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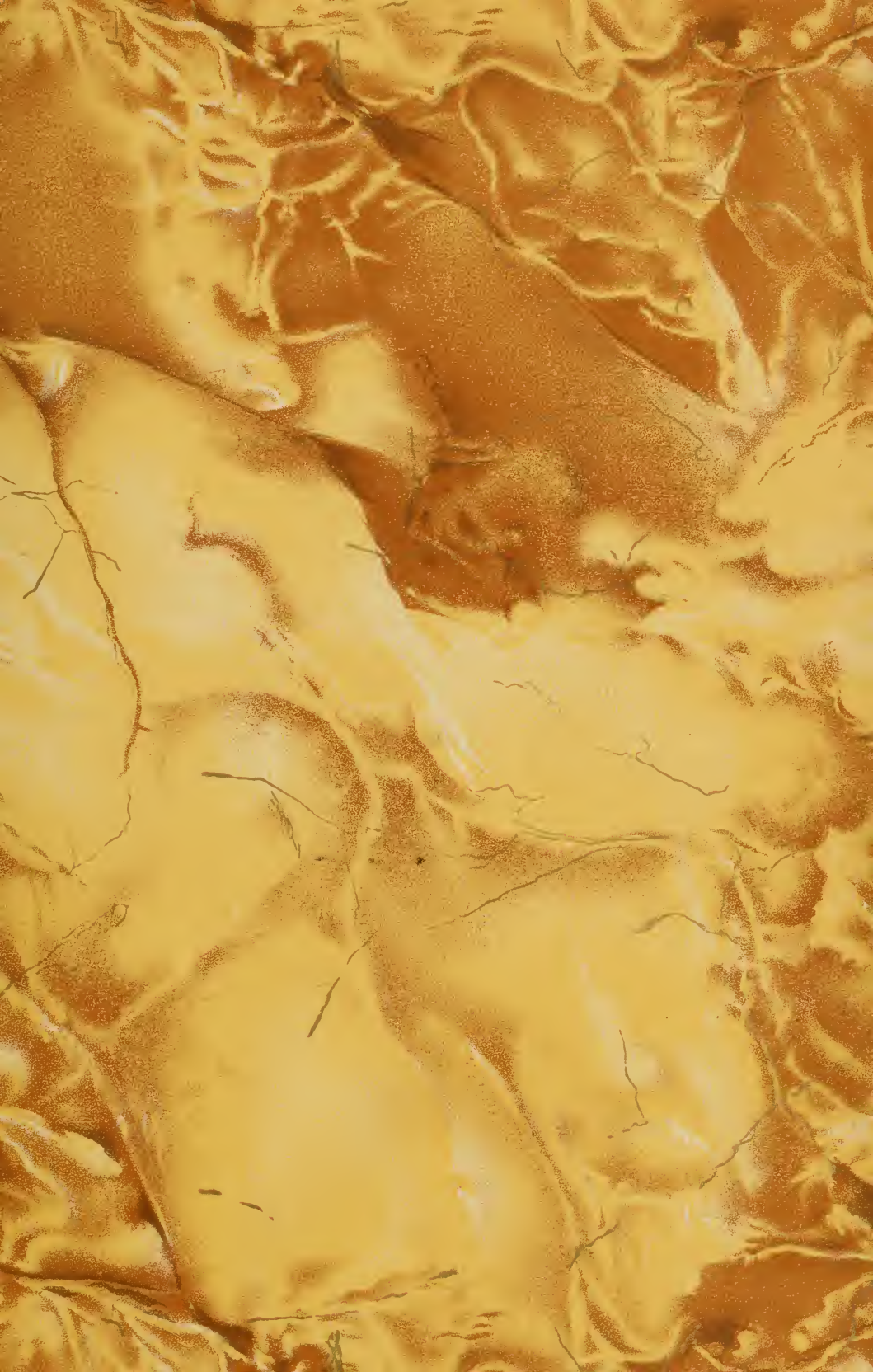
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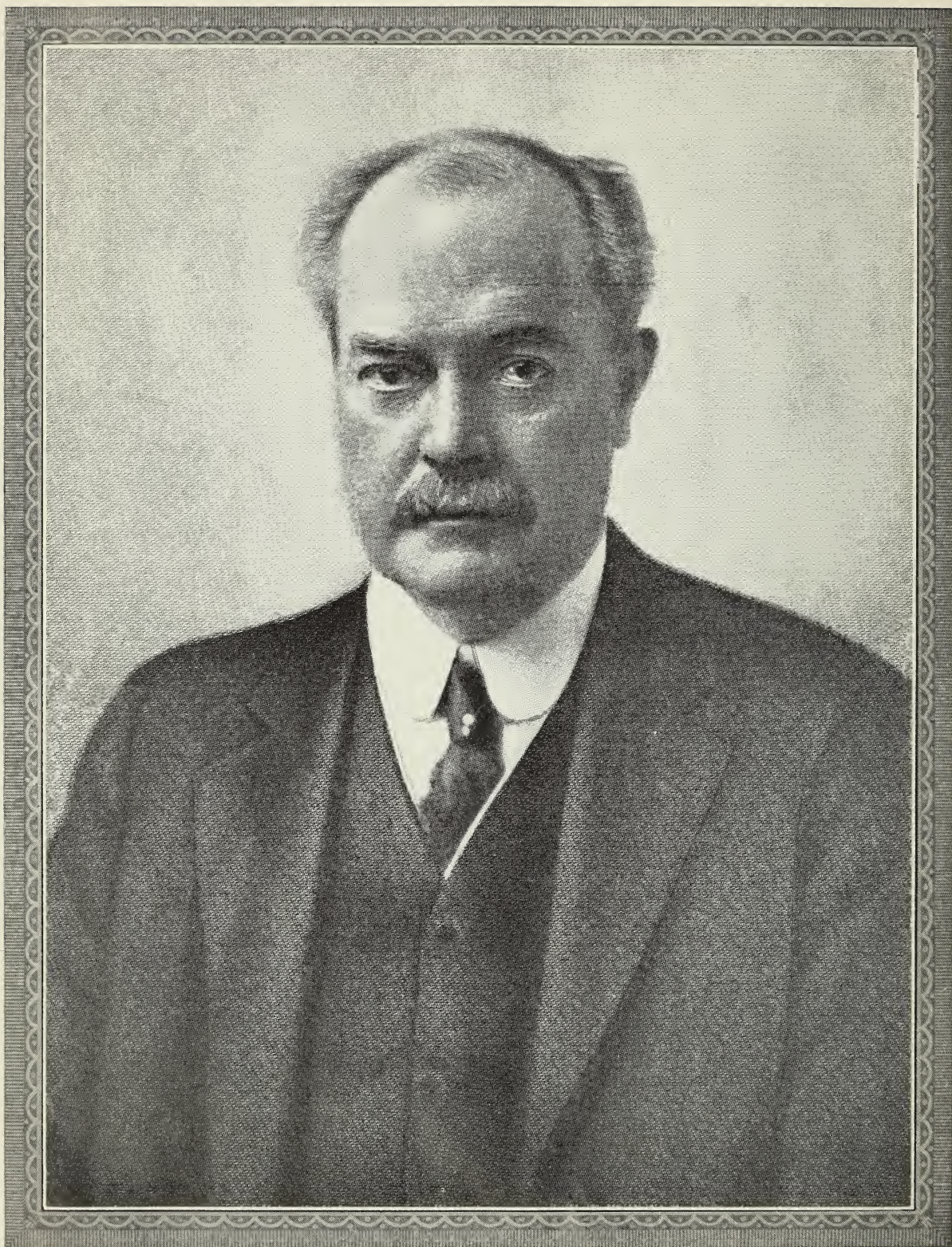
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E. F. Damm

ILLINOIS

THE HEART OF THE NATION

BY

HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE
FORMER JUDGE, MAYOR, AND GOVERNOR
Author and Editor

ILLINOIS BIOGRAPHY

Gratuitously Published
By Special Staff of Writers

Issued in Five Volumes

VOLUME I

ILLUSTRATED

THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK

1933

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FOREWORD

Since my retirement from public office in 1917 it has been frequently suggested to me that a book containing a record of my personal reminiscences and contacts while in public life would be interesting to many people. I had given the suggestion favorable consideration and was about to respond to the suggestion by recording my personal experience and contacts in a book which I vaguely determined to entitle *The Last Half Century in Chicago*. At this juncture, in the spring of 1929, the Lewis Publishing Company suggested that I undertake for it the writing of a history of Illinois. This furnished me the opportunity of undertaking a work of wider scope and extent. As I had been chief executive of the great State of Illinois as well as chief executive of the great City of Chicago, I had made personal contacts with men and measures throughout the state as well as in the City of Chicago; it did not seem inappropriate for me to take upon myself the writing of a history in which I could incorporate my personal experiences and contacts in both of these exalted offices. Under contract with this publishing firm I undertook the work which has occupied my time for nearly eighteen months, and which I now submit to the people of Illinois for their kindly (I hope) consideration. I am much indebted in the preparation for and the writing of this work to the Newberry Library for the many courtesies extended to me by its competent officials. I am also indebted to the Secretary of State of Illinois and his predecessor, Governor Emmerson for the blue books of Illinois and other books placed at my disposal by them. Honorable Fred J. Kern, of Belleville, a great bibliophile and student of Illinois history, has also earned my gratitude by both books and suggestions. I am above all indebted to my friend, William L. Sullivan, Esq., for the valuable assistance he has given me in compiling these volumes. He was my trusted stenographer when I was mayor of Chicago and my official secretary when governor, and his wonderfully acute memory and his

indefatigable industry have been of vital assistance to me in my historical labors.

I have devoted myself in composing this work principally to the political history of the state rather than its industrial, agricultural and mechanical development, which latter features are so well known as to dispense with recapitulation by figures. I have been more familiar with the political life of the state than with its industrial or educational life, and other writers have treated the industrial, educational and agricultural life of the state with much more thoroughness than I could.

When I have stated facts and events I have tried to be accurate and truthful. When I have expressed opinions they are my own. The publishers have placed no restrictions of any character upon my writings. I am indebted to them for their courteous and honorable dealings with me during the writing of this history and for the prompt and cordial approval of my work.

EDWARD F. DUNNE.

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History of Illinois

CHAPTER I

EL DORADO—A WONDROUS LOCATION FOR A NEW COMMONWEALTH

If in the latter part of the seventeenth century, a committee of the Caucasian race were searching the world for a location within which to lay the foundations of a young commonwealth of white men, no place on earth could have been found more suitable for that foundation than that territory of land now known as the State of Illinois.

Take a map of the United States and lay it before you. Note, that almost in the center of the Mississippi Valley (now concededly the richest valley in the world), the waters of three mighty rivers, the Missouri, Mississippi and Ohio, meet at the City of Cairo, the extreme southern tip of the State of Illinois. Down these three mighty rivers there had been washed for centuries the silt and alluvial soil of that great fertile valley.

For almost 700 miles of the total 1,160 miles boundaries of the state, these mighty rivers had been dashing their waters and depositing their drifting silt and soil against lands of Illinois bordering on these rivers, making the bottom lands along the rivers as fertile as those in the far-famed Valley of the Nile.

At the northeast corner of the state and bordering the state for fifty-one miles, was and is the great inland fresh-water sea, Lake Michigan. That lake, strange to say, is shaped like a great index finger, the top of the finger resting, where now is located the fourth greatest city in the world. The march of years have proved it was a finger of destiny.

Across the breast of that state, there flowed then, as now, diagonally from the northeast to southwest, like a cordon of the Legion of Honor, the great Illinois River.

Then as now, in its upper course, near what is now the City of Morris, the Illinois River is forked, the upper tine of which (the Desplaines River) lies to the north a few miles west of Chicago. The other tine of this fork (the Kankakee) trends to the north and east toward the St. Joe River in the State of Michigan.

Then as now, the sources of the Desplaines River and the Kankakee were but a few miles from Lake Michigan. Then as now, a slight elevation of ground or ridge located within a few miles of Lake Michigan constituted the dividing line between the St. Lawrence Basin and the Mississippi Valley, whose waters empty in the Gulf of Mexico.

In and north of the Village of Ridgeland, in Oak Park, about seven miles west of Chicago, that ridge or elevation is only about twenty feet above the water level of Lake Michigan, and there are houses in that village where rain drops falling on the west eave of the roofs ultimately reach the Gulf of Mexico through the Des Plaines, Illinois, and Mississippi, while the rain drops falling on the east eaves of the roofs ultimately reach the Gulf of St. Lawrence through the Great Lakes. The importance of this slight elevation dividing the basins of the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence will be developed and dwelt upon in later chapters of this history.

Then as now, the slope of the surface of the soil of the present State of Illinois was from a height of about 800 feet above sea-level in the northern portion of the state and around Chicago, to about 300 feet above sea-level at Cairo. The grade of descent from about 800 feet to about 300 feet being gradual most of the way. The Illinois River then, as now, was navigable for light draft vessels from its mouth to what is now Utica. At that place there exists a strata of rocks between Utica and what is now Lockport. This rocky formation renders the Illinois unnavigable for about sixty miles. The fall in the river between Lockport and Utica is about 132 feet. Not only was the northeastern, central and central western portions of this territory copiously watered and fertilized by the broad Illinois River, but the western portion was equally blessed with the waters of the Fox and Rock rivers. The southeastern portion was well cared

for in like manner by the Wabash, Little Wabash, Saline, Embarrass and their tributaries. The extreme south of the state was equally fortunate in having its soil copiously watered by the converging of the mighty streams, the Mississippi and Ohio, and by the Kaskaskia, Vermilion, Big Muddy, Saline, Little Wabash and their tributaries.

The whole of this splendid rich territory consisted of rich rolling prairie land, such as we know and so highly valued today, except the portions of the same close to the rivers, which were covered, then as now, with forests and undergrowth valuable for fuel and housebuilding and furniture, and also excepting the rocky ridge crossing the Illinois River between Lockport and Utica and also excepting a spur of the Ozark Mountains, lowering these mountains of Missouri into hills of considerable size in the present State of Illinois. The rocky untillable portion of the surface of the soil constituted but an inconsiderable part of the whole territory.

The Illinois plain is, in fact, the bottom of a huge basin composed of the states of Indiana, whose elevation is 700 feet above sea-level, Michigan, 900 feet above sea-level, Wisconsin 1,050 feet above sea-level, Iowa 1,100 feet above, and Missouri 800 feet above. The mean level of Illinois is about 600 feet above sea-level.

The richest and most productive soil first discovered was located along the American Bottom or low lands along the banks of the Mississippi between the mouth of the Kaskaskia River and what is now St. Louis.

Beaver and other valuable fur and meat producing wild animals were abundant all over the territory, and edible fish were plentiful in all the rivers of the state. For man in a state of nature, ignorant of the arts and weapons of civilized man, this territory at that time was an Elysium.

All he needed was to chip an arrow head or a spear head from a stone, cut a hickory tree for a bow, string it with untanned hide, fashion his arrow from a twig, his spear from a bough, attach his chipped stone heads, and kill his game from among the wild animals that roved in great numbers all around him.

It was such a hunting ground as the untutored savage pictured to himself in his dreams of his future heaven.

Deer, elk, bears, wolves, foxes, opossums, racoons, squirrels and rabbits were plentiful not only then, but for years after the white man had dispossessed the Indians. Wild turkeys and prairie chickens and quail were very plentiful.

Prodigious flocks of wild geese, herons and swans haunted the headwaters of the Illinois and the small lakes. The lakes and rivers were alive with edible fish, such as black bass, pickerel, muskalonge, lake trout, white fish, cat fish and red horse.

High bearded grass covered most of the open prairies, through which grew most luxuriantly wild flowers such as sun flowers, daffodils, prairie dock, ox eye, iron-weed, asters, milk weed, orange lilies, and wild roses. Blue phlox and blue bells were to be found in moist ground. Wild garlic was also abundant. Wild strawberries and blackberries and wild grapes were also very plentiful, and fields often glowed with the glory of golden rod.

The spiritual beauties of natural scenery were thus added to the material riches of wild animals, wild birds, and swift swimming fishes, to attract a proposed settler, and those material and spiritual attractions could not be long resisted by the white man.

The gradual slope of the surface of the soil from 800 feet above sea level in the northern part of the state to about 300 feet in the south of the state, is accounted for by Alvord in his splendid Volume I. of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, from which I quote *pp. 17 et seq.*

During this period of the formation of the known rock layers of Illinois, was created the state's wealth in minerals, the most important of which deserves mention, if for no other reason than to bring forcibly to the mind the long reaches of time hurriedly passed in review. During one or more of the geologic periods, Illinois changed repeatedly from a coastal swamp to a shallow sea, depending on the unwarping and sinking of the plane. The flora of this swamp land was luxuriant, its forms unlike those of today; there flourished huge fern trees fifty feet high, softwood evergreens, tall and slender, and among these were smaller

rank-growing plants. The dominant color of these forests was green, unbroken by bright flowers. Such forests grew to maturity, died and were changed by chemical and other forces into peat and then into coal. It is estimated that the territory of the state during this coal making period passed through this sequence of processes, turning forests into coal, at least six different times.

After the coal beds had been formed, the territory of the state experienced one of those continually recurring internal disturbances, that on this occasion raised the whole surface and warped the edges, the southern portion in particular being radically changed. Here rocks were cracked and pushed or pressed upward, forming the Ozark dome that stretches through southern Missouri. Since then, the surface of the state has never been inundated by the sea, but for an indefinitely long period, the rock layers were subjected to the persistent forces of erosion. The winds, the frost, and the rain crumbled their surfaces, cutting down the warped edges and carving the Ozark hills into their present shape. The rivers wore their way through the stony beds; and out of the debris of erosion was formed a new soil, wherein trees and plants took root.

The resulting territory, warped by pressure from beneath and eroded by wind and water, resembled the bowl of a shallow spoon, or rather of a series of spoons placed one on the other, each representing a stratified layer of rock that during some previous eon had been deposited in the form of particles and transformed into stone.

Since the erosion was greater at the edges, the lower layers extended beyond those above. Over all, there lay strewn a soil of decayed stone, similar in kind to that of present-day New England. On the whole, the landscape was not so very strange, though the surface was more broken by hills than it is today; the Mississippi rolled placidly, probably more placidly than it does now, along its course, and its branches, such as the Illinois, occupied approximately the same positions in the water system of the great valley that they do at the present time. The northern part of the state was, however, almost unrecognizable. There were no Great Lakes.

The climate throughout the early geologic periods was generally mild, even warmer than it is today, for palms grew here, and evidences of an early coral reef have been found near Chicago. The trees, shrubs and plants presented

an unfamiliar scene, wherein unrecognizable species predominated. The earliest forms have long since become extinct, but as the modern era approached, the flora assumed a more present-day aspect. . . .

The surface of the Illinois country was destined to undergo one more radical change before it should be the scene of human activities. All forms of life were for a long period of time to be driven from its surface. From causes not satisfactorily explained, there took place a change of temperature. The mild, almost tropical climate of the previous ages gave way to one of an extreme cold. From Labrador as a center, there slowly traveled, moving a few feet a day, great ice sheets, so thick that mountains delayed, but did not stop their progress. Four or five of these massive visitants in succession reached the territory of the state; one that covered its entire area, except the extreme south and northwest, has been named in its honor, "Illinoians."

In their passage, the glaciers deposited over almost all the surface a layer of drift or boulder clay from five to five hundred feet thick, composed of soil, gravel and boulders. In many places where the edge of the glaciers remained practically stationary due to an equilibrium between movement and melting, they formed those low, rolling hills or moraines so conspicuous in the northern part of the state. . . .

By the advent of the glaciers, valleys that had been conspicuous landmarks during the older geologic time, were blotted out, smaller rivers were forced to change their beds and courses, and even the "Father of Waters" was obliged in places to yield to the power of these northern invaders.

The topography of the northern part of Illinois underwent the most important changes. As the glaciers receded, their progress merged the bodies of water that in time developed into the Great Lakes. First there appeared the parent of Lake Michigan, called by geologists Lake Chicago. It was a large sheet, pouring its water through an outlet into the Illinois River. Only in the post glacial period was this outlet closed; the level of the lake was lowered by drainage on the east, and the shores of the present lake were built up by the slow process of the depositing of sand.

These visitants from the north left to the state a priceless gift, a most fertile soil. In most places, the glacial drift has been covered by a layer of loess, varying from

two feet to one hundred, blown by the wind or carried by water since the recession of the glaciers, and over this, in turn, decaying vegetable matter has laid a surface covering of black earth. Beneath these and over the pre-glacial rocks lie the deposit of the glaciers, the boulder clay a repository of plant food unsurpassed in the world. In the southern part of the state, the Illinoian glacier alone has been responsible for this subsoil, but in the northern counties there may be distinguished layer upon layer of drift deposited by a succession of ice fields.

Continuing further, Alvord states that,

The climax of the Illinoian glacier, which covered most of the state, occurred somewhere between 70,000 and 540,000 years ago.

Alvord backs up these statements by referring to Flagg, *The Far West* in Thwaite's *Early Western Travels*; Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe*; Hopkins and Pettitt, *The Fertility in Illinois Soils*; Chamberlain and Salisbury, *Geology*.

Little as I know of geology, I can only say that I have found, and the reader can find, in the many boulders composed of material altogether different from the surrounding soil, that we still find on the surface of Illinois lands, some evidence that these great glacial periods may have existed and probably did exist in the State of Illinois. I know of personal knowledge that a friend of mine¹ collected enough of these boulders in the vicinity of River Forest, a short distance west of Chicago, to build him a beautiful home in that suburb of Chicago. How these boulders, some of them of immense size, could have been so generously distributed over the surface of Illinois lands, unless it was by glaciers, I cannot understand.

If such glacial inundation did occur, as described by Alvord, it would have undoubtedly have done what he claims it has done—enormously enriched the soil of Illinois.

So much for the surface soil of this wondrous land, and of the flora and fauna that were found above it and upon it. These were but a part of the abundance of wealth with which a bountiful Creator richly endowed it.

¹ William H. Reedy, Esq., of River Forest, Illinois.

The sub-soil of this land now demands some attention. In searching for copper and silver mines along the banks of the Illinois River, the Italian-French explorer, Tonti, ran into a vein of rich bituminous coal, near Peoria. When a boy in Peoria, I saw a vein of such coal outcropping on the side of a hill south of that city.

At the present time, we know that rich bituminous coal deposits underlie in the neighborhood of two-thirds of the surface soil of the State of Illinois in seams of from ten to twelve in number at varying depths from the surface, ranging from a few feet to several hundred feet. These seams are not of uniform thickness, but vary in some places from a few inches to other places where these veins are eight or nine feet in width.

The French settlers seem not to have availed themselves of these coal mine discoveries, but early in the nineteenth century, the English or American settlers began to open them and work them commercially with rich results. The Mount Carmel Coal Company was chartered by the Legislature in 1835. This mine was located on the Big Muddy in the southern part of the state. Shortly thereafter, Governor John Reynolds developed a mine near Belleville, building a railroad from the mine at Belleville to the Mississippi just below East St. Louis of about seven or eight miles in length, the roadbed of which is still in use.

The development of coal has grown from these small beginnings to a point where the production of coal in the state annually is approximately one hundred million tons.

It was found early in the twentieth century that there were also valuable petroleum deposits in the southeastern part of the state. In 1917, the State of Illinois produced eighteen million barrels, valued at \$2 a barrel.

Clay products of much value are also found under the soil of this state, the most important being found in Union County, called kaolin, which is formed from the decomposition of feldspar.

Fire clay in the state has also been found in plentiful quantities, likewise clay suitable for drain tile and for sewer pipe. Clay for pottery has also been found in extensive quantities. In many portions of the state, the common clay, from which

building brick is manufactured, can be found in almost inexhaustible quantities. Terra cotta is also manufactured from deposits found in the soil in the northern part of the state.

Large quantities of building stone are found in the Illinois soil. The lime stones, however, are not of a very high quality for building purposes, but still great quantities are utilized for road making, for concrete work, and for energizing the acid condition of the soil. Cement is manufactured from a kind of shale and limestone found in the state. Millions of barrels of cement are manufactured every year in the State of Illinois. In the matter of road-building, the State of Illinois has an unlimited amount of materials suitable for cement road work.

About three-fourths of all of the fluorspar produced in the United States comes from the State of Illinois.

At the time of the French discoveries, nearly one-fourth of the surface of the state was covered with forests, particularly the southern part of the state, and along the water ways of the state. The pioneer farmers of the state, however, were almost criminally reckless in their treatment of these timbered areas. A survey of the forests of the state made about 1880 disclosed the fact that only 15 per cent of the state was at that time covered with timber. These pioneers established sawmills near all these woodlands, and cut up and sawed for firewood fine oaks, hickories, maples, walnuts, ash, and other less important woods. Other settlers in the lowlands made a practice of cutting deep rings around the trunks of large trees with axes, and allowing them to die. This was done generally for the purpose of clearing the woodland and enabling it to be cultivated for corn.

It goes without saying that these large resources, heretofore referred to on the surface and under the surface, vegetable, animal and mineral, were of enormous value, and made this country when it was first discovered by the French pioneers, one of the most attractive, if not the most attractive strip of land in the whole Mississippi Valley. The rivers were alive with fish, and the land was covered with wild game of all descriptions.

CHAPTER II

THE ONE HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN IN HIS HAPPY HUNTING GROUND AND HIS PASSING

Upon the rich rolling prairies and along the mighty rivers described in the last chapter, there dwelt and ranged and hunted in perfect happiness and contentment in 1673 and for centuries before that, the real one-hundred-per-cent American, the North American Indian.

His occupancy of this land flowing with wild "milk and honey" for centuries, has never been questioned. How these red-skinned descendants of Adam and Eve reached these happy hunting grounds, we may never know. They never made a written record of their origin, or their antecedents or progenitors in history, song or story.

Whether the Almighty created, unknown to the writers of Biblical history and profane history, a red skinned Adam and Eve in the Western Continent, or whether the ancestors of these vigorous men and women were the descendants of the Biblical Adam and Eve, we may never know. We do not know now after three centuries of investigation and theorizing. Brave and crafty in physical conflict, they never seem to have been endowed with mental strength or shrewdness.

They have never shown in North America any capacity for coordination or concert of action. So far as I have read, they had not intelligence enough to create an alphabet as the basis of a written language. This is true not only of the tribes who occupied the Territory of Illinois, but is also true of all North American Indians. When hunting was rich and productive, when they had food sufficient to satisfy their animal appetites from game and fish, and clothing enough from the skins of wild animals, to keep warm, they were contented and had no desire for the luxuries created by civilization.

Their women at times tilled the soil, in a scratchily haphazard manner, to coax from it a little more of the wild grain and fruit that grew wildly around them.

They formed among themselves families and clans of kindred blood that sometimes grew into tribes, but nationhood, as known to the white, brown and yellow races, was beyond their conception and accomplishment. The so-called "Confederation of Five Nations" was never more than a more or less temporary confederation of the five tribes. The combinations effected by Pontiac and Tecumseh were temporary and ineffective. They were a brave but primitive people, utterly unable to deal intelligently or capably with men of the white race.

In 1673 when the first white men set foot on the soil of Illinois, several tribes were in occupancy of different portions of the future state.

In the center and southwest portion of the state was located the "Illinois," of which the Peorias and the Kickapoos were branches or first cousins. I lived in Peoria in my boyhood and know that it gets its name from the tribe or sub-tribe that dwelt on the banks of the Illinois at Lake Peoria. I know further that the Kickapoo Creek near Peoria, in which I often bathed when a boy, gets its name from the Indian tribe or sub-tribe that dwelt along its banks in 1673.

The Miami tribe occupied at the same time the eastern portion of Illinois and the western part of Indiana along the Wabash River.

The Pottawatomies occupied the northeastern portion of the state along Lake Michigan from Southern Wisconsin to Northern Indiana.

The Sauk and Fox, Winnebago, Ottawa and Chippewa were also frequently found fighting and marauding in the northern part of the state. Southern Wisconsin and Northern Illinois seemed to be their favorite hunting grounds. There was not, however, any close and lasting confederation or concert of action between these different tribes, and often they or some of them were found in conflict with each other. The Winnebago and the Illinois carried on a bitter war for a time, the former having entrapped and killed five hundred of the foe. The Illinois re-

taliated and almost totally destroyed the Winnebago, reducing 150 of the survivors to slavery.

All these tribes were descendants of the super-tribe or race known as the Algonquin. This super-tribe, the Algonquin, probably had its origin in the North Atlantic region. Its subsidiary tribes located themselves all the way from Canada, from Hudson Bay to Alberta on the west, into the United States, from Maine to North Carolina, from the Upper Great Lakes through the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee.

The most formidable foe of this Algonquin super-tribe were the Iroquois tribe, located around Lake Ontario and Lake Erie in the Mohawk Valley.

The most southerly of these sub-tribes of the Algonquin race were the Shawnees, who were located in Kentucky and Tennessee. The Shawnees were probably the vanguard of the Algonquin tribe in the incursions of that tribe into Illinois and the states south of the Great Lakes.

Belonging to the Algonquin tribe were also the Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Pottawatomi, Kickapoos, Mascoutans, Miami, and the Illinois. At the time of the discovery of the state by the French explorers, the Illinois were first in importance and power, although at the time they were visited by Marquette and Joliet, they had probably passed the zenith of their strength. They formed at first one great tribe. As their numbers increased, subdivisions or sub-tribes were given more particular names. To the great Illinois tribe belonged the Kaskaskias, Peorias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Moinguenas and Michigameas. These different bands of the Illinois tribe for some time continued to act in coordination against their common enemies, that alliance based on kinship rather than any formal treaty. The Illinois tribe occupied most of Illinois and the southern parts of Wisconsin and Iowa. The main body of the Illinois tribe for some years were located in the Valley of the Illinois River, and along its banks had been their principal villages prior to the seventeenth century.

The Miami tribe was located in Western Indiana and Eastern Illinois, and was of near kin to the Illinois. Rumors reached the early French settlers in 1657, or thereabout, that they had



STARVED ROCK

sixty villages in Central Illinois, and a population of 20,000 human beings, though this is no doubt an exaggeration.

The Illinois tribes were not, even before the advent of the Pale Face, permitted to enjoy without disturbance the large, rich hunting grounds occupied by them. A belligerent tribe located to the west in Southern Minnesota and Northern Iowa, known as the Sioux, were always more or less in conflict with the Illinois. The Winnebagoes, a branch of the Sioux tribe, were guilty of a great act of treachery in murdering many warriors of the Illinois tribe who had been sent to them with peaceable intentions. While the Illinois tribe was engaged in dancing, the Winnebago cut the bow strings of their bows, flung themselves upon the Illinois men and massacred them, not sparing a man, in retaliation for which the Illinois attacked the Winnebago, surrounding them and putting most of them to death.

Nor were the Illinois tribe free from assaults from the east. Five great Iroquois tribes, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondages, Cayugas and Senecas were at all times hostile to the Algonquin race. These five tribes, sometimes called the Five Nations, entered into a confederation among themselves, attacked the Miami tribe, drove them westward and northward into the region of modern Wisconsin, and in 1655 a band of these Five Nations attacked the villages of the Illinois and killed many women and children. This war, commenced in 1655, lasted until 1667, and during the war the Illinois tribe was so weakened that they were obliged to abandon their ancient locations along the Illinois River and seek safety west of the Mississippi. Surrounded as they were by the profusion of nature, the abundance of game and fish in the rivers, the Illinois Indians were rather disposed to indolence. They relied for sustenance almost exclusively upon hunting and fishing. What little maize, or corn, was raised by them was the result of the labor of their squaws, who cultivated crudely and unscientifically some little corn, beans and other vegetables. In summertime, after their little crops were planted, and in winter after they had stored the proceeds of their planting and hunting, the whole group would move to a wilder part of the country and set up a hunting camp.

Their weapons were very crude, a bow and arrow, clubs and knives made of flint or bone, or sometimes of the shank of a deer.

