speculators. Ossian Ross was an army officer who received 320 acres as a military bounty. Prior to coming to Fulton County in 1821, the family acquired additional properties from soldiers at a

TABLE 1. FULTON COUNTY LAND TYPE CATEGORIES

Description	*Land type value*
Overflooded by branches	1
Flooded by Spoon River	1
Broken thin soil	2
Rough broken land	2
Poor broken land	2
Third rate farming land	3
Second rate land	4
Good second rate farming land	5
Good farming land	6
Very good farming land	7
Rich second rate soil	8
Excellent second rate soil	8
Rich first rate soil	9
First rate rich land	9

Source: Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt, *A Full Description of the Soil, Water, Timber, and Prairies of Each Lot, or Quarter Section of the Military Lands between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers*, Washington, 1818.

TABLE 2. AVERAGE PURCHASE PRICE PER ACRE AND AVERAGE LAND TYPE VALUES, 1817-1832

Buyer	*Price (in cents)*			*Land type value*		
	Warranty	*Quit claim*	*Tax deed*	*Warranty*	*Quit claim*	*Tax deed*
Fulton County residents	46.0	56.0	--------	3.17	2.19	--------
Ossian Ross	71.0	78.0	5.3	4.89	3.89	3.71
Non-resident speculators	75.0	56.0	1.0	3.27	3.50	2.00

Source: Fulton County Deed Records.

high price of $1.48 per acre. In Fulton County, however, Ross was able to purchase warranty deeds considerably cheaper. This coincided with a temporary deflation of prices after the initial post-1817 land-sale boom. It should be noted that Ross paid almost the same average price as out-of-state speculators.

The high prices paid by Ross for quit-claim deeds probably indicate these deeds were quite secure. The relatively high prices he paid for tax deeds may reflect his interest in partially improved property which would have been taxed higher. He also may have preferred to deal in good quality land. As can be seen from Table 2, Ossian Ross consistently bought property with higher land type values. Compared to out-of-state speculators, he appears to have

been a much more discriminating buyer in regard to land quality.

However, land quality did not seem to affect the price of warranty deeds to any great extent, nor was higher rated land purchased more often during the later years. Table 3 shows relationships between these variables for each category of buyers. It will be noted that the only conclusive correlation is between price and year of purchase. Thus, Fulton County residents paid more for their land in later years, while Ossian Ross and out-of-state speculators paid less.

Lack of a conclusive relationship between price and type of land is particularly puzzling. Three explanations are possible, all of which would require data which were not available in deed records. It has been noted earlier that improvements raised the value of property considerably. In the case of Fulton County residents, the rise in value due to improvements could have effectively nullified the lower prices of inferior land types.

Ross, on the other hand, probably did not purchase improved land, although his transactions also do not show a clear price and land type relationship. We know that Ross paid large sums for his early warranty purchases. In later years he acquired first hand knowledge of Fulton County properties and was able to purchase them at relatively lower prices. With his documented preference for better land types, he appears to have been in a position to pick up bargains.

The third factor which might have contributed to the lack of proven relationship between price and land type is the presence of

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRICE PER ACRE, LAND TYPE, AND YEAR OF PURCHASE FOR ALL WARRANTY DEEDS, 1817-1832

Buyer	*Price per acre Land type*	*Price per acre Year*	*Land type Year*
Fulton County residents	0.0210[a] Sig=0.389[b]	0.1667 Sig=0.010	-0.0781 Sig-0.134
Ossian Ross	0.1220 Sig=0.149	-0.2464 Sig=0.017	0.0091 Sig=0.491
Non-resident speculators	-0.0124 Sig=0.302	-0.0777 Sig=0.001	0.0096 Sig=0.335

[a]Pearson's correlation coefficient shows the extent to which two variables are related. The value fluctuates from 1.0 to -1.0. 1.0 indicates a perfect relationship, 0 indicates no relationship, and a negative value indicates an inverse relationship.

[b]Sig refers to significance level, which is the probability that a relationship is more than just by chance. Common accepted significance levels are 0.05 and 0.01. Higher values indicate that the relationship could be explained by a chance factor and therefore could not be accepted as reliable.

Source: Fulton County Deed Records.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE WARRANTY DEED PURCHASES IN SELECTED TOWNSHIPS, 1817-1832

		Townships										
Buyer	*Period*	*Woodland*	*Isabel and Waterford*	*Bernadotte*	*Lewistown*	*Cass*	*Putman*	*Buckheart*	*Joshua*	*Ellisville and Young*	*Hickory*	*Total*
	1817-1822	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----		----
Fulton County	1823-1825	10	----	10	20	5	10	25	----	5		85
residents	1826-1828	9	7	7	16	7	20	9	9	----		84
	1829-1832	----	2	8	25	2	14	14	11	3		79
	1817-1822	6	17	11	22	11	11	----	6	1		85
Ossian	1823-1825	11	21	16	5	11	----	11	----	----		75
Ross	1826-1828[a]											
	1829-1832[a]											
	1817-1822	4	5	5	7	6	8	7	4	6		52
Non-resident	1823-1825	5	3	8	6	8	8	2	5	5		50
speculators	1826-1828	3	----	2	6	8	8	8	2	20		57
	1829-1832	4	2	----	3	15	4	1	10	7		46

[a]No percentages could be computed because Ross failed to purchase land.

Source: Fulton County Deed Records.

coal. Van Zandt's guide mentions coal only a few times, yet according to state geologist Amos Worthen, coal outcroppings could be found "on all principal streams in the southern and western portions of the county . . . while the thickest and most valuable seams underlie the central and northeastern portions of the county."[17] He named numerous mines which were exploited on a commercial basis in 1859 and stated that some had been worked since the earliest settlement of the county. However, the slopes where coal occurred were generally regarded as the poorest agricultural land. It would be reasonable to assume that if such sites were considered profitable they would have brought good prices despite their marginal value for agriculture.

Distribution of Purchases

The spatial distribution of warranty deed purchases constitutes the third area of investigation. Table 4 presents these purchases by four major periods, and several facts stand out. By the end of 1825 Ossian Ross had stopped buying warranty deeds. This is unfortunate because it prevents an analysis of his purchases in comparison to those of non-resident speculators during the remaining seven years. An examination of all transactions attributed to Ross indicates that from 1825 to 1832 he sold the greater part of his Fulton County holdings. He is known to have operated a ferry across the Illinois River, starting in 1823, and in 1829 he moved to the present site of Havana, which he then platted. It is not known, however, why he moved from Lewistown, which he founded and named after his son, nor why he divested himself of most of his Fulton County holdings.

Another fact that should be noted is the relatively large percentage of purchases by Fulton County residents in the same townships where Ross originally owned property. Lewistown, Cass, and Bernadotte Townships were particularly favored, and all three were considered to have large amounts of good quality land (Fig. 3). Ross invested also in Isabel and Waterford Townships. A site on the Spoon River several miles upstream from the river's mouth for a while promised to develop into a growing town, Waterford. As that name implies, the Spoon River could be forded at this particular location. The site also marked the point where corn and wheat were loaded on flat boats to be taken to St. Louis[18] and where immigrants left river transportation to proceed overland. Ross' ferry to Havana also operated from that point. Ross' holdings in Isabel Township did not belong to that general area. They were located several miles to the east on good agricultural land.

Fulton County residents bought heavily in three townships which Ross apparently did not favor. These three townships, Putman, Buckheart, and Joshua, flank Canton Township and exhibited fairly extensive prairies. Lots purchased by county residents were frequently located in transitional zones between prairie and timber while most of Ross' holdings were located on broader divides. According to Worthen, Buckheart and Putman Townships were also early mining sites. However, there is no evidence that Fulton County residents at that time bought land with the intention of mining, although coal was used by the pioneers for domestic purposes.

The third noteworthy fact in Table 4 is the remarkably even distribution of purchases by non-resident speculators. For any given period, the total percentage of their purchases in nine of the approximately twenty western townships does not exceed fifty-seven percent. Slight concentration of non-resident purchases seems to coincide with those of county residents.

Summary

Fulton County deed records were examined under the assumption that small land transactions would reveal a more detailed pattern of preference on the part of speculators than has been thus far documented by other studies. The performed analyses did not bear this out to the extent that was expected. Non-resident speculators, however, did exhibit a distinctly different pattern of land purchases than Ossian Ross, who resided in the area. Ross concentrated his purchases on sites which promised a quick return, sites such as the vicinity of Lewistown and Waterford and the numerous scattered holdings considered suitable to the agricultural techniques of the day.

Out-of-state speculators seemed to purchase land as if immediate profit was of little concern. Their holdings were rather evenly distributed, and the quality of their land was significantly lower than that owned by Ross. Especially noteworthy was the extremely low land-type value of properties which non-resident speculators bought with tax deeds (Table 2). An average value of two implies that speculators frequently purchased land subject to flooding. Such land was usually not redeemed by former owners. Thus the speculators must be credited with foresight that was lacking in Ossian Ross. The land which Van Zandt, Ross, and Fulton County pioneers bypassed is today some of the most productive in the county.

NOTES

[1] Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract: A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 1-9.

[2] Carlson, p. 54.

[3] Robert P. Swierenga, *Acres for Cents: Delinquent Tax Auctions in Frontier Iowa* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 106.

[4] Carlson, p. 41.

[5] Carlson, p. 40.

[6] Swierenga, p. 7.

[7] Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (1839), as quoted in A. M. Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble* (New York: Harpers, 1932), p. 239.

[8] Sakolski, pp. 170-71.

[9] Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt, Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 44.

[10] Robert P. Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier* (Ames: Iowa State Univ. Press, 1968), p. 98.

[11] Carlson, p. 41.

[12] John M. Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West*, New edition (Boston: [no publisher], 1843), p. 317.

[13] Data on land improvements can be found in county assessor's books of real estate.

[14] Carlson, p. 34.

[15] The project was initiated by Robert Sutton of the Western Illinois University History Department. Fulton County deeds were transcribed and keypunched by CETA personnel under the supervision of the author. Deeds executed from 1817 to 1823 were recorded in deed books of Madison and Pike Counties, of which Fulton County was part prior to its formation in 1823. In order, however, to bring titles up to date many transactions in later years were preceded by a record of all previous deeds involving those properties. For statistical pruposes, these 1817 to 1823 deeds were considered a random sample of all transactions for those years.

[16] Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt, *A Full Description of the Soil, Water, Timber, and Prairies of Each Lot, or Quarter Section of the Military Lands between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers* (Washington: [no publisher], 1818).

[17] A. H. Worthen, "Geology of Fulton County," *Geological Survey of Illinois* (Springfield: Published by the authority of the Legislature of Illinois, 1870), Vol. IV, 103, see also pp. 90-103.

[18] *Historic Fulton County: Sites and Scenes—Past and Present* (Lewistown: Mid-County Press, 1973), p. 255.

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AT JUBILEE COLLEGE HISTORIC SITE

Joan I. Unsicker

Historical archeology as a field of study attempts to enhance our understanding of cultural events that occurred during time periods for which written records are available. Interpretation of historical documents is an important part of historical archeology, for such studies give direction to research designs and aid in the identification and interpretation of the recovered archeological data. Conversely, archeological findings provide new perspectives from which to view documentary accounts. By articulating historical and archeological data (both of which often are incomplete), a more thorough and accurate view of the past may emerge.

An ideal situation for the combined efforts of historians and archeologists recently presented itself at the Jubilee College Historic Site. That college, located in central Peoria County, was founded in 1839 by Bishop Philander Chase. An Episcopalian school and one of the earliest frontier institutions of higher learning in Illinois, Jubilee College faced many of the hardships associated with frontier existence—lack of financial support, isolation, and scarcity of materials and equipment. The school flourished until the early 1860's, but with the advent of the Civil War, student enrollment dropped and financial assistance from Episcopal dioceses in the South was withdrawn. By 1862 the burden of indebtedness became so great that the college was closed, and thus began a series of repeated failures for the institution.

The school re-opened in 1867, only to close again in 1878. In 1883 the Reverend Thomas Haskins of Alton again opened the doors, this time in an attempt to educate American Indian students, but financial difficulties forced its closing two years later. After 1885 the chapel was used by local parishoners. However, around the turn of the century, the chapel too fell into disuse. The building sat vacant, suffering from neglect and vandalism until 1931 when the heirs of Bishop Chase sold the property to George A. Zeller, Managing Officer of the Peoria State Hospital. Since Mr. Zeller

wanted to see his investment put to good use, he presented the land to the Boy Scouts as a permanent camp site and the chapel building to the parish of St. Paul's in Peoria. Unfortunately, the scout organization was unable to develop the property in accordance with the terms of the deed of trust, and so early in 1934 the title was returned to Mr. Zeller. Later that same year, he donated the land and buildings to the State of Illinois.[1] Presently, the original chapel and the attached dormitory wing (Fig. 1), both of which were constructed of hewn native sandstone, are the only remaining structures surviving from this early educational endeavor.

During the summer of 1979, the Illinois Department of Conservation contracted with Illinois State University to conduct exploratory archeological testing at the Jubilee College Historic Site, in order to obtain archeological information regarding the location of features and structures mentioned in archival documents. Two specific objectives were outlined by the Department of Conservation for these excavations: (1) to determine the original contour of the ground and record any features immediately north of the dormitory wing in anticipation of a planned construction project designed to correct a drainage problem there, and (2) to find the remains of a boarding house and the Samuel Chase residence, two former structures associated with the college. Regarding the first objective, test excavations revealed a very shallow stratum of topsoil underlain by loess (post-glacial windblown deposits) in the area adjacent to the building on the north. The stratigraphy indicates that the ground there has been scraped down and cut back, presumably to provide a level surface upon which to construct the building. This action resulted in the prominent rise which parallels the north and west sides of the dormitory wing. An eight-meter test trench, extending from the north edge of the building through the top of this rise, and several other smaller test holes to the north and west of the building were excavated, but no features were discovered there. It was determined, therefore, that the proposed construction project will destroy nothing of cultural significance.

The second project goal—that of uncovering structural remains—also was accomplished. A difference in the vegetation pattern, frequently a good indicator of subsurface remains, was noticed in two large areas north of the existing building. These were thought to represent the locations of the two former structures, and initial explorations proved this assumption to be correct as the partial remains of both structures were found within the two areas. Figure 2 shows the position of the excavated building remains, as

Figure 1. Jubilee College Chapel and attached dormitory wing.