In their permanent villages, they built substantial oblong cabins, sufficient to house from six to twelve families each, the framework being made by saplings bent together and latched at the top, which were then covered with layers of mats or woven rushes. These cabins had a door at each end, and an open place in the roof for the escape of smoke. The earth floor was sometimes covered with mats. As many as fifty or sixty human beings often occupied these cabins.

The men of the tribe owned as their exclusive property their hunting implements and weapons of warfare. The women claimed as their own the household equipment and any implements that they had used in tilling the soil. There was no such thing as individual ownership of land. Land occupied by them in and around their villages was regarded as the property of the tribe. They believed that the tribe owned the land, and that the tribe only could part with title to the same. The Indian tribe was, in fact, but a large family made up of relatives tracing descent from a common ancestor. Marriage was not permitted within their own clan. Matters relating to the family were settled in family councils. Matters relating to the clan were settled by a council of all the families within the group, and tribal matters were decided in a council attended by the heads of the different clans. Declarations of war, strange to say, however, were not always made upon conference between the friendly tribes. A single warrior having some grievance against a warrior of another tribe could declare war himself and gather around him such allies as were willing to join in the fight. Extensive campaigns were an exception in Indian warfare. An early Jesuit writer states,

Ordinarily their party consists of only twenty, thirty, or forty men; sometimes these parties are of only six or seven persons, and these are most to be feared. As their entire skill lies in surprising their enemy, the small number facilitates the pains that they take to conceal themselves in order that they may more securely strike the

blow which they are planning. . . . Their method is to follow on the trail of their enemy and to kill some one of them while he is asleep,—or rather to lie in ambush in the vicinity of the villages and to split the head of the first one who comes forth, and taking off his scalp, to display it as a trophy among their countrymen.

The first Indians met by Joliet and Pere Marquette were rather of a peace-loving character, as testified to by these French explorers. The French missionaries believed that their success in converting the Indians to Christianity rose out of the fact that the Indians believed in a Great Manitou or Great Spirit. Father Allouez in 1665 wrote,

I have learned that the Illinouck, the Outagami, (Foxes) and other savages toward the south, hold that there is a great and excellent genius, master of all the rest, who made heaven and earth, and who dwells, they say, in the east towards the country of the French.

Most important of their religious ceremonies was the Calumet dance, performed sometimes to strengthen peace or to unite themselves for some great war, at other times for public rejoicing or to honor a visitor. The Calumet was a ceremonial tobacco pipe of polished red stone, fitted into a stem or stick about two feet long, and bored through the middle.

“Less honor,” says Marquette, “is paid to the crowns and scepters of kings, than the savages bestow on this. It seems to be the God of peace or war, the arbiter of life and of death. It has but to be carried upon one’s person and displayed, to enable one to walk safely through the midst of enemies, who in the hottest of the fight lay down their arms when it is shown. There is a calumet for peace, and one for war, which are distinguished solely by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned. Red is the sign of war. They also use it to put an end to disputes, to strengthen their alliances, and to speak to strangers. They have a great regard for it, because they look upon it as the calumet of the sun, and in fact, they offer it to the latter to smoke when they wish to obtain calm or rain or fine weather.”

The Illinois, like other Algonquin tribes, believed in an after-world. They were very poorly advanced in art, not as far advanced as their predecessors, the southern tribes. Most of their bowls were made of wood, which accounts for the very few which have survived in museums. They made cups and spoons and scrapers also out of fresh water shells. According to the Jesuit Fathers, the women always dressed modestly, but the men went entirely nude, save for a breech cloth. In summing up their mode of life, Alvord, in his excellent history, declares,

Hard as their life seems to have been, viewed by modern eyes, the Illinois fared better than many of their race, and were by no means wholly without leisure and means of recreation. Between the strenuous demands of hunting and fighting, the men relaxed completely and spent their time in a great variety of games of skill, such as ball, or guessing games or games of chance played with instruments comparable to dice. Even with their more continuous labor, the women found opportunity to gossip among themselves and to play games. Like most Indians, the Illinois were inveterate gamblers, and men and women alike would often stake everything they owned on a throw of the dice. Many of the games had a religious significance and were played only in connection with some formal ceremony. Socially, they were talkative, good natured, and fond of a joke, although their extreme dignity of bearing on public occasions often gave observers the impression that they were morose and silent by nature. The ease and persistency with which the French came to intermarry with them, certainly suggests that both in disposition and mode of life, there was no wide gulf between the two races, at least as they encountered each other in seventeenth century Illinois.

On the whole, the Illinois tribe of Indians were a brave but simple people. They lacked shrewdness in dealing as individuals or as tribes. They were over-reached on every occasion that they attempted to bargain with the white man, whether that white man was French, British or American. As a result of their guileless nature and lack of organizing intelligence, the great Illinois tribe, which, it was said, at one time counted twenty thousand souls along the Illinois River, is today prac-

tically extinct, and in the state named after them not a single living Illinois Indian now survives.

What was the ultimate history, so far as known, of the several tribes comprising the super-tribe of Indians known as the Illinois? They were located, at or about the time of the advent of Joliet and Pere Marquette, on the Illinois River at or near what is now known as Starved Rock, by the Indians called Kaskaskia and afterwards called the Mission of the Immaculate Conception. About the year 1700, the branch of the Kaskaskia Indians migrated down the Illinois River and down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River. They remained at the latter place for a century or more, and were then placed upon a reservation on the Big Muddy, from which they were removed to the Indian Territory on or before 1860.

The Cahokia tribe was located in Illinois almost opposite the present City of St. Louis. Their principal village became the county seat of the first county organized in Illinois. They rapidly decreased in numbers, however, and the remnant eventually amalgamated with the Kaskaskia.

The Michigameas, who gave their name to Lake Michigan, were located on the borders of that lake. From thence they were driven south by the Iroquois. This tribe was afterward annihilated by their enemies from the north.

The Tamaroas, when first found, lived on the upper Illinois, and afterward moved to St. Clair County, where they were closely associated with the Cahokias. About 1680, while at war with the Iroquois, seven hundred of them were killed or carried into captivity. They were finally exterminated by the Shawnees.

When Marquette and Joliet passed up the Illinois River in 1673, the Peorias were located near the present site of the City of Peoria. They were afterward driven to the south and joined the Kaskaskias, in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In connection with these Indians found in the latter part of the seventeenth century on the banks of the Illinois, the Missouri and other rivers in and around the State of Illinois, it may be well to discuss briefly the origin and existence of certain peculiar Indian mounds found in the State of Illinois. It was contended by some theorists for a time that these mounds

were evidence that the Indians found by the French discoverers were not the first race of Indians that dwelt where these mounds were erected; that a race of very different character and of great genius and ability occupied the prairies of Illinois and constructed, in their day, these strange artificial earth mounds. Some excavations have been made in these mounds, but it is not believed that in any of these excavations any satisfactory proof has been found that these mounds were created by a different race than the tribes discovered and dealt with in 1673. Indeed, mounds in the course of construction have been seen by European explorers and in some of them they have found products of European manufacture, which would seem to dispose of effectually the theory that these mounds were created by a superior, or more intelligent race.

There are quite a number of these mounds in the lower valley of the Illinois River and along the lowlands of the Mississippi. Some are in pyramidal shape, square or circular. Some of them are very small, while the Cahokia mound rises to a height of 100 feet and covers an area of probably seventeen acres.

So far, the building of these mounds has not been conclusively shown to have been the work of any prehistoric race of Indians. The implements found in them are generally hoes and implements shaped out of flint or other hard stone, and some pottery, the latter being similar to the pottery unearthed from mounds among the Natchez tribes of Indians.

Whoever built these mounds certainly did not leave within these tumuli any evidence that the builders were of superior intelligence or marked intellectual ability. The mounds were probably used as the Egyptians used their pyramids, for the deposit of the bodies of the important dead.

A great change came over the Indians as the result of the advent of the white trader, not only in his, the Indian's, habits, but also, to a degree in his character. Before the coming of the white trader, he had been by training and his experiences with the wild animals and wild men, self-reliant in his struggle for a livelihood. The wild animals of the woods and prairies furnished him both food and raiment. The fish in the lakes

and rivers were abundant as were the beasts in the forest. The flesh of these were supplemented at times with wild maize, wild berries, and wild vegetables, and grains scantily wrung from the soil by the labor of their squaws.

To secure his food and clothing, the primitive, untutored Indian relied upon his flint-headed arrows and spears and his rude traps and seines, but mainly he relied upon his own courage and cunning to wring from nature a continuance of life. With the coming of the white trader, this self-reliance ceased.

The trader had far-reaching, accurate firing guns and explosive ammunition, steel knives and other steel weapons for hunting and for warfare. With such implements and weapons in his possession, the Indian knew he could hunt, trap and fish with much less risk and labor and with much greater profit. When he saw and once used these modern weapons, the Indian lost his spirit of self-reliance and independence. In procuring these implements, he became the serf of the trader. For a little rum and a rifle, the poor Indian was ready to sell his soul. The white traders, hundreds of miles away from governmental supervision, were the only persons who could supply these weapons, powder, bullets, pots, pans, blankets and other necessities of life to the Indians. Traders, under such circumstances became robbers without violence.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH DISCOVERERS AND SETTLERS

No white man disturbed the Indian tribes in Illinois or contested their right to use that territory for their hunting grounds until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Disputes as to the rights of occupancy of these hunting grounds did arise between the different tribes, as we have seen, but these disputes were settled Indian fashion with the tomahawk and scalping knife.

Rum and written treaties had not as yet been introduced into negotiations by the pale face.

The Spaniard Hernando de Soto had sailed up the Mississippi, but never reached the Illinois country.

For over one hundred years after De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi, neither the French nor English made any permanent settlements in America.

The French settlements were in Canada and Acadia, now called Nova Scotia. The English settlements were mainly in Massachusetts and Virginia. All these settlements were on the Atlantic sea coast. For a long time the advance inward from the English settlements was retarded by the Appalachian mountains and the formidable barrier made by the Iroquois confederacy of Indians.

It is quite certain that no Englishman put foot upon the territory of Illinois before the eighteenth century, because of the dangers and difficulties of travel westward from the English settlements.

The French pioneers in Canada were much better situated for travel inward from the Atlantic than the English. The St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes and their tributary and connecting rivers furnished easy water transportation with few portages to the Mississippi. The English settlements, however,

were all along the seashore and east of the Alleghany Mountains, over which, at that time, there were no trails that were not extremely hazardous. The occupation of the Mississippi Valley by the French started a century earlier, and was much more rapid than the westward trek of the English over the mountains. Three great incentives moved the French hunters, explorers and missionaries. The northern regions of the west about the Great Lakes abounded in valuable fur-bearing animals, beaver, minks, lynxes, muskrats, foxes and other animals of that character. The acquisition of these furs from the Indians at low prices and the selling of them in Europe at high prices, was a great incentive to the French traders and hunters. This was the lure of wealth. Missionary zeal was another great incentive. Never was the cause of Christianity served with greater zeal and devotion and fearlessness than by Marquette and the other disciples of Ignatius Loyola in the Mississippi Valley. They endured untold hardships in their work among the Indians, not only without complaint, but with enjoyment, and seemed ever ready to suffer cruel torture and even death rather than to abandon the work that they had devoted themselves to. The third motive actuating these Frenchmen was love of country, and the desire to spread throughout the western hemisphere the glory and material advancement of the French kingdom. At that period Louis XIV, the grand monarch, was on the throne of the French, and the fame of France among Christian nations was at its peak. Every Frenchman detailed by that great monarch to represent him on the western continent was aflame with the desire of spreading the fame of France throughout North America. The first westward movement was inaugurated by Champlain, the governor of New France, who was intensely interested in the exploration of the western country. He, himself, went as far as Lake Huron, and he placed young Frenchmen in the Indian villages to learn their languages. At the inception of their efforts of exploration in the west, he was for some time obstructed by the hostilities of the Iroquois Confederacy, who were at all times inimical to the French, because of the belief of these Indians that the French were allied with

their enemies, the Algonquin tribe. These hostilities between the French and Iroquois Confederacy continued down to 1667.

Although the French pioneers had discovered Newfoundland and the St. Lawrence River and made settlements and established fisheries in their neighborhood as early as 1504, no serious attempt was made by the French discoverers permanently to locate under the flag of the French king any territory in Illinois, or immediately surrounding it, until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Champlain was made governor of New France, being the title by which the French possessions in America were then known, and held this position until he died in 1635. During the seven years that he acted as governor, he was consistently furthering the interests of his monarch and the Catholic religion. Reports coming to him of a great river in the West and of regions rich with fur-bearing animals, he sent to the West as explorers and for the purpose of laying claim to the country several young Frenchmen and among them a young friend, named Jean Nicollett, who had lived with the Indians, and became acquainted with their language and acted as an interpreter. Nicollett discovered Lake Michigan in 1634, and visited the Indians at Green Bay. Two Jesuit missionaries visited the River St. Mary on the south side of Lake Superior about 1634, and the following year as many as fifteen Jesuit priests were in the region of the Great Lakes. Their movements were watched and bitterly opposed by the Iroquois Indians, who refused to allow them to make use of the St. Lawrence or Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In 1655, however, a sort of peace was agreed upon between the French and the Iroquois, and after this the French pushed their explorations both west and southwest.

In 1659 the first Bishop of New France, Francis Xavier De Laval, landed at Montreal from France, bringing more clergymen with him devoted to the propagation of the Catholic faith. Most of these early clergymen were of the Franciscan order, but ultimately were supplanted by the Jesuits, who were the main supports of the Church in the new world.

In 1664, the Valley of the Hudson became British property by transfer from the Dutch, and this ended any influence for

peace that the French had with the Iroquois. The Algonquin of the West were always at war with the Iroquois, and they then sought to ally themselves with the French, a power which seemed to be growing rapidly in the new world.

In 1660, three hundred Algonquin in sixty canoes, loaded with furs, accompanied the French traders on their return to Quebec from the West, and this deputation of Algonquins made clear to the French authorities the necessity of an alliance between the French and the Indians of the West.

In 1669, Father Allouez, S. J., after spending two years on the south shore of Lake Superior, returned to Quebec and urged upon the governor the necessity of establishing permanent missions and trading stations in the West.

About this time, Father James Marquette, S. J., recently arrived from France, visited Quebec and was detailed, with Father Dablau to found a mission at Sault Ste. Marie. During his travels, Father Marquette heard wonderful stories of the Mississippi River, and in 1669 he began to study the Illinois language. Up to that time, the French government itself had done but little to establish missions, forts or trading stations in the West. As the Algonquin tribes and the French became more friendly and as commercial intercourse between them in the way of purchase and sale of furs developed, it finally became interesting to the French government, and Colbert, minister of finance of France, became much interested in extending the power of France westward in America. Under his inspiration, Simon Francois Daumont Sieur de St. Lusson was authorized to hold a congress of the Indian tribes at St. Mary's at the outlet of Lake Superior in the summer of 1671. The government of France sent into the region about St. Mary, Nicholas Pierrot, to invite the Indian tribes to assemble at St. Mary's for the proposed congress, and fourteen tribes responded to the invitation. On June 4, 1671, St. Lusson, with Father Allouez, and surrounded by a retinue of French officers, opened the congress and brought it out to the assembled Indian delegates that it was the purpose of the great king of France to take the tribes in the western part of New France under his care. The assembled Indians were much impressed with the display of power and

authority, and reached the conclusion that the French government and its soldiers were the only power to protect them from the persecutions and calamities that they had hitherto suffered from the Iroquois. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a great cedar cross was erected on the banks of the great Lake Superior, and by the side of the cross, another cedar column was erected, which bore the lilies of France. From this time on, the French government began to display some interest in the settlement of the far West.

About this time, Father James Marquette, heretofore mentioned, had gathered about him the remnants of an Indian tribe and founded a mission near what is now known as the Strait of Mackinac. His mission was called St. Ignace, in honor of St. Ignatius, the Jesuit. There he preached the Gospel to the Hurons and members of other tribes, and while there, he heard of the great river in the West. I quote his own language:

When the Illinois come to the point (St. Esprit), they pass a great river which is almost a league in width. It flows from north to south, and to so great a distance that the Illinois, who know nothing of the use of the canoe, have never as yet heard of its mouth.

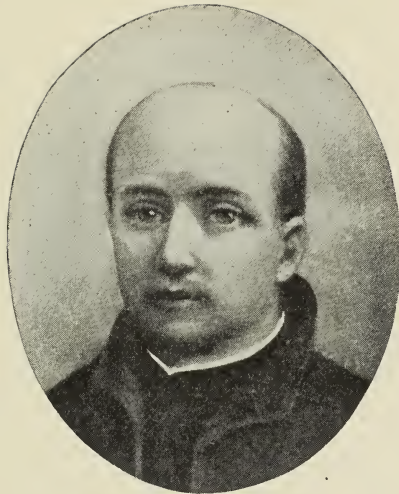
He then ventured the hope that means would be found to "visit the nations who dwell along its shores in order to open the way to the many of our fathers who were awaiting so great an opportunity."

CHAPTER IV

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI

The first serious attempt made by the French monarchy to colonize its discoveries in New France was made by Jean Baptiste Colbert, the greatest of French ministers under Louis XIV, the grand monarch of France. His first venture was paternalistic and monopolistic. He had created a great corporation, the West India Company, to which was given wide monopolistic power of trading and development in and over all the over-sea territory of France in America. Although governmentally aided and fostered, wars and financial catastrophes, caused its collapse and in 1672 it had ceased to function.

Canada then became a royal province. For some eight or ten years prior to this date, a real beginning of exploration of the West occurred. A complete civil government had been established in New France. Jean Talon was then the intendant, one of the ablest if not the greatest of France's civil officials ever stationed in New France. Talon and Colbert, the great French minister, had identical views with reference to the establishment of a great French empire in America. Soon after his appearance in Canada, Talon organized expeditions to discover the territory which might become a Greater France. In 1669, he had sent an expedition to Lake Superior under the leadership of Louis Joliet, who made a successful mission to Lake Superior and returned by the route of Lake Erie. He was probably the first white discoverer of that lake. During the following year, at the instigation of Talon, Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle made another exploration south of the Lakes. Another expedition was undertaken by Simon Francois Daumont Sieur de St. Luson to the same lakes region. Luson had been delegated by the French government to bring about an immense meeting with the Indian tribes and to carry out the significant



MARQUETTE



JOLIET

ceremony at Sault Ste. Marie. This place was selected because of its convenient location, uniting the territory around Lake Superior and Lake Winnebago with the territory around Lake Michigan and the Mississippi Valley. In June, 1671, representatives of fourteen Indian tribes met at Sault Ste. Marie as hereinbefore stated, and witnessed a ceremony of great pomp, both religious and nationalistic. Father Calude Allouez in a stately address pointed out to the Indians the power of the great French king, and declared that all of the country surrounding Sault Ste. Marie was then in the possession of the Great Monarch Louis XIV, and that all nations must forbear from trespassing upon its confines. At the conclusion of the ceremony, they erected a great cross, and a pillar to which the arms of France were attached, with great solemnity.

The incentive to this solemn ceremony and the further development of the territory around the Great Lakes and to the West was the desire to explore and discover if the Indian's accounts relating to a great western river which flowed to the sea, were authentic. Talon had made up his mind to find this river and to discover its outlet to salt water. He aimed to select for this mission a competent and experienced man, and finally selected Louis Joliet, who was not only an experienced explorer, but a capable and successful leader of men. He showed great sagacity in his selection. Joliet was born in Quebec on or about 1645, and was educated in a Jesuit school in the village in which he was born. He remained in the school until he was educated in the higher branches, including surveying and map-making. He was by birth a natural musician, and often played the organ of the Cathedral of Quebec. He intended to become a priest, but finally concluded to abandon that calling and to follow the life of a fur trader and explorer. In his youth he was friendly with the Jesuits, and that friendship continued throughout his whole life. The Jesuits on their part were always friendly with him, and regarded him as their representative in his trips of discovery. Before he was selected to undertake the discovery of the Mississippi, he had twice visited Sault Ste. Marie, and had earned not only the confidence of his civilian

superiors, but that of the Jesuits and Indians with whom he came in contact.

It was the policy of the French authorities then and before that time, to attach to any mission of discovery which they organized a French missionary, preferably a Jesuit, because of the fact that these missionaries had been successful in obtaining the confidence of the Indians and had secured their friendship wherever they met. Accordingly, Talon and the leaders of the Jesuit order conferred with reference to the selection of a Jesuit missionary to accompany Joliet in his quest for the wonderful river of the West. Both finally agreed upon the selection of Jacques Marquette of the Jesuit order. In 1673, Father Marquette was about thirty-six years of age. His birthplace was Laon, France. He entered the Jesuit order in 1654 and arrived in Canada in 1666. He succeeded Father Allouez in the mission of Chequamegon Bay, and about 1671 he built the mission of St. Ignace at Mackinac. At the time of his selection as the companion of Joliet, he was quietly and unostentatiously performing his sacred duties in a little chapel that he had built at St. Ignace, surrounded by a few poor savages and a few French fur traders.

In his dreams for several years, this quiet, patient, saintly man had been dreaming of just such a mission, excited thereto by the tales that he had heard from the Indians, of the wonderful river of the West. His ambition in life was to gather into the fold of the true believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ, the simple, untutored red-skinned inhabitants of the western prairies, who had never heard of the Son of God and His gospels of love.

Talon had arranged for this mission of discovery by Joliet and Pere Marquette, but it did not fall to his lot to give the final commission into their hands. Comte de Frontenac came to Canada as Governor in 1672. He adopted the program prepared by Talon, made no change in the personnel of the leaders of this mission of discovery, and finally authorized Joliet and Marquette to start upon their undertaking.

In the winter of 1672-73, at Mackinac on the Point St. Ignace, which is in its immediate neighborhood, Louis Joliet and Pere Marquette made their preparations for their mission. It

is astounding how simple these arrangements were. Although they contemplated a journey by land and water which would cover hundreds of miles in the wilderness, and might cover a thousand miles in their wanderings, the only provision made for this extraordinary exploration was a small stock of Indian corn and smoked meat. They had ascertained from the Indians the general direction of their route, and had traced out, upon such information, tentative maps, of where they intended to go. With their guns and this small stock of food, they started on May 17, 1673 with five men and two canoes for this long voyage of mysterious end.

Keeping to the west shore of Lake Michigan from Mackinac to Green Bay, they entered the Bay and paddled their canoes down the same until they reached the Fox River. Up to this point, they were familiar with the route. Beyond that point, the route was a mystery. The Indians on the banks of the Fox River attempted to dissuade them from further adventure. They pictured to Joliet and Pere Marquette a country beyond, filled with Indians of a merciless disposition, and described the river as dangerous of ascent or descent. None the less, the discoverers remained steadfast to their original aim, and shortly thereafter crossed the portage between the upper Fox River and the Wisconsin River, guided by Miami Indians.

On June 17th, just one month after leaving Mackinac, they entered the Mississippi River. En route from Lake Michigan to the Wisconsin River, they had come across a great cross erected evidently by white men at or near the portage between the Fox River and the Wisconsin River, but thereafter neither down the Wisconsin nor down the Mississippi did they discover any evidence that a white man had ever traveled upon the water of these rivers, until they reached the mouth of the Arkansas River.

Marquette is quoted as saying,

I put the expedition under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of 'Conception,' and I also would give that name to the first mission among these new nations, as I have actually

done among the Illinois. (Smith's *History of Illinois*, p. 73.)

A few days after embarking upon the Mississippi River after leaving the Wisconsin River, they discovered footprints in the vicinity of what is now the City of Keokuk, Iowa. Following these footprints, Marquette and Joliet, leaving their canoes, went into the prairie and soon came in contact with a village of Indians. These Indians, carrying tobacco pipes, came out to welcome them. Marquette, who spoke several Indian dialects, addressed them and they told him that they were Illinois, and presented the pipe of peace. These Illinois Indians gave them a feast of which both Marquette and Joliet partook, save and except a dish which consisted of dog meat. At the invitation of these Illinois Indians, they remained overnight, and on the following day were accompanied to their boats by a crowd of Indians, who wished them good luck.

After leaving these Indians, Marquette and Joliet continued on their journey down the Mississippi, passing the mysterious Piasa Rock and the mouth of the Ohio. They kept on their journey to about the latitude of the Arkansas River. At this point, they met some Indians, who had guns and axes, hoes and other modern implements. Although Father Marquette spoke six Indian dialects, he did not understand what any of them said, until an old man who spoke a little of the Illinois language was found, and through him, Marquette was able to understand a little of what he said. These Indians were located in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Arkansas River. All these different Indians had so far treated them kindly. At this point, Marquette and Joliet had a conference, and determined that the Mississippi River did not empty into the Pacific nor into the Atlantic, but that it flowed southward to the Gulf of Mexico. They also reached the conclusion that there would be danger of meeting warlike Indians further south, and made up their minds to return northward along the Mississippi River.

The journey homeward commenced on the 17th of July, two months, exactly, from the date that they had departed from St. Ignace. They found the northward journey much more

difficult, and when near the mouth of the Illinois River, were informed that the distance to Lake Michigan was much shorter by the Illinois River than by the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. Relying upon this information, they started northeasterly from the Mississippi through the Illinois River. At a point along this river where the city of Peoria is now located, they went ashore and found a village of Illinois Indians. They were kindly received, and spent several days with these Indians, during which Father Marquette preached to the Indians in the town. After leaving Peoria, they came to a village of Kaskaskia Indians, located at what is now known as Utica. In this village there were seventy-four cabins, and as the Indians frequently housed six families in each cabin, and as the Indian family usually averaged five, there must have been quite an Indian population at this point. These Indians also received Father Marquette and his party in a friendly, generous way. They listened to his preaching and became interested in his story of the Gospel. They exacted from him his promise to return and preach to them at greater length, and furnished an escort of a chief and several young men to accompany Father Marquette and his party when they were leaving, which guard accompanied them to the Chicago portage.

From Chicago, they made their way in a leisurely manner to the mission of Green Bay, arriving there in September, 1673. Father Marquette and Joliet spent the winter of 1673-74 and the summer of 1674 at the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the head of Green Bay. Late in the summer of 1674, Joliet left the mission of St. Francis, and in August reported to the governor of New France at Quebec, verbally. He traveled by water, and unfortunately when near Quebec, his boat was upset and he lost his maps, notes and specimens taken on the voyage of discovery. Only the maps left in the West remained. These were afterward identified. After reporting to the governor of New France, Joliet sailed to France, where he was received with great honor and afterward sent on a mission to Central America.

Father Marquette, in the fall of 1674, remembering his promise to the Kaskaskia Indians to return and preach to them

again about the Savior of Mankind, started on his journey to Kaskaskia, and on October 27, 1674 with two French laymen he left the mission of St. Francis Xavier and journeyed southward towards the Kaskaskia Village. On November 21, 1674, Father Marquette was taken sick, it being a return of an old malady, dysentery. Notwithstanding his sickness, he reached Chicago on December 4, 1674. There his companions built some rude cabins and attempted to make him comfortable. That winter in Chicago was a long, severe, cold winter and he suffered extremely from exposure and improper food and lack of nursing care, although his attendants did everything that was possible in their rude way for his comfort. Many Indians called upon him, and some few Frenchmen paid him comforting visits. He then heard that the Indians at Kaskaskia were on the point of starvation on account of the severe winter. A French physician visited him about this time and brought food and otherwise administered to him.

On February 9th, 1675 Father Marquette wrote that he was feeling better and expected to complete his journey to the Kaskaskia Indians when the weather improved. On March 30th, the ice began to break and on or about this day Marquette and a little band of companions started for the Kaskaskia village. Their route was up the southern branch of the Chicago River, across the portage sometimes known as Mud Lake to the Des Plaines River. On March 30th they crossed the portage, and reached the village on April 8, 1675. The Indians at Kaskaskia were as overjoyed upon his return as if an angel from heaven had visited them. The chiefs and elders of the tribe surrounded him in a circle, and in the inner and outer circle there were at least fifteen hundred men, women and children. He preached with intense religious feeling, and seemed to be extremely happy. On the 11th of April, he established a mission there, and gave it the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

After remaining a few days at Kaskaskia, he started back with the expectation of reaching St. Ignace. A large number of chiefs and couriers of the Kaskaskia tribe accompanied him to the Chicago Portage and to Lake Michigan, carrying his baggage

and rendering him every possible assistance. It was the intention of Father Marquette on leaving Chicago, en route to St. Ignace, to travel by canoe along the southerly shore of Lake Michigan and along its easterly side. He started upon this trip upon Lake Michigan accompanied only by two Frenchmen, Pierre and Jacques. His strength failing him, he begged these two young men to carry him ashore, that he might die quietly on land and escape the great storm then gathering on the lake. The exact spot where this occurred is disputed, but the best evidence is that it was near the City of Ludington on an inlet from Lake Michigan known as Pere Marquette Lake. Following Father Marquette's instructions, the two young Frenchmen buried him at this spot, and after erecting a cross over his grave, they continued their journey to St. Ignace, and there gave the sad news of the death of its beloved founder.

Joliet christened the great river that he and Father Marquette had discovered "Buade," this being the family name of the Count de Frontenac, and later on re-christened it the "Colbert" after the great French minister. On the other hand, Father Marquette in his devotion to the Virgin Mother of God, named it in commemoration of the Immaculate Conception; but nonetheless, the name by which the Indians christened this great stream, "The Mississippi" is still the name by which it is now known, and will be known in the centuries yet to come. One translation of the Indian name, "Mississippi" is The Great Water. Another writer claims that the name is derived from "Mechah" (Big) and "Seebee" (River) in the Ojibwa language.

Joliet, the seasoned traveler in the wilderness, the trained explorer of lakes and rivers, was more than delighted when he crossed the portage from the Des Plaines River to the southern branch of the Chicago River, to discover the ease of navigation from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. He saw in this ease of transfer from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi the realization of his dream of a great prosperous colony.

"A bark," said he, "could be sailed from Lake Erie through the lakes to Lake Michigan, where a canal through half a league of prairie would admit the vessel to the water system of the great valley." (Alvord, P. 65).

This vision of Joliet has been since his day the vision of every great statesman in Illinois down to the present day, but to Joliet belongs the unquestioned honor of first proposing it and originating the project of a waterway connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River. It was my ambition and hope, when I was governor, to be able to open the gates that would pour navigable waters from Lake Michigan into the Illinois River. But, sad to relate, that ambition was not achieved, and as I write, the Illinois waterway is still unopened for commerce.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH MISSIONARIES

The hardy and adventurous *coureurs de bois* of Canada were undoubtedly the first white men to plant their feet on the western territory now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. They were the first to learn that this territory was rich in fur bearing wild animals and that their skins could be purchased cheaply from the Indian hunters and sold at great profit. They were illiterate men who left no record of their wanderings or discoveries. They undoubtedly preceded the Jesuits around Lake Superior and were found at Green Bay by the first missionary that visited that body of water. Father Marquette found them on the upper Illinois River in 1674.

But the zealous French missionaries were not long behind them. In 1669, Father Claude Jean Allouez visited Green Bay, and on Lake Ontario, the Sulpician missionaries from Montreal established a mission and sent two of their number up the Detroit River to explore Lake Erie. From that time down to the day when the French flag was lowered over Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia, these zealous, devoted men were always found on the outskirts of civilization, preaching to the Red Men and French Traders the doctrines of Jesus Christ, visiting and consoling the sick, giving spiritual consolation to the dying, enduring untold hardships, sickness and even death with a courage that was never surpassed in the field of battle.

Alvord in his history *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* in writing of these devoted men declares, Page 102:

From the first one, Father Marquette, to the last, Father Meurin, these learned men of religion, with little thought of worldly wealth or desire of self-advancement,

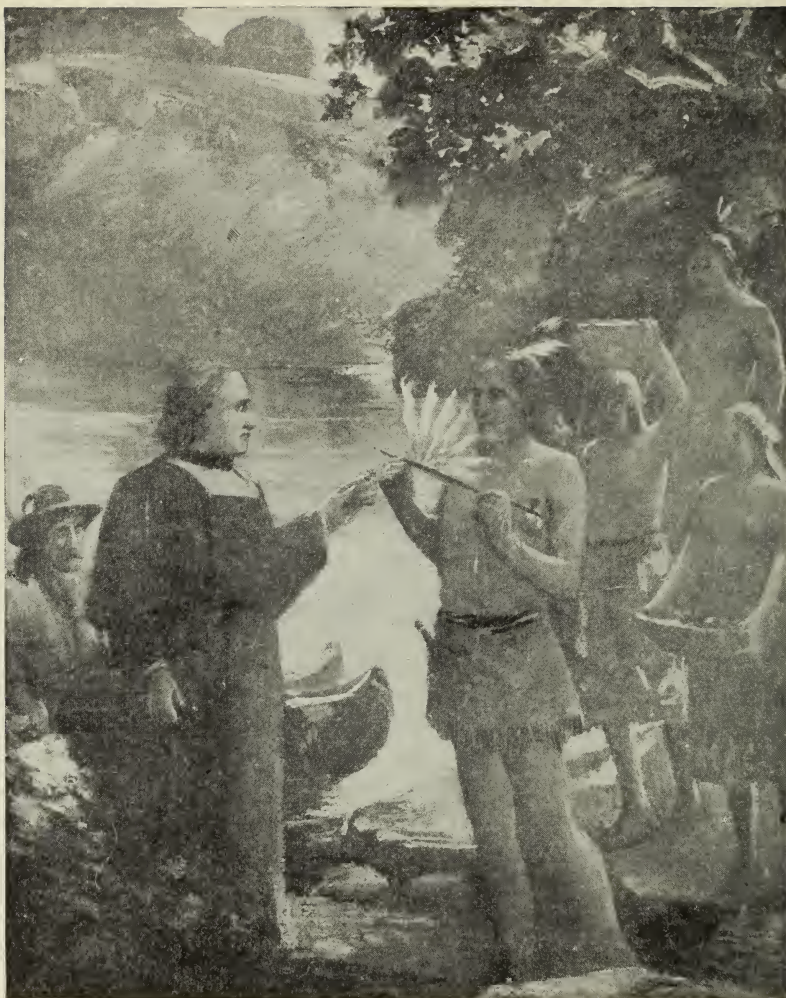
gave the best of their lives to the conversion of the Illinois Indians.

As we have heretofore seen, the gentle souled Pere Marquette was the first of these holy men who came in contact with the Indians of Illinois. He so impressed them, as he addressed them in their Indian dialect, that, on his departure from them, after a short stay in 1673, they escorted him to Chicago and secured from him a promise to return to them for future instruction. That promise Marquette redeemed at the cost of his life. His delicate physical frame gave way on the return from that trip and he died a martyr to his zeal for conversions to Christianity.

Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., was his immediate successor in the Illinois mission. Prior to his arrival in Illinois, Father Allouez had been at a mission on the shore of Lake Superior and there met some Illinois Indians who visited that mission. Soon after associating himself with the Illinois, he wrote an account of them which was the first written document on that subject. For twenty-four years he was actively engaged in founding and maintaining missions among the Indians of the Northwest.

After Marquette's death, Father Allouez appeared as his successor at the Illinois mission. On the approach of La Salle, however, he deemed it prudent to retire from that mission, there being a feeling of hostility towards the Jesuits on the part of La Salle and his followers. In 1684, however, he was again acting as Marquette's successor at the Illinois missions, and was not disturbed in any wise by Tonti, who was La Salle's lieutenant. His death took place in 1689. Kellogg, in his *Early Narrative of the Northwest*, page 96, as quoted by Alvord, page 103, states :

In 1689 this devoted servant of the Cross (Allouez) died at the Miami village on the St. Joseph River. A second St. Francis Xavier, Allouez is said during his twenty-four years of service to have instructed 120,000 Western savages and baptized at least 10,000.



MARQUETTE AND INDIAN CHIEF

Following Allouez came Father Jacques Gravier. He acted as missionary priest to the Illinois until 1705, when Tonti and Le Forest left Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock to go to Peoria. Father Gravier followed them and built a new church near the new fort. He is reported to have converted the chief of the Peoria tribe, and thereafter his influence among the Peoria and Kaskaskia Indians was greatly increased. Later on, Father Pinet came to the Illinois tribe from Mackinac, where he had been serving as a missionary for two years. Father Pinet founded the mission of the Guardian Angel near the mouth of the Chicago River among the Wea tribe, a branch of the Miamis. His conduct in so doing gave affront to Governor Frontenac, who ordered the mission closed in 1697. Against the governor's conduct, Father Gravier protested in a strong letter written to the Bishop of Quebec. The Bishop took the matter up with the authorities in Quebec and succeeded in re-establishing the mission, but for some reason or other the mission was again closed or abandoned in 1700.

A little church had been erected by the Jesuits in the Village of the Kaskaskia early in the century, but in 1753 this building which had been rather hastily and rudely constructed, was replaced by a church which is said to have been 104 feet long and 40 feet wide. This new church was erected by the efforts of three successive priests attached to the Kaskaskia mission, Father Tartarin, Father Watrin and Father Aubert. They succeeded in erecting this new church out of contributions made by the parishioners and their own fees and offerings. A complete list of the Jesuit priests who served in the Illinois country contains the names of the following clergymen:

Marquette, Father Jacques (James), 1673-1675.
Allouez, Father Claude Jean, 1674-1688.
Gravier, Father Jacques, 1688-1695, 1698-1706.
Rale, Father Sebastian, 1691-1693.
Binneteau, Father Julien, 1696-1699.
Pinet, Father Pierre Francois, 1696-1697, 1700-1704.
Marest, Father Pierre Gabriel, 1698-1714.
Alexandre, Brother, 1699.
Limoges, Father Joseph de, 1699-1700.
Gillet, Brother, 1702.

- Guibert, Brother Jean Francois, 1702-1712.
 Le Boullenger, Father Jean Antoine (Jean Baptiste), 1703-1741.
 Mermet, Father Jean, 1704-1716.
 Ville, Father Jean Marie de, 1707-1720.
 Guymonneau, Father Jean Charles (Gabriel), 1716-1736.
 Beaubois, Father Nicholas Ignace de, 1720-1724.
 Kereben, Father Joseph Francois de, 1725-1728.
 Dumas, Father Jean, 1727-1740.
 Outreleau, Father Etienne d', 1727-1728.
 Tartarin, Father Rene, 1727-1730.
 Senat, Father Antoine, 1734-1756.
 Meurin, Father Sebastian Louis, 1742-1763, 1763-1777.
 Magendie, Brother Charles, 1747-1756.
 Watrin, Father Philibert, 1747-1764.
 Fourre, Father Joseph Julien, 1749-1756.
 Guyenne, Father Alexis (Alexandre) Xavier de, 1732-1756.
 Vivier, Father Louis, 1739-1753.
 Pernelle, Brother Julien, 1755-1764.
 La Mornnie, Father Jean Baptiste de, 1760 (or 1761-) 1764.
 Salleneuve, Father Jean Baptiste (Francois) de, 1761-1764.
 Duvernai, Father Julien, 1763-1764.

With reference to the conduct of these priests, Alvord states in his history, page 198,

In all accounts that have been preserved, the praise of the Jesuits and the performance of their duties to their parishioners is almost universal, only an occasional voice being raised against their strictness. Besides the regularly recurring functions of their calling, the Fathers gave daily instructions, for the most part religious, to the French settlers, thus becoming the first school teachers of the Illinois country.

There were other missionaries, however, than the Jesuits. At Cahokia, the Seminary of Foreign Missions stationed one of their clergymen, by name Father Dominique Marie Varlet, who administered to the French inhabitants and the Indians around Cahokia from 1712 to 1718. He was succeeded in the same place by three other members of the same order, Father Thau-man de La Source, Father Calvarin, and Father Mercier. Father Mercier had quite a long career at Cahokia, where he died March 30, 1753. It is said that he passed forty-five years in missionary work, and was always respected by the Indians with

whom he came in contact. The Seminary priests also sent out a missionary to the Missouri Indians, and served the church of St. Anne, at Fort de Chartres, which provoked a short but well tempered dispute between the Seminary priests and the Jesuits.

These missionary priests were supposed to have received salaries from the Provincial Government. The Company of the West Indies paid 600 livres a year to each of the Jesuits, and 200 livres extra for five years to cover the expenses of installing a new mission. A livre was worth about twenty cents. The government continued paying these salaries until the parishes grew in prosperity, and then their payment ceased. The salaries of these missionary clergymen were often unpaid. The religious bodies, however, sometimes received grants of land from the government. The Jesuits received a large grant in Kaskaskia as early as 1716, and the Seminary of Foreign Missions received a cession of four leagues square at or near the village of Cahokia. The Jesuit missionaries were quite sanguine about the result of their work as missionaries among the Illinois Indians, who were a friendly and gentle race and listened gratefully to the teachings of the priests. By 1712 it was asserted by the missionaries and other persons who were cognizant of the facts; that all of the Illinois Indians had accepted Christianity. This was sometimes disputed by others, but it is unquestioned that they attended mass and vespers regularly and seemed to enjoy the religious services. They joined in the hymns with the French, the Illinois Indians singing a couplet of a psalm or hymn in their own language, and the French following it in the Latin services of the church. It is said that they were so fond of instruction and confession that they wearied the Fathers with their insistence. Their habits were altered in many ways as the result of the instruction that they received from those priests. Most of the Indian medicine men were driven out of the tribe by the Kaskaskias and Cahokias. They abandoned torture in warfare. Under the instruction of the priests, they learned the use of the plow, and the women learned to make cloth from the hair of the buffalo. The Indian women dressed modestly. They had dressing gowns which reached to

the neck, upon which they sewed a cap or a hat. Underneath the gown, they wore a petticoat and a bodice. They covered their bosoms with deer skin. The men, however, wore only girdles, the rest of their body being wholly bare.

The association of the Jesuits and the daring, hardy fur traders doing business on an individualistic basis, free from monopolistic control, at the start was mutually advantageous.

The missionary priests had secured the good will of the Indian tribes both by their gentle humanizing conduct and by their preaching of the pure unselfish doctrines of the Christian Church. To their missions wherever established the Indians flocked in great numbers. Around these missions surmounted by the cross, the Indians erected their tepees and cabins. Naturally, these were the places where the *coureurs-de-bois* and the fur traders would most easily come in contact with the Indian hunters returning with their skins from the hunting grounds. The traders, naturally, would help the missionaries in the erection of their chapels, and homes, and in the acquisition of food, clothing and the other necessities and comforts of life in the wilderness. Naturally, the missionaries, in return, would help these traders as interpreters and otherwise. Cheating and over-reaching of the Indians by the traders, however, frequently occurred; as in most of the dealings between white men of all nationalities and the Indian. Because of these occurrences, to the credit of the Jesuit missionaries, be it said, they, the missionaries, "worked persistently for an order from the court prohibiting fur traders from going to the West." (Alvord, Vol. I, *Centennial History of Illinois*, p. 70.) "They, the Jesuits, protested ever more strenuously against the sale of liquor to the Indians." (Idem.)

These fur traders, while allowed to wander at will, could and did frequently close an unfair trade with the simple-minded Indian not under the eye of a French official or missionary priest, but in the secrecy usual in dishonest transactions.

The missionaries in the remote western settlements were of the opinion that the traders should be prevented from entering the territory, and that for the purpose of trade, the Indians

would transport their furs to the white settlements, where opportunity would be given to supervise all transactions.

The leaders of the Jesuit order had a more ambitious program. It was the establishment in the heart of the Mississippi Valley of a great Christian state in which the red man, converted to Christianity, would retain his hunting grounds under the tutelage of the Jesuits, free from the cupidity and avarice of the dishonest trader. Neither the views of the resident missionaries nor the aspirations of the Jesuit leaders were ever realized.

At this juncture, Frontenac appears upon the scene; the man who was to establish the future policy of the dealings of the Frenchman with the Aborigine; but who was also to initiate and press to the front with vigor the magnificent program of welding together the Province of Canada with the Province of Louisiana,—both held by the French, by building French forts and establishing French garrisons and settlements across the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana and laying the foundations of a New France in America which in time would be greater, richer, and more powerful than the mother country.

Louis Baude, Comte de Frontenac, was appointed governor of New France about 1674 after Joliet and Pere Marquette had discovered the Mississippi. The white skinned population of New France at that time was less than seven thousand. With consummate enterprise and daring, Frontenac embarked upon the gigantic scheme of occupying the whole Mississippi Valley north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River and below the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, with French forts and settlements. He seemed to be the first of the governors of New France who had the breadth of vision to foresee that the nation that was in actual formidable possession of this rich territory with sufficient strength to establish continuous contact of forts and settlements could unite New France and Louisiana and lay the foundation for a great white skinned nation in the Mississippi Valley.

His ambition in this direction was actuated not only by patriotic love for France and her aggrandizement, but by a

selfish motive. He saw in the rich fur trade of that territory financial riches for himself and his intimates. If he or his friends could procure from the French sovereign a monopoly of this trade, his fortune was made, while his country was being aggrandized.

Before the arrival of Frontenac in New France, the Jesuits had been granted special rights in the conduct of missions among the Indians around the Great Lakes and the only missions then in existence were those established by the Jesuits. These missions around which the Indians gathered became magnets for the assemblage of the fur traders, and particularly for those traders that were or could become on friendly terms with the missionaries.

Friendship between these traders and the missionaries in these outskirts of civilization sprang up naturally. It was for the mutual advantage of both. Behind these traders and the missionaries in these outposts on the frontier of the new world, were many of the leading merchants of New France. These leading merchants were doubtless the brokers and financial supporters of the traders in the outposts and missions. These great merchants and financiers were as desirous of monopolizing the trading privileges as were Frontenac and his friends.

When Frontenac disclosed his gigantic scheme of uniting New France with Louisiana by a string of forts and missions from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, with monopoly rights of fur trading in Frontenac and his friends, bitter opposition developed between the established traders on the one side and Frontenac and his friends on the other side. The Jesuits, naturally, sided with their friends and intimates, the traders, as against the ambitions of the proposed new monopoly.

Both the traders and the priests hoped and wished to broaden their operations around the lakes and to extend the rights and privileges which they had been enjoying in the North to the rich country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, which extended to the Mississippi over what is now Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

With that end in view, Joliet (probably aided by the Jesuits) petitioned the French authorities for the right to found a colony of twenty in the Illinois country as the first step in that direction. Governor Frontenac saw in the scheme a plan to deprive his friends of a coveted monopoly, and reported that "it was necessary to multiply the inhabitants of Canada before thinking of other lands," and the petition of Joliet was rejected.

The main object of the priests, as shown by their zeal for religion and the endurance of all kinds of privations, was the spread of the Gospel of Christ; but the plain object of the merchants was the exclusive enjoyment of the profits of the fur trade and both objects ran upon parallel lines, so that the support of either helped to obtain the aims of both.

When the missionaries pointed to the demoralizing effects of French brandy, the governor's party, seeking the monopoly of trade, answered that French brandy was no more demoralizing than English rum, obtainable at Albany from the British traders. That intoxicating liquor was conducive toward the quick and often scandalously unfair consummation of trade between the white man and the red man, whether the white man spoke English, French, Dutch or Spanish, seems to have been an undeniable fact. It facilitated trade and robbed the red man. Alvord in his history cites a case where an Indian sold three thousand dollars worth of skins to a white man for a cask of brandy worth forty dollars. (P. 72, Alvord.)

The French authorities exercising supervision over the Indians and white colonists, sought to correct these evils. In 1673, white men were prohibited from going into the woods for over twenty-four hours without a special permit. Shortly afterward, all permits to trade were prohibited by the governor. The result of these prohibitions was the driving of the French traders and *coureurs de bois* from Montreal and Fort Frontenac to Albany for all purchases and sales. It made outlaws out of these Frenchmen, and made them expedite barter with the Indians with British rum instead of French brandy.

Abolition of all rights of barter having failed, the French authorities then tried a limitation of all trading permits to twenty-five royal conges or trading permits. These conges were

issued only to members of noble families or persons to whom the government was desirous of granting special consideration. This plan, however, failed, as did all the other plans devised for the purpose of putting a stop to unconscionable trading. The *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* or runners in the woods who were engaged in fur trading with the Indians, were a hardy, happy-go-lucky, rule-defying lot.

In the early spring and early fall of each year, they were wont to leave Montreal in large fleets of canoes with their guns, scanty subsistence and trading goods, including French brandy for the Great Lakes. With three men in a canoe, they relied upon their guns and fishing tackle almost solely for food. They endured all kinds of risks and hardships while paddling their canoes in the lakes and rivers and carrying them over the portages in the wilderness. At the Great Lakes they separated, each following the trail with which they were familiar, until they reached the Indian settlements. There in the solitude of the woods, far from the eye and arm of the government, they did their trading with the simple Indian upon such terms as they believed would be a recompense for risks and dangers and arduous labor they had endured. Rules and regulations of a mighty monarch of France were to them, under the circumstances surrounding them, only so many jokes.

CHAPTER VI

CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRENCH HABITANTS IN THE COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS

The country of the Illinois as frequently mentioned in this narrative, and in all the French documents between 1673 when Marquette and Joliet discovered the Mississippi and 1763 when by the Treaty of Paris the British obtained sovereignty of the French possessions in the North American continent, was by no means co-terminous with the present State of Illinois. The term Illinois Country, as used by the French officials, extended from Western New York, north of the Ohio River to Eastern Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas, although the Spanish government claimed title to all that portion of the same west of the Mississippi River. The French *coureurs de bois* and traders in their travels cared not for the claims of far distant kings in the hunt for furs. These happy-go-lucky traders were found wherever there was trade in the territory we have set out above.

In all this wide expanse of territory, there were no English colonists who tilled the soil, no Spanish except around St. Louis, and but few French colonists who had established permanent homes and relied upon agriculture for a living. The French *habitants*, except along the Illinois Bottom for about seventy miles between Kaskaskia and East St. Louis, were either *coureurs de bois*, traders, or French soldiers, and naval and military officers stationed in and around the forts or posts at Frontenac, Mackinac, Green Bay, Fort Miami, Peoria, Vincennes and Chicago and Detroit. French tillers of the soil were few and far between, except in the Illinois Bottom, whose great fertility attracted many of them and made them permanent colonists. Outside of the French settlers gathered around De-



LE COUREUR DE BOIS

troit and Fort Frontenac, there were probably not over three thousand Frenchmen who were actual colonists in all this extensive territory, and about two thousand of these were located in the Illinois Bottom. Many writers have discussed the habits and characteristics of the French settlers in the Illinois Bottom, and if we gather from them a knowledge of these men and their families in that locality, we can get a fair idea of the habits of the French Colonial settlers, sparsely scattered over this extensive territory.

In the American Bottom, the French inhabitants consisted of two classes. One well born, of fairly comfortable circumstances who in Great Britain would be called the gentry. These were comparatively few and comprised the officers of the garrison and the rich merchants and land-holders. The others, a more numerous class, called *habitants*, were small holders of land, small merchants, small traders, *coureurs de bois*, servants and laborers.

The holders of small tracts of land took title and cultivated their small holdings in a manner peculiar to the French in their native land. The American farmer, as we all know, as a rule takes title to and cultivates a farm in square lots of ten, forty, one hundred and sixty, or six hundred and forty acres. The French settler in the American Bottom used a large unfenced common open to all for grazing purposes, and for tillage took title to, and plowed long strips of sometimes a mile in length but very narrow in width. No fence or barrier separated these separate holdings from each other, but a common fence or barrier enclosed the ends of these long strips of land and the owner of each strip was required to maintain that portion of the end fence which was opposite his own strip of land. They did not live, or build their houses on these strips of land which they cultivated, but in a village close by their plantings, where they could live in more intimate contact with each other.

It had one advantage over the modern farming methods. There was not such isolation of farming families as made the American farmer's life, before the coming of the auto, radio and telephone, almost unendurable. They were a pleasure loving, good natured lot, fond of frolics, dancing and card playing, as are

most illiterate and many well educated people. As a rule, they seemed more concerned about having a happy, rather than a luxurious life. They drank as a rule with moderation, but on occasions went too far, as most frontiersmen of other nationalities were wont to do. So far as the records show, they were singularly free from felonious crimes, and settled most of their disputes by referring them to the civil or military authorities, and in many cases by submitting them to their clergymen.

Concubinage with squaws, and marriage to squaws, were quite common. The latter was urged by the priests in substitution of concubinage, although these marriages were frowned on by the civil authorities; because of the belief that such marriages degraded the white man to the level of the savage and produced a progeny that had the vices of both races. At times, these marriages were absolutely interdicted by the civil authorities.

On Sundays and holidays, after attending church, they indulged themselves in games and other recreations, after the manner of most European countries.

Mardi Gras and New Year's day were celebrated with enthusiasm. Good natured charivaris and pancake flappings were frequent, and dancing was at all times considered the height of enjoyment.

Their social intercourse with the Indians was on the whole much more friendly than the association of the English settler with the red man. The English settler made no disguise of the fact that he wanted the land upon which the Indian hunted, and frequently appropriated to himself that land by force; without attempting to acquire the tribal rights of the Indian to the same. The French settler was more concerned in acquiring the furs of the hunter, which he was willing to buy, and when he did acquire the land itself, it was obtained in some peaceful method rather than by force of arms.

Under the French system, theoretically, the French inhabitant had no voice in the laws or ordinances, by which he was governed. There was no law governing him, except such laws and rules as were proclaimed by the King of France and by the governor of New France under royal authority. The New

England township government was unknown. The French subjects in New France were never consulted about the laws and rules proclaimed. These laws and rules were handed to them ready made, and had to be obeyed. None the less, these little villages like Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and New Chartres did of their own volition establish certain customs that by unanimous agreement were treated, obeyed and binding upon their inhabitants.

Assemblies of the people were held after mass in front of the church. Syndics or quasi-mayors were there elected. When matters relating to the church arose, the priest presided. When civil or commercial matters were under consideration, the syndic took charge.

Auctions were held there. The times of plowing or harvesting were settled. Repairs on churches, roads or public buildings were determined there. Records were kept by the judge or a clerk, or notary, of all transactions at said assemblies, and the syndic of the village was required to see that all orders made at such meetings were duly carried out.

Military duty was compulsory upon all male inhabitants of these French villages, for the purpose of protecting them from Indian aggression or other disorder. The captain of the company, in each village, was selected by the French mayor or commandant to organize the company and control it thereafter.

The captain of the militia in each village was a citizen of much importance. He represented the major commandant and represented the royal government in all work performed by the villagers for the government, or on the roads. He represented the judge, and carried out and put into execution his judgments. He was to all intents and purposes a man clothed with the authority and performing the function of an English justice of the peace. At times disputes arose between the villagers and the Indians, which the captain of the militia took charge of and assuaged or settled in some manner. When the white men first settled among these Indians, there were no disputes as to titles to the land. Both the Indians and the white men were interested in hunting and in the fur trade, rather than in the soil, but as the settlers began to show a disposition to possess

themselves of land, then trouble arose between them and the Indians.

The close association of these inhabitants and the Indians was probably disadvantageous to both. Intoxicating liquor and disease spread rapidly among the Indians, and these Illinois Indians that were formerly able to hold their own even against the ferocious Iroquois tribes, became degenerate, and their tribes were reduced in number to between three to three thousand five hundred men, women and children, the males of which seemed to have degenerated from fearless warriors into lazy and indolent idlers.

They rapidly became converts and responded to the teachings of the missionaries. They attended church with great regularity and participated in all the ceremonies of the Catholic religion. John Reynolds, who was elected governor in 1830, lived among the French *habitants* for many years and had probably the best opportunity of any English writer to become acquainted with their character and customs and in his history of Illinois entitled *My Own Times*,¹ he describes them in the following language:

The immigrants of the French villages being from different sections of the continent, made some difference in the population. Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher were mostly colonized from Mobile and New Orleans, and Cahokia from Canada. The language possessed a shade of difference, as well as their habits. In the first-named village, the inhabitants partook of the Sunny South, more than those who settled in Cahokia from Canada. A shade more of relaxation, gaiety, hilarity, and dancing, prevailed in Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher than in Cahokia. It may be, the immigrants from France to the north and south of the continent of North America, may have been from different provinces of the mother-country, which made the difference above mentioned in the early French pioneers of Illinois.

The masses of the French were an innocent and happy people. They were devoutly attached to the Roman Cath-

¹ Reynolds (*My Own Times*), first and second sections, p. 37, and second section, p. 38 and last three sections, p. 39.

olic Church, and had lived for many generations in strict obedience to the Christian principles taught by that church. They were removed from the corruption of large cities, and enjoyed an isolated position in the interior of North America. In a century before 1800, they were enabled to solve the problem: that neither wealth, nor splendid possessions, nor an extraordinary degree of ambition, nor energy, ever made a people happy. These people resided more than a thousand miles from any other colony, and were strangers to wealth or poverty; but the Christian virtues governed their hearts, and they were happy. One virtue among others was held in high estimation, and religiously observed. Chastity with the Creoles was a *sine quo non*, and a spurious offspring was almost unknown among them. It is the immutable decree to man from the Throne itself, that in proportion to the introduction of sin and guilt into the heart, in the same proportion happiness abandons the person.

“The French generally, and the early Creoles particularly, were passionately fond of dancing. The gay and merry disposition of the French, adopted the mode of social amusement. To enjoy the dancing-salon was almost a passion among the French, and for the enjoyment of which they made many efforts. No people ever conducted the ballroom with more propriety than they did. Decorum and punctilious manners were enforced by public opinion. No liquor, cigars, or loud blustering remarks were tolerated in their dancing assemblies. All classes, ages, and degrees assembled together, and made one large family in these ballrooms. The aged would at times dance; but they performed a higher duty. The discreet and aged females kept an eye sharp and searching over the giddy youth. Frequently the priest attended the early part of the evening in the balls, and saw that the innocent and proper observance of just principles be the order of the party.

“The habits of labor and energy with the French were moderate. Their energy or ambition never urged them to more than an humble and competent support. To hoard up wealth was not found written in their hearts, and very few practiced it. They were a temperate, moral people. They very seldom indulged in drinking liquor. They were at times rather intemperate in smoking and dancing; but seldom indulged in either to excess at the same time or place.

“All classes observed a strict morality against hunting or fishing on the Sabbath; but they played cards for amusement often on the Sabbath. This they considered one of the innocent pastimes that was not prohibited to a Christian.

“They had no taste for either horse-racing or foot-racing, wrestling, jumping, or the like; and did not often indulge in these sports. Shooting fowls on the wing, and breaking wild horses afforded the French considerable amusement.”

CHAPTER VII

LA SALLE, THE DARING AND UNFORTUNATE

The most picturesque and romantic figure among the French explorers was Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle. Brave, indomitably persevering, brilliant in conception and vigorous in execution, he attained more for France, and less for himself than any of the men connected with the settlement of New France and the Illinois Country, excepting Frontenac who visioned what La Salle nearly succeeded in accomplishing,—the creation of a great empire under the standard of the lilies of France, extending from Quebec to New Orleans.

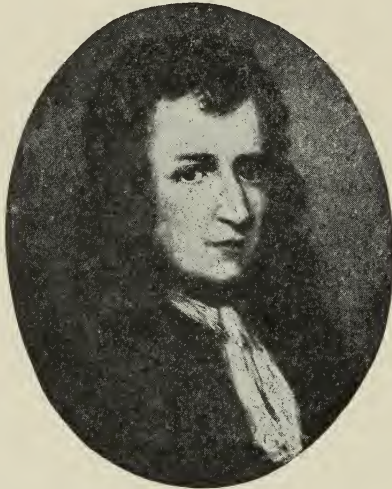
He was a member of an aristocratic family located near Rouen, France, was born in that city November 22, 1643, and received an excellent education in a Jesuit school in which he remained until he was twenty-three years of age. He probably originally intended to become a member of that order, but changed his mind at the age just mentioned. When he left the Jesuits in 1666, he had a brother, Abbe Jean Cavalier, living in Montreal and left France to meet his brother in the new world. On arriving in Montreal, he started into the business of trading in furs, and acquired a small estate called Lachine.

By reason of his excellent family connections and his own dignified bearing and superior education, he secured the confidence and respect of Jean Talon, the French intendant, who was at that time setting on foot exploring expeditions into the western country.

Before receiving any official recognition from Talon, he had started exploring on his own account. His brother was a Sulpician priest, and through him La Salle had come in contact with two other members of the Sulpician order, the Abbés Galince and Casson who were about to go to the southerly shore of Lake Ontario with the design of establishing religious mis-

sions. La Salle accompanied them, but for some reason they separated and La Salle returned without making any progress or gaining any prestige.

Talon the next year after his return gave him official recognition and commissioned him to explore, over the same territory. As no records seem to have been preserved, it was probably abortive of results. These trips of La Salle, however, were utilized by Talon and his friends, when properly exaggerated,



ROBERT CAVALIER SIEUR DE LASALLE

to give prestige to La Salle when he became an applicant for royal authority to explore and colonize the West.

At this stage of the history, it becomes manifest both by his association with the Sulpicians, and his intimacy with, and recognition by, Talon that La Salle had severed his affiliations with his former teachers, the Jesuits, and allied himself with the intendant Talon and the governor, Frontenac, who were then seeking a monopoly of the fur trade and exclusive control of the location of the religious missions. The struggle was on between the Jesuits who were then in control of the missions and the Frontenac-Talon-La Salle interests who desired to supplant them.

Under then existing conditions, the individual fur trader could make his own living and his own profit. Under the newly proposed monopoly, backed by the governor and intendant, he, the trader, must work for the monopoly, on monopoly's terms.

The success of Marquette and Joliet in discovering the Mississippi, and the success of the Jesuit missionaries in establishing relations of confidence and friendship with the Indians at their numerous missions were a matter of chagrin to the Frontenac-Talon party, who were backing La Salle. To counterbalance these successes, the friends of La Salle resorted to every possible expedient to exaggerate the exploits of La Salle at Court in France. La Salle's excursions among the Indians did enable him to learn the Iroquois language, and acquire a thorough knowledge of their habits of life and inured him to the labors and fatigues and dangers of a life of exploration. He had a fine physical presence, a vigorous constitution, and great charm of manner which could and did captivate even a royal court.

On or about 1673, the then governor of New France, Frontenac, had constructed, at his own expense a hastily constructed wooden fort at a point where Lake Ontario poured its waters into the St. Lawrence River, a site now occupied by the modern City of Kingston. This fort had been constructed without the authority of the French court. Frontenac realized the strategic strength of the place, and knew it to be a point from which he could control the western fur trade, and from which he could rule over all, and keep in control the Iroquois confederacy to the south. This confederacy had been the connecting link between the western Indians and the British traders at Albany. The government in France had raised objections to these premature acts of Frontenac.

By this time La Salle, who had become thoroughly conversant with the Iroquois language and who had, in his intercourse with the Iroquois gained their confidence and respect, was sent by Frontenac to France to lay the case of the governor before Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV. Alvord in his history quotes the letter from Frontenac to Colbert as follows:

I cannot but recommend to you Msr. Sieur de La Salle, who is about to go to France and who is a man of intelligence and ability, the most competent of anyone I know here to accomplish every enterprise and discovery which may be entrusted to him, as he has the most perfect knowledge of the state of the country, as you will see if you are disposed to give him a few moments audience.

Notwithstanding the objection of the Jesuit party, La Salle was well received at court. He petitioned that court for a patent of nobility and for the seigniory of Fort Frontenac, promising to build a fort of stone and develop a village around it at considerable expense; to repay Count Frontenac for the cost of the fort, and to make grants of land to the settlers who came there to live, to attract the Indians to his place and grant them lands and instruct them in trades and labor, and to build a church and maintain priests to administer the same. With his patent of nobility and this grant, he returned promptly to New France, where he built the fort, made grants to the Indians, and reared great flocks and herds, and resumed his relations with the Iroquois tribe.