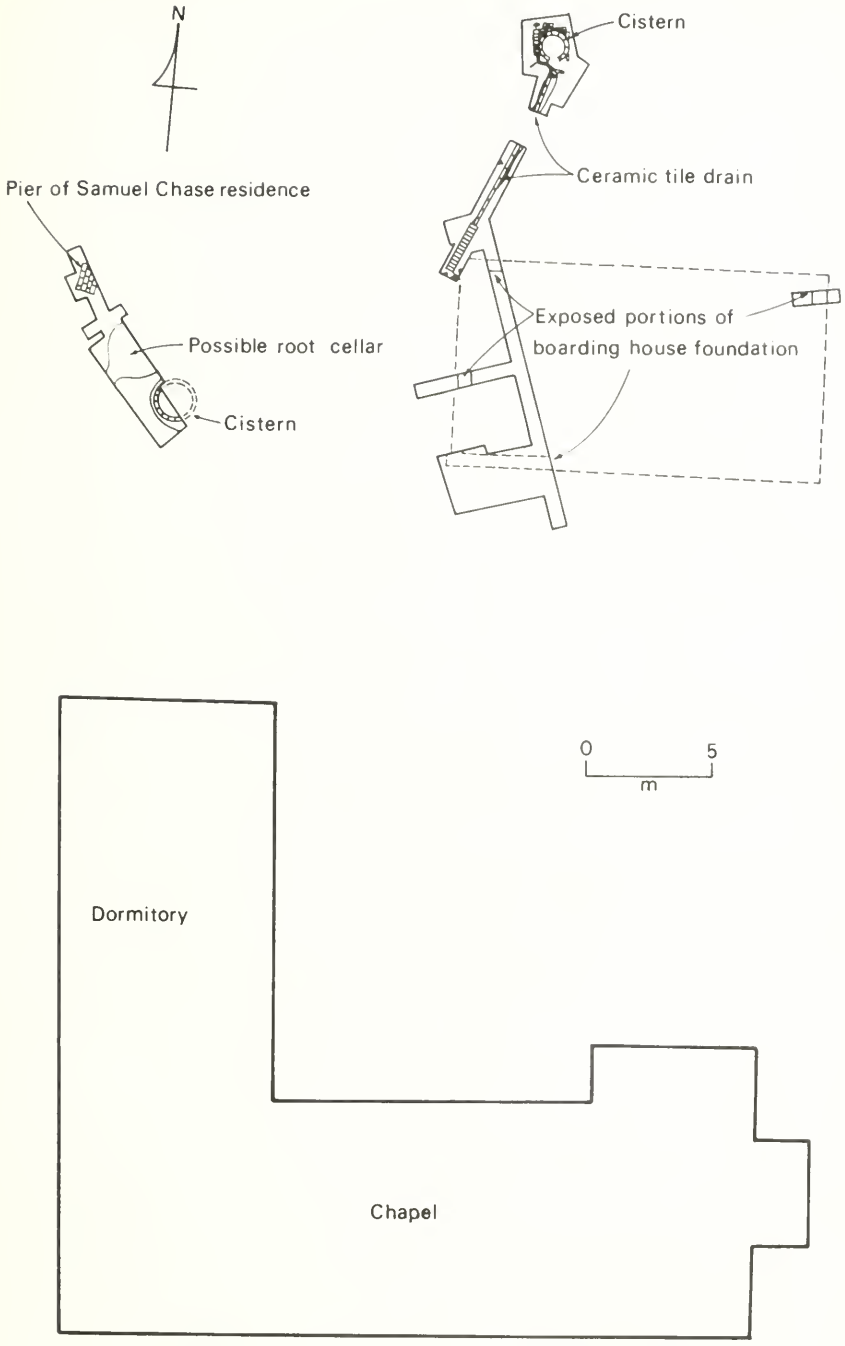


Figure 2. Archeological base map showing several features unearthed during the excavations. Graphics by James Baldoni.

Figure 3. Building pier of the Samuel Chase residence.

Figure 4. Brick cistern and ceramic tile drain associated with the boarding house.

well as a number of other features, in relation to the extant chapel-dormitory building. The foundation of the former boarding house, a two-story frame structure which stood from 1840 until 1902,[2] was found approximately twenty-five meters north of the chapel-dormitory building. Historical documents indicate that the boarding house measured forty-eight by thirty-two feet,[3] and the unearthed portions of the foundation corresponded exactly with these measurements.

Only one section of the west wall was completely excavated, and its foundation there extended from just beneath the sod to a depth of 2.1 meters below the ground surface. It was composed of large, irregular sandstone pieces which were laid up dry and shimmed with smaller, tapered pieces of sandstone—a relatively common construction method during the early and mid-nineteenth century.[4] No other structural remains of the boarding house were found, but this was expected since the historical sources indicate that all usable material was sold when the building was razed early in this century.[5]

Approximately fourteen meters west of the boarding house researchers found a building pier twenty centimeters beneath the ground surface (Fig. 3). Presumably this was a corner support for the Chase residence. It measured approximately one meter square, was composed of sandstone, and was constructed in a similar fashion to the boarding house foundation. Seventy centimeters below the ground surface the pier rested upon a footing comprised of bricks held together with mortar binding. The other piers for this structure were not found, and so its exact orientation is not known.

A number of other features were unearthed at the Jubilee Site, and three of these are particularly worthy of mention, for they appear to have been associated with the former structures. Unfortunately, these features could not be excavated because of time and monetary limitations inherent in the contract. Two features occurred very near the above-mentioned building pier. One was a plaster-lined brick cistern which measured one and a half meters in diameter (only the west half of this was exposed), and the other was a darkly stained area, two and a half meters across, which may represent the remains of a root cellar associated with the Chase residence. As these were not excavated, their depths were not determined. However, probing showed both to be at least one and a half meters deep.

The last feature to be discussed was another plaster-lined brick cistern (Fig. 4), found in association with the boarding house. The top was located directly beneath the ground surface about ten meters north of this former structure and was joined to its

northwest corner by a ceramic tile drain. The top of the cistern measured one meter in diameter, but as it was not excavated, its depth is unknown. Regrettably, a modern barbecue grill has been built almost directly over the center of this feature, prohibiting exploration into the cistern. As mentioned above, these features could not be excavated due to contract limitations, and so they were covered with heavy plastic in order to protect them before the test holes were backfilled. It is probable that the remains of other features (privies, wells, etc.) associated with the two structures still exist, but these must await further explorations.

Artifacts from the site, currently in storage at the Archeology Laboratory at Illinois State University, range in time from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Large amounts of building hardware and nails were collected near the boarding house foundation, and a great number of ceramic, glass, and miscellaneous items were found here and in other areas of the site. Several artifacts—a glass writing fluid bottle, a stoneware ink bottle, and slate pencils—clearly are indicative of the site's educational focus.

A number of typical mid-nineteenth-century decorations occurred on many of the ceramic pieces—for example, sponge/spatter, shell-edging, mocha, and "worm" designs, as well as slip banding.[6] Also found were examples of the Bennington and Rockingham glazes which typically were used on heavier, utilitarian tableware.[7] One salt and lead-glazed stoneware ink bottle (Fig. 5a) and two glass bottles (Fig. 5b and 5c) were recovered in perfect condition. The glass bottles were mold blown, and both have a basal pontil mark, a reliable indicator of pre-1850 manufacture.[8] A nearly complete ceramic pipe bowl (Fig. 5d) decorated with stars and displaying the letters "LF" probably was made by the French-based L. Foilet Company during the first quarter of the 19th century.[9]

The recent work at Jubilee College is of interest to both historians and archeologists because it provided the opportunity to obtain additional information about the college site as it appeared in the mid-nineteenth century and to develop a perspective on the residents which cannot be gained solely from the historical documents. Further exploration of the unexcavated features, as well as efforts to locate additional archeological remains associated with the main buildings, would certainly augment our understanding of frontier educational sites.

Figure 5a.
Stoneware
ink bottle.

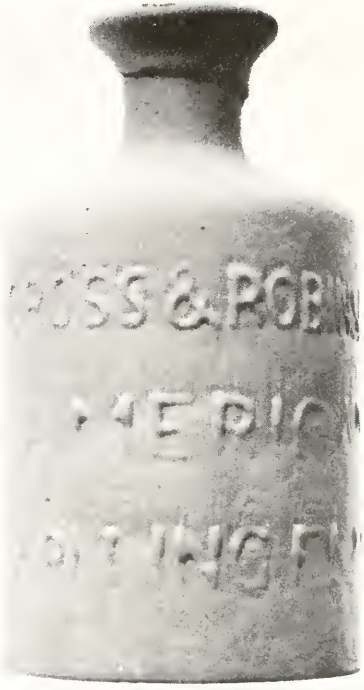


Figure 5b.
Glass writing
fluid bottle.

Figure 5c.
Glass medicine
bottle.

Figure 5d.
Ceramic
pipe bowl.

NOTES

This article was adapted from a paper presented at the Midwest Archeological Conference, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 13, 1979.

[1] Lorene Martin, "Old Jubilee College and its Founder, Bishop Chase," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Publication No. 41 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1934), pp. 133-46.

[2] Bishop Philander Chase, *Journals of the Protestant Episcopal Church Diocese of Illinois 1835-1856*, Report of the Bishop, June 1841. Available at the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. "Jubilee College Board of Trustees Minutes," November 1901 and August 1902. Originals held by the Episcopal Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas. Copies available from the Reverend Dibbert, Chicago Historiographer for the Illinois Episcopal Diocese.

[3] Samuel Chase and Bishop Philander Chase, "An Account of the Landed Estate, Houses, and Other Property of Jubilee College," April 1842. Available from the Citizen's Committee to Preserve Jubilee College Collection, Accession No. 74.2/3. Bishop Philander Chase, *Journals of the Protestant Episcopal Church Diocese of Illinois 1835-1856*, Report of the Bishop, June 1841.

[4] Henry Lionel Williams and Ottalie K. Williams, *Old American Houses and How to Restore Them* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1946), pp. 52-53.

[5] "Jubilee College Board of Trustees Minutes," November 1901 and August 1902.

[6] Ralph Kovel and Terry Kovel, *Know Your Antiques* (New York: Crown, 1973), pp. 27-29.

[7] Don Raycraft and Carol Raycraft, *American Country Pottery* (Des Moines, Iowa: Wallace-Homestead, 1975), pages opposite Plates 8 and 9.

[8] A pontil mark resulted from the attachment of a metal pontil rod to the bottle base so that the bottle could be held securely while the neck and lip were finished. When the rod was removed, the diagnostic "scar" remained on the base. William C. Ketchum, Jr., *A Treasury of American Bottles* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), p. 34.

[9] Richard V. Humphrey, "Clay Pipes From Old Sacramento," *Historical Archaeology*, 3 (1969), 26-30. Ivor Noel Hume, "Tobacco Pipes and Smoking Equipment," in *Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 307. Rex L. Wilson, *Clay Tobacco Pipes From Fort Laramie National Historic Site and Related Locations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Division of Archeology and Anthropology, 1971), pp. 17-18.

THREE ANTISLAVERY LEADERS OF BUREAU COUNTY

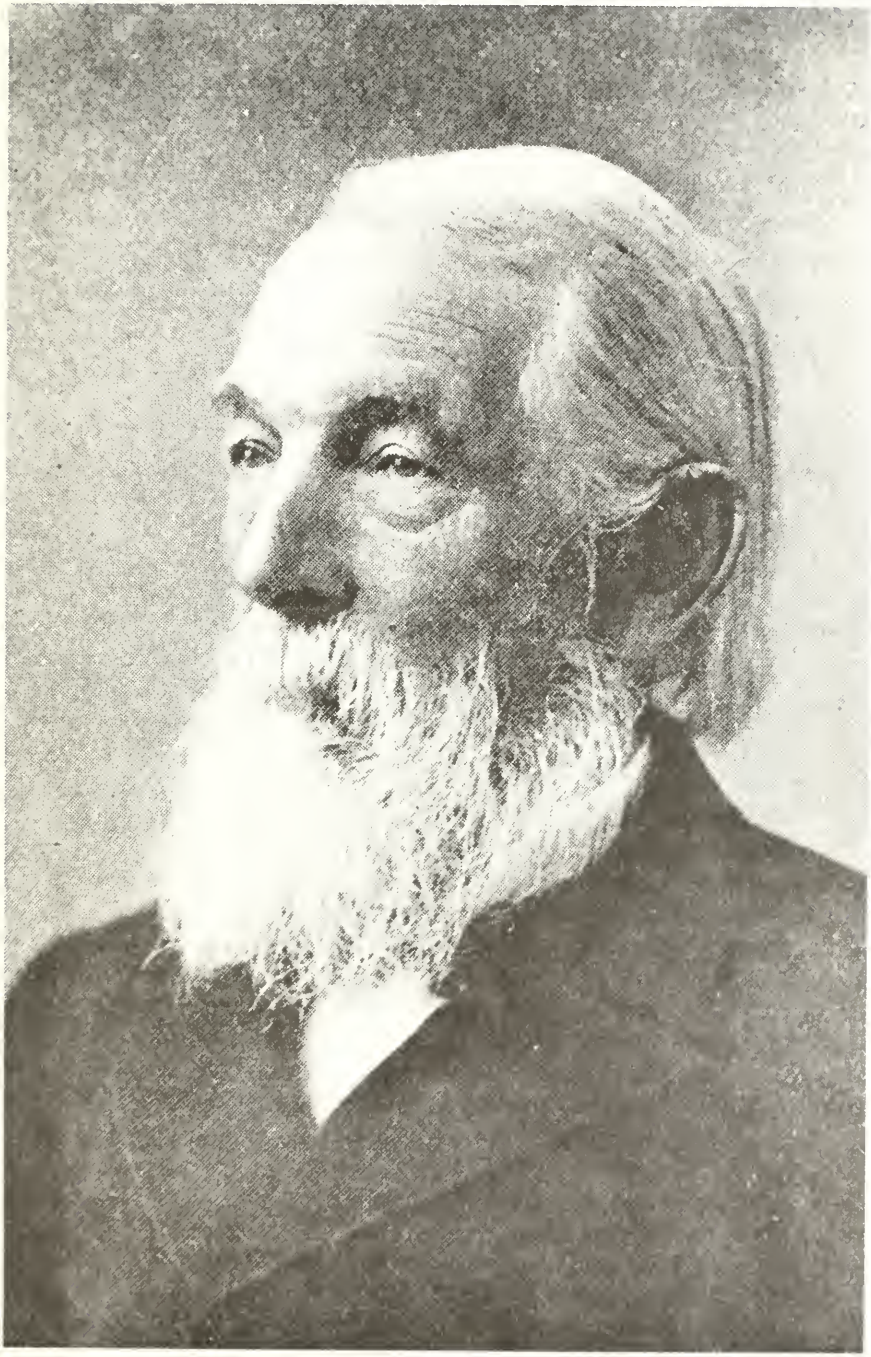
Karen Berfield

Owen Lovejoy is a familiar name to students of Illinois history, but few people know much about the antislavery activities of this abolitionist leader, especially as they relate to Bureau County, where he lived for most of his life. Even less well known is the fact that Lovejoy was not the only man from his county who was a leader in the struggle to free the slaves. John Howard Bryant was very active in antislavery activities, and his nephew, Julian Bryant, was a noted military commander, who led Negro soldiers in the Civil War. Through these men, the county made a remarkable contribution to the antislavery cause.

One of the most influential families in pre-Civil War Bureau County was the Bryant family. Dr. Peter Bryant, a physician and state senator in Massachusetts, taught his five sons to believe in "the universal brotherhood of man," and in his home he hired both black and white servants and treated them alike. Hence, a dislike for slavery became prominent in the political stands of both William Cullen and John Howard, the most well-known Bryant sons. The former was the only son who never lived in Bureau County. The others—Austin, Arthur, and Cyrus, as well as John Howard—moved there well before the Civil War.[1]

The most prominent of these was the youngest, John Howard Bryant, who came to the Princeton area in 1831 and built a cabin on the land where, years later, his elegant mansion would stand. He was one of those responsible for the formation of Bureau County, and over the years, he held a number of local offices. In 1842 and 1843, he was elected to the legislature for Bureau, Stark, and Peoria counties. Four years afterward, he became one of the editors of the first newspaper to be issued in Bureau County, the *Bureau County Advocate*, an antislavery publication.

During the pre-Civil War years, Bryant worked with the Underground Railroad, thus assisting a number of slaves in their struggles to achieve freedom. Nor did his efforts diminish because of the legislation of 1850, which gave the South a more effective



Courtesy of the Bureau County Historical Society.