While La Salle was at Frontenac engaged in this work, the explorer Joliet on his return from the Mississippi River dropped in at Fort Frontenac, visited La Salle and doubtless made a full report of his discovery. The Iroquois warriors made the same reports with relation to the existence of the Mississippi. Upon hearing said reports, La Salle decided to make a journey into the Illinois country and place the flag of France over the territory between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. He designed a scheme of building a chain of forts reaching from St. Louis to the mouth of the Mississippi. In pursuance of this design, in 1678 he again went to France, having behind him Courselles, the then governor, and Talon. He had no trouble in securing an audience with Colbert at the French court, and on the 12th of May, 1678, procured Letters Patent, which I quote from Smith's *History of Illinois*, Vol. I, page 83, as follows:

LETTERS PATENT

“Granted by the King of France to the Sieur de La Salle on the 12th of May, 1678.”



TRANSLATION

“Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre. To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, greeting.

“We have received with favor the very humble petition, which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the Western part of our country of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly, because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable that a passage may be found to Mexico; and because your diligence in clearing the lands which we granted to you by decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and, by Letters Patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the said lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in good state of defense, the seigniory and Government whereof we likewise granted to you, affords us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of said country.

“For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the Western part of our country of New France, and for the execution of this enterprize, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th of May, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

“To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprize within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called Outauoacs, and others who bring their beaver skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of trade in buffalo-skins. And we call on Sieur de Frontenac, our governor and lieutenant general, and on the Sieur de Chesneau, intendant of justice, police and finance, and on the officers who compose the supreme council in the said country, to affix their signatures

to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germain en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

“(Signed) LOUIS.”

And lower down, by the king.

And sealed with the great seal of yellow wax, Colbert.

Having secured this patent, which gave him tremendous prestige and absolute authority in the western portion of New France covering the Illinois district, La Salle undertook to raise finances for the purpose of carrying out this great enterprise. By strenuous exertion, he succeeded in raising from his friends and relatives the sum of 500,000 livres, or about \$100,000. In this enterprise he was assisted by Colbert, whose friendship he secured, and Colbert's son, Marquis Seignley, and the Prince de Conte, prominent in military circles in France. Among others that he met in France at this time was Henry de Tonti, an Italian officer who was an intimate of the Prince de Conte. He induced de Tonti to join him in his enterprise, and with his assistance they gathered in France, carpenters, shipwrights, sailors, blacksmiths and common laborers, and purchased material for the construction of ships. With Tonti and his party, La Salle sailed from Rochelle July 15, 1678, and reached Quebec the September following. After paying his respects to Governor Frontenac, La Salle and his expedition a few days thereafter sailed from Quebec to Fort Frontenac. Within a few days afterwards, they proceeded to Niagara Falls, hoping to secure a suitable location for the building of a boat to sail on the upper lakes. They finally selected Tonawanda Creek near Niagara Falls, and built a ship of sixty-two tons burden, which he christened *The Griffon*. During the construction of the ship, La Salle had sent some of his adherents to Mackinac with money and goods manufactured in Europe, with orders to purchase furs from the Indians and have them ready when the ship should reach Mackinac. The vessel arrived at Mackinac on the 27th of August, having taken on board Tonti as they passed Detroit. When they arrived at this point, La Salle discovered that some of his men who had been sent forward to purchase furs, had been dissuaded from the work which they had been commissioned to

do. Tonti was immediately sent by La Salle to hunt these men up and secure their return, and La Salle himself with the *Griffon* went on to Green Bay, arriving there on the 10th of September. Here he disposed of large quantities of his trading goods in exchange for furs, at a large profit. The ship, with its cargo of furs, was sent back to Niagara, while La Salle himself and fourteen of the company proceeded southward in small boats to the St. Joe River, which they reached on November 1, 1679. Here it was agreed between Tonti and La Salle that Tonti should report to La Salle concerning the deserters. Twenty days thereafter Tonti appeared with some, but with not all of these deserters. Tonti failed to secure the return of all of these men, but joined La Salle and ascended the St. Joe River to the Kankakee portage. Before leaving St. Joe and the ascent of that river, La Salle caused a storehouse to be built at St. Joe, in the expectation that the *Griffon*, after it discharged its load at Niagara, would return with goods and supplies from Niagara. The fort that he constructed at St. Joe he called Fort Miami.

With a company of thirty-eight in eight canoes, he left Fort Miami on the 3rd of December, rowing up the St. Joe River to the portage between the St. Joe River and the Kankakee, which was located somewhere in the neighborhood of South Bend, Indiana. The portage was five miles wide, and the ground around it very swampy. They soon, however, came to a current flowing westerly, and soon thereafter reached the Illinois River. Going down the Illinois, they found game very abundant, and passed the site of the present city of Ottawa and Buffalo Rock on the right. On the left bank of the river they passed the now famous Starved Rock. Opposite Starved Rock was an Indian village occupied by the Kaskaskias, near the present site of Utica. This was where Marquette had preached to the Indians on his return from the Mississippi and where Marquette reported that the number of Indian cabins was seventy-four. In 1677 Father Allouez visited this same place after Marquette had established a mission there, and he reports that there were then four hundred and fifty lodges. When La Salle and his company reached this point on the Illinois River, they were practically out of food and game was scarce. They found a cache of corn in a sort of

cellar left there by the Indians who were away on a winter hunt. Driven by necessity, La Salle was compelled to appropriate some of this corn, as there was no one from whom he could purchase. He knew that according to the Indian custom, it was a great crime to take these supplies without the consent of the owner, but he determined in the interests of the lives of his company, to take the chance of taking it in the absence of the Indians and pay for it thereafter.

A few days afterwards in sailing down the Illinois, they reached a place where now is located the City of Peoria, where they discovered the smoke of numerous camp fires arising from the Indian camps which were on both sides of the river. Their appearance caused great consternation at first, but one of the Indian chiefs having produced a peace pipe, a conference was arranged and confidence was soon restored. Fathers Membre and Hennepin were in La Salle's party and went among the people and explained fully the cause of their coming. At the request of La Salle, the Indians called a conference, and La Salle, after making them presents of tobacco and hatchets, explained that he was compelled to take their corn at the Kaskaskia village, and was willing to restore it all, or pay for it as the Indians desired. The Indians answered that he was welcome to what he had, and they offered him more in addition. Friendly relations were soon established between the Indians and La Salle's party. He told them that if he was to remain with them, he must be permitted to build a fort; that he could not join them in an attack upon the Iroquois, since they, the Iroquois, were subject to the king of France. He assured them, however, that if the Iroquois attacked them, the Illinois Indians then at Peoria, he would defend them and render them every possible assistance. He spoke to them further of his desire of exploring the Mississippi and ascertaining into what body of water the Mississippi emptied. During his stay at Peoria, six of his band deserted, and it is said that an effort was made to poison him by giving him poisoned food.

In the middle of January, 1680, when the ice in the Illinois River loosened, La Salle selected near Peoria and about two miles below the Indian village, a place for the erection of a fort.



DE LA SALLE ON THE ILLINOIS RIVER

It was a hill two hundred yards from the bank of the river, with a ravine on each side and low marshy ground in front. On the other side they dug a trench, surrounding the fort with water. Around this they built a palisade, which they believed would be secure against any Indian attack either from the Illinois or the Iroquois. The name he gave it was the Fort of Creve-Couer, or Broken-Heart, which name was probably suggested to him by his recent misfortunes.

La Salle at this point had been expecting a return of the *Griffon* from Niagara with supplies and necessities. He expected that she would bring him implements with which to construct a ship to sail on the Illinois and lower Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Such materials he had left at Fort Frontenac. It was then four months since he had dispatched the *Griffon* from Green Bay to Niagara. He felt certain that the ship was lost, which it was, in fact, whether by accident or treachery, we do not know. The fact that he had named the fort Creve-Couer indicates the desperate condition of his mind. Here he was in the West, with some of his followers already deserters, a thousand miles from Quebec, surrounded by Indian tribes upon whose friendship he could not rely, and having with him only Tonti and a few more loyal white men; but he was possessed of an indomitable spirit and in the depth of his misfortunes at Creve-Couer, he began to construct a boat of considerable size for the trip on the Mississippi and to the Gulf of Mexico. It was forty-two feet long and twelve feet wide, built of lumber which was sawed from the trees which grew around. He lacked, however, cordage and sails and certain pieces of iron necessary for the completion of the boat, and he finally determined to go back to Fort Frontenac to secure these necessary supplies. Before leaving, however, he arranged to send a delegation up the Mississippi River, and selected Father Louis Hennepin and two Frenchmen, Michael Acco and Antoine Anguel to accompany him. He furnished the party with a few articles of European manufacture with which they could trade with the Indians. Father Hennepin and his companions left Fort Creve-Couer on the 29th of February, 1680, and reached the mouth of the Illinois River on the 8th of March,

and then proceeded up the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, now located between Minneapolis and St. Paul. Here Father Hennepin erected a cross and the arms of France. A few days later, on the 10th of April, they were captured by some Sioux Indians, who robbed the Frenchmen and kept them prisoners during the summer. Daniel Gray Solon due L'hut, a French trader, rescued them in the fall. Father Hennepin in due day returned and gave a long account of his experiences on the trip.

After dispatching Father Hennepin up the Mississippi, La Salle on the very next day, March 1st, 1680, started from Fort Creve-Couer to New France, with six of his best French followers in two birchbark canoes which were loaded with blankets, clothing, gunpowder, lead, skins, and moccasins. A Mohegan hunter accompanied them as their guide. He left Tonti in charge of Fort Creve-Coeur, giving him full instructions as to the course to pursue.

The Illinois River at this time was full of ice, and La Salle and his companions suffered fearfully from cold weather. They were compelled to pull their boats on sledges for miles and miles. On the 10th of March, they reached the Kaskaskia village where they had taken the corn a few months before. They were visited here by one of the chiefs of the Illinois Indians, named Chassogoac (Chicago), who became very friendly with La Salle and furnished him a canoe full of corn. He eventually, after suffering many hardships, reached Fort Frontenac for the purpose of securing supplies and settling his financial affairs which were then in great distress. The sinking of the *Griffon* had caused La Salle the loss of forty thousand livres, and his finances were in a desperate condition.

On the point of returning to the Illinois country from Fort Frontenac, additional bad news reached him from the Illinois country. On July 22nd, two messengers from Fort Creve-Couer reached Fort Frontenac, and informed La Salle that while Tonti with a small party of his followers were inspecting Starved Rock as a possible location for a fort, that all the other men left by Tonti at Fort Creve-Couer had plundered and destroyed the fort and deserted, and that they had also robbed the fort

at St. Joe and that at Niagara. "Unmerciful disaster followed fast and followed faster." Another man would have sunk beneath these loads of misfortune. Not so with La Salle. Possessed of an indomitable spirit, he took steps at once to emerge from these monstrous troubles.

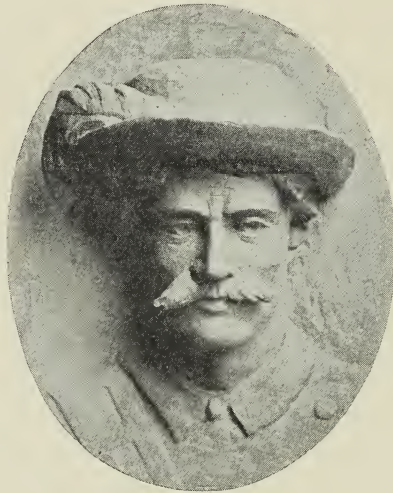
Quickly collecting his equipment, on August 1, 1680, La Salle started westward to rescue Tonti, and the few faithful adherents who still remained loyal to him. His party consisted of twenty-five men and his lieutenant, Le Forest, most of them being artisans. On November 4th he had reached the mouth of the St. Joe River, pushed over the portage from the St. Joe to the Kaskaskia with only six Frenchmen and an Indian. When he reached the old Kaskaskia near the site of modern Utica, he was shocked to find that the village had been destroyed and the fields laid waste, and he found the corpses of men lying about that had been murdered by the Iroquois Indians. No trace was found here of Tonti.

Leaving three men behind him to warn the rest of his party to follow, he and a few men paddled their canoes down the Illinois River, seeing in many places indications of the flight of the Illinois before their implacable foes, the Iroquois. He continued down the Illinois until he reached the Mississippi, with no trace of Tonti. He then returned, canoeing northward to the Des Plaines River, ascended the Des Plaines a short distance and found evidence of the passage of white men. He finally reached Fort Miami on the St. Joe River, where they found the rest of his party under LeForest.

Here is what happened to Tonti. Both at Mackinac in August, 1678, and at Fort Miami (St. Joseph) afterward, many of La Salle's followers had shown an insubordinate disposition, and some of them had deserted. This feeling of dissatisfaction still rankled in the minds of those who had been left with Tonti at Creve-Coeur when La Salle left them to get supplies at Niagara and Fort Frontenac.

Shortly after La Salle left Creve-Coeur for Frontenac, he dispatched a letter to Tonti from Fort Miami by the hands of two Frenchmen, La Chapelle and Leblanc, instructing Tonti to fortify Starved Rock near the Kaskaskia village. Following

instructions, the ever faithful Tonti took four men from the Creve-Coeur garrison of fifteen men and canoed up the Illinois River to Starved Rock and started upon the fortification of the rock. Within a few days after he left Creve-Coeur, all except two of the Frenchmen remaining in Creve-Coeur revolted, looted the fort and started back to Canada. The only two men who remained faithful, at Creve-Coeur promptly left that fort, and reported to Tonti at Starved Rock what had taken place at Creve-Coeur.



TONTI

It appears that the two messengers sent by La Salle from Miami to Creve-Coeur with a letter of instructions to Tonti, told the men in the garrison that the *Griffon* had been lost and that La Salle was bankrupt. The garrison had not been paid for some time and this discouraging news was the cause of the desertion of the men and the looting of the fort in Tonti's absence at Starved Rock.

However, Tonti's misery and misfortunes were just beginning. He promptly dispatched two of the six men then with him from Starved Rock to La Salle, informing him of the collapse of affairs at Creve-Coeur, and turned to face a greater

disaster. As we have heretofore seen in this narrative, the Algonquin and Iroquois tribes were deadly enemies. They had been sanguinary foes since before the advent of the white man, by reason of each of these tribes trespassing upon the hunting grounds claimed by the other. The arrival of the white man had simply intensified their enmities. The white men began buying their pelts and sold them guns, ammunition, blankets, iron, implements, rum and brandy. The Iroquois claimed that all the territory south of the Great Lakes rightfully belonged to them and that the Algonquins of the North (to which the Illinois Indians belonged) were trespassers on their demesne. La Salle, owing to the fact that the Jesuits in New France as well as the mother country were opposed to monopolization of the trading by the Frontenac-Talon-La Salle syndicate, believed that the Jesuits were instigating the Iroquois to attack the western tribes in the Illinois country. The fact was that it was ordinary commercialism that caused the incursions of the Iroquois Indians into the Illinois territory. They were business rivals in the killing of fur-bearing animals and the sale of their skins. A careful reading of history covering the relations between the western Indians and the Jesuits, particularly the Indians at Kaskaskia, shows that the Jesuits were on such intimate friendly terms with the Illinois Indians as to make it incredible that the Jesuits would compass the Indians' destruction.

The Iroquois believed that the French government, through Frontenac and La Salle, had entered into a combination with the Algonquin Indians dwelling in the Illinois country, to deprive them of their rightfully owned hunting grounds south of the Great Lakes and the profits resulting therefrom, and because of this they attacked the Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia while Tonti was at Kaskaskia living with that tribe.

Five hundred Iroquois, assisted by some renegade Miami, were reported to the Kaskaskias to be within a few miles of the Kaskaskia village. Scouts sent out by the Kaskaskias reported that a Frenchman was with the Iroquois. A suspicion developed among the Kaskaskias that the Frenchman was, in fact, La Salle himself, and that Tonti and his French companions in the village were traitors and in league with the Iroquois. Only

by the exercise of the utmost tact and diplomacy was Tonti able to convince them to the contrary. The women and children were hastily removed from the village down the river before the battle began, but the Iroquois at the outset of the conflict sacked and destroyed the Kaskaskia village.

The Kaskaskias succeeded for a time in keeping the Iroquois on the other side of the river, but the Iroquois attacks continued. The Kaskaskia warriors soon began to lose heart and scattered, and the Iroquois overtook women and children and slaughtered seven hundred of them near the mouth of the Illinois. The surviving Kaskaskia warriors abandoned their old home on the Illinois some time afterwards and located near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River in Southwestern Illinois.

Tonti, Father Membre and a few other Frenchmen managed in the face of almost insuperable obstacles to escape and took shelter with the Pottawatomi tribe near the shore of Lake Michigan.

When La Salle returned from Frontenac in the fall of 1680, this was the desperate state of affairs that he found in the Illinois country. Any other man would have abandoned the enterprise in despair. Harrassed by his creditors in Canada, deserted by most of his followers, surrounded by savage Indian enemies, his loyal chief of staff, Tonti, either dead or in captivity, opposed at every turn by the Jesuits both in France and at the missions, with his fortunes at the lowest ebb, his situation at this stage seemed hopeless. Here, however, is where his full stature as a great man became manifest, and enabled him to leave a name imperishable in American history. Up to this time, La Salle had been endeavoring to keep on good terms with the Iroquois tribes. He had spent considerable time among them and had learned their language. His aim had been to develop the remunerative fur trade, not only with the Algonquins north of the Great Lakes and in the Illinois valley, but also with the Iroquois. He now found this to be impossible, owing to the enmity of the Iroquois toward the Illinois tribes which they believed were trespassers upon their (the Iroquois') hunting grounds.

The massacre of the Kaskaskias by the Iroquois along the Illinois River determined his future course. Undaunted by recent disasters, he began to organize a confederacy of the western Algonquin tribes to oppose and overcome the Iroquois. Before the following spring, he had accomplished his purpose. With wonderful activity and the keenest diplomacy, he and his agents succeeded in confederating the Illinois, Miami, Shawnee, Abucki and Mohegan tribes into one group where the sole aim was to overcome and if possible destroy the Iroquois.

Emboldened by this success, La Salle conceived and promptly embarked upon a greater project than the immediate acquisition of a monopoly of the fur trade. The commercial aims could be delayed until the greater project was achieved, and would inevitably follow the success of the greater achievement.

Joliet and the gentle Marquette had, it is true, discovered and traveled up the great Mississippi and had reported their success. In La Salle's view, that discovery was half-baked and unfinished. They had never found the mouth of that great water course. No one knew whether it emptied into the Atlantic or Pacific. Above all, Joliet and La Salle had *personal* not *national* missions. Joliet was developing the fur trade. Marquette was attempting to Christianize the savage. Neither was spreading the power and glory of La Belle France. He, La Salle, would complete the unfinished work, trace this river to its mouth, and in the most solemn and impressive manner dedicate this great stream and the rich country through which it flowed to the honor and glory of France and emblazon her rich acquisition of territory to the whole world.

After being apprised by Tonti's message from Kaskaskia of the disaster at Creve-Coeur and Kaskaskia, La Salle, undaunted, hurried back to Fort Frontenac and notwithstanding the fact that his bills for rebuilding that fort were still unpaid, with the assistance of Governor Frontenac and by pledging part of his monopoly rights, he succeeded in getting together and fitting out a rather impressive expedition for the realization of his glorious dream of exploring the Mississippi to its mouth and solemnly dedicating the great western country along its banks from the Great Lakes to the ocean as a colony of the

French monarchy. Getting together twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen warriors of the Abuaki and Mohegan tribes with ten squaws and some children, he made his way from Mackinac to Fort Miami. The ever faithful Tonti, having given the Potawatomi the slip, joined him at Mackinac and went with him to Fort Miami. From there in canoes they paddled the way to Chicago in the depth of winter. From Chicago, probably because of the Chicago and Des Plaines rivers being frozen over, they journeyed overland to the Illinois River. Having reached the Illinois River, they again took to their canoes and floated down that river to the Mississippi.

Among the Frenchmen gathered by La Salle at Fort Frontenac for this expedition was one selected for a specific purpose. Jacques De La Metairie was a notary holding a commission from the French government. He was selected by La Salle to record the events that occurred and the acts that were done on this expedition and certify as a public official the correctness thereof. De La Metairie performed this duty punctiliously.

La Salle and his companions made the journey down the Mississippi from the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico safely and on April 9th, 1682, La Salle, at or near one of the mouths of the great river collected his companions around him on a high bank and erected a column. To this he solemnly attached the Royal Arms of France made from a copper kettle and this inscription, *Louis Le Grand Roy de France et de Navarre le Neurieme le que April 1682*, and with much solemnity declared that he took possession of the river and all the land that it drained in the name of the King of France. Nor was the religious ceremony lacking. A large cross was attached to one of the trees and at the foot of the tree was buried a leaden plate on which was inscribed in Latin a short account of the discovery of the river to its mouth by La Salle and his company as the first white men to do so.

After these preliminaries, De La Metairie, the notary, produced a document called the Process Verbal, signed by himself, La Salle, Tonti, Father Zenobe, the surgeon Jean Michael, and nine others, which written document translated from the French reads as follows:

1 PROCESS VERBAL

“Of the taking possession of Louisiana, at the Mouth of the Mississippi, by the Sieur De La Salle, on the 9th of April, 1682.

“Jacques De La Metairie, Notary of Fort Frontenac, in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function of notary during the voyage to Louisiana, in North America, by M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant of the said discovery by the commission of his Majesty given at St. Germain, on the 12th day of May, 1678.

“To all those to whom these presents shall come, greetings: Know, that having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act, signed by us and by the witnesses therein named, of possession by him taken of the country of Louisiana, near the three mouths of the River Colbert, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the 9th of April, 1682.

“In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible and victorious Prince, Louis, the Great, by the Grace of God, king of France and of Navarre Fourteenth of that name, and of his heirs, and the successor of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the said Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

“We came to the Village of Maheouala, lately destroyed, and containing dead bodies and marks of blood. Two leagues below this place we camped. We continued our voyage till the 6th, when we discovered three channels by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea. We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonti likewise examined the middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep. On the 8th, we re-ascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the north Pole was here about 27 degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

“‘Louis Le Grand Roi De France Et De Navarre, Regne: Le Neuvieme, April 1682.’

“The whole party, under arms, chanted the Te Deum, the Exaudiat, the Domine salvum fac Regem; and then after a salute of firearms and cries of Vive Le Roi, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who standing near it said, with a loud voice, in French: ‘In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbours, ports, bays, adjacent straits;

and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chickachas, and this with the consent of the Cahouanons, Chickachas and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadauessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance, either by ourselves or by others in our behalf; as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, peoples or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le Roi, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and latin inscription:

"After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the Vexilla and the Domine salvum fac Regem were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of Vive le Roi.

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"La Metairie,

"Notary.

"De La Salle
 "P. Zenobe, Recollect Missionary
 "Henry De Tonti
 "Francois de Boisrondet
 "Tonti
 "Jean Bourdon
 "Sieur d'Autry

"Jacques Cauchois
 "Pierre You
 "Gilles Meuret
 "Jean Michel, Surgeon
 "Jean Dulignon
 "Nocolas de la Salle."

After these solemn preliminaries, La Salle and his party prepared to return along the Mississippi to the North. La Salle, accompanied by a few of the party, went ahead to be followed by the remainder of the party. On reaching Fort Prudhomme in the Chickasaw country, now in the State of Mississippi, he was seized with a high fever, which compelled him to remain for forty days at that fort. A surgeon was sent for, who was in the second section of his companies and he hastened to apply such remedies as he thought wise. La Salle was so seriously ill, however, that it was determined that Tonti, with the greater part of the company, should proceed to Mackinac, leaving La Salle to be nursed to health at Fort Prudhomme.

Tonti arrived at Mackinac in July 1682, after overcoming many obstacles on the journey. Father Zenobe and Membre remained with La Salle and succeeded in bringing back some little strength and health. With Father Membre, La Salle, after a delay of forty days, left Fort Prudhomme and arrived at Fort Creve-Coeur. Leaving some of his men to hold that place, he arrived at Fort Miami some time in August, and shortly thereafter reached Mackinac. La Salle was more than anxious to report in person to the King of France what he had succeeded in doing, but owing to his weak state of health, he was unable to do so. He, however, sent Father Membre to France, who gave to the French authorities a full report of La Salle's successes.

At this point in his career, La Salle seemed to be on the verge of success. His colony in Illinois was established. The Indian tribes had been confederated together by him, and he had secured for the French government a southern port of entry, perennially free from ice; which the government could fortify and surround with colonists. He probably visioned himself at this time, as the colonial governor of a mighty empire stretching from what is now New Orleans to the Great Lakes. He next proceeded promptly, to fortify the place, that he and Tonti had selected for a fort at Starved Rock, which rises perpendicularly from the waters of the Illinois River 125 feet. This fort he called Fort St. Louis, and La Salle at once began to give grants of land around this fort to several Frenchmen who had been



TRADITIONAL LANDING PLACE OF LA SALLE

living there for years. These grants caused some dissatisfaction, for the grantees happened to be young Frenchmen who had married Indian squaws and were taking life easy. After the fort was completed on the top of Starved Rock, the Indian allies that he had gotten together, began to gather. They included the Illinois, the Wea tribe, the Piankashaw, Shawnee, Abnacki, and Miami tribes to the number of 3,880 warriors, according to data obtained from La Salle himself. As there were nearly 4,000 warriors, the Indian population probably amounted to nearly 20,000. Notwithstanding the fact that he was a failure in bringing about and preserving loyalty and obedience among his white followers, he had remarkable success with the Indians. Alvord in his excellent history declares that, "Few white men have equaled his (La Salle's) success in the leadership of the Aborigines of the American wilderness."

To hasten the transportation of supplies from Canada to Fort St. Louis, La Salle next sent two of his men to the Chicago portage to build a smaller post. However, while La Salle was engaged in these great undertakings, his enemies were not idle. They succeeded by their manoeuvring in France in having Governor Frontenac, La Salle's great and loyal friend, recalled. His successor, Governor de La Barre, proved himself early unfriendly to La Salle and his projects. He was opposed to La Salle's monopoly. Calling upon de La Barre, La Salle presented his case forcefully to him; pointed out that his losses amounted to 40,000 livres, but that he was now on the road to success and would be able to pay his creditors. He reported his great achievement in collecting the Indian tribes around Fort St. Louis, and requested that his traders whom he was then sending to Quebec for supplies should be fairly treated and protected. Governor de La Barre, however, was surrounded by merchant rivals of La Salle, who were anxious to supplant him. The governor, influenced by these men, stated to La Salle that his efforts were involving the Winnebago Indians in a warfare with the Iroquois; that the Iroquois would destroy them. The governor made these representations to the French government at Versailles, and succeeded in turning the French authorities against him. The governor probably had some basis for

these fears ; for the Iroquois tribes, notwithstanding their success against the Kaskaskia in 1680 were still bitterly hostile to the Illinois tribes. They were still determined to crush these Western tribes, and in that determination they were ably abetted and seconded by the English and Dutch traders at Albany, and by Col. Thomas Dongan, the British governor of New York. Governor de La Barre, in the effort to avoid war between the Iroquois and the Illinois Indians, arranged for a deputation of Iroquois Indians to meet him at Montreal. Forty-three of them attended and informed the governor that the Illinois Indians must be exterminated ; and made complaint to the governor about La Salle's operations, referring, no doubt, to his confederation of the Western tribes. De La Barre, weakly, promised these Iroquois Indians to punish La Salle.

Finding that he could not obtain supplies from Canada, La Salle was now threatened with ruin, and started for Quebec. On the way he met Chevalier De Baugy, who had been deputized by the governor to assume command of the Illinois Indians and to summon La Salle to Quebec. La Salle promptly notified Tonti, then in command at Fort St. Louis, to surrender the fort to De Baugy. On taking possession of the fort, De Baugy found himself facing trouble. A flotilla of canoes, licensed by de La Barre to trade, was attacked and plundered by the Iroquois, and De Baugy and Tonti in Fort St. Louis were besieged by the same band of Indians from March 21st to March 27, 1684. The fort, however, made a successful resistance.

Finding that he was without friendship or support in the governor's council at Quebec, La Salle made up his mind to return to France and present his case to the French court. Upon his arrival there, he found that the report of his wonderful discoveries and other acts had preceded him, and that he was a famous man. That fame secured for him the honor of a personal interview with the Grand Monarch, upon whom he made a most favorable impression. At that time, France was at war with Spain, and La Salle was able to convince both the monarch and his ministers that a fort built at the mouth of the Mississippi would make it possible to capture the Spanish pos-

sessions on the Gulf of Mexico; and would promote French trade in all that region and up and down the Mississippi. The French government promptly ordered Governor de La Barre to re-instate La Salle in all his possessions in New France.

When departing for France, Tonti was left in charge of Fort St. Louis with twenty Frenchmen to whom La Salle had granted lands. La Salle while in France succeeded in persuading the French ministry to establish a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, and four vessels were loaded for the expedition. One hundred soldiers were aboard, and a number of mechanics, laborers, volunteers, and some gentlemen of distinction. Among them were several married women, as also some young unmarried women that had an eye upon matrimony. Three priests accompanied the expedition, and three recollects. One of the vessels carried thirty-six guns, another six guns. Altogether there were 400 men aboard these vessels. A naval commander, Beaujeu, accompanied La Salle upon this expedition. Unfortunately, he and La Salle quarreled when these vessels were but a short distance out of port; and that quarrel continued all the way across the Atlantic. La Salle was taken sick with the old fever, and while he was sick, the naval commander had things his own way. They reached the Gulf of Mexico safely, but were unable, for some reason, to find the mouth of the Mississippi, which they passed by without recognizing it. They arrived at Matagorda Bay, considerably west of the Mississippi, in the spring of 1685. One ship was captured by the Spanish, and another wrecked in the Bay. They landed, however, in Matagorda Bay, and began to make a settlement. Fatal sickness, however, fell upon the party, and before fall, thirty were dead. The Indians surrounding them were exceedingly hostile. La Salle led many exploring expeditions from Matagorda Bay, but having failed to find the Mississippi River, he made up his mind to travel overland to Canada. Taking sixteen men with him, he left the remainder to keep the fort at Matagorda Bay, in the spring of 1687. Shortly afterward, finding some difficulty in traveling, insubordination arose among the men, and La Salle was assassinated. The conspirators returned to the fort, over-awed the garrison, and had things their own way. Some twenty of these

people survived, some finding their way to France, and others to the Illinois country.

Such was the ignominious end of a great man, the tragic close of a romantic career. In the grandeur of his conceptions, in the indomitable energy he displayed in attempting their accomplishment, and in the heartbreaking obstacles he found in his path, his career is without a parallel in French colonial history. Even his failure was of enormous benefit to his country and his King, for the time being, for it pointed out a way for France to acquire an empire in the New World. If France had supported his enterprising plans in his lifetime, or carried them out after his death with men, money and colonists worthy of the prize that La Salle was dangling before French statesmen at the end of the seventeenth century; there was a possibility that the tricolor of France might have been waving over the Mississippi Valley in the twentieth century. The very hugeness of the enterprise doomed it to failure, without adequate governmental backing. This support La Salle never had. He did have the steady, loyal and continuous aid of Frontenac, and Talon in Canada, but they were the puppets of a vacillating government in France, desperately impoverished by European wars, which was free-handed with paper privileges and titles of nobility, but with no disposition or power to back these paper titles with men and cannon.

Like most great men, La Salle had his minor weaknesses that to some degree contributed to his want of success. By his lofty dignified presence and culture, he favorably impressed both great and obscure men, with whom he but infrequently came in contact. He so impressed the greatest monarch of his time and his great ministers and also the simple untutored red men in the wilderness. His success in confederating these tribes around Starved Rock was marvelous. But with the humble Frenchmen immediately under his orders, whom he met day after day, he had no such success. Over and over again we read of their insubordination and desertion at critical times. Tonti, Le Forest and his own relatives were the only persons *with whom he was in daily contact* who remained loyal to him in his undertakings, and these were probably participants in

the expected profits that were to be secured in the monopoly granted them by the King. A high temper and quick and emphatic manner of speech probably prevented his followers from acquiring the love and loyalty that the faithful Tonti always had for his chief.

La Salle has left an enduring impress upon the history of Illinois and the Northwest. He has given his name to the Wall Street of the West, to one of the richest counties in the state, and to a beautiful city on the Illinois. Even the children of our high schools can tell the inquirer who La Salle was and what his accomplishments were. An artistic bronze monument in Lincoln Park near one of our busiest thoroughfares, recalls to us the glorious record of this man of mark in the seventeenth century.

It will be remembered that when leaving for France, La Salle left Tonti in charge of Fort St. Louis. While under De Baugy's control, differences arose between the Illinois tribes and the Miami. Tonti, by the exercise of utmost skill and tact, succeeded in settling these troubles at a cost, however, to himself of a thousand dollars. In the fall of 1665 disturbing rumors reached Tonti at Fort St. Louis relating to the fate of the expedition from France to the mouth of the Mississippi. He went immediately to Mackinac, hoping to obtain reliable information. He learned at Mackinac that La Salle had sailed from France, but he had no news of the outcome. He did, however, hear that Governor de La Barre had been recalled and was to be succeeded as governor by the Marquis de Nonville. He then sent some Indians to the mouth of the Mississippi to ascertain news of La Salle, but they returned in February 1686 with no definite word about him. He then decided to go to the Gulf of Mexico himself in search of his chief. He reached the mouth of the Mississippi, but found no trace of La Salle, but did find the column holding the Coat of Arms of France and another column upon which a cross was placed, being the monuments erected by La Salle when he first discovered the mouth of the Mississippi. Returning from the Gulf of Mexico to Fort St. Louis, he found arrangements being made for a joint attack by the French and Indians upon the Iroquois. De Nonville,

the new governor, agreed to furnish two to three thousand soldiers, and called upon Tonti to join him with the warriors around the fort. Tonti was able to enlist some four to five hundred Indians, and other French volunteers, and Indians came from Green Bay and Mackinac. These forces met on Lake Ontario on July 10, 1687, their number amounting to 3,000 men. With this force, Tonti attacked the Senecas, drove them from their homes and laid the surrounding territory waste.

Upon returning from this battle to Fort St. Louis about the middle of September, Tonti met five men there who were survivors of the French expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi. These men were Abbe Jean Cavelier, La Salle's brother, Father Douay, his nephew, a Recollect, Tessier, a seaman and Henri J. Joutel, historian. These were all that were left of the band who escaped assassination at the hands of the conspirators who had killed La Salle. They agreed among themselves that they would not report the death of La Salle at Fort St. Louis, feeling that the knowledge of his death might impair the property rights of his estate. These five men spent the winter of 1687-1688 with Tonti at Fort St. Louis, but kept secret the death of La Salle. Cavelier was fearful lest the death of La Salle should be known. Father Allouez was anxious to go to France. Late in the fall of that year, Tonti finally learned of the death of La Salle. He immediately started for Matagorda Bay in the effort to rescue the remnant of La Salle's party. In an Indian village somewhere in Louisiana, the native Indians told him the true story of the death of La Salle at the hands of the conspirators. They also told him that the conspirators themselves were killed by the Indians. Tonti then returned from near the mouth of the river to Fort St. Louis.

The governor of Canada made unfavorable reports to the king as to Tonti's claims to Fort St. Louis, but the king in 1690 granted Fort St. Louis to Tonti and Le Forest, formerly the lieutenant of La Salle. These two men carried on a fur trade for several years, which at times was remunerative. Le Forest carried on his operations at a place which is now Chicago, while Tonti carried on his at the fort. Governor de La Barre, shortly after his arrival in New France foolishly

notified the British government at New York that he thought it necessary to lead a punitive expedition against the Five Nations. Governor Dongan, immediately upon receipt of this information, strengthened his friendship with the Iroquois Indians by informing them of the governor's intentions, and promised the Iroquois Indians that he would assist them if they were attacked. The French governor's expedition resulted in a fiasco. He had assembled but few troops, and many of these fell ill. He concluded a rather disgraceful treaty with the Iroquois, which resulted in his being summoned home. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Nonville, a much abler and more forceful and vigorous man. De La Barre's blunders were the main cause of the hostility of the Iroquois tribes toward both the French and their Indian allies in the Illinois country.

Governor Dongan, the British governor of New York, was much interested in furthering the Western fur trade through the Iroquois Indians, and he caused to be sent eleven canoes under the command of one Rooseboona into the lake regions to trade. This was supposedly French territory. The expedition was successful, both politically and financially. The French government became very indignant, and sent troops to arrest the British, but failed to find them. In the fall of 1686, however, a much larger British expedition, consisting of 58 white men, was organized by the Albany merchants and backed by Governor Dongan. Again the French government sent troops to make arrests, who were successful this time. Because of these incursions, De Nonville in 1687 got ready to attack the Iroquois. De Nonville led an army of 2,000 men to Fort Frontenac. He learned that his three western lieutenants had gathered a large army of *coureurs de bois* and Indians some of whom were commanded by Tonti, and were coming to his aid. The first success of the campaign was won by the Western troops, they being the troops who captured the British traders sent out from Albany. The whole army then advanced against the Senecas, where a battle was fought and won by the French. This battle, however, seemed not to have utterly crushed the Iroquois Indians, for shortly thereafter they massacred a number of the French colonists in Lachine. Other incursions into Canada

were made frequently by the Iroquois Indians, and finally De Nonville ordered Fort Frontenac to be destroyed and abandoned, and de Nonville was recalled to France. He was replaced by the Comte de Frontenac, then in his seventieth year.

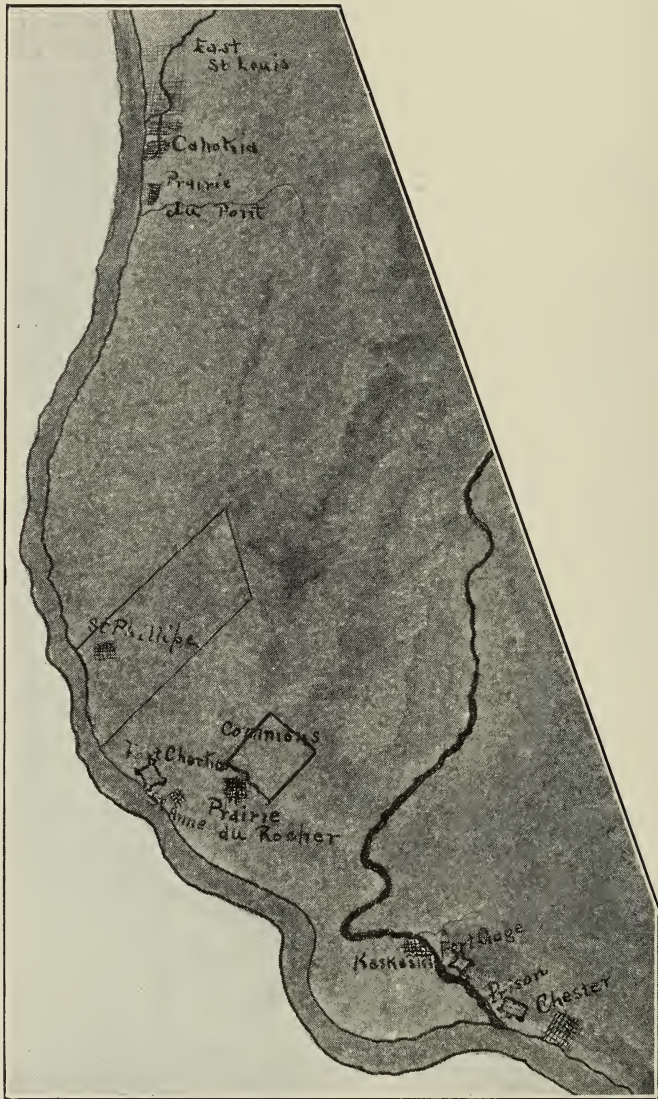
The situation of the French at this time was certainly critical. Many of the Indian tribes around the Great Lakes upon the abandonment of the French forts by the French government transferred their allegiance from the French to the Iroquois.

CHAPTER VIII

FINAL RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH FOR THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

By the middle of the eighteenth century, it became apparent that war between the French and English for the possession of the Mississippi Valley would be inevitable. Although the French settlements in Nova Scotia and Canada ante-dated the English settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, the first did not grow or develop with the rapidity that characterized the English colonies. One reason for this probably was the climate. Settlers in Massachusetts and Virginia found the soil and climate more congenial to agriculture than were those of the North. Moreover, the English settlers brought wives and children, with the plain determination of remaining if the soil was fertile.

The French colonist was more concerned with fishing and hunting and trafficking in furs. The English colonist when he found soil that suited him, began to dig, and plan and erect a home. The Frenchman ranged the woods and fields for game, paying little regard to the soil over which he ranged. As the English settler soon found good soil, his numbers increased rapidly, but the territory he occupied and farmed, widened slowly. As the French hunter soon found abundant game and more abundant the further he explored, his numbers increased slowly, but the territory he covered in his search for game spread rapidly. Thus the French colonists became the greater explorers and discoverers, while the English became the better and more successful tillers of the soil. Pursuing the policy of exploration and discovery, the Frenchmen aided by the navigable lakes and rivers that extended from Quebec to what is now Duluth and Lake Superior and Chicago on Lake Michigan, and



MAP OF AMERICAN BOTTOM AND OLD FRENCH VILLAGES

by the Mississippi River from the Gulf of Mexico to St. Paul and Minneapolis, explored the whole Mississippi Valley, and erected forts or trading stations at Frontenac, Detroit, Green Bay, Peoria, Chicago, Kaskaskia, Mackinac, Miami, Vincennes, Prarie du Chien and other points on and near the Great Lakes and on the Mississippi near the Arkansas River. They had also built a formidable fort on the Ohio at what is now Pittsburg.

Thus in the first half of the eighteenth century, the French through the daring of their traders, and the holy zeal of their missionaries, for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, were in possession of a string of forts and small settlements all the way from Quebec over the territory of the Illinois and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The British colonists along the sea-board from Maine to Georgia, infected with land hunger rather than fur fever, slowly but steadily pressed their holdings from the sea westward to the mountains. They had few streams to help them. They had to travel overland. It took them many years to reach the Alleghanies that were almost impassable. They had learned, however, of the fertility of the great valley beyond the mountains and were quick to see that investments in this western territory would rapidly increase enormously in value. Toward the middle of the century, land hunger and a craze for speculation impelled the English colonists in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, the Carolinas and Maryland to cross the mountains and stake out claims north and south of the Ohio River. They cared not whether this was French or English territory, and waited for no wars or treaties to decide sovereignty.

The fur traders of New York had been for years attempting to reach the Great Lakes through the Mohawk Valley in the prosecution of their fur trade. The settlers in the Carolinas in the South were also circling around the southern end of the Appalachians, in the effort to drive the French from the southern valley. Both the French and the English settlers, however, had covetous eyes upon the Upper Ohio Valley. The western end of this valley was occupied by the French with some forts and settlements, but the eastern portion near Pittsburg was wholly unoccupied by either the French or the British. The French

claimed it all by virtue of previous discovery and partial occupancy, and when the British settlers or colonists from across the Alleghanies began to appear in the Ohio Valley, the French government drove them out and gave them notice that they were trespassers. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Virginia had charters under which they claimed title to the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific and some of the colonies or the colonists had claims as a result of treaties with the Iroquois, but none of them had made any actual effort to take possession until about 1750. The first incomers into the Ohio Valley were from the colonists of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. The colonists east of the Alleghanies, the English, Scotch, Irish and Germans, had gradually forced their settlements westward to the foot-hills of the Alleghanies. These lands had grown valuable, and the lands beyond and to the west of the mountains began to look attractive to them. Speculation was widespread, particularly in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. In 1744, representatives from these three colonies met the chieftain of the Iroquois tribes and obtained from them a cession of the land extending from the banks of the Virginia to the Ohio River. Afterward, the Ohio Company was organized, which had among its members men of means and political strength in England and America. That company ultimately received a large grant of the Ohio Valley, upon terms requiring the company to build a fort and establish a settlement. Other companies followed their example. In 1750, the Ohio Company sent a surveyor to survey their grant. This man made a favorable report and among other things stated that he found the Indians well affected toward the English. These English adventurers established a trading post at Logstown on the Ohio, and another at the Miami Town of Pickawillany.

Alarmed by these movements of the English colonists, the French governor, Galissonière, dispatched a force of French troops under the command of Chevalier Louis Cèleron de Blainville to take possession of the Ohio Valley and to drive the British traders both from Logstown and Pickawillany. Cèleron was successful in his mission. He spent the summer and fall in the Mississippi Valley, notified the British to leave, and buried metal

plates on which were inscribed notices that the territory was French and that all trespassers would be removed. Cèleron also found upon his mission that the Indians were friendly disposed towards the English and bitterly disposed towards the French. The situation was getting critical for the French, and Governor Galissonière promptly notified the home government that there would be danger to the French colonies if the British should succeed in breaking into the Ohio Valley and cutting their communications which had been established between the French in Canada and the French in New Orleans. To this message, however, the governor did not receive a heartening answer from the French ministry. He was instructed from France to defend the rights of the French king in the contested region, if necessary by occupying it, but to keep the expenses down as much as possible and avoid giving the British just reason for complaint. Instead of following promptly the wise counsel of the governor, the French ministry seemed at this time to hesitate and falter. Later on, however, on May 15, 1752, he was instructed by the French ministry as follows:

1. To make every possible effort to drive the English away from our lands in that region, and to prevent their coming there to trade by seizing their goods and destroying their posts.

2. To make our subjects understand at the same time that we have nothing against them and that they are at liberty to trade with them in the latter country, but we will not allow them to receive them on our lands.

At this juncture, unfortunately for the French, the able Galissonière was removed from his position as governor. He was succeeded by La Jonqueire, who was both inefficient and dishonest, and afterwards by Vaudreuil, a weak man who was transferred from Louisiana to Canada. Associated with these men was Francois Bigot, who was willing to sell any power or privilege or dignity under his control. Probably nothing contributed so much at this time to the misfortunes which the French government faced, as the removal of the honest and efficient La Galissonière and supplanting him with such weak men as the men we have mentioned. Later on, a more efficient and capable governor was appointed, Duquesne. This man,

who was both vigorous and efficient, promptly after his appointment succeeded in expelling the British traders from Pickawillany and making prisoners of the British traders captured at that point. He then built Fort Presque Isle on Lake Erie, and two other forts for the purpose of protecting the water route to the Allegheny region from Lake Erie. When news of Duquesne's activities in the Ohio country reached the British colonies, it caused some excitement. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia and the Ohio Company insisted upon prompt action to neutralize the French activities. Dinwiddie in 1752 appealed to the British government for aid. He hoped to establish forts on the Ohio River, and sent Col. William Trent with a company of men to select a ground suitable for the location of a fort near the juncture of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. They actually commenced to build a fort, but the French troops appeared upon the scene, captured the unfinished fort and replaced it by a French fort that they named Fort Duquesne. Col. George Washington, afterward President of the United States, was commissioned by the governor of Virginia to explore the territory. British regulars finally appeared upon the scene with General Braddock at their head, and together they marched against Fort Duquesne then held by the French at the head of the Ohio. Braddock crossed the mountains in June, his force aggregating about 2,000 men, Colonel Washington being his aide de camp. He was ambushed by 250 Frenchmen with a large party of Indians, and after making an attempt to defend himself, was totally routed. Braddock himself was killed in this battle, and more than half of his troops were either killed or wounded. Other expeditions planned by the British ministry and the colonists had but little success, excepting the one against Acadia, now Nova Scotia. That French colony was easily reduced, and 7,000 of its inhabitants were placed upon shipboard and transported to English colonies, where they were treated as paupers. All of these skirmishes took place, however, while the French and British were nominally at peace, but war now become inevitable.

In December, 1752, Governor Dinwiddie, colonial governor of Virginia, had appealed to the British government for assist-

ance to enable him to establish forts on the Ohio River to protect the Virginia colonists who were settling on that river from French assaults. During the following year Dinwiddie had sent Col. William Trent with a body of men to build a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. While it was in course of construction, it was captured by the French, much strengthened in its character, and renamed Fort Duquesne, and kept well garrisoned and commissioned by the French so as to dominate and control that portion of the Ohio Valley which both the French and British were desirous of holding.

Even before war was formally declared, while Col. George Washington was building a fort called by him Fort Necessity, near Fort Duquesne, he and his party were attacked by the French and compelled to surrender the fort and retreat. Even before war was formally declared, General Braddock, commanding a formidable body of British and colonial troops, with George Washington as his aide, while attempting to capture Fort Duquesne, was surprised by a force of French and Indians and completely routed with tremendous loss of life and equipment.

English and colonial land speculators kept constantly at work along the territory claimed by the French, north of the Ohio, between what is now Illinois and what is now the State of New York, endeavoring to procure by hook or crook titles from the Indian tribes and win them away from their friendly relations with the French. To expel these intruders, the governor of Canada in 1749, as hereinbefore stated, sent Chevalier Louis Cèleron with a body of Canadian soldiers to nail the arms of France to trees at what is now Pittsburgh, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, at the great Kanawha and other streams. In the previous year the Ohio Company, in which many men of means in England and Virginia, including George Washington and his two brothers, had obtained from the Crown a grant of land of 500,000 acres in what is now West Virginia, was organized. Other land companies had also been formed which laid claim to 3,000,000 acres of land claimed by the French under the assertion of discovery and occupancy. Soon after Cèleron's expedition the French erected and garrisoned a fort at Presque

Isle, now the City of Erie, Fort Loboef, twenty miles south of Presque Isle, and at Fort Venango, near the head waters of the Alleghany River, and planned another fort at French Creek, on the Alleghany River.

After Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity, not a British flag waved west of the Alleghanies. In 1754, or thereabout, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France. In Europe it was known as the "Seven Years' War;" in America it was called the "French and Indian War." As between Great Britain and France, it was the most important and decisive war ever waged on the Western Continent. A full account of this important conflict would and should occupy a great many pages in any history of America, cover many glorious episodes and encounters and a few disgraceful happenings such as the abduction, deportation and practical extermination of the Acadian people by the British and the massacre of the British prisoners by the Indian allies of the French under Montcalm. That history belongs, however, to the history of the United States rather than to the history of Illinois. In the limited space at my disposal I have not room for a full review of that great and momentous war. It can be found in any popular history of the United States.

None of the conflicts of that great struggle took place on what is now the soil of Illinois. The Chevalier McCarty, French commandant at Kaskaskia, did despatch small bodies of French troops from Kaskaskia and did despatch supplies and provisions to Fort Duquesne to help the French garrison in that fort when it was beleaguered by the British. We have adverted to this elsewhere herein; but this was the only connection that Illinois or its residents had with the war. I will content myself with stating that during the first two years of the war the British were worsted by the French at Fort Duquesne and Fort Niagara, but succeeded in capturing Crown Point from the French. Montcalm, the French commander, captured a British fort at Oswago and 1,600 prisoners and 100 pieces of artillery. In 1757 the British were less successful. General Loudon, the British commander, attempted to reduce the French fort at Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, with 10,000 to 12,000 men

and sixteen vessels, but abandoned the effort without show of fight. Montcalm captured from the British Fort William Henry and several hundred prisoners, some of whom were massacred by the Indian allies of the French, in spite of the orders and commands of Montcalm. Incapacity of leadership and generalship was now charged by the British people against both the cabinet ministers and their generals in the field. Their cabinet was ousted and William Pitt, the Great Commoner, was called by the king to take the helm of the ship of state. An alliance with the king of Prussia against France and Austria now kept France busy in Europe and Pitt devoted his attention to the conflict in America. He was the first Englishman to fully appreciate the great value of the prize at stake in Canada and the Mississippi Valley. He backed Frederick the Great, the Prussian king, in Europe principally with money and supplies and assistance on the high seas. Frederick began to win victory after victory in Europe, and kept the French so engrossed that they could not or did not give proper support to their gallant and capable generals in America. Pitt now changed commanders in America, and, recognizing that one of the richest empires in the world lay in the Mississippi Valley and could be won by an adequate supply of money, men and arms, devoted his whole energy to achieving success in America. Men, money and arms were soon forthcoming. Early in 1758 he sent a fleet of forty vessels and 11,000 troops to capture Louisburg under Admiral Boscawen. Two able generals, Jeffrey Amherst and James Wolfe, commanded the troops. Early in June the siege of the fort was commenced. Before the end of July the most impregnable fortress in America surrendered to the British, with 5,700 prisoners, 240 cannon and a large quantity of ammunition and stores.

The British were not so successful in their effort to capture Fort Ticonderoga. It was defended by Montcalm and 4,000 Frenchmen, and attacked by 6,300 British regulars and 9,000 provincial troops under Abercrombie and Lord Howe. The latter was killed in a preliminary skirmish. Abercrombie proved to be most incapable of leadership, directed his operations from a safe distance, left 2,000 of his troops dead or dying on the

battlefield, and retreated southward from the fort with his shattered army. From this time on, however, victory smiled upon the British arms. They soon captured Oswego, Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne. The last was abandoned by its famishing garrison without a struggle.

In 1758 the British were still more successful. Fort Niagara fell early in the year, soon to be followed by the French forts between Niagara and Pittsburgh. Ticonderoga was now the only fort in what is now the United States still flying the French flag. An army of 10,000 men flying the British flag soon approached the fortress, only to find that it had been abandoned. In 1759 fell Quebec. Both Montcalm, the French commander, and Wolfe, the British commander, lost their lives in the desperate fighting on the "Plains of Abraham," near the city. This was the total collapse of French dominance on the American continent. It but remained to draw up the treaty under the terms of which the British flag would displace the French colors wherever they had hitherto appeared on the North American continent. In February, 1763, the famous and fateful Treaty of Paris was signed, under the terms of which all Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, the Ohio Valley and that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi and north of the River Iberville and Lake Ponchartrain were ceded by France to Great Britain. In exchange for the cession of Florida by Spain to Great Britain, the latter nation restored to Spain Cuba and the Philippines, which had been captured by the British during the war.

To compensate Spain for the loss of Florida, the French ceded to her ally, Spain, what was left of Louisiana, which was all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi and all of it south of the River Iberville and east of the Mississippi, including the Town of New Orleans. Thus ended for France her design to colonize and hold under French dominion what is now the Dominion of Canada and the Mississippi Valley, now teeming with 50,000,000 inhabitants and containing untold agricultural, mineral and manufacturing wealth. On October 10, 1765, over two and one-half years after the Treaty of Paris was signed, a British governor had finally arrived at Fort Chartres, the last fort in America flying the French flag. The French gar-

rison lowered the colors of France and the cross of St. George was raised with due formality. The little French garrison marched to St. Louis and the last vestige of French power and authority disappeared from the North American continent.

Within a score of years however, France had her revenge. In the darkest hour of the American Revolution, Franklin, the American ambassador, applied to the French king for succor and assistance. France placed at his disposal a powerful French fleet and an army of trained soldiers and sailors who joined Washington and the Revolutionary army and helped them most materially to corner and subjugate Cornwallis and the British army at Yorktown, compelled them to surrender and thus end the Revolutionary war by a treaty which gave to the thirteen Revolutionary colonies every foot of soil which the French were compelled by the Treaty of Paris to cede to the British Crown.

CHAPTER IX

ILLINOIS UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and France under which France ceded to the former practically all her possessions on the North American continent was signed February 10, 1763. Within three months thereafter the Indian tribes belonging to the Algonquin race were in open revolt, under the leadership of Chief Pontiac, against British rule.

Resentment toward the British government and the English speaking colonists had been developing among the Indians for several years. This resentment was caused by the trickery, dishonesty and, at times, by the high handed proceedings of English speaking officials, traders and prospectors.

They not only resorted to trickery, fraud, and misrepresentation to deprive the Indian of his property, but when these failed, they seized their lands and pelts by main force.

The French trader was by no means an angel, and frequently over reached the Indian and defrauded him when French officials and the missionaries were absent; but the French trader almost invariably traded with the Indian, by actually or pretendedly, recognizing that the red man had property rights in his furs and hunting grounds.

Moreover, in nine cases out of ten the French trader was after the Indian's furs and not his land while the English-speaking trader wanted his land rather than his pelts.

Again the French trader placed himself more nearly on the same plane of humanity as the Indian. He fraternized with the Indian, took part in his games and frolics, and at times took an Indian wife and raised a family of half breeds. The English-speaking official or trader in comparison was cold, selfish, insolent and dishonest.

The Algonquin tribes had watched with misgivings and dread the slow but steady advance westward along the south shore of Lake Ontario and the Ohio River of the English-speaking settler and speculator. They noted that he always seized and held possession of any land he stepped upon, without bargaining with the Indian or asking his consent. These abuses as well as the flagrant use of intoxicating liquor in dealing with the Indians, were notorious. Sir William Johnson, the Indian Commissioner, appointed by the British government had pointed out these evils in his reports to his superiors, but no attempt had been made to put an end to them. Thus Indian resentment and hatred combined to fester and ferment through all of the Algonquin tribes.

Dissatisfaction developed into revolt, and the revolt found for its leader and mouthpiece—Pontiac. While the antipathy against the British was wide-spread, it required concentration and coordination. Both were given to it by the remarkably able Indian who now took control of the revolt. During 1761 and 1762 he had been visiting and sending his messengers, to all members of the Algonquin race and to the Senecas of the Iroquois tribe, and had finally succeeded in getting them into a grand confederacy of revolt.

Pontiac for years had been the absolute chief and master of the Ottawa tribe and Pottawatomies, and was actuated in this movement both by Indian patriotism and personal ambition. He had noted for years the fruitless resistance offered by the separate and disunited tribes to the aggressions of the white man. He saw the white man gather his soldiers into compact armies, well armed and equipped, and saw these compact bodies overwhelm single Indian tribes and scatter them like leaves before the wind.

Among the first of his race he concluded that the Indians were doomed, unless united, and preached the gospel of unity throughout the whole Indian population. He dreamed of and sought to create a great Indian nation that would present a united front to British invaders and secure to the Indian the retention of part if not all of his hunting grounds, and perpetuity as a nation, in the land of his ancestors.



PONTIAC, OTTAWA CHIEF AND LEADER OF PONTIAC CONSPIRACY
OF 1763

Taking into consideration the known weaknesses of the Indian character as shown in the past—jealousies and rivalries between local tribes—Pontiac was wonderfully successful. With consummate skill he arranged for the almost simultaneous attack by the Indians upon all the forts and ports held by the British in what had been New France.

These attacks commenced in May 1763 and within the next sixty days, the Indians had gained possession of St. Joe, Miami, Mackinac, Sandusky, Ouiatenon and the small forts and ports. All forts west of Detroit fell into the hands of the Indians. The British retained only Detroit, Niagara and Fort Pitt, strong, well garrisoned forts.

But the confederation even though it had able leadership lacked the reserve forces of ammunition and deadly weapons which civilization and the British soldiers always had in reserve. During the war between the French and English in 1761 and 1762 Pontiac had doubtless been able to buy from the French traders and French authorities, such ammunition as he desired, but when peace was signed in February of 1763 this resource was withdrawn. In vain did Pontiac appeal to Commandant de Villiers at Kaskaskia for assistance. That French officer refused to compromise his government, by assisting the Indian revolt however much he might have been disposed to do so.

Two formidable, well-equipped British expeditions were organized in 1764 and sent into the heart of the disaffected district. The first reached and reconditioned the British garrison at Detroit. The second marched from Fort Pitt into Ohio, engaged the Indians under Pontiac and thoroughly defeated them. The Indians lacked ammunition. Bows and arrows as against muskets and cannon had long become obsolete.

Pontiac's defeat practically ended the war although it was months before the Indians made final admission of defeat. Because of the fact that the Indian submission was not complete or whole-hearted, it became important for the British authorities to take possession of Fort Chartres near Kaskaskia. When the treaty of Paris between the French and English was signed that fort was occupied by a French garrison under a French commandant and it remained under the French flag

for about two years thereafter. The still existing Indian disaffection made it difficult for the British to send from Detroit or Fort Pitt a garrison and take formal possession from the French commandant. That officer's position was anything but an agreeable one. The French flag floated above him and he was surrounded by French inhabitants, half-breeds and Indians, all of whom feared and hated the British. Across the Mississippi, at St. Louis under the Spanish flag was La Clede and other prosperous French merchants who were successfully developing a fur trade on both sides of the river and selling their wares to the French settlers at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and other settlements. Pontiac and his followers were soliciting his aid and the French traders were secretly helping the Indians.

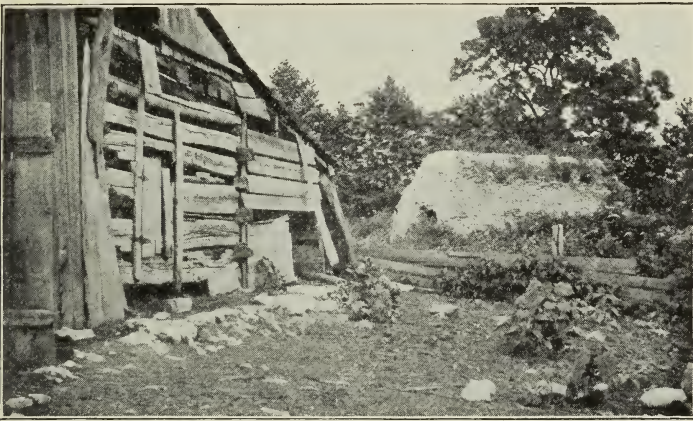
De Villiers, the commandant, nevertheless remained steadfastly loyal to the terms of the treaty, but finally with the consent of the government of Louisiana resigned his command in June 15, 1764 leaving only forty men in Fort Chartres under command of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive who had been called from post Vincennes to take command at Fort Chartres. The British made several attempts to reach and take possession of Fort Chartres which was at that time one of the most formidable, well-constructed forts west of Detroit and Pittsburgh.

This fort was constructed under the supervision of a very able and efficient French officer with a double-barrelled Irish name, Chevalier de McCarty McTigue. He was a descendant of one of the "Irish Wild Geese" who fled from Ireland to France after the siege and capture of Limerick and had risen to the rank of major of engineers in the French army.

With skillful French engineers between 1753 and 1760 he had erected this fort across the river from, and near, Kaskaskia in such a substantial manner as to resist attack both from Indians and from European soldiers. It was capable of housing 400 soldiers. An English officer afterwards declared that "It is generally allowed that this is the most commodious and well built fort in North America."

From this fort between 1753 and 1758 McCarty (Makarty) dispatched several expeditions with men and supplies to Fort Duquesne, most of which were successful. One of these expe-

ditions sent out by Major McCarty from Fort Chartres was commanded by Capt. Neyon de Villiers, a gallant officer serving under Major McCarty (Makarty). He was one of three brothers all of whom were in the French service in the New World. One of them, Coulon de Villiers, was in command at Fort Duquesne. He sent a detachment of French soldiers from Fort Duquesne under command of his brother, Capt. Jumonville de Villiers to meet Washington at Little Meadow where he was killed. Coulon sent word of the death of his brother Jumonville



POWDER MAGAZINE OF OLD FORT CHARTRES

to his brother Neyon at Fort Chartres and at the request of both living brothers Chevalier de McCarty despatched Captain Neyon with his company from Fort Chartres to Fort Duquesne. Upon arrival of Neyon and his company at the latter fort both brothers and their commands attacked Colonel Washington at Fort Necessity and compelled its surrender on July 5, 1754. Thus both brothers avenged the death of their deceased brother by capturing in battle the soldier who was responsible for that death; and the man who afterwards became the first President of the United States.

This same Neyon de Villiers afterwards commanded an escort of provisions sent by Chevalier de McCarty to Fort Duquesne, succeeded Major McCarty in command of Fort Chartres, crossed

the Alleghanies with his company and captured Fort Granville on the Juniata. Captain Aubrey, another French officer, was sent from Fort Chartres with 400 men to the assistance of Fort Duquesne.

He and his men met the British commander Major Grant and his highlanders and signally defeated them and surprised an English camp some forty miles from Fort Duquesne, captured a lot of horses and rode them back into the French fort. In May 1760 the able French Irishman, McCarty, was called by the French governor at New Orleans to assist him at that place. He died in New Orleans in 1764.