John Howard Bryant.

fugitive slave law. In 1854, for example, he had as many as fifteen runaway slaves in his home at one time. Frequently, he was involved in episodes for which Owen Lovejoy is now fully credited.

Bryant was also instrumental in organizing the Republican Party in Bureau County. On July 4, 1854, an antislavery celebration was held in his yard for that purpose, and in the next election, the county voted Republican and elected Owen Lovejoy to the state legislature. In 1856, Bryant (along with Lovejoy) was a delegate to the Republican convention in Pittsburgh, and in 1860 he was a delegate to the party's convention in Chicago, which nominated Lincoln for President.

When the Civil War began, Bryant contributed time and money toward raising and equipping the Union armies. His efforts took him to Springfield and Washington. In addition, he spoke frequently for the purpose of encouraging appropriations to pay the military bounties and other expenses of the war.[2]

Although not as famous as his older brother, Bryant was also a poet, and his antislavery sentiment was occasionally expressed in his lyrics. For example, the opening stanzas of "A Tribute to the Memory of the Late Honorable Owen Lovejoy," written shortly after his friend's death in 1862, express his admiration for that famous abolitionist:

> Oh! Tis easy to stand for truth and for right
> When pride and oppression are yielding to might;
> Tis easy for freedom and justice to toil
> When the chain of the bondsman is ready to fall.
>
> But oh! when the night is all starless and cold,
> When a stone o'er the grave of sad freedom is rolled,
> Then true is the spirit and noble and brave
> That fearlessly toils on behalf of the slave.[3]

And in "Welcome to the Returned Veterans" and "Welcome to the Returned Soldiers, 1865" he celebrates the victory of Union soldiers, with special reference to those from Bureau County—as the opening stanzas of the former poem indicate:

> Welcome home our gallant brothers,
> Welcome home ye brave and true;
> Rebel hordes had trod these prairies
> But for you and such as you.
>
> Bureau boys at bloody Shiloh,
> Pea Ridge, Gibson, Donelson,
> Corinth, Vicksburg, Raymond, Jackson,
> Fought the rebel foe and won.[4]

Courtesy of the Bureau County Historical Society.

John Howard Bryant's home in Princeton.

One of Bryant's finest lyrics is a sonnet entitled "Death of Lincoln," in which he praises the martyred president as the Great Emancipator:

"Make way for liberty," cried Winkelried,
And gathered to his breast the Austrian spears.
Fired with fresh valor at the glorious deed,
O'er the dead hero rushed those mountaineers
To victory and freedom. Even so
Our dear, good Lincoln fell in freedom's cause.
And while our hearts are pierced with keenest woe,
Lo, the black night of slavery withdraws,
And liberty's bright dawn breaks o'er the land:
Four million bondsmen, held in helpless thrall,
Loosed by his word, in nature's manhood stand,
And the sweet sun of peace shines over all.
The blood that stained the martyr's simple robe
Woke the deep sympathies of half the globe.[5]

Perhaps John Drury, in his history entitled *Bureau County, Illinois,* was thinking of this poem when he compared Bryant to Lincoln. Both men certainly had the same desire to free the slaves. Drury also mentioned that Bryant "was probably the most useful citizen in his community," which might also have been said about young Lincoln at New Salem.[6]

Julian Bryant, the nephew of John Howard Bryant and son of Arthur Bryant, was born in 1836 in Princeton. It was only natural that the abolitionist sympathies of his father and his uncle should be instilled in him during his early years. Also, by the time he was born, his famous uncle, William Cullen, was editor of the New York *Evening Post*, and the latter was also speaking out against slavery.

In his early twenties, Julian Bryant was primarily interested in drawing, and so, in 1859, he became an art instructor at the Normal School in Bloomington.[7] When the Civil War began shortly afterward, he returned to Princeton and initiated a recruiting station for a teachers' brigade. It became Company E of the 33rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, popularly called "the brain regiment," and was composed of both students and teachers from all over the state. Bryant was elected lieutenant of the company.

Bryant's regiment was immediately moved to Missouri, and it was there that he was directly involved in action that was apparently the first time during the war that slaves were liberated and armed. The federal command had learned that Higginbotham Plantation was being used as a rendezvous for recruits who were entering the army of Confederate General Sterling Price. Being assigned to spy on these operations, Bryant and a friend posed as southern

Courtesy of the Bureau County Historical Society.

Julian Bryant.

sympathizers and were admitted as Confederate recruits. That night, the Union forces captured the plantation and armed some twenty blacks, who then marched their owners to the 33rd Regiment's camp. As a result of this episode, Bryant began considering the possibility of using blacks as soldiers, although official sanction was not given to this practice until November, 1862.

In the early days of his Civil War activity, Bryant produced a graphic record of the Missouri-Arkansas region through which he marched. He had a special talent for quick pen-and-ink drawings, and so he drew many sketches of camp life, fortifications, marching troops, Union gunboats and river transports, flood refugees, and backwoods natives. These drawings are now preserved by the Bureau County Historical Society. After the Battle of Vicksburg, his increased command responsibilities forced him to discontinue his sketching.

In 1863 Bryant was appointed major of the newly organized 1st Regiment, Mississippi Infantry African Descent, which was later designated the 51st United States Colored Infantry. Only superior white officers were chosen for this assignment since it was a formidable task to train slaves who had just been freed. Many people doubted that such blacks were capable of achieving military effectiveness, even with the best of leadership.

Bryant's first assignment was to lead his regiment in the Battle of Millikin's Bend. Here, the policy of using blacks was tested. Located just above Vicksburg on the Mississippi River, the garrison was weak. It consisted of the 23rd Iowa Volunteer Infantry and the African Brigade, the latter being composed of the 9th Louisiana, the 11th Louisiana, and the 1st Mississippi Negro regiments. The total number of Union defenders was approximately 1,000 men (160 whites and 910 blacks). The Confederates, on the other hand, had 1,500 well-trained troops. According to Donald M. Murray, author of "Colonel Julian E. Bryant: Champion of the Negro Soldier," Bryant was "conspicuous for his gallantry and energy in rallying and leading the troops after they had been driven to the brink of the river."[8] The black soldiers had been handed their weapons shortly before the battle, and so they knew little about them. However, they were determined fighters who were not afraid of the hand-to-hand combat that ensued. The best tribute to their bravery was a testimonial by Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana, who happened to be in the area at the time for the purpose of reporting on the Vicksburg campaign: "The Engagement at Millikin's Bend became famous from the conduct of the colored troops. General E. S. Dennis, who saw the battle, told me that it was the hardest

Courtesy of the Bureau County Historical Society.

Civil War Sketches by Julian Bryant.

fought battle he had ever seen. It was fought mainly hand-to-hand. 'It is impossible,' said General Dennis, 'for men to show greater gallantry than the Negro troops in that fight.' "[9]

Early in 1864, Bryant organized a new black regiment, the 46th United States Colored Infantry. Before assuming command, however, his concern about the treatment of these men led him to write the following letter to his uncle, William Cullen Bryant, on January 22, 1864:

> Dear Uncle:
>
> A short time ago you published in your paper a statement concerning the treatment received by colored troops at Charleston. The same state of affairs exists here, that is there complained of. For the past three months the colored regiments have been constantly at work upon the fortifications, doing common labour's duties at the landings, loading and unloading boats and barges, while white regiments are lying idle in camp, or are occupied only in soldierly duties.
>
> It is true that these duties must necessarily be performed, but if the colored troops are recognized as United States soldiers, it is not only an injustice but a violation of military regulations to show such partiality in assigning them to duty.
>
> I make these statements hoping that you may see fit to give this subject a ventilation. Of course, it is not my place to criticize the actions of my superiors, but if this matter were brought before the public, I think that it might influence the action of some of our officers, who have an eye to their own future political prosperity.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> Julian E. Bryant
> Lieut. Col. 1st Miss. Vol. Infty.[10]

After receiving this letter, the famous poet-editor wrote a very heated editorial in the *Evening Post* on the mistreatment of black soldiers. None of his earlier editorials had criticized the government as strongly as that one, published on February 19, 1864. As a result, General Thomas called for a more careful selection of officers for the black regiments. A second event that was influenced by the editorial occurred on June 15 of that year, when Congress passed an act which authorized black soldiers to receive the same uniforms, arms, equipment, rations, medical assistance, and pay as white soldiers.

In September, Julian Bryant was appointed colonel of the 46th United States Colored Infantry. In February of 1865, the regiment was sent to New Orleans and then on to Clarksville, Texas on the Rio Grande River. At Brazos Santiago, Texas, on May 14—just three days after he had arrived at his new post—Bryant was drowned

while bathing in the Gulf of Mexico.[11] Thus ended the brief but active career of a soldier whose military accomplishments were an outgrowth of his concern for blacks, as both enslaved workers and free soldiers.

Of course, the most famous antislavery leader from Bureau County was Owen Lovejoy, the younger brother of abolitionist martyr Elijah Lovejoy, who was murdered at Alton in 1837. After that event, Owen moved to Jacksonville, where he was ordained an Episcopal minister. When he applied for a parish position, the bishop offered to secure him an assignment only if he would not preach the antislavery doctrine. His answer was that he would not have his right of free speech infringed upon, even by the church, and so he promptly offered himself to the Congregational Church, which was noted for its liberal tendencies.

Hearing of two vacancies, one at Rock Island, and the other at Princeton, he decided to take the latter. Arriving in Princeton, and exhibiting his usual antislavery beliefs, he was soon warned by a local group that if he was ever seen on Main Street, he would be mobbed.[12] Unconcerned, perhaps even stimulated, Lovejoy became the permanent minister of the Hampshire Congregational Church at Princeton.

At this time, the town was a very religious community, but there had been little attempt to organize the populace against slavery. Because the two hundred residents were mostly from New England, Princeton was a fertile field for the growth of antislavery sentiment. In fact, certain individuals had already expressed that point of view, including Eli and Elijah Smith and Cyrus, Arthur, and John Howard Bryant. However, they were in the minority, for most people had thought little about slavery and did not want to get involved in the controversy. Hence, it was something of a jolt when the new Congregational minister began to preach that slavery was cruel and unjustified and that a slave-catcher was the worst of criminals.[13] But, as Matson says in *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, Princeton soon became famous for its abolitionist activity:

> From that time Princeton became a place of note; although containing but few inhabitants, and having but little commercial relation with other parts of the world, it was nevertheless the head center of abolitionism for the West. Newspapers of that day reported state conventions held here and great speeches made in favor of immediate emancipation, so that Princeton was known in abolitionist circles throughout the Union. Even slaves of the South heard of it, and many of them came to see it, which caused Colonel Barksdale, in a speech in Congress, to denounce Princeton as one of the greatest Negro stealing places in the West.[14]

Courtesy of the Bureau County Historical Society.

Owen Lovejoy.

Lovejoy married Eunice Starrs Dunham, a widow, whose former husband had built the house in which the Lovejoys and their nine children would live, and which came to be known as "The Owen Lovejoy Estate." Built on 1300 acres, mostly out of black walnut timber, the fifteen-room house hid many Negroes, who were on their way to Ottawa. Among the secret closets was a particularly spacious one on the first floor, where slaves could be kept for long periods of time in comparative comfort.[15]

In 1848, when Benjamin Lundy came to northern Illinois, he wanted to "fill the gap" left vacant by the collapse of the Alton *Observer*. With the help of Owen Lovejoy, he printed the last issues of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* just a few miles from Princeton. After Lundy died, the new *Genius of Liberty* was established, continuing the same principles as its predecessor. In turn, it later became the *Western Citizen*, which was published until slavery was abolished. At the same time, Lovejoy was instigating the organization of antislavery societies all over northern Illinois.[16]

In 1843 Lovejoy's antislavery sympathies were widely publicized when he was indicted for keeping a black woman called Agnes in his home. The purpose of this indictment was to bring him before the public as a lawbreaker. Since he had been in Princeton less than five years, it was hoped by his opponents that the episode would diminish his influence among the townspeople. The plan did not succeed.[17]

Next he was charged on a count involving a slave named Nancy, and that case came to trial on October 7, 1843. Lasting nearly a week, the proceeding pitted Lovejoy and his counsel, named Collins, against States Attorney Fridley. When Fridley became aware of the radical nature of Lovejoy's accusers, and developed an appreciation for the noble stand which the latter held, he answered the demands for imprisonment with the following retort: "Prison! Lovejoy to prison! Your prosecution will be a damned sight more likely to send him to Congress."[18] Perhaps the trial contributed to that end, although Lovejoy was not elected to Congress until the next decade.

It was established during the trial that the Denham home had been a shelter for escaped slaves, even before Lovejoy married Eunice Denham. However, the prosecution lost the case primarily because of an accidental disclosure on the part of Nancy's former owner, who stated that he had been taking the slave girl from Kentucky to Missouri through Illinois. He did not realize that if he brought a slave into a free state, the slave became free, according to law.[19]

Lovejoy also objected strenuously to a criminal code which considered certain acts illegal when committed against a white man

but legal when committed against a black. One case in Princeton clearly illustrates this point of view. A well-dressed black man on a fine horse sought out Lovejoy one morning, explaining to him that he had spent the night in town, and when he had given his landlord a ten-dollar bill for a seventy-five-cent charge, the man would not give him the change. Lovejoy helped the wronged man bring his case to court, but when it became apparent that the case would be a mockery of justice, Lovejoy advised the black man to leave Princeton. A man named Davis attempted to detain him, but with Lovejoy's help, the black man escaped. Davis later brought charges against Lovejoy, stating that the latter had "interferred with justice." The famous abolitionist was fined fifty dollars, but he later had the decision reversed on appeal to the Circuit Court.[20]

Lovejoy's next publicized court case occurred in September of 1849, and it involved efforts to recapture and return a black named John, who had taken up residence in Princeton several months before. An eye witness indicated that John was seized while mowing grass, that his arms were tied behind him, and that he was put into a wagon. The two men who had seized him then stopped at a store for food, leaving John tied to a hitching post. Lovejoy, who was then an attorney, immediately swore out a warrant for the arrest of the slave-catchers, who were charged with kidnapping.