Nine different attempts were made by the British to reach and take formal possession of Fort Chartres after the treaty of Paris signed in 1763 before they were successful. Seven of them were made by commissioners or embassies unaccompanied by armed forces. Three of these embassies reached Kaskaskia but were threatened by the Indians and though protected by the French Commandant and even by Pontiac accomplished nothing. By this time Chief Pontiac as the result of the British successes in the field and the refusal of the French Commandant at Fort Chartres and also the refusal of the French government at New Orleans to give him aid had reached the conclusion that the Indian struggle was hopeless and that his followers must accept inevitable defeat. As he counseled submission, the time was ripe for negotiating for peace. Another Irishman now appeared upon the scene, this time on the British side.

George Croghan had been a successful trader. At this juncture, 1765, Croghan was the British deputy agent under Sir William Johnson. He was a genial, popular fellow and described as a "born diplomat." He was charged by his superiors with the duty of meeting Pontiac and the Indian chiefs and arranging terms of peace.

On May 15, 1765, with several white companies and some Shawnee Indians he left Fort Pitt after sending messengers to several of the Indian tribes to meet him at the mouth of the Scioto River. The Indian tribes to whom the messages were addressed complied and delivered into their hands several dis-

affected French traders whom Croghan compelled to take the oath of allegiance to King George or leave the country.

His company was attacked by the Mascoutens and Kickapoos at the mouth of the Wabash and two of his white companions and several Shawnee were killed.

The Indians afterwards explained that the attack was a mistake but nevertheless they plundered his stock of supplies and carried Croghan and his party to Vincennes. At this place delegates of all the tribes surrounding that post waited upon Croghan, asked for peace and offered to take him to the Illinois country to meet Chief Pontiac. He accepted their offer and a few days later started west to meet Pontiac under their escort. Pontiac agreeably surprised him by meeting him half way. With Pontiac he returned to the Fort Ouiatenon where a large council of the Indians was assembled. There in the presence of his allied chiefs the great heart-broken and humiliated chief declared that he and his allies were willing to make a lasting peace. Croghan therefore reported his success to Fort Pitt, abandoned his journey to Fort Chartres, and hastened to Detroit where he arranged for another conference at which a general peace was consummated with all of the western tribes, thus ending the Pontiac war.

Upon receiving word of Croghan's great successes at Ouiatenon and Detroit, Capt. Thomas Sterling left Fort Pitt with 100 men of the Black Watch on August 24, 1765 and arrived at Fort Chartres on October 9. Next day St. Ange the French commanding officer and his garrison were released from duty. The French flag was lowered and the Cross of St. George was raised for the first time over Fort Chartres. This was the surrender of the last French fort in the West.

Upon surrender of the fort the French inhabitants of the American Bottom found themselves in a strange predicament. The French government having surrendered its sovereignty in February 1763, there was no French law in existence for them. The British government had enacted law for Canada promptly after the French surrender but had failed to proclaim any kind of civil or criminal law to govern the Illinois Country.

They were in number less than 3,000 of whom 900 were negroes, and in a state of nature, without any law or ordinances of any character. Upon it becoming known to these French inhabitants in 1763 and 1764 that New France had been ceded to Great Britain, a general exodus of the most responsible of these people took place, most of them crossing the Mississippi to what is now St. Louis. Pierre La Clede had landed in Kaskaskia about that time with a large stock of trading goods from New Orleans. He represented some rich merchants in the latter city who intended opening up for them a large fur trading establishment in Kaskaskia. After storing his goods in the French fort, consulting with Neyon de Villiers, the commandant, and looking the ground over, he concluded that it would be unprofitable if not disastrous to attempt to do business under the British flag. He therefore transferred his goods over the Mississippi to St. Louis and built up a large and profitable business from that point under the Spanish flag. Many others followed his example.

While the French flag continued to wave over Fort Chartres many of the inhabitants hesitated as to their course awaiting results.

When Captain Sterling raised the British flag on October 10, 1765, he followed the ceremonial of flag raising by publishing the following proclamation.

Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his Majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian King (the King of France), may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty (the King of Spain), and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security of their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the King.

That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and all the evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

Done and given at headquarters. New York—signed with our hand—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th day of December, 1764.

THOMAS GAGE.

After the publication of this proclamation St. Ange de Belleville the French commandant with twenty-one faithful, sad faced French soldiers marched out of Kaskaskia to a new village across the Mississippi from Cahokia, now known by the name of St. Louis. About one-third of the French population left Illinois within a short time thereafter for St. Louis, St. Marys, Cape Girardeau or New Orleans.

Captain Neyon de Villiers, the last surviving of seven brothers who had given their lives for France, had left for New Orleans about a year before the English took possession. Incidentally after the signing of the treaty of Paris in 1763 the British government was confronted with the problem of how to manage and control its newly acquired property in the Northwest or Mississippi Valley east of the great river. The French had lost out in the game of war. The Indian tribes were in possession of most of the western forts and trading posts and besieging the three forts still garrisoned by British troops; Virginia, Massachusetts and the English colonies were claiming territorial rights to the western lands under their original charters; and the colonists and speculators from New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and other colonies were crossing the Alleghanies and reckless of the sovereign rights of nations were claiming squatter rights, rights obtained from Indian tribes and rights obtained from Colonial governors to the lands north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER X

PART PLAYED BY ILLINOIS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

It does not seem to be generally understood that Illinois played quite an important part in bringing about the War of the Revolution, but also a very important part in framing the terms of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the American colonies. By this I do not mean that the soldiers of Illinois participated in the winning battles of the Revolution or that the statesmen or diplomats of Illinois participated in the conferences which framed the terms of the peace treaty. I mean that the Illinois Country, by reason of its location, by reason of its past association with New France or Canada and Louisiana, by reason of the fact that its white inhabitants were of French blood, by reason of the fact that these inhabitants were bitterly opposed to British rule and on friendly terms with the Indians who were also bitter enemies of the English, and above all by reason of its laws and government or rather lack of law and government, immediately before the outbreak of the revolution, made it one of the causes of the Revolution and made it one of the most material elements to be considered in drawing up the terms of the treaty of peace.

Ask the ordinary American citizen today what brought about the American revolt against British rule, and he will answer, "Taxation without representation." The answer is correct, if it be stated as the *main* cause. But it is incorrect if it be claimed as the sole cause. If it was the sole cause, the triumphant colonists in framing the treaty of peace would have been concerned only about themselves and their territory. The colonies held no legal title to any land north of the Ohio and west of Pennsylvania.

France had held possession of, and according to international policy had title to, all this territory by right of discovery and

occupancy for over 100 years, until by the treaty of Paris in 1763, she ceded the same to Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence itself recognizes that the country north of the Ohio was a British province and makes no claim that it belonged to the colonies, but complains that the British king was "abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies." (Declaration of Independence, 1776.) The war at its inception was a war for independence of the thirteen colonies, and not a war of conquest. A remarkable occurrence which took place in the French settlements in Illinois, two years after the declaration of independence, changed the whole nature of the war. It was an episode during the War of the Revolution participated in by 153 men without firing a shot or shedding a drop of blood, which at the time attracted little attention; but which was pregnant with more tremendous results than most of the great battles of history. Let us go back and examine the situation in Southern Illinois as it existed in the spring of 1778.

There were living at that time in the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and a few smaller settlements, between 2,000 and 3,000 men, women and children of French parentage and language, of whom a considerable number were the half breed children of a French father and an Indian mother. French law which they understood and obeyed, had been abolished with French sovereignty in 1763. British officers with British garrisons in Fort Chartres and Fort Gage, without any civil law being enacted or proclaimed, had for ten or twelve years over-awed and abused them. They were without a remedy for any injury done them. They had petitioned for the establishment of some sort of civil government and had sent delegates to General Gage to secure same, without avail. The British government had, after the treaty of Paris, when it took possession of the French territory, created three provinces, one called Quebec, covering Canada, and two others, covering East and West Florida; and had formulated and proclaimed certain laws and ordinances for those provinces. The French villages

of Southern Illinois were so obscure, or deemed of so little importance, that the lawmaking body of Great Britain failed to enact or promulgate any kind of law, civil or criminal, to govern these law-forgotten subjects of the British crown. This was the situation down to 1774 or 1775 when the law makers of Great Britain formulated and proclaimed, with other acts relating to the American colonies, the so-called Quebec Act. This act extended for the first time the laws governing the Province of Quebec to the Illinois country and made that country a part of the Province of Quebec.

The act governing Canada and the Illinois country, provided among other things, that the governor should have a council of not less than seventeen, nor more than twenty-three persons. The governor and the council were the law-making power so far as law-making was permitted. All laws or ordinances passed by the governor and council had to be submitted to and approved of by the king. This law making body was not permitted to levy any taxes or make any law concerning religion. The British government in the organic law establishing the Province of Quebec had guaranteed the "enjoyment of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy" and enacted that the British criminal law should be the supreme law of the province.

The inhabitants who professed the Catholic religion,—as nearly all of them did,—were not required to take the oath of religious supremacy, but were required to swear allegiance to the British king. Now the passage of some sort of British law, or ordinance to govern, guide and protect these French speaking subjects in the Illinois country, had been under consideration by the British authorities in London for some years prior to that time.

Whether the Royal territory north of the Ohio acquired by the British crown from the French by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 should; by reason of Indian hostilities displayed in the Pontiac war, and the bitterness still rankling in Indian breasts, be reserved in whole, or in part for Indian hunting grounds, or be thrown open to settlers, or whether a mediary policy should be adopted, reserving part for settlement and part for Indian

occupation; with a no-mans-land between to keep the settlers and savages apart, had never been definitely determined by the law-making Moguls in London.

Many influential persons both in England and the colonies, including the Earl of Dunmore, the last of the British governors of Virginia, favored the throwing open of these rich lands to settlers and speculators. Lord Dunmore had the temerity to issue warrants granting lands north of the Ohio to certain grantees without any authority from Great Britain so to do. He was notoriously using his office unlawfully for self enrichment.

As early as 1748, Thomas Lee, a member of the King's Council in Virginia and a Mr. Hamburg, a rich and powerful merchant in London, organized the Ohio Land Company, composed of fourteen to sixteen persons including Governor Dinwiddie and Lawrence and Augustus Washington, brothers of George Washington, and secured from the king a grant of half a million acres along the Ohio, and the exclusive right of trading with the Indians in the Ohio district. This company established trading stations on the Alleghany, north of what is now Pittsburgh and Logstown on the Ohio, eighteen miles south of Pittsburgh.

In 1750, Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania received a letter from Louis Cèleron, agent of the Canadian governor dated from "a camp on the river Ohio at an old Shawnee village" in which he expressed his surprise, at finding English traders from Pennsylvania in a country to which England had never made any claim, and requesting Governor Hamilton to advise his people to refrain from trespassing on the territory of France.

About this time, the Canadian governor wrote letters to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, warning them that English traders in the Ohio district would be arrested and held as trespassers. Later on, after the English had taken possession of the Ohio Valley from the French, the British king, George III., himself took notice of the unlawful settlements in the valley in a letter he wrote to John Penn, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, dated October 24, 1765, which reads as follows:

Whereas it hath been represented unto us that several persons from Pennsylvania and the back settlements of Virginia have migrated westward of the Alleghany mountains, and these have seated themselves on lands contiguous to the River Ohio, in express disobedience to our Royal Proclamation of October, 1763, it is therefore our will and pleasure, and you are hereby strictly enjoined and required to use your best endeavors to suppress such unwarrantable proceedings, and to put a stop to these and other like encroachments for the future, by causing all persons belonging to the province under your government who have thus irregularly seated themselves on lands to the westward of the Alleghanies immediately to evacuate those settlements, and that you do enforce as far as you are able, a more strict obedience to our commands signified in Our Said Royal Proclamation, and provide against any future violation thereof.

While many influential men and interests favored the throwing open of these lands to settlers, other influential advisers of the King favored appeasing and pacifying the Indians, by reserving part or all of the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi as hunting grounds for the Indians, subject to their tribal customs and regulations and the King's sovereignty. As the result of these conflicting counsels, the law-making powers of Great Britain arrived at no conclusion; and proclaimed no law for this territory until 1774 or 1775, when they passed the Quebec Act. This act gave the French settlers in Southern Illinois the first code of laws that they had since 1763. This law was passed solely for the purpose of creating some sort of a code of government and civil and criminal law that would apply to these French residents of Illinois who were living in a state of anarchy.

It neither expressly declared for Indian reservations, nor for colonial settlement, leaving the matter open for future consideration. But by passing any kind of a law for the territory, it again affirmed the sovereignty of the Crown over the district. But, unfortunately for the British crown, this rather anaemic law was promulgated with, and about the same time that, four other very tyrannical and unjust laws directly applicable to

the thirteen colonies and Massachusetts in particular were proclaimed.

These four laws were popularly called :

- 1st. The Boston Port Bill.
- 2nd. The Regulating Act.
- 3rd. The Transportation Act.
- 4th. The Quartering Act.

A short statement of the effect of these laws will enable us to understand why the American colonists were filled with rage and indignation, and why the Quebec Act coming at the same time was believed to be inspired by hatred of, and tyranny towards, the colonists.

The Boston Port Bill closed the port of Boston to all commerce and removed the seat of government to Salem until that city indemnified the owners for £15,000 worth of tea, thrown overboard in Boston harbor, and indemnified the government custom officials for damages done by mobs in 1773 and 1774. It further made Marblehead the port of entry, in place of Boston.

The Regulating Act annulled the liberal charter then held by Massachusetts and practically abolished self-government. It provided that the executive council should be appointed by the Crown instead of by the Assembly, empowered the governor to appoint and remove all judges and administrative officers; made the judges' salaries payable by the Crown instead of the Legislature, prohibited all town meetings except those approved by the governor and vested the selection of juries in sheriffs instead of the people.

The Transportation Act provided for the removal to England for trial of any case against a royal official (including soldiers) charged with crime, which would have enabled any British official to commit any crime, no matter how murderous, and laugh at prosecution.

The Quartering Act made it obligatory upon Massachusetts to furnish at all times quarters for British troops.

Upon the promulgation of these four acts, and the Quebec Act, Boston was aflame and the fire soon spread to all the thirteen colonies.

Because it accompanied these other tyrannical acts, the people argued it was but another act of like nature. *It gave an oligarchical, undemocratic law to a neighboring province and it recognized and legalized the exercise of the Catholic religion.* Now, in and around Boston there were many descendants and friends of the original Puritans who landed at Plymouth. Their hardy ancestors regarded Catholics with hatred and contempt and prohibited them from entering Massachusetts. The habits, feelings and fanaticism of the sires, had descended to many of their sons and grandsons. The official recognition in the Quebec Act of the Roman Catholic religion was a shock to these inherited antipathies. The tyrant George III, using this as a precedent, they argued, might soon force toleration of Roman Catholics upon them and their children. This interpretation of the Quebec Act was soon spread abroad through the colony and other colonies. The Quebec Act, though passed to affect only persons outside of the thirteen colonies, was to be used as a precedent for royal acts of tyranny against the American colonies. It might be used as a precedent for the toleration by law of Catholics in colonies where they were not wanted.

In the Declaration of Independence, hereinbefore quoted, the passage of the Quebec Act (not by name, but by inference) is mentioned as one of the tyrannical acts of the British King justifying revolt and the Declaration of Independence.

In other words, the promulgation of this act, which directly affected only the French habitants in the French villages in Southern Illinois and in the Illinois country in connection with four other grossly tyrannical laws at an inopportune time, caused it to be construed,—and it was so construed,—as a ground for revolution.

Let us now see what effect, if any, the people in the Illinois country had upon the terms of peace.

These French villages in southern Illinois were about half-way on the route then traveled in going from Quebec to New Orleans. Fort Chartres, near Kaskaskia, was about the middle link in a chain of forts between these two cities, all in possession of British troops. Kaskaskia and Cahokia were the largest and busiest settlements between Detroit and New Orleans. They

were occupied almost exclusively by Frenchmen, their wives and children. English speaking visitors were few and far between. Traders from Philadelphia and the East occasionally dropped in, but not to take permanent residence. They were sojourners merely for business purposes. Whatever nation or power held possession with military force of these villages and their protecting forts, Fort Chartres or Fort Gage, could prevent the passage of both military and trading expeditions between Canada and Louisiana.

Both troops and traders in that age used the waterways for purposes of travel. With the exception of a portage at Niagara and another at Chicago, there was a continuous waterway for the canoes and barges then in use, from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. There were no roadways or other thoroughfares through the trackless woods and prairies. The era of paved roads, autos, railroads and flying machines had not yet arrived. All traffic had to and did take to the waterways.

Because of the existence of this splendid course of waterways covering approximately three thousand miles from Quebec to New Orleans, the French had been able to discover, and dot with little trading posts and forts all this Mississippi Valley for over one hundred years before the English trod foot upon the same. The colonists along the Atlantic had no waterway flowing westward. Instead of favoring waterways, they found their way towards the West blocked by formidable mountains. The possession of these waterways made it easy for the French to anticipate both the British government and the colonist in taking possession of the Mississippi Valley. Whichever party to the struggle between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies took possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia and their protecting forts, Fort Chartres and Fort Gage, and held them impregnable against all attack until the end of the war, would be able, by using the waterways northward and southward from Kaskaskia, to attack and reduce hostile forces stationed anywhere along these three thousand miles of waterways. Moreover, the party in possession of these forts and villages at the end of the war would be in a position to dictate the terms of permanent occu-

pation and sovereignty of all the Mississippi Valley east of the great river.

The first man to recognize the importance of the possession of these French villages and forts in Southern Illinois and to conceive a plan for securing their possession for the thirteen colonies was a man then almost unknown to fame, but whose daring accomplishment on July 4th, 1778 has made his name imperishable in American history.

We will devote a separate chapter (the next) to a recital of the dreams, trials, labors and glorious achievements of this remarkably able and daring man, George Rogers Clark.

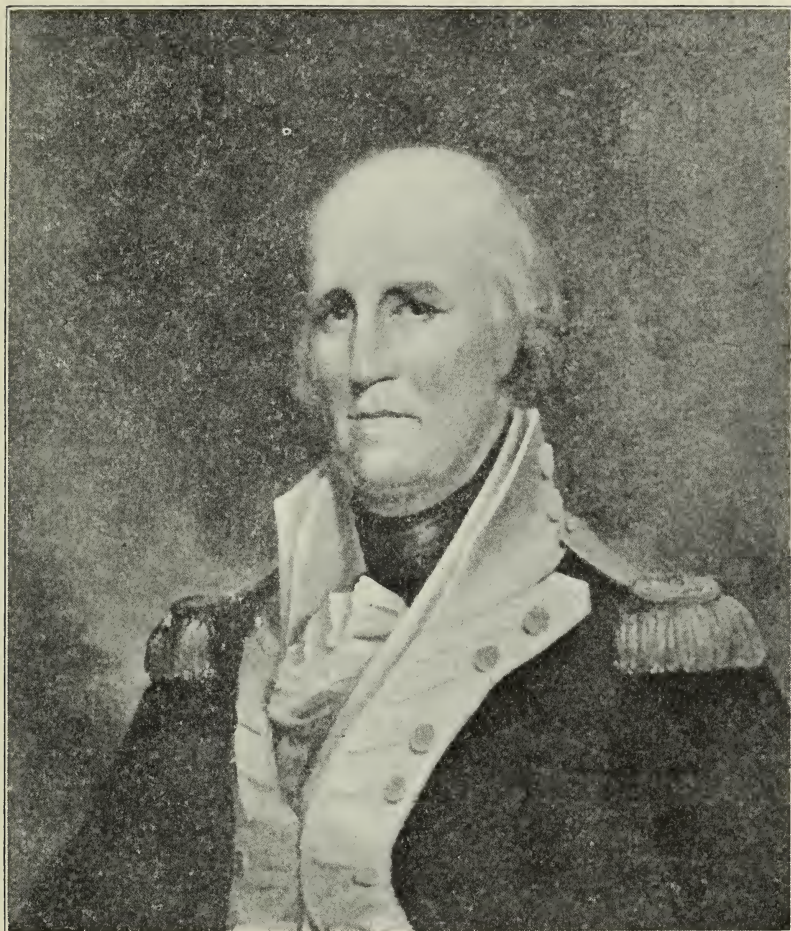
CHAPTER XI

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK CAPTURES KASKASKIA AND VINCENNES

Some short time before the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, many of the colonial settlers, particularly from Pennsylvania and Virginia, had been scaling the Alleghany Mountains, built up a village in what is now Pittsburgh, and pushed down the Ohio River into Kentucky. For a time they paused at the Great Kanawha, the limit to settlement set by orders from London. But soon the barrier was overstepped, and by 1773 American settlements were springing up in Western Kentucky and the ground platted for the future City of Louisville. These settlements were largely prompted by land speculators claiming under illegal grants from Lord Dunmore and Indian tribes.

Across the Ohio River from these Kentucky settlements was the territory which by the Quebec Act was declared to be part of the Quebec Province. The colonies could make no valid claim to this territory, and but very few American colonists had settled therein.

Without any disturbance from white settlers or speculators, the Indian tribes roamed and hunted throughout these lands at will, trading with French habitants at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, Mackinac and Detroit rather than with English speaking traders at Pittsburgh. The flourishing Village of Detroit, however, was occupied by a formidable British garrison under the command of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. From this point, early in the Revolutionary war, a plan was seriously considered to attack with British troops and Indian allies, the Americans at Pittsburgh, and if successful there, to join forces with Lord Dunmore and his forces at Alexandria. This scheme failed of accomplishment for lack of British troops in the West. The Indians north of the Ohio, however, were greatly incensed



GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

at the conduct of the American settlers in Kentucky south of the Ohio. They saw these settlers in defiance of royal decrees and the treaties made by the Indians with the British authorities, appropriating the lands claimed by them, without leave or license.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton knew of these feelings of resentment among the Indians. He nursed these bitter feelings, loaded the Indian chiefs with presents, and incited them to resent their wrongs by ambushes and night attacks upon the American settlements south of the Ohio, in the manner usual to Indian warfare. He is charged, and probably truthfully, with offering rewards to the Indians for the scalps of white men brought to him in Detroit. His memory is perpetuated in history under the name of "Hamilton, the hair-buyer."

Roused into action by the wrongs that they had been suffering at the hands of these American settlers in Kentucky, and undoubtedly furnished with guns, ammunition, knives and other implements of warfare by Hamilton, the Indians opened hostilities south of the Ohio. The murder of a friendly Shawnee chief named Cornstalk by some Kentucky settlers at Fort Randolph, was the immediate incentive to these attacks. The Shawnee tribe, which up to that time was neutral, upon the murder of their chief, led the assaults upon the white settlers, spreading terror and bloodshed throughout Kentucky.

George Rogers Clark now appears upon the scene. At this juncture, June, 1776, he was at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in attendance at a meeting of settlers called to organize the people both for protection from exploitation by land adventurers and assaults from the Indians. He was then about twenty-six years of age, and was possessed of great courage and a commanding presence. It is claimed that he bore a remarkable likeness to George Washington and was very proud of the resemblance. His portrait as painted by Jonett, a photograph of which is published in Alvord's *History of Illinois*, page 324, bears out the claim of resemblance between Washington and Clark. He had been engaged in vigorous pioneering for some years prior to this time, and had considerable experience as a surveyor. He had explored the country as far west as the Great Kanawha in 1772,

served in the war against the Shawnees, and in the Dunmore war against the Iroquois.

At this Harrodsburg meeting, he was appointed one of the two commissioners to present to the Virginia Legislature a petition from the Kentucky settlers for protection from the Indian attacks. When he reached the Virginia State capitol, the Legislature had adjourned. In no way discouraged, Clark found out that the governor, Patrick Henry, was sick at home in Hanover, and Clark sought out and secured an interview with him. Governor Henry from his sick bed referred the matter to his council, which ordered that five hundred pounds of powder be sent by the State of Virginia to Fort Pitt and thence down the Ohio to places convenient for the settlers in Kentucky.

When the Legislature re-convened, Clark and his colleague attended same and were favorably treated by that body. The Legislature, at their request, passed a law declaring Kentucky to be a county of Virginia, and making provision for the government of the County of Kentucky.

When Clark returned to Kentucky in the spring of 1776, he was thoroughly convinced that the Indian assaults upon the Kentucky settlers were instigated by the British commanders in Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and other forts in the Quebec Province. He had information to that effect from a man named Bentley, living in Kaskaskia. To gain further reliable information, he sent two men he trusted implicitly to Kaskaskia.

They promptly on their return reported to Clark, in the fall of 1776, in substance as follows:

First. That the commanding officers of the British forts in the Northwest were largely responsible for the Indian attacks upon the people in Kentucky.

Second. That the French inhabitants of all the French villages were, on the whole, quite friendly and sympathetic with the American cause.

Third. That in most of the French villages along the Wabash and the Mississippi rivers, there were well organized and well trained militiamen.

After hearing these reports confirming the information he had obtained from Bentley, Clark left Kentucky to call upon

the governor of Virginia. His design was to procure a commission as an officer of the Virginia army and to organize an army of several hundred men to invade the Illinois country for the purpose of overcoming the British garrisons in Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and probably other English forts in that territory.

He laid his plans before Governor Patrick Henry, who at first was undecided. The governor finally authorized him, after many secret conferences with his council, to raise and equip seven companies of soldiers of fifty men in each company. The conferences and the authorization were secret and were not submitted to the Legislature for its approval, lest it should become public. The governor and his council further agreed to provide six thousand pounds British money for the financing of the enterprise, and promised that the Legislature would afterwards be asked to grant each soldier who volunteered and took part in the campaign three hundred acres of land in the new territory, and that the soldiers should receive even greater compensation. In pursuance of this plan, the governor handed to Clark two letters of authorization. One of these letters declared that the purpose of the campaign was to provide for the defense of the Kentucky people against Indian outrages. The other letter, which was to be kept secret, showed the real purpose of the campaign. The public letter, as contained in Smith's very able and industrious history, is as follows:

Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark: You are to proceed, without loss of time, to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as a militia under your orders. They are to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them, for three months after their arrival at that place; but to receive pay, etc., in case they remain on duty a longer time.

You are empowered to raise these men in any county in the commonwealth; and the county lieutenants, respectively, are requested to give you all possible assistance in that business.

Given under my hand at Williamsburg, January 2nd, 1788.

P. HENRY.

Private Instructions.

Virginia in Council, Williamsburg, January 2d, 1778. Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark: You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprise; and with this force attack the British fort at Kaskaskia.

It is conjectured there are many pieces of cannon and stores of considerable amount, at that place, the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the state. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the state.

For the transportation of the troops, provisions, etc., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats; and during the whole transaction you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret,—its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants of that post and the neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this state (for it is certain they live within its limits), by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow citizens, and their person and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever, shall be afforded them, and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart.

The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia and to act under the laws and regulations of this state now in force, as militia. The inhabitants of this post will be informed by you, that in case they acceded to the offers of becoming citizens of this commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their com-

merce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of France and Spain.

It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskaskia will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that brought from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire, by my orders, and that may be delivered to you.

Wishing you succeed,

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

P. HENRY.

Upon receipt of these two letters of authorization, Clark proceeded to recruit his troops. Two officers that he appointed were instructed to bring their recruits to Fort Pitt. Others were directed to meet him on the Ohio River in Kentucky. Going to Fort Pitt, he gathered together the men there assembled, and obtained boats, provisions, ammunition and fire-arms. Finding some opposition to his enterprise at that fort, he did not attempt there to do more than secure the supplies which were ordered to be given him by Governor Henry. He sent word to all the recruits to meet him at Corn Island, opposite the present City of Louisville. When the troops were gathered at that place, a conference was held between himself and his officers, and it was agreed that the settlements in Kentucky should not be left unprotected and some of the troops were ordered to return to these settlements to protect them. Finally, 153 men were assembled, ready for the descent on the Ohio to Illinois.

Clark then explained to these men the final purpose of the expedition. He appointed four captains, Bowman, Helm, Harrod and Montgomery, to take command of each of the four companies. They left Corn Island on the 24th of June, 1778, and were shortly afterward overtaken by a message from the commander at Fort Pitt, who brought most agreeable news, to-wit, that France had entered into a treaty of alliance with the United States and had agreed to send money, men and ships

to assist the colonists. At first Clark was undecided as to whether he should attack the fort at Vincennes or Kaskaskia.

Vincennes was a larger fort and had more troops, which made it more difficult of capture. In addition, if he were defeated, he would have a hard time to retreat in safety. He finally reached the conclusion that the Illinois settlements were more scattered and could be overcome one at a time more easily, and that in case of failure he would be able to retreat across the Mississippi into Spanish territory in St. Louis.

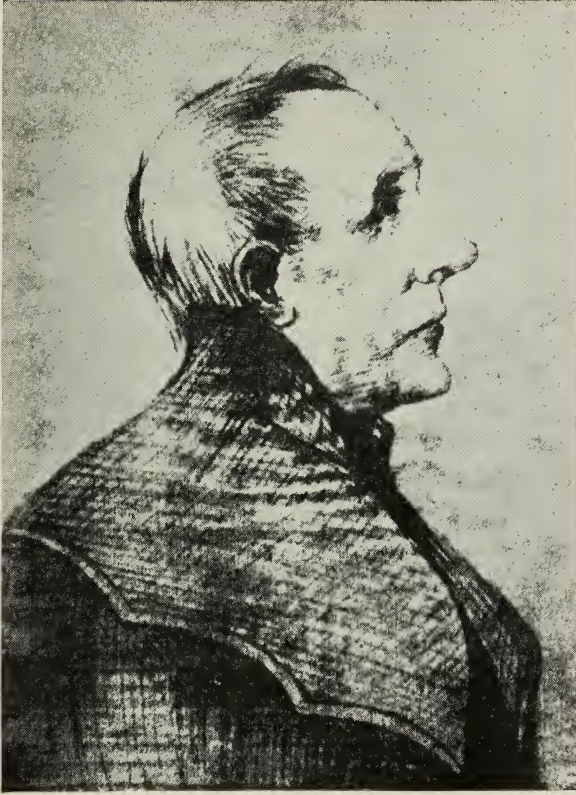
At the mouth of the Tennessee River, Clark met a hunter named John Duff, who reported to him that he had been recently in Kaskaskia, and that there were no British soldiers at either Kaskaskia or Vincennes. He further reported that a Frenchman, Chevalier de Rocheblanc, was the commander at Kaskaskia; that he had no troops excepting the militia. Duff and his companions offered to accompany Clark and act as guides. With these guides, Clark moved down the Ohio to Fort Massac. Here he hid his boats and on June 29, 1778, began the journey overland from that point one hundred and twenty miles to Kaskaskia. His men carried four days' rations. On the morning of the 4th of July, they arrived at a point within twelve miles of Kaskaskia. They were utterly without provisions, and dared not kill game, lest they should be discovered. On the 4th of July at night they arrived within a few miles of Kaskaskia. There they learned that the residents a few days before were under arms but had disbanded; that the Indians had left Kaskaskia and that all was quiet in the village. That night Clark secured boats and transported his little army across the Kaskaskia River to the west side of that river. Disembarking on the west side of the river, he marched his little army to the edge of the town, where he divided it into two parts. With one, he marched to the south side of the town, where the commander, Rocheblanc, was quartered. He was in a building surrounded by a stockade, but it was in bad need of repairs and the Kentuckians had no trouble in entering. After entering the stockade, they seized Rocheblanc and the rest of the army went into the streets and directed the townspeople to remain within their homes. The next morning the people were dis-

armed. Father Gibault, the Catholic priest in charge of the villages at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, was left in Kaskaskia, and with a few of the most prominent citizens of the town he called upon Clark to ask if they might have religious services in the church. Clark consented, and at the close of the services, Father Gibault again called upon Clark and asked that the prisoners might be treated leniently and allowed to retain their personal belongings. To him Clark explained that the King of France had entered into a treaty of alliance with the American colonies, and that it would be entirely just and proper for the French colonists in the Illinois country to ally themselves with the allies of the French king. He further explained that in order to prove that he was speaking the truth, that he would release all the French prisoners, whereupon there was great demonstration of joy and happiness among those who feared the worst. The church bell was rung, and thanks were given to God for the happy deliverance.

Clark then issued a proclamation which was to be read in the village. Father Gibault was very instrumental in persuading the French inhabitants to become friendly to the American cause. The commander, Rocheblanc, however, was made prisoner and sent to Williamsburg, Virginia, as a prisoner of war.

After administering the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Clark took steps to capture Cahokia. Many French inhabitants of Kaskaskia volunteered to assist him, and he ordered that the guns and ammunition should be returned to the friendly French citizens. A company of French volunteers was organized, which was accepted by him as a part of the force sent to capture Cahokia. On their arrival at Cahokia, they found little trouble in persuading the French inhabitants to become friendly to the American cause. The post surrendered without a struggle, and the oath of allegiance to Virginia was administered to all its citizens.

At the time that Clark took possession of Kaskaskia, the wealthiest citizen was a Frenchman named Cere, who was suspected of having assisted the English officers in instigating the Indian attacks upon the Kentucky settlements. Cere was at that time temporarily in St. Louis. However, he voluntarily



FATHER GIBAULT

French priest at Kaskaskia and Vincennes at time of George Rogers Clark's
Conquest

From a crayon owned by Col. R. T. Durrett, of Louisville

crossed the river and had an interview with Colonel Clark, the result of which was that Clark became convinced of his innocence. Cere voluntarily became an American citizen, and took the oath of allegiance and pledged loyalty to the American cause.

After he had taken possession of Cahokia, Clark sent for Father Gibault, and talked with him about the projected capture of Vincennes. Father Gibault had recently been in Vincennes, and knew the situation at that point. He explained to Clark that Governor Abbott of Canada had left Vincennes, and that there were no British troops there, and that only the local militia were in charge of the fort and its supplies. He, Father Gibault, promised to go to Vincennes, and advise the citizens to transfer their allegiance from the British government to Virginia, whereupon Clark sent Father Gibault, accompanied with two reliable friends of Clark, to Vincennes to ascertain what could be done in the way of its capture. This was easily accomplished. Father Gibault advised the French residents of Vincennes to become American citizens, and to transfer their allegiance from the British government to Virginia. Under his persuasion, they all gathered in the village and the oath of allegiance to Virginia was administered to all the citizens. Thereupon the British flag was hauled down, and the flag of Virginia hoisted in its place. The Indians were advised that the French king had come back to life, and that he was advising his Indian friends to be friendly to the Americans.

Up to this point, Colonel Clark had wonderful success, largely through the friendship of the French habitants, but now his troubles began. The volunteers recruited by him had only enlisted for three months, and many of them sought to return to their homes. Finally, he succeeded in getting a hundred of the Kentuckians to re-enlist, and the rest were mustered out. He then opened the enlistment to French citizens, many of whom accepted the invitation, and these new recruits were drilled and trained as American soldiers. Colonel Clark appointed over each French company French officers. He stationed Captain Bowman at Cahokia and Captain Williams at Kaskaskia. Shortly thereafter, he arranged for conferences

with Indians, and held counsel with them at Cahokia, where the chiefs of many tribes appeared, smoked the pipe of peace, and made treaties favorable to the Americans.

Shortly after his successes at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, Clark reported the same to Governor Henry and the Legislature, and the Legislature of that colony in October, 1778, passed a law creating the County of Illinois in the State of Virginia in the following language:

All of the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or who shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county which shall be called *Illinois County*; and the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the advice of counsel, may appoint a county-lieutenant or commander in chief, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission as many deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissioners as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure; all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion.

And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed necessary for the preservation of the peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts to be convened for that purpose by the county-lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county-lieutenant or commander-in-chief.

At the same time, the House of Delegates expressed their thanks to Clark and his companions for their wonderful success, as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Monday the 23d, Nov., 1778.

Whereas authentic information has been received that Lieut.-Col. George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the Western parts of this commonwealth on the Mississippi and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this commonwealth in particular:

Resolved That the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men

under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for their important services to their country.

E. C. RANDOLPH,
C. H. D.

But now Clark's troubles began to gather. Henry Hamilton, governor of Detroit, upon learning that Clark had invaded Illinois and was in possession of Fort Vincennes, raised a force consisting of thirty regular troops, of fifty Canadians, and 500 Indians and started for headquarters on the Wabash. As he neared the village of Vincennes, Captain Helm, who was in charge of the fort, it is said, with only one assistant, a soldier named Henry, decided upon a grotesque and daring expedient to obtain terms of surrender. When Hamilton came within hearing distance, Helm cried out, "Halt!" Hamilton then demanded the surrender of the fort, to which Helm replied, "No man shall enter until I know the terms." Governor Hamilton then replied that the force in the fort should be permitted to march out with the honors of war. These terms were accepted by Helm, and he and Private Henry marched out of the fort, Helm carrying the flag and Henry beating a drum. However this may be, the fort in fact, was surrendered to Governor Hamilton.

After the surrender of the fort to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Captain Helm, who had surrendered, was unable to communicate from Vincennes with Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia, and Clark for a long time was in ignorance of the capture. On January 29, 1779, Col. Francis Vigo, an Italian friend of Clark's, returned to Kaskaskia from Vincennes, and reported to him the surrender of the fort to the British and the weakness of the British garrison therein. He at once started to organize an expedition for the recapture of the fort, and ordered Captain Bowman to assist him in organizing the expedition. He first ordered a galley built, which was to be sent down the Mississippi and up the Ohio and the Wabash to await near Vincennes the coming of other troops which would travel overland. Upon this galley two four-pound guns were mounted, and four large swivels, and provisions and ammunition were placed aboard the

boat, which was under charge of Captain John Rogers, who had forty-six men under his command. He left Kaskaskia on the 4th of February, 1779. Captain Rogers then organized two militia companies, one from Cahokia and the other from Kaskaskia. The company from Cahokia was commanded by Captain McCarthy, and the one from Kaskaskia by Captain Charleville. In addition to these two companies of militia, he had three companies of Americans commanded by Captains Bowman, Williams and Worthington. In all, they mustered 170 men. After preparing for provisions and stores, the expedition was ready, and started on the 5th of February from Kaskaskia after receiving absolution from Father Gibault.

The expedition experienced but little trouble until they reached Zenia in Clay County, as they killed plenty of game and had plenty of firewood. The rains were falling, however, and the streams filled their banks. When they reached the Little Wabash, they found the land between the Little Wabash and the Big Muddy three miles east covered with water. Here they built a boat for the purpose of carrying them over the deeper parts. Pack horses were compelled to swim the river. The men were compelled frequently to trudge across the ice and water, where the water was from three to five feet deep. They were compelled to carry guns with powder on top of their heads to keep them dry. On the 18th, they reached the Wabash, and spent three days building rafts and digging canoes, and had nothing to eat for two days. It must be remembered that this expedition was in the depth of winter in February, and the hardships that the men were compelled to undergo were frightful. When almost famished for want of food, they spied a canoe in which were some Indian squaws and forced it to land, and by the greatest of good luck, they found in the canoe a fourth of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. Broth was made immediately, and served to the soldiers, some of whom were so famished as to be unable to walk.

On reaching the immediate neighborhood of Vincennes, Clark issued the following proclamation, which he had distributed among the inhabitants:

To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:

Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses; and those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And if such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

In the afternoon of the 23rd of February, 1779, Clark began to march toward the village. He maneouvered his men behind the cover of certain hills so as to make it appear to the village and to those in the fort that his numbers were two or three times as large as they really were. On reaching the village, he promptly opened fire on the fort, which fire was vigorously answered from the fort. Clark's forces were but scantily provided with ammunition, which was almost exhausted when the residents of the town sent word that he could have their ammunition. After receiving this welcome addition to his equipment, he resumed the attack upon the fort. On the morning of the 24th, he demanded its surrender, on the following terms; addressed to Colonel Hamilton:

Sir: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by Heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

(Signed) G. R. CLARK.

To this haughty demand, Colonel Hamilton replied:

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects.

After this exchange of compliments, the fighting was resumed on both sides. Later in the day, however, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposed a truce of three days, which Colonel Clark refused. Later on, however, at a conference between Hamilton and Clark, they agreed upon terms of surrender as follows:

1. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

2. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war; and march out with their arms and accoutrements, etc.

3. The garrison to be delivered up at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

4. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

Signed at Post St. Vincent, 24th February, 1779.

Agreed for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON,
Lt. Gov. and Superintendent.

Three days thereafter, the boat *Willing* which had been sent from Kaskaskia with supplies and men, arrived. Governor Hamilton and Major Hay were sent to Williamsburg as prisoners of war. The soldiers were detained for a time and then paroled.

Shortly after the surrender of Fort Sackville, Clark learned that several canoes loaded with provisions and supplies intended for the fort were on the way to Vincennes. He detailed a company of men under Captain Helm, and found the vessels containing these provisions near the mouth of the Vermilion River. All the boats were captured by Captain Helm, who returned to

Vincennes with a large store of provisions to be used for the soldiers.

We have seen that the territory north and west of the Ohio was by the act of the Legislature of Virginia created a county of Virginia.

The act provided that the governor of Virginia should appoint county lieutenants, and that these officers shall appoint a commission of deputy commandants, police officers, and other needed assistants. It also provided that civil officers were to be elected by the voters in their respective districts. In pursuance of this law, Governor Henry of Virginia, after due and careful deliberation, selected John Todd, a judge of the Kentucky court at Harrodsburg, as the lieutenant governor of the county. Todd was a native of Pennsylvania, educated in Virginia, and had moved into Kentucky in 1775. He was a member of the first House of Delegates of Kentucky, and also a representative in the Virginia Legislature. He was one of the men who accompanied Clark in the campaign for the capture of Kaskaskia, and it is said that he was the first man to enter the building where Rocheblanc was sleeping, and the man that arrested him on the 4th of July, 1778. Upon his appointment, Governor Henry wrote out himself the instructions to the county-lieutenant, which are in words as follows:

The grand objects which are disclosed to the view of your countrymen will prove beneficial, or otherwise, according to the value and abilities of those who are called to direct the affairs of that remote country. The present crisis rendered favorable by the good disposition of the French and Indians, may be improved to great purposes, but, if, unhappily, it should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that early prejudices are so hard to wear out, you will take care to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians.

Lieutenant Governor Todd was further instructed by the governor to consult and advise with the most intelligent and upright persons who might fall in his way. He was directed also to cooperate with the military authorities; to take charge of the militia, which should be placed under the control of the

military only at the command of the civil authority. He was ordered also to punish every attempt to violate the property of the Indians, particularly their land, and cultivate friendly relations with the Spanish commandant at St. Louis.

Todd appeared in Kaskaskia in May, 1779, and accepted the office and trust imposed in him. The French inhabitants and the officers and Indians gathered in front of the village on the 12th of that month. Clark made a speech to those assembled, praising the faithfulness of the people of Kaskaskia and the neighboring villages, and asking their participation in civil affairs in the republican form of government now to be established in Illinois, and then introduced the county lieutenant, John Todd. Mr. Todd then gave a short address, and the assembled citizens voted for the election of judges, nine of whom were selected from Kaskaskia. The military commissions for the District of Kaskaskia were made out May 14, 1779. The names of all the officers indicate that except Richard Winston, the commandant, all were Frenchmen.

On June 15, 1779, Colonel Todd issued a proclamation, forbidding the further settling of the flat lands adjacent to the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois and Wabash rivers, and declaring that in order to establish titles to lands claimed from grants previously made by the governments in control of the region, it would be necessary for any inhabitants who claimed lands, to present for record the source of their present titles.

His career as a public officer, however, was very short. The finances of the newly established county were at the lowest ebb. Food was scarce, and what there was, was high priced. On August 9th, he wrote a letter to the commandants at Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, offering help in case they were attacked by the British, and on the 13th of August the same year he condemned a vacant lot and proclaimed it to be the property of the commonwealth. He was a delegate to the Virginia Legislature in 1780, and married while in Williamsburg, Virginia, and returned with his wife in 1781 to Lexington, Kentucky, so that the chances are that Governor Todd must have left the Illinois country and his official duties some time the latter part of 1779 or in 1780.

CHAPTER XII

ILLINOIS COUNTY, VIRGINIA, UNDER THE RULE OF THE OLD DOMINION

Back of the desk of the governor of Illinois, in his inner office in the state capitol at Springfield, there hangs an oil painting of a distinguished looking man with a white "choker," in a scarlet cloak with black velvet trimmings. When at Springfield I was often asked by my visitors, of whom that painting was a portrait, and as often answered: "The first Governor of Illinois." My answer to most of these inquiries seemed unsatisfactory. Very few could tell the name of the first governor of Illinois. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* But occasionally a well-informed person would ask: "Ninian Edwards or Shadrach Bond?" When I told them it was a portrait of Patrick Henry, the first governor of Illinois, they would argue that he was governor of Virginia and not of Illinois. The Legislatures and public officials of this state have recognized the right of Patrick Henry to the title of first governor of Illinois by placing his portrait first among all the portraits of the governors of Illinois in the chief executive's office in the statehouse. That he was the first de facto American governor of Illinois will be conclusively shown by what follows.

Upon taking possession of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and the other French settlements of Illinois and of the British fort at Vincennes as heretofore narrated, George Rogers Clark promptly notified Governor Henry of Virginia of his signal successes. The news was received by Governor Henry with rapturous delight, as he quickly recognized that the capture of these places from the British, laid the foundation for claiming all of this rich country in the final terms of the peace treaty when the time came for drafting same. The governor communicated the

good news to the Legislature, which quickly enacted the law creating the Illinois country, a *county of Virginia*. Clark's program, secretly backed by Governor Henry and his council, was to *gain possession* of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes and as many more of the British forts and trading posts as possible and *hold possession of the same for the benefit of Virginia until the end of the Revolutionary war*. The first part of the program as to these three posts had been carried out with brilliant success. The second and equally essential part of the program—the retaining possession of the same—had now to be faced by Clark, and he found this to be a more difficult matter. As we have seen, the British Colonel Hamilton soon recaptured Vincennes, and it was only by the exercise of extraordinary daring, and the endurance of extreme suffering and almost starvation on the part of Clark and his hardy followers; that he forced the surrender of Hamilton and his British garrison, in Fort Sackville, near Vincennes.

Clark now found himself without supplies and without money. The support he expected from Virginia failed to arrive. The continental money he had brought with him was negotiable only at the rate of 12 cents on the dollar, and this depreciated money was soon exhausted. Drafts drawn by Clark on the agent of Virginia at New Orleans were dishonored. The friendly feeling and harmony which prevailed between the French inhabitants and the "Long Knives," as Clark's soldiers were called, immediately after the capture of Kaskaskia and Cahokia by Clark, and at the time of the expedition against Vincennes and at the inauguration of Governor Todd, soon began to disappear. This was largely the result of violent and unjust actions of the "Long Knives." These latter were rough, wild, bellicose pioneers recruited from the outposts of civilization in Virginia and Kentucky, hard-fighting and hard-drinking men, ready to settle all disputes either with their fists or any other handy weapons, and of many different nationalities. They were mostly of English, Irish, German, Dutch and Scotch-Irish origin. Few were Catholics in religion, while all of the French settlers professed that faith. The latter lived on good terms with the Indians, while the "Long Knives" and Indians were always at daggers-points.

The French were, as a rule, respectful of law and obedient toward their judges and other civil officers. The "Long Knives" usually settled their disputes with both white men and Indians without resort to the courts and in defiance of laws and regulations.

The justices elected under the Todd civil administration in a memorial to Governor Todd, May 24, 1779, complained that the soldiers at Fort Clark killed their domestic animals, seized supplies from them without payment, sold liquor to the Indians and traded with the slaves. Clark shouldered these complaints over to Governor Todd and the civil authorities. He was getting no money or supplies from Virginia, and even when he was attempting to organize an expedition for the capture of Detroit, he was compelled to allow his unruly and hungry soldiers to get their food in their own violent way. These soldiers and other reckless settlers, in defiance of British law and the Virginia law which forbade all settlement north of the Ohio River, entered lands after the "custom of the tomahawk claims," and this outraged both the Indians and the French. Governor Todd attempted to regulate these matters by proclamation, with but little success. Affairs at this stage were rapidly developing towards, and finally culminated into complete anarchy. Governor Todd, evidently at his wits end and despairing of being able to enforce respect for law, soon left the Illinois country after appointing, with doubtful authority, Richard Winston, deputy county lieutenant, to represent and enforce Virginia law.

Under Winston, matters continued to grow worse. He was generally believed by all who knew him to be dishonest. Instead of attempting to allay the bitterness between the French inhabitants and the Virginians, all his official acts tended to intensify it. He antagonized most, if not all, of the French leaders and many of those friendly to the American cause.

At this juncture, Clark found himself and his troops in a desperate condition. He had been attempting to gather forces in such number as would justify him in making an attack upon the British fort at Detroit, but was unable to secure money, supplies or troops from Virginia to augment his hungry and ill-equipped forces at Kaskaskia. Virginia could give no aid

because she herself was seriously threatened in the East by British troops. The southern colonies along the sea-coast were being successfully invaded by British armies who were threatening to invade the Old Dominion. Word reached Clark that Pittsburgh and the surrounding country were about to fall into British hands as the result of treachery and intrigue. He could secure no aid from that quarter. Finding himself unable in this situation to assume an offensive, he abandoned his hopes of attacking Detroit and took steps to prepare himself for defense in anticipation of a British attack from that city. He had not long to wait. While he was preparing to concentrate his troops at Fort Jefferson, in Kentucky, a few miles south of Cairo, withdrawing his troops from Vincennes and leaving but small detachments at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, news reached him that a formidable force of British soldiers and Indians was marching towards the Illinois country.

Spain having joined France in war upon Great Britain, orders were given the British generals to attack the Spanish settlements along the Mississippi, both from the south and the north, in order to cut off any assistance that these settlements might give the colonies during the war. The British attack from the south failed, owing to the skill and energy displayed by the Spanish commander, Governor Bernado de Galvez of New Orleans, who anticipated the British attack in that quarter and successfully assailed all the British forts in the Gulf of Mexico. The British attack from the north got under way in February, 1780. It was surrounded with great secrecy, but the Indians at Cahokia in some way got wind of the impending danger and sent word to Clark, who was then at Fort Jefferson. The Spanish commander at St. Louis and Captain Montgomery at Kaskaskia both confirmed the Cahokia message and called for assistance. Clark hastened to Cahokia and arrived just in time to assist Montgomery in the defense of that village, defeating the British there and also saving Kaskaskia. The Spanish in St. Louis were equally successful. Clark owed his success on this occasion as on previous occasions to the assistance given him by the French inhabitants. The British forces were compelled to retreat northward and were followed by Mont-

gomery and his troops. The British succeeded in eluding Montgomery, but he was successful with the assistance of the Spanish and the French Militia in making reprisals from the Indians allied with the British at Prairie du Chien and around Rock River. This was the second if not the third occasion when the French in Illinois enabled Clark with their assistance to extricate himself and his troops from desperate situations. The repulse of the British at Cahokia and St. Louis resulted, however, in saving the Illinois country from British occupation and retaining it by the Americans at a time when Clark was practically at the end of his resources. It was a close call with mighty consequences involved.

In the years 1779 and 1780 the cause of Virginia and the colonies in the Illinois country, notwithstanding the brilliant leadership of Clark, seemed in desperate shape. Its heartbeat was at its lowest ebb. Because of the lack of food and clothing the "Long Knives" were looting the French at Kaskaskia. In despair, these unfortunates, to escape robbery and violence, were fleeing across the river to St. Louis. The Indians were constantly threatening the settlers in Kentucky as well as in Illinois. During these two years Clark was contemplating the withdrawal of the Virginia troops from Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes for concentration at Fort Jefferson. This had been interrupted by the British invasion from Detroit. This danger having passed, in 1781 Clark carried out most of his plan. The troops had already been taken from Vincennes, and all the Virginians were taken from Kaskaskia and Cahokia except a small body to act as an outpost at Kaskaskia under Capt. John Rogers. Thus Rogers, as military commander and Winston, as deputy lieutenant-governor of Illinois, continued to represent Virginia in Illinois, while Clark himself represented the Dominion at Fort Jefferson.

For four years Clark and his Virginians (recruited in Virginia itself and in Kentucky) had managed to retain a desperate hold upon the Illinois country. Even as late as November, 1782, Clark was compelled to wage war against the Indian allies of the British to retain his hold in the country. In that month the Indians north of the Ohio, in formidable numbers,

raided the Kentucky settlements, and in the effort to expel them, John Todd, the former lieutenant-governor of Illinois County, appointed by Patrick Henry, was killed. General Clark mustered his troops and quickly avenged his death by invading and laying waste the Indian villages along the Miami River and slaying many of these savages in battle. But the agony was soon to be ended. While the Virginians under Clark and the British at Detroit were exhausted and incapable of effective offensive warfare against each other, preliminary peace treaties were signed by the combatants at Paris, November 30, 1782, while the British were in control of Detroit and Canada, the Americans in control of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, and the Spaniards in control of the right bank of the Mississippi River and New Orleans. Before the signing of this treaty, however, an episode took place which should not be overlooked in any history of Illinois.

A short way back in this narrative we noted an unsuccessful attack of a British and Indian expedition from Detroit upon the Spanish settlement at St. Louis. Shortly thereafter the Spanish commander at St. Louis organized an expedition to attack the British post at St. Joseph. Its commander was Don Eugenio Pourre, and it consisted of sixty-five white soldiers and sixty-five Indians. About half of the white men were Frenchmen recruited at Cahokia. The party left St. Louis early in January, 1781, and traveled across the prairies of Illinois the 400 miles between St. Louis and St. Joseph in the depth of winter, each of the men carrying his own provisions and weapons. They gathered some additional Indian recruits en route, and succeeded without much trouble in surprising and capturing the fort at St. Joseph. The Spanish commander ordered the lowering of the British flag, ran up the Spanish flag, took possession of the country in the name of the Spanish king, distributed the supplies in the fort among his friendly Indians, wrapped up the British flag and brought it back in triumph to St. Louis.

What was the real object and motive of this Spanish march across the State of Illinois? Writers differ in their findings of the motive. Some say, simply revenge for the attack on St.

Louis. One writer, and a very painstaking one, argues that the real cause was an order from the Spanish court. He points out that Spain as well as England, was at that time an ambitious colonizing nation; that in June, 1779, Spain allied herself with France in war upon Great Britain; had taken steps to regain East and West Florida, lost by her in a former war. He further points out the capture of British forts in the Gulf of Mexico, including Pensacola and Mobile, and the cooperation of Spanish and Americans at St. Louis and Cahokia in repulsing the British; and argues from these facts that the order emanated from Madrid. There seems to be some force in the argument.

With the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace, hostilities in America ceased. Negotiations between the diplomats and statesmen of the colonies, Great Britain, France and Spain then commenced in the effort to fix the terms of the final treaty of peace, which was finally signed September 3, 1783. What actually took place in the *par parlours* and secret conferences of the representatives can only be surmised and guessed at, on the basis of information secretly given and not of record. President Wilson's ideal of above-board covenants openly arrived at was not then in operation among diplomats, as it is not now, and may never be. Negotiations between diplomats and treaty-makers before consummation of compacts have always been under cover, and many think always will be. What took place in these secret conferences can only be intelligently surmised from the terms of the final treaty. That instrument, after months of diplomatic wrangling and controversy, handed over all of the territory east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans, to the American Colonies. Why? There are many reasons which we can see nearly 150 years after the event that forced this disposition of that great territory, and these reasons existed then and must have influenced the very able men who discussed the situation at the time and formulated the terms of the final treaty. France could not with decency claim, with a hope to acquire, this territory by the treaty. She had discovered and held possession of the same for a century and had failed to colonize it. By the terms of her treaty of alliance with the colonies she bound herself not to claim this

territory. While she held it there was a constant drain upon the Royal treasury. The fur traders made money and the Royal appointees of France in all probability participated secretly, in the profits of the fur trade; but the Royal treasury always showed a deficit rather than a profit from New France. Moreover, France was exhausted by reason of almost constant European wars and the rumblings of the approaching "Reign of Terror" were heard in the streets of Paris. She was not in a position to regarrison and rebuild forts and trading posts between 3,000 and 5,000 miles away, surrounded as they would be by treacherous savages and menaced by the onward sweep of civilization and settlement from the American colonies. France at this time could not have accepted the Illinois country as a gift. She probably would have preferred to have this great territory handed over to Spain by the terms of the treaty, rather than have it regained by Great Britain or secured by the thirteen colonies. But Spain was in no better position to accept this great trust, at that time, than was France. She had made some settlements and built some forts at St. Augustine and Pensacola, in Florida, and at Mobile, St. Louis and New Orleans, and had been successful in the War of the Revolution in driving the British army away from the same. But these settlements were not thriving nor was their population increasing. They were mere trading posts. A few adventurous French and Spanish traders had ventured up along the Mississippi and established locations at Natchez, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, but these men were interested in the fur trade and not in the land and were inconsiderable in numbers. They could not have maintained themselves without assistance from Spain either as against unfriendly Indians, or the surge of the advancing waves of colonists crossing the Alleghanies from the seaboard. Spain, since the destruction of the great Armada by Nelson, had become a decaying power. She was a successful colonist in South America, but a flat failure in the northern continent. Great Britain was in no better position than France or Spain. With the assistance of the two latter countries, the American colonists had beaten her to her knees in America. Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga and Cornwallis at Yorktown. France

had secured her revenge for the loss of this land to Great Britain in the treaty of Paris in 1763, but that revenge would not be complete unless this great, rich territory was taken from Great Britain and handed over to her ally, the Confederation of American Colonies. These colonies were in active possession of the territory south of the Ohio, and as a result of the daring achievements of George Rogers Clark were in possession of most of all the forts and settlements in the Northwest, excepting Detroit.

Moreover, the American commissioners negotiating for peace terms, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, were not only men of sagacity and intelligence, but had come fresh from that part of the world adjacent to the territory in question, where the approaching value of this land was better understood and appreciated than it was or could be by the commissioners of the European nations. They knew that the inevitable march of civilization westward would in a few years force the colonists to absorb this territory by peaceful or forceful means, and that then was the time, when all three of these nations were not in a position to hold and defend it, to insist upon its immediate surrender to the colonies. The logic of events was with the Americans, and the able American commissioners, by argument, persuasion and politely-phrased demands, succeeded in writing into the final treaty terms that handed over to the American colonies all the territory east of the Mississippi, excepting New Orleans and the Floridas which were returned to Spain upon the insistence of the French commissioners.

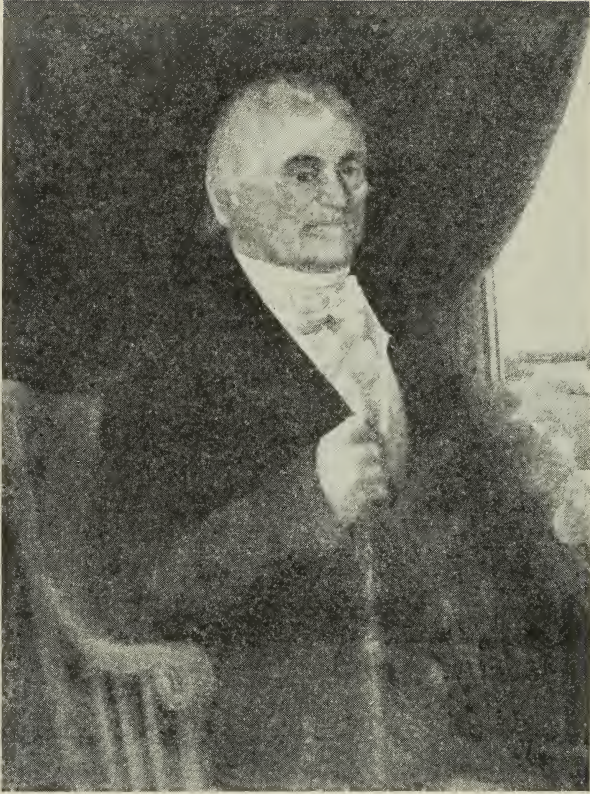
The dash of George Rogers Clark into the British Northwest and the capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, was a material factor in adding to the American commonwealth in 1783 the great Mississippi Valley, now teeming with millions of prosperous American citizens, and of almost incomputable wealth, but which at that time contained only a few thousand souls who were suffering from both want of the necessities of life and of civilized government.

CHAPTER XIII

ANARCHY IN ILLINOIS

At the time of the surrender of French sovereignty to the British in 1763, the French villages of Southern Illinois were at the height of their prosperity. When it became known to the French inhabitants that the territory had been ceded to the British, a decline of prosperity, industry and population set in. Pittman, who visited this part of the country in 1766, wrote that there were over 2,000 white people in these Illinois settlements, and this number kept rapidly falling. Shortly after the British officers took control there were as many negroes as white persons, but both were heavily outnumbered by the Indians. In the absence of the priests who had for a time fled with the more influential and financially responsible French leaders to St. Louis, church attendance was neglected, and concubinage without church sanction quite prevalent. Morality and society had sunk to a low level. The situation was worse in Kaskaskia than any other village. During the incumbency of the British officials, French law, as we have heretofore shown, was abrogated and British law had not been proclaimed until the Quebec Act was promulgated in 1774. The arbitrary will of the British commander, enforced at the point of a bayonet, was the sole substitute for law and ordinances, and these arbitrary exercises of power were invariably offensive to the French inhabitants and deprived them of the rights and privileges they had enjoyed under French rule.

With the advent of George Rogers Clark and the appointment of John Todd as lieutenant-governor of the County of Illinois by Virginia, hope succeeded despair. Among the French villages the Virginians were acclaimed as the apostles of Liberty and Democracy. The French hailed them as deliverers, organized companies of militia, took the oath of allegiance to Virginia,



FRANCIS VIGO

welcomed Governor Todd with enthusiasm and held elections for their judges and officials as prescribed by the laws and ordinances of Virginia. Further than that, they volunteered to help him to take possession of Cahokia and Vincennes and followed him in the depth of winter across the swamps and ice-coated rivers of Illinois, helping him recapture Vincennes from the British troops under Hamilton. Many of them, who had fled from British misrule to St. Louis, including Gabriel Cerre, the richest and ablest of the French settlers, came back to Kaskaskia and advanced money and sold on credit to Clark to enable him to feed and clothe his troops. Colonel Vigo, the Italian, at this juncture advanced over \$10,000 to Colonel Clark for the same purpose.

Under the terms of the proclamation of Governor Todd, framed by Patrick Henry, they were promised liberty, religious equality, citizenship and full participation in a democracy wherein the people elected their rulers and lawmakers. Great was their joy, but that joy was short-lived. Governor Todd arrived in Kaskaskia in May, 1779. He left Illinois and abandoned his charge and office within a few months after his inauguration, either in 1779 or 1780. Almost conclusive evidence points to the year 1779. Smith, in his very valuable history, quotes a letter from Todd to Governor Patrick Henry, dated August 18, 1779, as follows:

I expected to have been prepared to present to your excellency some amendments upon the form of government of Illinois, but the present will be attended with no great inconvenience till the spring session, when I beg your permission to attend and get a discharge from an office with an unwholesome air, a distance from my connections, a language not familiar to me, and an impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of life suitable.

Again, on December 23, 1779, he wrote Thomas Jefferson from the falls of the Ohio, stating his intention of resigning. He was probably at that point, en route to the capital of Virginia for the purpose of presenting his resignation in person to Jefferson, who was then governor of Virginia. He was a

delegate to the Virginia Legislature in 1780, took to himself a wife in the capital city, and is found with his wife in Lexington, Kentucky, early in 1781. Before leaving Illinois, as we have heretofore noted, he appointed Richard Winston his deputy and sheriff of the county. This appointment was a most unfortunate one, but what was worse, he, Winston, was left without means to maintain his official position or enforce law and order. He lacked tact and was frequently antagonizing not only the French but the native Americans. Clark's troops were ill-clad, ill-fed and without pay, and lived by pillaging and despoiling the already impoverished French habitants.