At the trial which followed, bedlam was inevitable because of the clash of feelings on such matters among the local people. At the height of the trial, John was hustled out the door. Obeying Lovejoy's orders, he began to run down the street, and after him came Lovejoy, hatless and out of breath, crying, "Run, John." As the latter ran, someone tripped him, but he managed to pick himself up and get to Peru Street, where he was rescued by Lovejoy's hired man. When the hostile crowd arrived at the Lovejoy home, the famous abolitionist stood inside the gate, allowing none to enter. There are at least two versions of what happened next. One account indicates that the crowd was lured away by someone dressed like John, and then the former slave made his escape. Another story contends that a black woman came outside frequently, and when she (really John) finally left in a wagon, no one reacted. On the following Sunday, Lovejoy's sermon strongly reprimanded those who had shown no kindness to John.[21]

On another occasion, Lovejoy kept a runaway slave and his wife and four children over night, sending them on to Ottawa the next morning, which resulted in an indictment being brought against him. This time the prosecution felt sure of conviction because they knew that John Porterfield, who worked for Lovejoy, had taken the black family to LaMoille, and they intended to put him on the stand. However, they did not know that John Porterfield had a twin, James

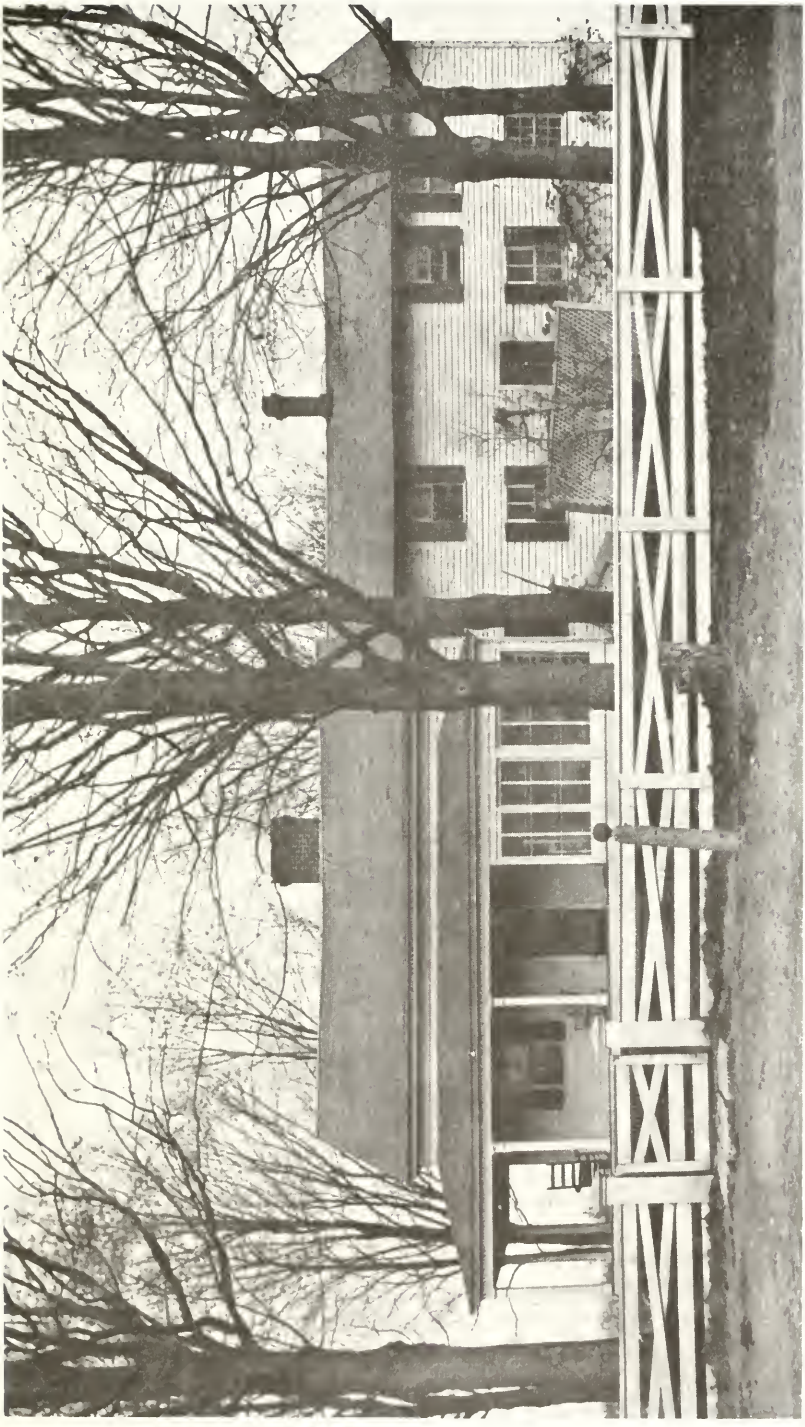


Photo by Bill Lamb.

Owen Lovejoy's home.

Porterfield, who worked in the nearby town of Dover. Because Lovejoy could not ask John to lie on the witness stand, he secretly brought James to the court room to testify instead. Asked his name, he replied, "J. Porterfield." He was then asked if, on the specified day, he had seen the Negro family in question at Lovejoy's house. His truthful answer was, "No, sir." When asked if he had taken them to LaMoille, he replied that he knew nothing about it. The prosecution could not prove its case, and Lovejoy was discharged.[22]

In 1854, Lovejoy was elected to the Illinois Legislature, and two years later, he was elected to Congress. He remained in Congress from the day of his first election until the day he died, March 25, 1864, in Brooklyn, New York.[23] During that time, his fame as an antislavery orator increased steadily.

Lovejoy's speech at Neponset, located in western Bureau County, on September 26, 1856—shortly before his election to Congress—revolved around four points, which were to be repeatedly emphasized in later speeches. He spoke at some length on the principles of the Republican Party, stressing that "we are trying to advance the equality of all." Secondly, he reminded his audience that their duty to their children was the same as that of their ancestors to them, to keep the northern section of the United States free from slavery. In an attempt to emphasize the negative results of slavery, he gave an account of the outrages in Kansas, saying that in that state no man could be a witness in any suit unless he supported slavery. Finally, Lovejoy swore that if he was victorious in the upcoming congressional elections, he would vote against the "alien laws" which were coming up for consideration. The audience was no less than wildly enthusiastic.[24]

In 1858, when receiving his second nomination to Congress, Lovejoy spoke to the members of his party at Joliet on the subject of slavery. He shouted (which was his most effective method of emphasis) in closing, "But if we cannot speed the ball to the brain and cause instant death, let us aim behind the shoulder where the heart throbs, and, if we may not do that, let us seize a club and give it a blow on its spinal column, so at least as to cripple it."[25] Images of violence are present in other Lovejoy speeches as well, perhaps testifying to his intuition that a violent resolution to the problem was coming.

Another effective speech was related to Lovejoy's assistance of a slave named "Old Mose," whose owner, a Mr. Lombard, had brought him to Illinois, telling him that he would be freed. When Lombard decided that a trip to Mississippi was necessary first, Mose ran away. He spent the night at Lovejoy's home on his way to Chicago.

When Lombard found out, he was furious, and he wrote to Lovejoy, warning him that his unlawful activities would be brought before the House of Representatives—of which Lovejoy was then a member. In that letter, however, Lombard admitted that the black man was free. Furthermore, he claimed that he had just wanted to take Mose to Mississippi for a short visit, and he spoke of his attachment for the former slave. In any case, a short excerpt from Lombard's angry letter was read in Congress, and it referred to "rascally church members and thieving abolitionists."[26]

Lombard turned over his grievances to O. R. Singleton, a member of Congress from Mississippi. The latter was a man who never did anything hurriedly, preferring to catch an enemy off guard. The occasion presented itself when Lovejoy proposed an amendment to a bill which appropriated public money for jail fees of fugitive slaves. When Singleton demanded that Lovejoy return to Lombard the slave he had stolen from him, the former replied that he had never stolen a slave since, in fact, Lombard had never owned one. However, he did admit that he had fed those who came to his door. Singleton answered that Lovejoy did not know the meaning of the word "stealing." "Stealing," replied Lovejoy, "is taking a man and holding him in slavery."[27] Singleton came to his feet, sputtering angrily in his indignation and saying he had no doubt that Lovejoy's ancestors were engaged in stealing Negroes from Africa. Swelling to his full height, Lovejoy drew attention to Singleton's reference to stealing African Negroes and concluded that Singleton and all the slaveholders in the South were "the receivers of stolen goods." He closed his address by shouting a defiant admission of his Underground Railroad activity:

> I do assist fugitive slaves. Proclaim it then upon the housetops; write it upon every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the milder radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God; let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bellow along all the deep gorges of hell, where the slave catchers will be very likely to hear it. Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois; and he aids every slave that comes to his door and asks it. Thou invisible demon of slavery! Dost thou think to cross my humble threshold, and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the houseless? I bid you defiance in the name of my God![28]

Lovejoy's most famous speech in Congress was given on April 5, 1860. He began with his usual condemnation of slavery, and then he stated, "The theory is that if a man is old and weak, strike him—he can't strike back; if he is a child, deceive him."[29] In saying this, he was ridiculing the view that blacks should be enslaved

Photo by Bill Lamb.

Owen Lovejoy's gravestone at Oakland Cemetery, Princeton.

because they were of an inferior race. While not responding directly to the charge of inferiority, he indicated that even if blacks were not equal to whites, there would still be no moral basis for mistreating them, for inferiority is no reason for abuse. Lovejoy's strong words were often emphasized with energetic gestures, his most frequent action being the raising of his clenched fist and shaking it at the slavery supporters.

As the speech continued, members of Congress left their seats, running down the aisle, some calling for order and others denouncing Lovejoy. Congressman Barksdale of Mississippi and other Democrats (Crawford, Dejarnette, Burnett, and Singleton) rushed toward Lovejoy, but Republicans Farnsworth and Potter placed themselves between the southerners and the outspoken abolitionist, and then other supporters formed a circle around him as the chairman tried to restore order. When matters were finally brought under control, Lovejoy continued his condemnation of slavery, shouting to his opponents, "You cannot silence us either by threats or by violence."[30] This clearly reveals the courage and determination of the great abolitionist congressman.

When Lovejoy died in 1864, his body was returned to Princeton by train, accompanied by floral tributes and a governmental committee. The subsequent procession which moved from the Congregational Church to Oakland Cemetery at the west edge of town was the most impressive that Princeton had ever known. Regardless of how controversial he was elsewhere, he was deeply respected and appreciated in Bureau County. And perhaps more importantly, he had made an impact on the one man who could bring about the result to which he had dedicated his life, as is indicated by the letter of condolence that Lincoln sent to the Lovejoy family: "My personal acquaintance with him . . . has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. . . . Throughout my heavy and perplexing responsibilities here, to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say, he was my most generous friend."[31]

Owen Lovejoy alone would have brought recognition to Princeton and Bureau County in the antislavery movement, but the dedicated efforts of John Howard Bryant and Julian Bryant are also noteworthy contributions to that great cause. Of course, these three men had the support of numerous others in the county, but through their distinctive achievements, they emerged as leaders whose influence extended well beyond their home area. Because of them, no Illinois county has a more significant antislavery heritage than Bureau.

NOTES

[1] George B. Harrington, *Past and Present of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1906), p. 174.

[2] H. C. Bradsby, *History of Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago: World Publishing Co., 1885), pp. 158-68.

[3] George Owen Smith, *The Lovejoy Shrine* (Princeton: Tribune Printing Co., 1949), p. 33.

[4] *Life and Poems of John Howard Bryant*, ed. E. R. Brown (Elmwood: [no publisher], 1894), p. 127.

[5] *Life and Poems*, p. 160. For a discussion of this and other poems by Bryant, see John E. Hallwas, "The Poetry of John Howard Bryant," *MidAmerica VII* (1980), 27-39.

[6] John Drury, *Bureau County, Illinois* (Chicago: The Loree Company, 1955), p. 9.

[7] Donald W. Murray, "Colonel Julian E. Bryant: Champion of the Negro Soldier," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 63 (1963), 257. See also "Sketch of the 52nd Illinois Volunteers" (paper on file in the Princeton Museum).

[8] Murray, p. 270.

[9] Murray, pp. 270-71.

[10] As quoted in Murray, pp. 276-77.

[11] Murray, pp. 278-80.

[12] G. Smith, p. 9; Isaac B. Smith, *Sketches and Statistics of Princeton* (Princeton: Isaac B. Smith, 1857), p. 41, and Edward Magdol, *Owen Lovejoy: Abolitionist in Congress* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 35-36. Magdol's book is the only extensive study of Lovejoy.

[13] G. Smith, pp. 9-12; Bradsby, pp. 336-37.

[14] N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton: Republican Book and Job Office, 1872), p. 364.

[15] G. Smith, p. 24. See also Marcia Mall, "Princeton's Famous Preacher," *Illinois History*, 14 (1960), p. 61.

[16] Lundy Memorial Committee of the John Swaney School Alumni and Society of Friends, *Memorial to Benjamin Lundy, Pioneer Quaker Abolitionist, 1789-1839* (Princeton: Lundy Memorial Committee, 1939). See also Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949), p. 149.

[17] Bradsby, pp. 332-33; G. Smith, p. 17.

[18] Bradsby, pp. 333-34.

[19] Bradsby, pp. 333-34; G. Smith, p. 20.

[20] Bradsby, pp. 337-38; Bureau County Court Record, vol. I, pp. 399, 407, and 464.

[21] "S. P. Clark Present When Lovejoy Set Negro Slave Free," *Bureau County Republican*, 8 March 1923, p. 1; Bradsby, p. 338; G. Smith, pp. 20-23. See also the newspaper article collection at the Tiskilwa Library.

[22] "Twins Save Lovejoy," *Bureau County Republican*, 8 Mar. 1923, p. 1.

[23] Bradsby, p. 333.

[24] "Lovejoy in Neponset," *Princeton Post*, 16 Oct. 1856, p. 2.

[25] "Remarks of Mr. Lovejoy on Receiving the Nomination at the Convention Held at Joliet, June 30th," *Bureau County Republican*, 8 July 1858, p. 2.

[26] "Lovejoy, Singleton, Lombard and 'Old Mose,' " *Bureau County Republican*, 17 Feb. 1859, p. 2.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Bradsby, pp. 334-35.

[29] Aver J. Jeffrey, *Antislavery Disunion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 114.

[30] "A Democratic Mob in the House," *Bureau County Republican*, 12 Apr. 1860, p. 1.

[31] As quoted in Magdol, p. 410.

THE MEN'S LITERARY CLUBS OF JACKSONVILLE

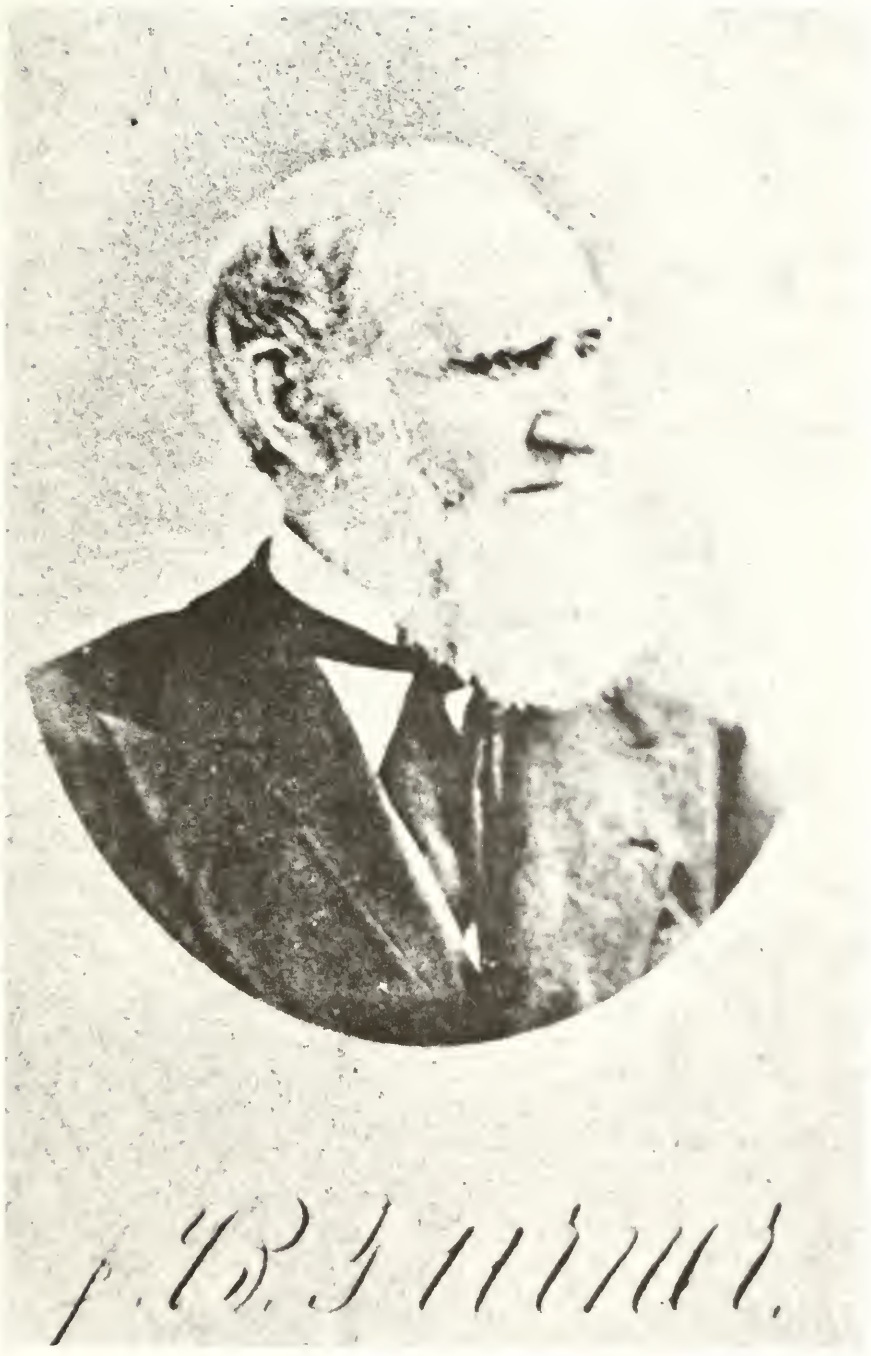
Walter B. Hendrickson and John N. Langfitt

In Jacksonville, Illinois, there are two men's literary societies. Others exist in the United States, but they are not numerous, and so little is known about them and there is such slight communication between them that many of these organizations suspect they are unique. Men's literary societies represent a significant social and intellectual movement in the United States, and each is of importance in its own community.

The societies in Jacksonville are The Club, founded in 1861, and The Jacksonville Literary Union, founded in 1864. Although these are not, and never have been, strictly concerned with "literary" matters, they are groups of about twenty men who meet twice a month, except in the summer, to discuss political, social, economic, educational and other current topics. The membership is made up of businessmen, college professors, school teachers, clergymen, lawyers, and doctors who represent the intellectual elements of the town.

The Club and the Union carry on their affairs in much the same manner: at each meeting an appointed reader presents a paper, and each man in turn comments on it and often also comments on the remarks of those who precede him. The choice of a subject is left to the reader, but in the early years, the subjects were sometimes assigned. The members only discuss and comment on the subject of the evening, and no stand is taken by the group as a whole on any matter. However, there have been notable exceptions, as when Jonathan Baldwin Turner of The Club, in 1867, persuaded his fellows to adopt a resolution urging the people of Jacksonville to work to bring the proposed land grant university to the city. (The Club's action was ineffective, because the University of Illinois was established in Urbana.) Another instance occurred when the Literary Union, following its original constitution, proposed the establishment of a public library, but nothing came of it.

Because the Jacksonville literary clubs are private, as are most of the others which the authors know about, the general public is



Courtesy of Illinois College Library.

Jonathan Baldwin Turner, early member of The Club.

not conscious of their existence, although occasionally in the 1870's the secretary of the Literary Union published condensed minutes in the local newspaper. Although the names of members were never given, the Union later passed a resolution forbidding the secretary to make public the proceedings. Also, the 25th, 50th, and 100th anniversaries were publicly noticed, and brief mention of the societies is found in local histories. It is probable that the private nature of the Jacksonville clubs is common to other similar organizations. But both The Club and the Union have distinguished histories, and since their minutes are conscientiously preserved, they constitute a unique historical record of the thinking of educated professional and business men on all kinds of topics that are of public concern.[1]

Many historians have remarked upon the tendency of men in Western society to draw together in groups to achieve some social purpose, and considering the rapidity with which voluntary groups of all kinds have spread across the United States, it would be remarkable if there were not organizations similar to the literary clubs of Jacksonville in other places. We all know that since the eighteenth century there has been a continuous effort on the part of the men of Western civilization to educate and inform themselves about all manner of subjects, not only through formal educational institutions, but through mutual self-help organizations. Two well-known examples are the club of literary lights that revolved around Samuel Johnson in London in the 1780's, and the Junto Club founded by Benjamin Franklin as a medium through which the members pursued their mutual education and improvement. Eventually, out of the Junto arose the American Philosophical Society, to which many of the intellectuals of both Philadelphia and the nation belonged.

Other roots of the literary societies were in the many debating societies, library societies, and early lyceums, founded in the cities and town of the United States.[2] In the case of the Jacksonville clubs, since many of the members were college graduates, there was an influence from the student literary societies of Illinois College in Jacksonville at the time that the clubs were organized—Sigma Pi and Phi Alpha. In such societies the purpose was mutual self-improvement as well as companionship, and at their meetings were debates and discussions on many subjects.[3]

More specialized than the Junto were the numerous scientific academies and natural history societies founded in American and European communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[4] Also, the Workingmen's Institutes fostered in the United States by William Maclure had elements of self-help.[5]

Among the several organizations similar to The Club and the Literary Union that have come to the attention of the authors are the Saturday Club of Concord, Massachusetts (1855-1956), the Social Circle, founded in 1791 and still meeting, and the Concord School of Philosophy (1879-1884), revived in 1977 (the latter two had both men and women as members). Concord, so long associated with American writers, had other clubs also.[6] Jacksonville itself had a flourishing Plato Club (1880-1900), led by Hiram K. Jones, M.D., a member of the Literary Union, in which both sexes were members.[7] There was also the Roundtable, a club for young men, that existed in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[8]

A national organization, the Torch Club, founded in the 1920's, has chapters in several cities, including Youngstown, Ohio[9] and Schenectady, New York.[10] Among local clubs are the QC (Quarter-Century) of Indianola, Iowa[11] and the Ouiatenon of Crawfordsville, Indiana. The latter was founded in 1883, and it has fifty-five active and a number of honorary and associate members. Its programs are given by volunteers, and a single discussant is named; other discussion is voluntary.[12] Also, Macomb, Illinois has The Macomb Philosophy Club, which was founded in 1926 with the encouragement of Western Illinois University's president at that time, Walter P. Morgan.

In Montpelier, Vermont, is The Club, and at St. Albans, Vermont, is the Owls Club, the latter of a "convivial nature until recently, when it has become of more serious purpose."[13] Hopkinsville, Kentucky, is the home of the Atheneum, with forty members, which meets monthly and hears two papers at each session. Discussion is voluntary.[14] On many college campuses there were, and are, faculty discussion groups such as that at Indiana University at Bloomington in the 1940's, which admitted only one person from each department. In Washington, D. C. were the Cosmos Club, composed entirely of men and still going, and the Literary Society of Washington, which included both men and women and is now defunct. That city has seen many clubs, often scientific or professional in nature.[15] The Jacksonville Literary Union had a satellite at Redlands, California, which was founded in 1895, and was called the Fortnightly Club. Whether it is still in existence is not known.

The authors have discovered the above organizations by writing to libraries in likely towns and by conversations and correspondence with friends. Negative replies were received from Hamilton, New York, Boston, Massachusetts, Syracuse, New York, and Ann Arbor, Michigan. The following towns in Illinois were also written to, but negative answers were given: Bloomington,

Carlinville, Decatur, Galesburg, Hamilton, Quincy, Rockford, Rock Island, and Springfield. In Chicago there were several societies, the oldest being the Chicago Literary Club, founded in 1875 and still meeting in the late 1970's.[16]

From this limited evidence, we can conclude that the clubs of Jacksonville were alone in central and northwestern Illinois, except for those in Chicago and, after 1926, Macomb. The reason for this we are not able to determine, because the founders of The Club and the Literary Union never said anything about their sense of uniqueness. It is our guess that the matter never entered their heads, and that they thought of themselves as a sort of natural extension of the literary societies at Illinois College, where so many of their members were connected. One other place where there is a link with college literary societies is Oxford, Ohio. When the Miami University literary societies were replaced by fraternities, the names and traditions of those societies were carried on by adult town groups.[17]

We also need to answer the question, "Why have the Jacksonville clubs existed for so long a time?" We think that the answer lies in the intellectual and educational life of the community. Jacksonville was, and is, an educational center, with Illinois College, MacMurray College, and state institutions for the blind, the deaf, and the developmentally handicapped being there. Also, Jacksonville, being the seat of a rich agricultural county, attracted many lawyers, and it has been a medical center for many years, ever since the first medical college in Illinois was founded by Illinois College before the Civil War. (The school lasted but a short time, but the doctors continued to be an important element in the community.) We have also pointed out above that Jacksonville, before the Civil War, had debating societies, lyceums, and other group activities that influenced the culture of the town. This matter is given full discussion in Don Harrison Doyle's *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870*.[18] Another factor is the pride that the city takes in its history. It had one of the early historical societies in the state, and its Old Settler organization held annual picnics that were well attended. There are many fine nineteenth-century mansions still preserved and lived in, and there is deep respect for tradition. Other communities have similar conditions, and yet there are no men's literary clubs, but we think that the particular mix in Jacksonville provided for the nurture of The Club and the Literary Union.

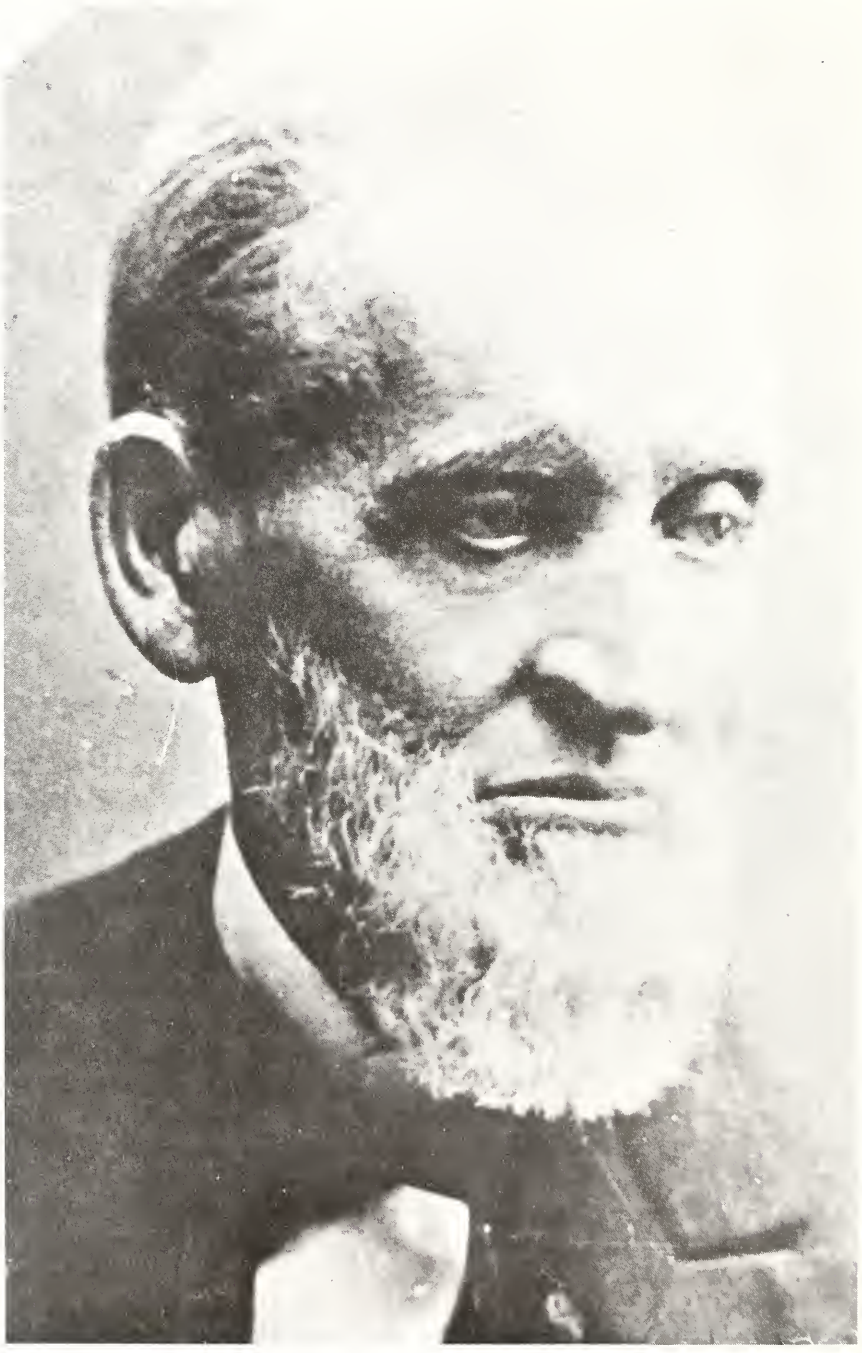
The following brief histories of The Club and the Literary Union are adapted from duplicate copies of manuscripts that were deposited in a Time Capsule in Jacksonville in 1975, the year of the

city's sesquicentennial, and not to be opened until 2025. Dr. Hendrickson is Professor Emeritus of History at MacMurray College and a member of The Club since 1943. Dr. Langfitt is Professor of Religion and Chaplain of Illinois College, and was the secretary of the Literary Union in 1975. The sources are the minutes of the respective organizations.[19]

The Club, 1861-1980

The first meeting of The Club was held on September 12, 1861. The first secretary, Elizur Wolcott, a man of independent means who was interested in intellectual pursuits, recorded the initial meeting thus: "A number of gentlemen met at the residence of W. D. Sanders, Professor of Rhetoric and Composition at Illinois College, for the purpose of forming a club." President Julian M. Sturtevant of Illinois College, who was also Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Mathematics, was the chairman, and the sixteen men who were present were looked upon as the charter members.[20] In addition to Sturtevant, Sanders, and Wolcott, they were: Samuel Adams, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History at Illinois College; R. C. Crampton, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Illinois College; William C. Gallaher, Minister of the Presbyterian Church at Pisgah, Illinois; D. E. Hamilton, Minister of Westminster Presbyterian Church; C. M. Marshall, occupation unknown; Henry K. Jones, M.D., Professor of Obstetrics at Illinois College; David A. Smith, lawyer; M. F. Ayres, businessman and banker; Rufus Nutting, Professor of Latin and Greek at Illinois College; E. P. Kirby, lawyer and later county judge; Jonathan B. Turner, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at Illinois college, also educator and horticulturist; and W. S. Russell, Minister of the Disciples of Christ Church.

A few of these initial members were particularly notable men. President Sturtevant was a leading member of the community, having been one of the Yale Band that founded Illinois College in 1829. During the Civil War he was sent to England by President Lincoln to speak out for United States policies toward the South. Another man whose broad interests transcended local concerns was Jonathan Baldwin Turner, who came to Jacksonville and Illinois College in 1833. He was a proponent of tax-supported schools, an advocate of improved agricultural methods, an early champion of the land grant college idea, and later the president of the Illinois Natural History Society. He retired from teaching at an early date and developed a lively horticultural business, one of the products of which was the osage orange tree hedge that made it possible to fence the prairies. In his later years, he turned to



Courtesy of Illinois College Library.

Julian Sturtevant, early member of The Club.

philosophy and religion and often delivered long papers to The Club on those subjects. Professor William Sanders was also an important community leader. In the 1870's he founded a prosperous girls' school in Jacksonville that was entitled The Athenaeum.

At the first meeting of The Club, David E. Hamilton presented a constitution which had been prepared for the occasion. It said that the purpose of The Club was "mutual entertainment and instruction of the members by conversation and discussion." Why "The Club" (always capitalized) was chosen as the organization's title is not known. An examination of the original constitution indicates that possibly the place for the name was left blank and later filled in as "The Club," perhaps because no one proposed a more precise name. And from that day forward, members have had to explain that The Club *is* the name of the organization.

Membership was by nomination, and voting was by secret ballot. Then, as now, a unanimous affirmative vote was necessary for admittance. Meetings were held every two weeks for many years, even in the summer time, until 1896, when it was agreed that The Club year would begin with the second Monday in October, and would continue until the second Monday in May. This practice is still followed.

There were no officers other than the secretary, who kept the minutes and collected the dues, which were mainly used to mail notices of meetings, including a postcard to be returned to the host. Dues ranged from twenty-five cents a year, when postcards were a penny, to three dollars in 1980, when postage was twenty cents a member for each meeting. Members frequently discussed the utility of sending notices with return postcards, because they often did not return the cards, but presented them to the host when they came to meeting! In 1976, it was decided, tradition notwithstanding, that only a notice would be sent, and that members would telephone the host if they could not attend.

In the early days the discussion leader was selected at each meeting for the next. By the 1880's the secretary was working out a schedule and arranging in advance for a host and a reader for each meeting of the year. The host presided until 1941, when a president was selected and, with the secretary, planned the year's program. The Rev. C. W. Meeker, who was a member from 1928 to 1943, said that the basis of such officer selection was a long-felt need, but The Club had never taken precipitous action on any matter. The question of having a president was long debated, and discussion on other matters went on for months, even years, before a vote was taken. Another change in organization was not made until 1960, when two secretaries were provided for—one to record the

meetings, and a corresponding secretary and treasurer to send out notices and collect dues.

The 1861 constitution has never been amended, and there are no formal bylaws. From time to time, committees have been named to make recommendations for action, which The Club may accept or not. One frequently discussed matter of policy was that of membership. Although sixteen members were present at the first meeting, and the total membership was placed at twenty in the constitution, sometimes there were no more than six or eight at a meeting. It was early recognized that the success of The Club depended on having an adequate number of members so that various occupations and professions would be represented. At three times in its history this matter was dealt with, and membership committees were set up to encourage recruitment by members. However, the right of any member to propose a man for an existing vacancy has not been limited.

As has been noted, little time was ever spent on organizational matters, and it was only in 1969 that a sort of updated set of bylaws was accepted, which is still in effect in 1980. It defines the obligations of membership and gives a statement of the duties of the officers and creates a new class of associate members to take the place of men who can no longer attend regularly.

During the 1940's and 1950's there were both May and October picnic dinners, many held at the country home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gibson. But such meetings were dropped because they made extra work for the wives. The matter of entertainment of wives was satisfactorily solved in 1954 when the practice of holding an annual joint meeting with the Literary Union began. The Union started it by asking The Club members to be paying guests at a May meeting. The Club reciprocated the next year, and the custom continues. Each organization arranges for the meeting of which it is the host, and secures an outside speaker, usually someone in politics, or who is knowledgeable about history or public affairs. The president of the host club presides and the president of the guest club makes remarks. The secretaries of each club give summaries of the year's meetings, usually with clever remarks. In 1977, the secretary of The Club, Allan Metcalf, Associate Professor of English at MacMurray College, cast his report in the form of a long rhyming poem. The dinner is considered to be one of the highlights of the social season in Jacksonville.

In 1961, The Club observed its one-hundredth anniversary by holding a dinner at the Dunlap Hotel. At that time, the members of Sorosis women's literary society presented The Club with a gavel, which has since been placed in a handsome walnut box, made and

carved by Club members Lawrence Crawford and Howard Corey. The gavel is kept by the current president, and is used at the opening meeting of each year and on ceremonial occasions.

The membership of The Club has always included men who play a leading part in the life of the community. Among the members are usually four or five faculty members each from Illinois College and MacMurray College. They are from all departments, but principally from the science, social science, history, English, and philosophy-religion departments. Among the town members are school teachers, bankers, lawyers, businessmen, and doctors.

Although many men were members of The Club for twenty-five, thirty, or forty years, only two reached their fiftieth year—Judge Edwin P. Kirby, a charter member who had been a fledgling lawyer in 1861, and Victor H. Sheppard, Professor Emeritus of Education at MacMurray College, who entered in 1926 when he was a young teacher of history in the high school.

What is it that makes such faithful and devoted members of The Club? The answer is found in the tribute to Jonathan Baldwin Turner, a member of thirty-eight years standing when he died in 1899. Dr. J. E. Bradley, chairman of a committee to memorialize Turner, wrote:

> Professor Turner was one of the founders and originators of The Club. Its pure intellectual atmosphere and freedom of belief and discussion well illustrated his high cast and independence of thought. He maintained in common with the other founders of this club, that its sole aim should be the improvement and enjoyment of its members, that carefully prepared papers should be presented for its consideration and deemed confidential, for the discovery of truth and, not for publication or any other ulterior purposes. Professor Turner made its meetings, so far as it was in his power, a training not only in intellectual clearness and social courtesy, but also in open mindedness and its hospitality to the truth whatever it might be.

It is impossible here to review the thousand and more papers, book reviews, travel talks, and so on that have been presented to The Club during its 119 years of meetings. These papers were the heart of The Club's life, for little attention was paid to organizational matters, and more often than not, the president announced, after the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, "There being no business, we will turn our attention to the reader for the evening." The papers, for the most part, were related to current events, and so the minutes of the meetings are a reflection of the history of the United States—governmental policies, economic problems, religious controversies, educational matters, agricultural developments, etc. A great many papers came

out of the personal experiences of members in their daily lives, as teachers, businessmen, or professionals. There were also reports of travels to various parts of the nation and the world.

The flavor of the meetings during the early years of The Club is evident from the titles of some of the papers. On September 30, 1861, Sturtevant was the leading speaker on the topic "What Should be the Immediate Policy of the Government with Regard to the Slave Problem?" Other papers during the 1860's were also devoted to problems that arose out of the Civil War. The first of many papers on education was given in 1865: "Common School Education, and What Modification of our Present System is Desirable?" One of the rare literary evenings in The Club's history was on April 24, 1864, when Professor Samuel Adams led a session on poetry. He read two poems by Whittier, and then Turner followed with extracts from Scott's *Marmion*, and Dr. Jones recited Mrs. Hemans' "Treasure of the Days." The discussion centered around the question "What Constituted a True Poet?" At the end, a vote was taken to determine who was the greatest poet (other than Shakespeare), and Byron won with four votes out of the twelve cast.

Meetings of The Club have traditionally been held in the homes of members. In the beginning there was a supper at 6:30, followed by the paper or presentation. Soon, however, meetings were held at 7:30 p.m., to be followed by refreshments at 10:30. After the president, or the host, if the president is absent, calls the meeting to order, the minutes of the previous meeting are read. Throughout its history, with few exceptions, The Club had minutes that were kept by men who wrote with literary distinction, and so it is a pleasure to read them today. As they ended the minutes, secretaries made appreciative remarks about the refreshments served by the hostesses. Secretary Thomas Rogers, an English teacher at MacMurray College, reached the height of this literary from when he said in 1957, "Food came to man tonight, and kept on coming. Rolls and sweet rolls, chocolate and hot chocolate, and other good things beggar description of either their variety or their savoriness. Chaucer would have said, 'Weel weren essed atte beste,' and Mark Twain would have said, 'Its an elegant feed,' and Dr. Johnson would have said, 'It was a dinner to ask a man to.' They would all have been honoring Mrs. Hellerberg." Mrs. Arthyr Hellerberg, a former Home Economics teacher, was the hostess for that evening.

The Club is not an action group, as we have noted, and with a few exceptions, has never tried to reach a consensus on any subject. Each man speaks for himself, and contributes what he can to the enlightenment of his fellows. Even on the most controversial subjects, there is never any attempt to change another man's mind.

The Literary Union, 1864-1980

The Literary Union was organized on April 14, 1864. The minutes report the event as follows: "Complying with the invitation of the Hon. William Brown, a number of gentlemen assembled at his home this evening to consider the propriety and practicability of forming a Literary Association." A committee was appointed to draw up "a simple form of constitution, and William Brown, chairman, L. Glover, William Dodd, and John Loomis were named to the task. At the same time, Brown, in the chair, appointed Glover to present the reasons for the formation of a library in connection with the association, to be followed by a full discussion of the subject."

At the second meeting, on April 21, the constitution was reported and adopted, the object of the Literary Union being "to provide useful knowledge and correct taste among its members, and to devise plans for the good of society." While this object is not incompatible with the formation of a library, there is no mention that Glover ever brought up the subject.

The charter members of the Literary Union were: Rev. L. M. Glover, Pastor of the State Street Presbyterian Church; Professor B. F. Mitchell, Principal of the Jacksonville Female Academy; Clinton (Charles on some lists) Fisher, M.D.; William Brown, Jr., lawyer; Elisha W. Brown, cashier at the William Brown Bank; Hon. William Brown, lawyer, banker, and later judge; Hiram H. Jones, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at Illinois College; John Woods, bank clerk; Professor John Loomis, teacher and principal at the Illinois Institution for the Education of the Blind; Phillip G. Gillett, Superintendent of the Institution for the Education of the Deaf; William Dodd, Professor of Language and Mathematics at Illinois College; Rev. Theodore N. Morrison, Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church; Andrew McFarland, M.D., Superintendent of the Illinois State Asylum for the Insane; and E. R. Elliott, occupation unknown. Morrison, McFarland, and Elliott were considered to be among the charter members by historians of the Literary Union, although their names do not appear among those present at the first meeting. Possibly they were invited but could not be present.

The constitution, adopted on April 21, 1864, provided that the officers were to be the president, vice-president, secretary, and librarian, although the last of these was soon dispensed with. The number of members was set at twenty, and they were to be elected unanimously by written ballot.

There have been few changes in the constitution, the most significant being a revised statement of purpose in a pamphlet

Courtesy of Illinois College Library.

S. M. Glover, early member of the Literary Union.

printed in 1912: "The object of this Union shall be to promote useful knowledge among its own members, and to provide for the free and impartial discussion of literary, scientific, and civic questions." On March 24, 1930, a category of associate membership was established, but it has been irregularly implemented.

The president and vice-president were at first elected to three-month terms, and other officers to one-year terms, but with the reduction of meetings from once a week to the current two a month for eight months, elections now take place in April and all three officers are elected for one-year terms. The secretary was frequently elected for several terms. An earlier historian, Professor Ernest G. Hildner, Jr., wrote, "Dr. H. W. Milligan, a teacher at the School for the Deaf and later Professor of History and English literature at Illinois College, and an amateur scientist with a large curiosity about everything, was perhaps the best secretary the Union ever had. His notes are comprehensive and give in detail the discussion which followed a presentation. . . . In addition, he was ready with a program when the leader assigned for the evening was unable to attend."[21]

As we have noted, the original constitution was amended spasmodically, but in 1971 it was codified so as to include amendments that had been made over the years. At the same time, items that had been unwritten, or were in motions in the minutes, were brought together as "Customs and Usages of the Union"—serving, in effect, as bylaws.

Like The Club, the Literary Union reflected various aspects of American and world culture in the early papers, and this pattern has been followed ever since. For example, "Punishment of Rebel (Confederate) Leaders," "Payment of the National Debt," "The Love of Money, the Prominent Defect in the American Character," and "Ancient and Modern Eloquence" were all subjects for debate in the early years. And after the debate format was dropped, such papers as these were given: "Negro Suffrage," "Origin of the Races," "Cemeteries," "Spriitualism," and "Andrew Johnson and His Administration."

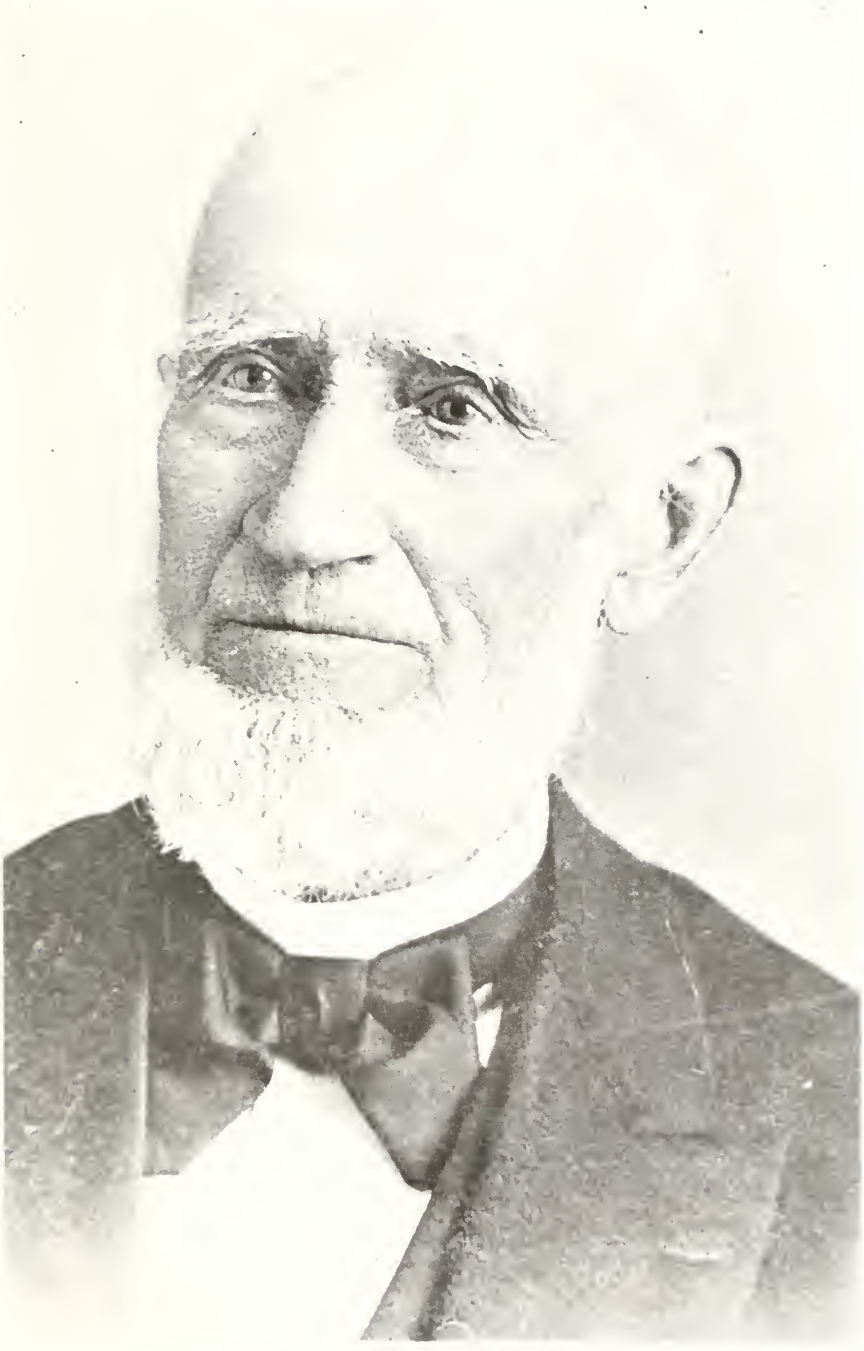
For some time the programs followed one of four formats: conversation, debate, essay, or selected readings. Time and use, however, revealed the defects of a fixed formula, and gradually it evolved that members may choose their own subjects, and their own way of presenting them. Occasionally, and with decreasing frequency, a member is asked to consider a given subject, but the resolve to follow the suggestion rests with the member himself. The manner of presentation seems to vary in relation to the habits and peculiarities of the reader. William W. Wood, a member of the Union for many years, wrote:

> Freedom in choosing a subject, freedom in handling it, and freedom on the part of the members in discussing it have together operated to make interesting and spirited meetings. With science and religion, politics and business never absent, and with doctors and preachers, lawyers and businessmen always present, sharp differences are clearly inevitable, though in fact with an amount of bitterness so slight as to be negligible. . . . The membership of the Union has not been so like-minded as to make the proceedings tame nor so otherwise-minded as to make them turbulent. The rule of give and take has prevailed, but with limitations prompted by toleration and liberty, said to be the essence of liberalism. The observance of both sections of the rule hasn't always been found to be an easy matter, and some have not been equal to having their own asservations questioned or denied, and have gradually withdrawn. In general, new members conform to the unwritten code of which they are soon made aware; and in the matter of new members youth has been no bar to admission or advancement. . . .[22]

From time to time, some members have protested against this passive attitude, and have said that any organization in a community should take a stand on current matters and attempt to do something to change them. On the other hand, throughout its life, Literary Union members were and are individually active in the affairs of the city as businessmen, public office holders, directors of church activities, or as members of public committees. We have no way of knowing whether men have used the ideas gained through Union meetings, but it does seem almost certain that there is such influence. If men did not welcome the "give and take," they would not be such steadfast attendants at Union meetings, as many are. Also, the organization might not have lasted all these years if there were not an opportunity to have informal conversation during the social hour that follows the meeting, in which the host's wife serves refreshments.

For the last forty years, the programs, for the most part, have been in the form of book reviews. These have not been short critiques, but thirty or forty-minute summaries of books, along with comments by the reader. Thus a subject is opened up so that it stimulates comments. When the reader has made his presentation, each member is required to make a five-minute comment on the subject. Then visitors are asked to comment, and finally the leader has a short time for rebuttal, if he wishes. The custom of allowing members to pick topics of interest to themselves has had the effect of widening the horizons of the group.

The routine has at times and places been broken for good cause. As Dr. Carl E. Black wrote, "Often over the objection of some 'hide-bound' member, such as Professor Milligan, who did not allow the Fourth of July, Christmas, New Years or any other



Courtesy of Illinois College Library.

Hiram Jones, early member of the Literary Union.

ephemeral excuse to interfere with constitutional regularity . . . the Union did adjourn occasionally for lectures such as that of Frederick Douglass, or in deference to the Week of Prayer, or the State Sunday School Convention."

Rarely were other events scheduled in Jacksonville on Monday nights when both the Union and The Club held their meetings. Notable exceptions were the visits to the city of the famous lieder singer, Lottie Lehmann, and the leader of the first revolutionary government in Russia, Alexander Kerensky. On some occasions, well-known pubic figures—like William Jennings Bryan, three times the Democratic candidate for President and a graduate of Illinois College, and William Henry Milburn, the noted blind lecturer and Chaplain of the United States Senate, whose family were early Jacksonville settlers—spoke at one of the organizations while visiting the town.

Throughout the history of the Union and The Club there has been a friendly rivalry, which in recent years has been carried on at an annual meeting. This has resulted in a wider acquaintance between the members of each group and broader cultural stimulation for all.

Although length of existence is not the only way to measure the value or appeal of an organization, The Club has lasted for 119 years and the Literary Union for 116. Both societies can claim a certain vitality for having resisted disintegrating influences and remained sane and solvent over the years. Other groups in Jacksonville have had their day and are now simply a part of local history. As organizations which possess open forums and offer worthwhile adult education, The Club and the Literary Union are not unmindful of their past experience or their potential for the future.

NOTES

[1] The minutes of each society are microfilmed and deposited in the Illinois State Historical Library, and the originals are in the care of the Illinois College Librarian.

[2] Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum, Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956) is the authority on the subject.

[3] See Thomas Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to High Education in the United States* (New York: Pageant Press, n. d. [1970?]), pp. 19, 24, 25, 317.

[4] Walter B. Hendricksen, "Science and Culture in the Middle West," *Isis*, 60 (1973), 326-40.

[5] William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 188-89. See also Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 1-27, for a discussion of other self-help societies.

[6] Marcia E. Stone, Reference Librarian, Concord Free Public Library, Concord, Mass., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Nov. 24, 1977.

[7] Paul Russell Anderson, "Hiram K. Jones and Philosophy in Jacksonville," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 23 (1940), 469-520.

[8] William F. Short, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Morgan County*, ed. Paul Selby and Newton Bateman (Chicago: Munsell Publishers, 1896), p. 742.

[9] Alvin W. Skardon, Professor of Urban History, Youngstown, Ohio, to Walter B. Hendrickson, Jan. 5, 1977.

[10] Dorothy C. Neff, Librarian, Reference Department, Schenectady County Library, Schectady, N.Y., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Nov. 23, 1976.

[11] Charles J. Ginter, Public Library, Indianola, Ia., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Oct. 23, 1976.

[12] James E. Ayers, Crawfordsville, Ind., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Oct. 4, 1977.

[13] Seymour Bassett, Archivist, University of Vermont, Montpelier, Vt., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Feb. 24, 1977.

[14] Norman Lazare, Synnymede Farm, Pembroke, Ky., to Walter B. Hendrickson, Apr. 23, 1977.

[15] Kirkpatrick Flack, *Desideratum in Washington: The Intellectual Community in the Capital City, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Schenkan Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 38-40, 82, 83.

[16] Thomas A. Orlando, Curator of Special Collections, Chicago Public Library, to Walter B. Hendrickson, Dec. 11, 1979.

[17] Conversation with Walter E. Havighurst, Professor Emeritus of History at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, May, 1979.

[18] *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1978), pp. 156-93.

[19] See also these two brief histories: Ensley Moore, "The Club," and William D. Wood, "The Literary Union," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 18 (1925), 201-04 and 205-08.

[20] It should be noted that there were no members associated with Illinois Female College, now MacMurray College, because at the time there were no men on the faculty except the president and the head of the music department.

[21] Ernest G. Hildner, "Centennial: The Literary Union," a paper read at the annual meeting of The Club, April 27, 1964.

[22] W. D. Wood, "After Seventy Years," a paper read at the annual meeting of The Club, April, 1934.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Since our last issue we have received several communications which prove that western Illinois is an unmined field of historical and literary material. The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County (Caroline Sexauer, Acquisitions Chairperson) writes that it is presently inventorying its collection of manuscripts and is unable to present a full summary of its holdings. However, the Society does house some Orville H. Browning letters, at least one Lincoln letter, various manuscripts pertaining to local history, letters and diaries of local historical and regional figures, and almost 2,000 volumes containing historical and genealogical information about Quincy and Adams County. The Society is also restoring the home of Governor John Wood, a Greek revival structure built in the early 1800's, and it also retains control over the papers and memorabilia of that early Illinois political leader.

We have also received a rather astounding listing of documents and materials recently catalogued at the First Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, Illinois. There, in its vault, are the session records and minutes dating back to 1827, the various minutes and actions of the trustees of the First Presbyterian, the session minutes and records of the Westminster Church (1860-1952), the session minutes and records of the Annual Congregational Meetings of the State Street Church (1885-1952), and materials relating to the merger of the First Presbyterian and other Jacksonville churches in 1887. Mr. M. F. Stewart of Jacksonville, who sends us this information, also details items ranging from record books to copies of sermons and printed histories of church activities in Morgan County. The list is too long to enumerate specifically, but we should mention the following: a history of the Exiles Church written in 1902; a typewritten history of Westminster Church, 1899; copies of semi-centennial proceedings of First Presbyterian, 1878; and a handwritten document entitled "History of Presbyterianism in Morgan County."

Also included in the information forwarded by Mr. Stewart is a brief printed history of the First Presbyterian Church covering the period from 1827 to 1977. One of the more interesting aspects of the pamphlet is a detailing of the care extended by the Presbyterians of Jacksonville to Portuguese refugees from the island of Madeira in 1849. Under the leadership of President Julian Sturtevant of Illinois College, numbers of Portuguese people were brought to Jacksonville, while others were settled in Waverly and in Springfield. This must have been a remarkable effort for, it should be added, Jacksonville Presbyterians were also deeply involved at the same time in activities of the Underground Railroad.

Our thanks go to the First Presbyterian Church for its efforts in attempting to preserve its own valuable records. Perhaps other churches in western Illinois will follow its lead.

While we have no indication that St. Paul's Roman Catholic Parish of Macomb is cataloguing and organizing its records, we have an indication that the members of that church are attempting to compile a history of the parish. A small eight-page pamphlet listing major events in the history of Macomb Catholics was published in 1979, and therein one may find that the parish was established in 1854 by Father O'Neil and six area families. Three years later the small congregation managed to buy property on Washington Street in Macomb, and the house there was used for services. The first true church building was constructed in 1867 and that lasted until 1925 when it was razed to make way for the present brick structure. Priests for the parish over the years have included Fathers O'Neil, Libert, Lentz, Ryan, Coffey, Haddigan, and Buttgen—the last passing away in 1977. The present pastor of the parish is Father Pricco, and he heads the history committee which has been established to commit the story of St. Paul's into print.

A most interesting letter has been received from Professor Charles Frey, the Special Collections Librarian at Bradley University. Professor Frey has provided information on holdings at Bradley which again serves to demonstrate the amount of historical materials to be found in western Illinois.

Frey heads the Virginius H. Chase Special Collections Center at Bradley, and his letter points up four areas of specific interest to possible researchers in Illinois history. The Center maintains a "Bradleyana" collection, a mass of archival materials relevant to the history of Bradley University and to Peoria as a whole. In the collection are complete runs of the school newspaper, yearbooks, and catalogues of the institution. In addition to a vertical file

covering people and events of significance to Bradley, there are a number of complementary institutional histories compiled by former faculty members. Part of the "Bradleyana" collection consists of books once owned by Lydia Moss Bradley as well as artifacts pertaining to the Bradley family and to the founding of the Polytechnic Institute.

A second important collection at Bradley is that created by Charles Alpheus Bennett, the founder of the Manual Arts Press, presently the Charles A. Bennett Company. In the late 1930's Bennett donated his personal library to the school, a largesse of about 1,000 books and 6,000 pamphlets. Altogether, the total collection can be divided into four categories: (1) books purchased by Bennett to complete research into his own publications, the *History of Manual and Industrial Education Up to 1870* and the *History of Manual and Industrial Education, 1870-1917*; (2) materials gathered during Bennett's forty years as editor of the *Industrial Education Magazine*; (3) technical books and course outlines published during the early years of the manual training movement in Sweden, England, France, Germany, and the United States; (4) and books on art instruction published prior to the mid-Nineteenth Century. Professor Frey claims that the Charles Alpheus Bennett library "represents one of the finest retrospective collections of its type in the Midwest."

Also in the Bradley University Special Collections Center are some 2,500 items relating to Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. Most of these came from the Martin L. Houser Collection of 1,300 volumes and pamphlets given to the University some time ago. Houser was an authority on books which the self-educated Lincoln read during his formative years, and he collected duplicates of every volume Lincoln was purported to have studied. One of the books is documented as having been owned by the Great Emancipator himself.

A second part of the Lincoln materials consists of 650 items on twenty-one reels of microfilm. Ranging from broadsides to books, these are drawn from the Lincoln Collection at Lincoln Memorial University and are almost impossible to view in their original form.

Of all of the materials housed in the Special Collections Center at Bradley, we find the Chase Collection to be most unique, and in a sense, it fits in with the slightly religious emphasis of this segment of "Notes and Documents." Philander Chase was the first Episcopal bishop of Ohio, a relative of the more famous Salmon Philander Chase, and the founder of Kenyon and Jubilee Colleges in the middle third of the nineteenth century.

The Chase Collection is the result of a broad based effort involving gifts to the Bradley Library, purchases of special items,

and efforts by the Citizens Committee to Preserve Jubilee College. At the heart of the collection is a group of over 1,300 manuscript letters from and to Bishop Chase and his family. Also in the collection are numbers of books, pamphlets, images, and artifacts. There is a rare edition of Chase's *Reminiscences* published serially in Peoria in 1841, and a unique two-volume second edition of the same work that originally belonged to James Dow, who was its publisher. Of special interest, too, is a copy of a memorial sermon preached by the Rev. Dudley Chase at Jubilee College in 1852.

We owe a special thanks to Professor Frey for his informative letter. Perhaps it will lead some young researcher into a further study of the remarkable Bishop Chase and his works.

Further still along the religious line, it is worth noting that the Rev. L. Eugene Clements, minister to the McIntosh, Florida, Presbyterian Church, has donated a collection of materials valued at $1,800. The collection, given to the Library at Western Illinois University, includes a complete set of Hastings Commentary on sermon topic. There are thirty-six of these volumes in all.

The University Library in Macomb has also received an original edition of *Early Western Travels*, a series of annotated reprints of some of the best and rarest descriptions of travel in the Middle and Far West during the period from 1748 to 1846. Published circa 1905 to 1910, the edition was the gift of Martin M. Love and his wife of Lewistown, Illinois.

Certainly not in the religious vein were the gifts and donations to the University Library in Macomb by Burl Ives, noted actor and folksinger. The Ives Collection consists of seventeen boxes of correspondence, fifty-eight manuscripts, 229 books, over 1,000 recording masters (some of a religious nature), phonograph records and tape recordings, costumes, props, and personal belongings, including a fine painting of Ives himself. Together with other donations from television and screen comedian Red Skelton, Western's new additions offer insights into aspects of theatre, folk music, and radio-television entertainment as they have developed over the last thirty years.

Back to religion, but only briefly, we note that *Historic Illinois*, a publication of the Illinois Department of Conservation, has discovered the rare architectural beauty of the Table Grove, Illinois Community Church (see the August, 1979 issue). We always appreciate visits by state officials to what some people call "Forgottonia."

Other issues of *Historic Illinois* during 1979 have listed various sites approved for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Those in western Illinois include the William S. Warfield House and the State Savings Loan and Trust Company of Quincy; the aforementioned Table Grove Community Church, the J. Newton Conger House in Oneida, the George Stickney House in Fulton County, the Golden Eagle-Toppmeyer Site and Schudel No. 2 Site in Calhoun County, and the Robert W. Gardner House in Adams County.

The *Western Illinois University Museum Newsletter*, wrongly dated Fall, 1980, also contains a little note about "Forgottonia." There is, believe it or not, a Forgottonia Depression Glass Club. We would never have supposed that such an organization existed. Also included in the issue is a short but interesting piece about the partial restoration of Hills Grove Cemetery, southwest of Tennessee, Illinois. Particular attention has been given to the restoration of the Roswell Tyrrell monument, so the article states. Tyrrell was the first settler in Tennessee township.

Two interesting historical finds have been made lately in McDonough and Hancock Counties. Dr. John Hallwas, the peripatetic Director of Regional Collections at Western Illinois University Library, recently discovered that the Warsaw, Illinois Public Library possesses a John Hay scrapbook. Whoever brought the material together was diligent enough to include a long genealogical study of the Hay family as well as a collection of newspaper clippings. Also in the scrapbook are some items of correspondence from Hay, including one penciled note to a Hancock County inhabitant. The library also has four scrapbooks of newspaper clippings about the history of Warsaw. Dr. Hallwas recently published an article entitled "Warsaw: An Old Mississippi River Village" in *Illinois Magazine* (the December, 1979 issue).

Individuals working on the restoration of the McDonough County courthouse have found an interesting Civil War lithograph. Hidden in the recesses of the attic for over a century, the lithograph details aspects of the 16th Illinois Infantry camp life near Nashville, Tennessee. If one looks closely at the picture, however, he will note that the camp is being visited by a cluster of generals on horseback. One of them, a bearded officer looking much like General Grant, is being welcomed by a private soldier who, in conformity with both fact and tradition, is offering the general a bottle of white lightning. No branch water was included.

Victor Hicken
Western Illinois University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

JOHN L. LEWIS: A BIOGRAPHY. By Melvyn Dubofsky and Warren Van Tine. New York: Quadrangle/ The New York Times Book Club, 1977. Pp. xvii, 619. $20.00.

How different is this biography from that written almost thirty years earlier by Saul Alinsky! In his *John L. Lewis*, Alinsky constructed a man who never was, a character whose possessions and artifacts might have eventually filled the reliquaries of the United States. Dubofsky and Van Tine's Lewis is more of what he really was, a labor czar, part labor goon and part labor hero, and a man whose noble rhetoric was often belied by his ignoble deeds.

Early in the biography, the authors trace Lewis's Welsh heritage, his childhood in Iowa, and his crucial move in 1908 to the little town of Panama in Montgomery County, Illinois. There Lewis, with his many brothers and his father, quickly seized control of the local union. Using that position as a catapult, he extended his power across the county line into Macoupin County, described by the authors as the most "organized and militant county of coal miners in the state" (p. 21).

Soon Lewis moved his base of operations of Springfield, where, as the strongest force in the crucial District 12 of the United Mine Workers of America, he attracted about himself a mixed bag of both gangsters and dedicated labor organizers. Among this strange assortment of characters were such men as Frank Farrington from Fairbury, Illinois, and Allan Haywood of Witt in Montgomery County, and later Taylorville, in Christian County. After he attained the presidency of the United Mine Workers, Lewis quarreled with almost every one of his subordinates, including the ordinarily loyal Haywood. As the authors point out, the reasons for such dissensions were clear. They included both the worsening economic condition of mine workers throughout the nation, and Lewis's inordinate ambition to completely dominate the mine labor union movement. Votes were stolen by Lewis lieutenants, and the man himself appeared willing to use any choice bit of information as blackmail against his opponents whenever necessary.

By the time of Pearl Harbor, he had both reconciled himself to his main opposition (except the small but militant Progressive Miners of America), and he had further extended his influence over American labor with the organization of the Committee of Industrial Organization. Allan Haywood went with him in that venture, being installed by Lewis as the national director of the C.I.O.

The authors detail Lewis's wartime struggles with President Roosevelt, his peacetime quarrels with President Truman, and his eventual death. In this later portion of the book, Dubofsky and Van Tine make a horrendous error in proofreading by entitling the last chapter "From Resistance to Resignation, 1941-1969." (Lewis died in 1959, as they point out in the chapter.)

All in all, the new Lewis biography is excellent, and is particularly relevant to Illinois because of its circumspect coverage of Lewis's early years in Montgomery and Sangamon Counties. Macoupin County also receives a good deal of attention by reason of its special place in the radical aspects of the mine labor union movement.

Victor Hicken
Western Illinois University

THE MORMON EXPERIENCE: A HISTORY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS. By Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. Pp. xiv, 404. $15.00.

This is the much-needed and long-awaited volume to which textbook writers and general readers can turn with reasonable confidence for facts and perspectives on Mormon history. Leonard Arrington is not only the most prolific and esteemed writer among the growing crop of historians of Mormonism, but as head of the History Division of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since 1972, he has helped launch an archives management and utilization program of revolutionary proportions. Davis Bitton divides his time between the History Division and a professorship in European history at the University of Utah. Both men are active Mormons, but this book is not church sponsored.

The sixteen chapters of *The Mormon Experience* are divided into three parts: "The Early Church," "The Kingdom in the West," and "The Modern Church." The treatment of church beginnings is interpretive and sophisticated; Joseph Smith emerges as a very human "prophet," capable of remarkable insights and surprising quirks. Extensive recent research is incorporated in the sections on Missouri and Illinois. One can admire and sympathize with the

Saints and still understand why some of their Gentile neighbors found them intolerable. The Brigham Young years are handled in conventional narrative fashion, with more emphasis on social history than some of the conflict-centered books which this one will supersede. Polygamy is presented in only slightly defensive terms. The authors estimate that up to 5 percent of married men, 12 percent of married women, and 10 percent of Mormon children were involved in "the principle" between its public promulgation in 1852 and its official abandoment in 1890.

The chapters on the twentieth century are topical, and some of the material will be new to Mormon as well as non-Mormon readers. "Mormon Sisterhood: Charting the Changes" concludes on this intriguing note: ". . . their own past is complex enough and populated with enough strong, achieving female personalities that they are able to continue pushing on the boundaries, trying different options, and resisting an excessively narrow conception of their role." (p. 240) "The Temporal Foundation" deals with economics and politics; like other chapters, it confronts the questions usually raised by outside critics, and among tenable answers it prefers those which are compatible with institutional allegiance. On the other hand, *The Mormon Experience* contains both information and judgments which will distress those whose faith is in infallible prophets or an unerring church.

The volume is attractively printed, with two helpful maps and a pictorial section. The back-of-the-book notes contain informational tidbits as well as source citations; they would be more helpful if they were cross-references to pages in the text. The selective bibliography is up-to-date and contains both unfriendly and friendly works. Editorial and indexing lapses have already been mostly corrected in the second printing.

The Tabernacle Choir, *Readers Digest* inserts, Sonia Johnson and 28,000 full-time missionaries have given the Latter-day Saints high visibility in recent months. *The Mormon Experience* is recommended to anyone who wants to find out what it's all about.

Richard D. Poll
Western Illinois University

LETTERS OF VACHEL LINDSAY. Edited by Marc Chénetier. New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1979. Pp. xxx, 474. $21.95.

The centenary of Lindsay's birth was most notably marked by a festival in his home town and by the publication of these *Letters of Vachel Lindsay*. The three-day festival had a spirit about it which

would have earned Lindsay's approval. There was no stuffiness, no trumped-up reverence, no ladies' literary club gushiness. Those who planned, participated in, or attended the conference seemed to do so out of genuine affection for Lindsay and his work. They were friends. The absence, though, of a larger public suggests how we regard Vachel Lindsay today.

Lindsay has been dead for almost half of the hundred years since his birth, and his reputation has not fared well. Indeed, these letters make clear that no sooner had Lindsay achieved fame with the publication of *General William Booth and Other Poems* (1913) and *The Congo and Other Poems* (1914) than he was beset with the problem of literary reputation. As soon as he hit the world of poetry with a "boomlay," he became famous and typecast as a "jazz poet." He struggled for the remainder of his life against that sobriquet, and that struggle, I believe, emerges as the dominant theme which both gives a sense of continuity to these letters and reveals a pattern in Lindsay's life that ultimately led to his suicide. The portrait of the American artist is here in these letters—a man crushed by the hostility of a materialistic culture to art. It's a familiar enough theme, and perhaps most succinctly stated in Sherwood Anderson's review of Edgar Lee Masters' biography of Lindsay (*New Republic*, Dec. 25, 1935), but painful and moving to read in an extended first-person narration.

After the first flash of adulation, Lindsay never felt that he had the respect that was due him. He wanted to be taken seriously and to convert as many people as possible to his ideas for achieving a good society. His audiences, however, only wanted him to recite "General William Booth" and "The Congo," and this incessant demand made him hate performing those poems because that act reinforced the image of the jazz poet. Thus, the public's prejudices would not allow them to see Lindsay as he wanted to be perceived—as a serious social reformer and a poet who could speak in a variety of voices.

In order to hear what he wanted to hear, Lindsay wrote most frequently to those critics, such as Harriet Monroe and Louis Untermeyer, who understood his need for supportiveness and were sympathetic toward new directions in his art. The development of Lindsay's career after the initial success of *General William Booth* and *The Congo* is recorded in his published and unpublished writings, and the energy he devoted to articulating his vision of the good society, such as in *The Golden Book of Springfield*, is recorded in many of the letters in this volume. Neither the weight of Lindsay's non-jazz poems nor the force of his pronouncements could, however, triumph over public and critical opinion in his own

day; and those judgments have not been significantly revised since Lindsay's death. Today readers and critics may view Lindsay's work with great sympathy but still not find more than a handful of poems of enduring interest—among which are those Lindsay grew to despise reciting. What, then, do these selected *Letters of Vachel Lindsay* contribute to our view of the man and the poet?

First, a word on the superb format of this book. The editing by Marc Chénetier is a first-rate job. The letters are arranged chronologically, conveniently numbered throughout the text, and listed in a table of contents which is a model of clarity. Chénetier has provided a brief but provocative Introduction, a marvelous Foreward by Lindsay's son, a very handy Chronology, and an Index admirable for its inclusiveness. The List of Sources, which indentifies the location of each letter, will be especially appreciated by researchers. All in all, the care with which this volume has been put together makes it an indispensible reference work for any one who wishes to know more about Lindsay. Furthermore, Chénetier's exemplary footnoting provides in itself a cogent record of the significant shaping forces and events in Lindsay's life.

Chénetier has chosen 199 letters "out of the thousands available." Obviously, Lindsay was a prolific letter writer. Near the end of his life he even felt with some regret that if he hadn't put so much energy into letter writing, he may have written a few more good poems or pages of prose. Letter writing was, nevertheless, as Chénetier remarks, "a part of Lindsay's vision of life." Given such bountiful resources, the crux of the editing process becomes the principles of selection that have led Chénetier to include these 199 letters and omit others.

He includes only a few of the important letters to A. J. Armstrong since those were published in 1940 and only one to Sara Teasdale since those are expected to be published as a separate correspondence. Stylistic quality, variety, and coherence were other critieria that Chénetier used, but his "general approach has consisted of including those letters that seemed most appropriate both for an in-depth grasp of Vachel Lindsay's poetic explorations and imagination and for a clear, practical overall view of his life." Chénetier's selection of these specific letters does not, I feel, achieve the first half of his expressed intention as fully as it does the second. In these letters Lindsay does comment extensively about his poetry, but his remarks are more useful for clarifying his purpose in particular poems than they are for insights into his poetics, which are more carefully explained elsewhere by critics writing on Lindsay.

The real value of these *Letters of Vachel Lindsay* lies in the splendid manner in which Chénetier's judicious selection has

realized the second half of his purpose in presenting an "overall view" of Lindsay's life. These letters, with their illuminating footnotes, may constitute the best biography of Lindsay now available. The major book-length studies by Masters, Mark Harris, and Eleanor Ruggles are illuminating, but each is a decidedly partial—in both senses—portrait. Lindsay's own words are freighted with implications about his own life and are one of the best sources for capturing its essence.

Though these letters, then, cannot be expected to substantially revise our estimation of Lindsay's poetry or to salvage his reputation, they will, I hope, enable us to appreciate and better understand the richness, variety, and expanse of Lindsay's life and work. His place in American letters is more important and his significance greater than current critical evaluations acknowledge. He deserves more recognition for his many and various achievements, and the publication of these letters is a welcome step in that direction.

A principal aim of Chénetier in preparing this volume was to attempt to efface our view of Lindsay as the jazz poet and to draw more attention to Lindsay's "less well-known preoccupations." Lindsay merits this kind of revision of the standard image of him, but these letters in and of themselves are not sufficiently compelling to either erase that image or to replace it with a different one. Perhaps if the letters were more consistently interesting in their presentation of Lindsay's preoccupations, we would more readily be persuaded of their claims and might even enjoy the writing *qua* writing more. Instead, the letters often seem repetitious. What they repeat, building an incremental power reminiscent of Lindsay's most rhythmic poetry, are Lindsay's frustrations with audiences who would not take him for what he wanted to be. He needed friends that the dialectic of his own culture could not or would not supply. Thus, unfortunately and perhaps inevitably, the power that comes through these letters shows how, in Chénetier's words, "a man of insight is fashioned into a freak and ultimately destroyed."

Jay Balderson
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CARL SANDBURG REMEMBERED. By William A. Sutton. Metuchen: N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1979. Pp. vii, 304. $12.50.

William A. Sutton's *Carl Sandburg Remembered* is not so much a book as a published scrapbook, filled with letters, journal excerpts, interviews, and periodical articles about the famous poet,

biographer, folksinger, journalist, and American personality. Indeed, the volume is not really "by" Sutton, for he contributes only two short introductory paragraphs, a one-page Foreword, and a six-page account of his meeting with Sandburg in 1967. Rather, it is written by more than seventy-five people who knew, met, or saw the famous man of letters, and whose accounts were gathered by Sutton over a ten-year period.

The book is divided into two unequal sections, the first of which is entitled "Excerpts from the Perry Manuscript." Mrs. Lilla Perry, who lived in Los Angeles, was a friend of Sandburg's, and over many years she kept a diary that included information about the poet, which she compiled into a manuscript after he died. As a whole, the excerpts are disappointing, for they offer little insight into Sandburg and are essentially focused on trivial matters—the kind of thing that no biographer would feel obligated to mention. However, some passages are of interest—such as those which reveal the poet's admiration for Charlie Chaplin (p. 11), his encouragement to a young novelist, Kenneth Dodson (pp. 17-18, 30), and his intention to write a play called "The Laughter of Lincoln" (p. 28).

The second part of the book, "A Host of Encounters," contains some 200 pages of accounts by people who generally had very brief experiences with Sandburg. As a result, most of the items offer only surface impressions—however vivid some of those may be. Since many accounts center around public appearances, there is much celebration of Sandburg, as "The greatest figure in the field of American letters" (p. 102), "America's troubadour" (p. 145), and so on. Of course, from such appearances, and such comments, the Sandburg legend was created.

While most of the accounts do not offer very perceptive comments about the man, a few of them do. For example, Alfred Frankenstein, who wrote down the music for *The American Songbag*, said of Sandburg in an interview, "He had a great mystical feeling about the Middle West. It shows up in everything he does, even the children's stories. It involves the effort of the immigrant to prove that he belonged in America" (p. 149). Even more important is the occasional significant remark by Sandburg himself that was taken down by some listener—such as the following one recorded by Cyril Clemens in the 1930's: " 'The kind of poem most congenial to me is neither the etching nor the symbolic poem of industrialism, but a kind of condensed fable, a snapshot of some scene or action, so written as to set in motion in my reader's mind some trail of reflections; I like very much to invest the single incident with cosmic significance' " (p. 139).

Carl Sandburg Remembered makes no claim to be anything other than a compilation of accounts, and as such, it is useful for scholars who want to search for helpful tidbits of information. The Index should be of value to some who have that purpose. Otherwise, the book is tedious to read. The accounts in part two are not only unconnected, but also unorganized by the editor. They might have been presented in chronological order, or even grouped by general content—Sandburg at home, public appearances, friendships, etc.—but they were not.

This disorganization, combined with the inherent limitations that first-person accounts by acquaintances and strangers are likely to exhibit, makes the book a poor place in which to search for an understanding of Sandburg. Indeed, one could argue that *Carl Sandburg Remembered* is not so much a book about the man as about the American people who so deeply responded to him, as to some admirable and articulate aspect of themselves. As one man said of a poetry and folksong performance, "Mr. Sandburg's hearers felt that they were listening to authentic America. His voice, they were convinced, is from the soul of the country. . ." (p. 143).

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