While this situation existed and while the French were highly incensed by their mistreatment, new complications for Winston arose with the appearance of one John Dodge. A colony of English-speaking Americans had settled in a village near Kaskaskia called Bellefontaine. The inhabitants of this village had by petition secured from the French-speaking judges of the court established by Governor Todd, the right to elect a Justice of the Peace. Not satisfied with this, the Bellefontaine villagers held the French-speaking court and all the French villages in contempt. They regarded the French as aliens and their inferiors. Dodge made himself the leader and mouthpiece of these malcontents in an effort to abolish the court established under Virginia law by the Virginian, Lieutenant-Governor Todd. The court thus attacked had, of course, to defend its rights. It rallied to its support the great majority of French inhabitants and nominally the support of Winston. Dodge, with consummate audacity, sued out a writ from the court charging Winston, the deputy lieutenant-governor and the highest representative of the State of Virginia, with the utterance of "treasonable expressions." The court, evidently in remembrance of some of Winston's past official acts and omissions, refused him bail, kept him in jail for sixteen days and then acquitted him. Winston, after his acquittal, nursed his resentment towards the court that had allowed his imprisonment, and waited until his authority as deputy lieutenant-governor had been re-established, and then, in November, 1782, issued an official order abolishing the court, thus leaving the distracted citizens of Kaskaskia without any

tribunal for the redress of grievances. That remained their condition until the arrival of Governor St. Clair in 1790. Early in 1783 Winston left Illinois for Virginia to collect loans that he had made to Virginia in the effort to establish his authority. He had impoverished himself in so doing, failed to collect in Virginia, and died soon after in great poverty. Before leaving Illinois he had attempted to transfer what little shred of authority he had to another man, by appointing or attempting to appoint a Frenchman named Jaques Timothy Boucher Sieur de Monbreun as his successor. Monbreun was a man of good standing, well born, and had the respect of his fellowmen, but his lack of legal authority and the fact that there was no court to decide disputed questions, and the further fact that he was without means or soldiers to enforce his findings, led him to temporize with all parties and satisfy none. He addressed a memorial to Virginia explaining his predicament, which reads as follows:

Without troops to oppose the hostile designs of the savages, without any coercive means to keep under subjection a country where a number of restless spirits were exciting commotions and troubles, the greater circumspection and management became necessary, and the Commandant was induced to temporize with all parties in order to preserve tranquility, peace and harmony in the Country.

Taking advantage of Monbreun's predicament, Dodge rallied the English-speaking inhabitants and had the colossal impudence to seize the old French fort in Kaskaskia and two cannon from Fort Clark; fortified the old French fort, and set at defiance all law and authority. By main force he ruled the village as a tyrant. Anarchy was enthroned and Dodge was its mouthpiece. The harrowed and insulted French sought to communicate their woes to Congress and appointed a messenger to carry their complaint, but this messenger, they claimed, was killed en route by Dodge's order. His tyrannical acts over the cowed and helpless French continued without cessation until 1786. During that year, George Rogers Clark, who had been absent from Illinois for some time, but who had acquainted himself with the

wretched condition of the French under Dodge's tyrannical treatment, advised the French inhabitants to reconstitute and reestablish the French court created by Governor Todd. Joseph Parker, a land speculator whose interests were antagonistic to Dodge and the other land speculators headed by the latter, assisted the harassed Frenchmen in getting a memorial from them presented to Congress when it was considering other appeals for stable government.

Emboldened by the advice of Clark and the support of Parker, the French finally started to display a spirit of rebellion against Dodge and his crowd. They forced the resignation of de Monbreun who was friendly to Dodge, and had a citizen of St. Phillipe appointed civil and criminal judge, and Jean Baptiste Barbau designated as deputy lieutenant-governor in place of Monbreun. This occurred August 14, 1786, and in 1787 Parker returned from Virginia with a message of hope from the Virginia Legislature. In the fall of the same year General Clark, who still retained the respect and friendship of the French inhabitants, marched a force of Kentucky militiamen into the Illinois country to attack the marauding Indians. He began to purchase provisions to enable him to garrison Vincennes. His agent for that purpose, John Rice Jones, was well received at Kaskaskia, and payment for the purchases he made there were guaranteed by John Edgar, a prominent and wealthy American merchant, who was on friendly terms with both Clark and the French inhabitants. Now Clark in these military moves was acting without any legal authority from Congress or Virginia. His only justification was that of the Roman leader under like circumstances, *Salus populi suprema lex est*. The only safety for the Kentuckians was war upon the Indians. Dodge, however, knowing that Clark was acting illegally, attempted to prevent Clark's agent from collecting his provisions in Kaskaskia. It was a case of outlaw against outlaw, and the outlaw with the largest and heaviest club won. Dodge for a time stopped the delivery of the supplies. Jones returned to Vincennes and brought back with him to Kaskaskia a small force of Kentucky militiamen, who took possession of the fort at Kaskaskia and collected the supplies wanted by Clark.

This ended Dodge's reign of terror. He soon collected all of his property available for transportation and retired to St. Louis. Still there was no form of legal government for the unfortunate Kaskaskians. The chief anarchist had fled, but anarchy remained. Congress failed in the way of establishing American law and judication for the newly acquired territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, largely because of the conflict of claims of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut and Virginia as to ownership of the land. These claims will be discussed hereafter, but the final settlement thereof was not effected until all of the claimants had transferred their claims to the United States at the end of 1784, and the final ordinance placing the territory under the law of the United States was not passed until July, 1787.

This terrible condition of lawlessness in and around Kaskaskia naturally ruined the future prospects of that village. It had been the largest and most prosperous village west of Detroit under French rule, had deteriorated under British rule, but sank to its lowest level under anarchy. When George Rogers Clark occupied it in 1778 it had about 500 white inhabitants. In 1790, when Governor St. Clair took office under the ordinance of 1787, there were only forty-four heads of families in the place. The population had decreased nearly eighty per cent. All the influential people of substance had gone, and all those that remained in all probability had not the means to enable them to travel. A different picture, however, is presented when we look at Cahokia. There the population was almost exclusively French. They were at all times submissive to law from whence-so-ever it came, and respectful to officials no matter whence they derived their authority. Animosities did not arise between the English-speaking Americans and French in Cahokia as they did in Kaskaskia. The Virginia troops under Clark left Cahokia in 1780. It is said that at that time there were only four English-speaking men in Cahokia and three of them had married French wives and spoke French fluently. A Frenchman was the commander of the militia from 1778 to 1790. Their justices were elected annually by the people pursuant to the regulations established by Lieutenant-Governor Todd. When the ordinance

of 1787 was passed they ceased holding these elections, awaiting the coming of the United States officials, but allowed the incumbents of these positions to hold over until that time arrived. Cahokia furnishes us, a remarkable and unique example in modern history of civilized white men, subject to no law that was binding upon them, submitting themselves to and obeying the orders of a committee of their own selection with the full knowledge that the orders of that committee could not be legally enforced and were in law null and void. French law ceased to bind them after the treaty of Paris in 1763; British law was never proclaimed over them, and British military officials vanished when George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia July 4, 1778. Although they cheerfully submitted to them, the laws of Virginia were not binding upon them. Mere physical occupation of territory in time of war and before treaties of peace are signed under international comity, does not transfer sovereignty. Until the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the American Confederation of Colonies was signed, the former still retained sovereignty of this territory under international polity. Moreover, the dubious title of Virginia ended January 5, 1782. The law of Virginia attempting to create the County of Illinois was passed December 9, 1778, and was renewed in May, 1780. The renewal act contained a provision that the law should continue for one year and until the end of the next Legislature, which ended January 5, 1782. Even Virginia itself ceased to make any claim of sovereignty over the territory on that date.

Upon this state of the record we have the right to conclude that the Illinois district had no law or ordinance binding legally its inhabitants from February 10, 1763, when the treaty of peace was signed between France and Great Britain at Paris, until 1775, when the Quebec Act was proclaimed; that this latter act ceased to be physically enforceable July 4, 1778, when George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia; that from July 4, 1778, to December 9, 1778, when the Legislature of Virginia asserted title, the only law was the law of the bayonet and of physical occupation; that from December 9, 1778, to January 5, 1782, Virginia held only a dubious title acquired

by capture in time of war, not cognizable by the unwritten polity sometimes called the law of nations; and that thereafter there was no law or ordinance enforceable upon its residents until Governor St. Clair and the territorial officials created by the ordinance of 1789 appeared in Illinois and proclaimed territorial laws and regulations for the territory.

Yet during all this time the peaceful French in Cahokia maintained to their lasting credit, peace and order, supported a citizen militia, defended themselves against anarchy and Indians, and gracefully and gladly submitted themselves to the laws of the United States and to the rule of United States officials when they presented themselves in 1790.

With the flags of three different nations floating from time to time above them, but without valid laws binding them, for twenty-seven years they maintained peace and order while anarchy was rampant in a neighboring village, grew in numbers and prosperity and handed over a happy, prosperous and peaceful community to the Government of the United States in 1790. We have had in the history of our country frequent instances of the organization of vigilantes among our pioneer settlers provoked by robberies and murders which but too often were followed by lynch law, but in the case of Cahokia we read of no such provocations or avenging crimes. There seemed to have been no hot blood in the Cahokia settlement, but a cold-blooded determination to live peacefully and honestly without the enforced action of written law.

CHAPTER XIV

STRUGGLE IN CONGRESS OVER WESTERN LAND TITLES

All of the Illinois country was covered and included in the grants by the British Crown made in 1609 while the French were in actual occupation of that territory. As the war for independence began to make successful progress towards independence, the states that had claims to western lands derived from the British Crown and Parliament began to renew their claims in Congress. They expected by so doing to be able to sell these lands and reimburse themselves for the cost of the Revolutionary war. The Articles of Confederation between the different colonies were presented to Congress in the summer of 1776, and were finally endorsed by Congress in the fall of 1777. Thereupon they were sent to the different states for ratification. The articles of confederation provided that they must be ratified by all the colonies, before they could go into effect. In the spring of 1781, all of the states had ratified excepting Maryland. Maryland refused to ratify until some arrangement was made between the different states as to the western lands. The representatives of Maryland pointed out that the states without claims for western lands were at a distinct disadvantage in the way of paying their volunteer soldiers. They argued that all of the soldiers of each and all of the colonies were fighting equally for independence; that they were equally risking their lives and their limbs and their futures, and that all of these soldiers should be equally rewarded. Some of the states recognized the justice of this claim put forward by Maryland, but others, being those that had claim to western territory, were selfish and refused to acknowledge the force of this contention.

Finally all of the colonies, excepting Maryland, ratified the Articles of Confederation, but Maryland still stoutly contended that she would not do so until these western lands were ceded to the Federal Government for the benefit of all. The latter state, Maryland, on December 15, 1778, went of record by passing a resolution in her Legislature, refusing to enter the confederation unless "an article or articles be added thereto, giving full power to the United States in Congress assembled to ascertain and fix the western limits of the states claiming to extend to the Mississippi or South Sea, and expressly reserving or securing to the United States a right in common, in and to, all the lands lying to the westward of the boundaries as aforesaid, not granted to, surveyed for or purchased by individuals at the commencement of the present war in such manner that the lands be sold out, or otherwise disposed of, for the common benefit of all the states."

There were a number of prominent and influential men in Maryland. Within a year afterwards, on December 14, 1779, the Legislature of the State of Virginia passed a resolution pointing out that in the previous May the Legislature of that state had forbidden settlements north of the River Ohio, and in the same resolution the State of Virginia protested against the consideration by the Continental Congress of the claims of land companies acquired in violation of this restriction. The Legislature of Virginia also pointed out that the claims of the Vandalia and Indiana land companies were contrary to Virginia's rights under the confederation, and that in the Illinois and Wabash land company there were "several men of great influence in some of the neighboring states." When the matter was brought up in Congress, that body found itself somewhat distressed by the stubborn attitude of the two leaders in the fight, the State of Virginia and the State of Maryland. On September 6, 1780, Congress determined "that it appears more advisable to press upon those states which can remove the embarrassment respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they cannot be preserved entirely without endangering the stability of the general confederacy."

New York readily gave up its claim. Virginia soon recognized the strength of the opposition that was developing against her effort to maintain her claim and received in rather a kindly manner the intimation for the necessity of a settlement thrown out by Congress. On January 2, 1781, the Virginia Legislature adopted a resolution providing for the cession of its claims to Congress, with eight conditions added to the terms of the cession, which eight conditions are about as follows:

1. That the territory should be formed into states, each containing from 100 to 150 miles square.

2. That Virginia should be reimbursed for the expenses it had incurred within the territory.

3. That the French and Canadian settlers should be protected in their persons and property.

4. That the promises of land conveyances made to George Rogers Clark and his men should be fulfilled, and that in case the land southeast of the Ohio reserved for the Virginia troops should be insufficient, that enough land should be reserved on the northwest side of the river to take care of these claims.

5. That the old Northwest Territory thus ceded to the United States should be considered a common fund for the nation.

6. That the territory remaining in Virginia should be guaranteed.

7. That all purchases made by private persons from the Indians should be declared void.

With these concessions made by Virginia, Maryland felt herself no longer to be justified in continuing the fight, lest it should be construed that she was fighting for the land companies and private interests. On February 2, 1781, the Legislature of Maryland authorized its delegates to sign the articles. This action of Virginia and Maryland ratified the confederation of the states, but before the ceding of all of Virginia's rights to the United States took place, there was still a struggle over the reservations made by Virginia in the resolution passed by that state on January 2, 1781. The fight over these reservations in Congress was quite vigorous. The matter of the acceptance of Virginia's cession coupled with the reservations was referred

to the committee considering the cessions from Virginia, New York and Connecticut. That committee declared on June 24, 1781, that it was inexpedient for Congress to accept any of the state's cessions as they stood and containing the reservations as stated. The committee recommended that Congress determine the western limits beyond which it could not extend its guaranty to the particular states, and recommended that when these had been determined, that a committee be appointed to prepare a plan for dividing and disposing of the territory in such a way as to discharge the obligations of the United States. This report of the committee on October 2, 1781, was referred to a new committee composed of delegates from states with definite western boundaries. That committee called upon Virginia to defend the position of the commonwealth. The Virginia delegates refused so to do, declaring that Congress had no jurisdiction in an issue between a commonwealth and private citizens. The committee then recommended that the cession of New York be accepted and that of Virginia rejected. That committee also reported on the claims of the different land companies that had filed petitions in Congress, and denied the claims of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company because of the fact that its purchases had been made contrary to law. No action appears to have been taken on this report, but on October 29, 1782, Congress voted on the motion of Maryland to accept the cession made by New York. The proposed cession of Virginia soon thereafter was referred again to a committee composed of different members than the former committee. This committee on June 20, 1783, made a report favoring acceptance of the proposed Virginia cession, providing that certain conditions therein were modified. In particular it recommended that the clause annulling the Indian purchases should not be insisted upon because it was covered by some of the other conditions. The report was finally approved by Congress. The desired modifications were made by the Legislature of Virginia in 1783, and the cession of Virginia was completed on March 1, 1784. After the approval of the Virginia cession, Massachusetts waived its claim.

In 1786, the cession of Connecticut reserving the territory afterward known as the Western Reserve was completed, and

by this act of Connecticut the whole Northwest Territory was cleared of state claims, excepting the small reservation made by Connecticut. Soon thereafter the Congress of the United States appointed a committee for the purpose of preparing ordinances for the government of this territory. Thomas Jefferson was the chairman of this committee. He drew up an ordinance providing for the division of the territory into sixteen states. The plan, when submitted to Congress, was referred back to the same committee for re-consideration. That committee revised its plan and proposed the immediate formation of seven states in the territory bounded by parallels of latitude and meridian lines, but leaving the extreme Northwest undivided. Under this plan, the government was to be organized by the settlers themselves under the authority of Congress, and the Territorial Government might adopt with alterations such laws of other states as suited its purpose. It was provided that when the population reached 20,000 the territory could establish a permanent government upon republican principles, and that when the population equaled that of the smallest of the original states, it might apply to Congress for admission into the Union.

This act was passed April 23, 1784. It never went into effect, however. The Indians were still in possession of the land and there were practically no settlers in the territory to organize the government except the French settlers in Illinois, who were neither vigorous enough, nor numerous enough, to bring about its organization.

About this time, Thomas Jefferson was sent to Paris, where he remained several years, and his plan of organization was not pushed forward for enforcement. James Monroe took his place in Congress, and he made a visit to the Northwest Territory and became convinced that the limitation of the states to an area of 150 miles square, which was provided in the cession of Virginia, was impractical. Monroe recommended that Virginia revise her act of cession so as to provide that not more than five nor less than three states should be formed out of the territory of the old Northwest. Monroe's views prevailed, and they resulted in a succession of reports and resolutions in the Legislature of Virginia and in Congress between May 10, 1786,

and April 26, 1787, when a new ordinance was formulated and put up for passage. This act was the famous Ordinance of April 26, 1787, providing for the creation of the Northwest Territory.

From the foregoing statement we can learn why the Northwest Territory was unprovided with laws or ordinances from the time of the signing of the treaty of peace in 1783 until the year 1787.

Let us now discuss the conflicting claims between private interests and public interests which occasioned most of this delay.

The soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary war were not given cash when they were paid off at the close of the war. There was no cash with which to pay them. They received instead of cash, paper money or "certificates of indebtedness." These certificates of indebtedness were not legal tender, nor could they be exchanged for cash except at a frightful discount. As soon as the Ordinance of 1787 was adopted, the people began to hear of the rich lands in the new Northwest Territory and they saw a way to utilize these certificates of indebtedness of the Continental Congress, and there was soon a demand for these certificates, which could be utilized for the payment of the small prices fixed upon the land when offered for sale by the Federal Government. Many of the officers of the Revolutionary army after their discharge became interested in acquiring these certificates. Among these was Gen. Benjamin Tupper and Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons. These officers associated themselves with the other influential men and the Ohio Company of Associates was formed, on March 3, 1786, in Boston. This company acquired a very large amount of these soldiers' certificates, and the directors of the company sent General Parsons to Congress to propose the purchase of lands west of the Ohio for that company. The Rev. Manassa Cutler, a Congregational minister, also became interested in the company. Doctor Cutler was a clergyman of considerable note, a scientist, and a man of great influence. Both General Parsons and Doctor Cutler visited Washington and called upon members of Congress for the purpose of negotiating a purchase of a tract of land on the Ohio River for

the Ohio Company of Associates. The company at that time had on hand one million dollars worth of these certificates.

Prior to that time, another group of men had formed the Indiana Land Company and the Vandalia Land Company, both of which companies were composed of many men of political strength and acumen. Another company, known as the Illinois and Wabash Land Company was organized for the purpose of acquiring lands in what are now Indiana and Illinois. All of these companies now united in the effort to secure land in the Northwest Territory. Thomas Jefferson in Congress and a group of powerful leaders were opposed to the policy of granting large concessions to incorporated companies, and held to the belief that the land should be thrown open to actual settlers. They had an ordinance passed, providing for the surveying of the lands in rectangular sections, providing for townships, sections and quarter sections of land, and they vigorously opposed the wholesale granting of enormous tracts to speculating companies, and attempted in Congress to preserve these lands from sale except as to actual settlers who would settle thereon and pay a nominal price therefor. The leading spirits on behalf of the corporations were Gen. Rufus Putnam, Gen. Samuel Parsons, Winthrop Sargent and the Rev. Manassa Cutler representing the Ohio Company; Col. William Duer representing the Sciota Company, John Cleve Symmes representing New Jersey interests. In addition to these men representing these companies, two men named Royal Flint and Joseph Parker on October 18, 1787, filed a petition for a large tract of land between the Great and Little Miami rivers. Another petition asking for leave to buy land came from the New Jersey Land Company organized by George Morgan, who asked for two million acres situated on the Miami south of the Flint and Parker tracts.

All of these different interests finally gathered their influences together behind Col. William Duer, a very shrewd and capable business man who had made considerable money through contracts for furnishing the Revolutionary army during the war, and by speculation in government securities. He was intimately connected with most of the financial powers of the United States and with many of those in Europe. Doctor Cutler had offered to

buy a large tract of land to be immediately occupied by men from the northern states, which had brought to the support of these companies influential men from the North who had hitherto been lukewarm.

After the passage of the ordinance on July 13, 1787, the sale of lands was next taken up for consideration. The first terms of sale submitted to the Ohio company were not acceptable to that company. Doctor Cutler, who represented the company, was thereupon called upon by some of the leading speculators to whom he had letters of introduction. The leader of this band of speculators was Duer. Duer suggested the formation of another and a larger company that would purchase through Cutler and his associates 5,000,000 acres of land over and above the million and a half sought by the Ohio Company. Colonel Duer is stated by Alvord in his history to have been at that time secretary of the Confederacy Board of Treasury, and had authority to make sales of land. Doctor Cutler and Colonel Duer quickly came to an agreement, one of the terms of which was that Gen. Arthur St. Clair should be made the first governor of the Northwest Territory. Colonel Duer now organized the Sciota Company and began the struggle to secure land from the Government.

On October 23, 1787, a resolution was passed, authorizing the Board of the Treasury to enter into contracts "in behalf of the United States with any person or persons for any quantity of land in the Northwest Territory, the Indian rights whereon having been extinguished, not less than one million of acres in one body, upon the same terms as respected price, payment and surveying, with those directed in the contract with Mr. Cutler and W. Sargent." Jefferson's effort to reserve all the land in the Northwest Territory was in part defeated. These great speculating companies had sufficient influence to secure a modification of the ordinance so as to permit purchases by them in large quantities. Nonetheless, great tracts of fertile lands were opened up to actual settlers who were already at the time of the passage of the ordinance crossing the Alleghanies with the honest desire of establishing homesteads in the great Northwest.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNITED STATES ORDINANCE OF 1787 CREATING THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

The following in substance are the provisions of this famous ordinance:

1. The territory northwest of the Ohio River shall for the purposes of government be considered one district, but may be divided into two if found expedient.

2. The estates of persons dying intestate shall descend to the children of said person in equal parts. If there are no children, then to nearest of kin.

3. Estates may be bequeathed by wills in writing, and real estate may be transferred by deeds, signed, sealed, and delivered.

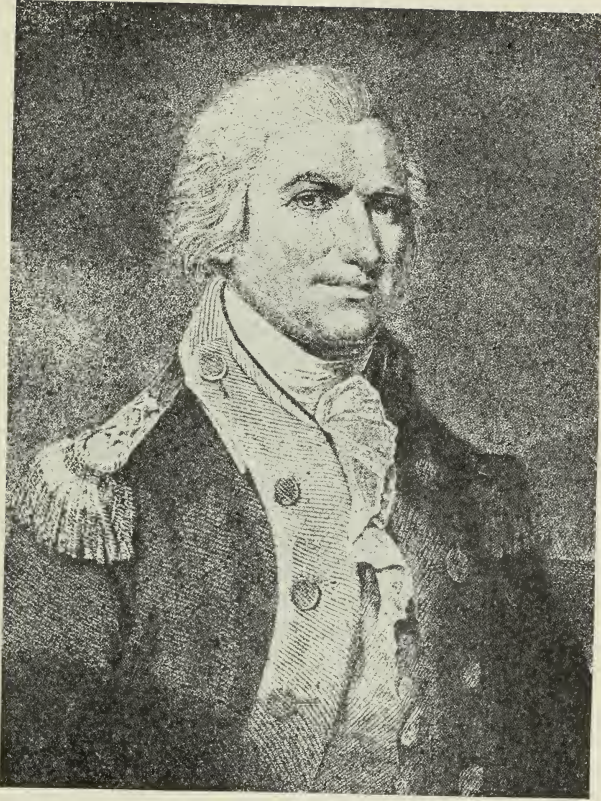
4. The laws for the descent of property in Kaskaskia, St. Vincennes and other French villages shall remain unchanged by this ordinance.

5. For purposes of government Congress shall from time to time appoint a governor who shall serve three years and shall reside in the said territory. There shall be a secretary who shall serve four years; he also must reside in the said territory. The duties of the secretary shall be such as devolve upon similar officials in like situations. The Congress shall appoint a court consisting of three judges who shall live in the territory. Their appointments shall run during good behavior.

6. The governor and judges shall adopt and publish such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and suited to the needs of the district. These laws must be reported to Congress from time to time.

7. The governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the militia.

8. The governor for the time being shall appoint civil officers for the counties, townships, etc.



(From portrait by Charles Willson Peale)

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

First Governor of Northwest Territory

9. After territorial Legislatures are organized, these shall make laws for appointments to civil offices in the counties, etc.

10. The laws adopted shall be in force in all parts of the district. The governor shall lay out and organize counties for the more convenient execution of law and the preservation of order.

11. When the population has reached 5,000 free male inhabitants twenty-one years of age, there shall be organized a Territorial Legislature made up of representatives elected from the several counties or other units. The appointment being one representative for every 500 free male inhabitants. There were property and residence qualifications for both electors and representatives. Vacancies in the representation should be filled by election.

12. There should be a legislative council made up of five members holding office for five years. These five councilors were to be selected by Congress from a list of ten nominated by the Legislature.

13. The legislative functions of government shall be exercised by the governor, the council and the representatives. Bills passing both houses of the Legislature, and being signed by the governor, become laws. The governor had the power to convene, prorogue and dissolve the Legislature.

14. The two houses of the Legislature in joint session shall elect a delegate to Congress who shall have all rights of members except voting.

15. "For the purpose of extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty which form the basis of these republics; and to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also for the establishment of states and permanent governments therein; and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states, Be it ordained, etc."

Following the foregoing provisions there were six articles which constitute a sort of fundamental Bill of Rights such as are found in the constitutions of most of the states today. The ordinance of 1787 declared that the articles which are given



NORTHWEST TERRITORY

below were "articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent."

Bill of Rights.

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of trial by jury.

They shall be entitled to proportionate representation in the Legislature, and of judicial proceedings.

All persons shall be entitled to bail except in capital cases. All fines shall be moderate, and cruel and unusual punishments shall never be inflicted.

No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

No law shall ever be made which shall interfere with contracts previously entered into, if bona fide and without fraud.

Art. 3. Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Good faith towards the Indians shall be observed, and their property rights and liberty shall not be invaded unless in just wars authorized by Congress.

Art. 4. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.

The inhabitants and settlers in said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debt, contracted or to be contracted.

The legislatures of these districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil, to the bona fide purchasers.

Art. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three, nor more than five states, with boundaries as follows: The state farthest west shall be bound by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash and the meridian of Vincennes, and on

the north by Canada. The middle state by the meridian of Vincennes, the Wabash, the Ohio and the meridian of the mouth of the Great Miami River, and on the north by Canada. The eastern state shall be bounded by the meridian on the mouth of the Great Miami, the Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and on the north by Canada.

But Congress may run an east and west line through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan and form two states out of the territory north of this line.

When any one of these states shall have 60,000 free inhabitants it may be admitted as a state into the Union, on equal footing with the old thirteen states.

Art. 6. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the said territory except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

Slaves or involuntary servants escaping into said territory shall be delivered up to the ones to whom such labor, or service, is due.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAW'S DELAY AND STRUGGLE FOR LAND

The treaty of Paris established the United States of America as a nation September 3, 1783. It was nearly four years thereafter before the Congress of the United States passed the ordinance of July, 1787, which finally went into effect and gave law to the Illinois country. What were the causes that delayed giving relief and lawful government to the people of the Northwest who were clamoring for the same? There were two causes which we will discuss at length: First—Conflict between New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia and the United States, and the conflict of these four states with each other and the other states of the United States as to the ownership of the territory; and second—a bitter contest between public and private interests as to the terms of the fundamental law for the new territory as it affected private ownership of the land.

We will now discuss the first cause of the delay or the conflict of the several states with each other and the United States, as to the ownership of the land in the Northwest country acquired from Great Britain by the treaty of Paris in 1783.

The real and best title to this territory was in the Indian tribes that for over a century after its discovery by white men had occupied it and claimed it as their hunting-grounds. These tribes had in all probability been in ownership and occupation of same for centuries before any European had set foot upon the territory. The white man, however, whether he was French, English, Spanish or American; whether he was a *coureur de bois*, a British trader or a Kentucky backwoodsman, a diplomat or a statesman, knew that the half-naked, illiterate Indians, with their tomahawks and bows and arrows, were helpless to maintain their titles either by diplomacy or by warfare. They knew that in nearly every instance where, in the eastern colonies, the

white man wanted possession of the Indian lands, he secured them, either by over-reaching or swindling the Indians in so-called treaties, which were signed by the chiefs soaked in the white man's rum and loaded with the white man's worthless baubles; or by open violence and the crack of rifles. They knew that all Caucasian nations without exception had, in their dealings with black, brown, yellow or red uncivilized men throughout all past history, treated the titles of savage men to the lands they occupied as a temporary obstacle to be removed by blandishment or bloodshed.

The diplomats of Great Britain, France and the United States, when they signed the Treaty of Peace in 1783, all acted on this understanding and conveyed the land occupied and rightfully-owned by the Algonquin tribes of Indians, which afterwards became the Northwest Territory to the United States of America, thus leaving the latter nation in a position in which it could dispose of the Indian titles in the usual white man's way. Let us then only discuss the title of the American nation and of its several states to the land in question.

The title to all this land by discovery and occupation was in France until she ceded her title to Great Britain by the treaty of 1763. Under British law, which was also the law of the British colonies, the title of all lands within the nation was held by the Crown under the feudal system. All grants made by the Crown reserved the fee simple title in the Crown, qualified by the grants or concessions made to grantees by charter or other royal instrument of conveyance. Often a nominal quit rent was specified, but more often material returns of income or service were required annually from the grantees. The title in fee of the Crown to these lands was never passed to any chartered colony or any proprietor until it was conveyed absolutely by the Treaty of Peace in 1763. To what nation or state did the title pass by that treaty? There can be but little doubt that the title of the British Crown passed to the United States of America. The American commissioners appointed to settle the terms of that treaty represented no single state separately, but all of the thirteen states jointly. Great Britain would not have recognized or dealt with them if they had not represented

them jointly. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the United States of America sprang into national life and became a sovereign nation for the first time when that treaty was signed. In the eyes of Great Britain, before the signature of the treaty they were only thirteen revolting colonies in America and not a sovereign nation.

When the Congress of the United States took up for consideration the question of establishing a government for the newly acquired territory, it had the lawful right to it as a part of the national domain and the right to legislate for its government, and some of the states advocated this policy. But opposition promptly arose as to the expediency of so doing, chiefly from Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. It was vigorously claimed by the delegates from these states that they had rights antedating the title of the United States and valid under international comity. They pointed out that a resolution of the Continental Congress, introduced by Richard Henry Lee, and passed by that body in 1776, read as follows:

“Resolved, that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states;” that the same words appear in the Declaration of Independence, of July 4, 1776, and that these words are followed in that memorable document by the following: “. . . and that as free and independent states they have full power to levy war, etc.” These pregnant words in this nation-erecting instrument, they argued, made each of the separate states a sovereign state, and that each of these sovereign states became, by this Declaration of Independence and the terms of the treaty of 1783, the owners of the land which each colony claimed prior to the Declaration of Independence. All the four states mentioned united in this contention, but differed among themselves as to priority of their several respective rights.

This requires us to consider the joint contention of the four states and determine whether this contention had legal weight, and then take up the question of priority rights as between the four claimant states. Let us then consider the claims of each and ascertain whether they were well founded, and if so, which had priority rights.

The claim of New York can be quickly disposed of. That state did not claim under any charter or grant from the Crown. It was based solely upon alleged treaty rights obtained from the Iroquois tribe of Indians, or the so-called Five Nations. These tribes were not in occupancy of this territory during the 120 years that it was claimed by France and Great Britain. During the whole of that period it had been occupied by different branches of the Algonquin race of Indians with whom the Iroquois were often in deadly conflict. Occasionally the Iroquois made a foray into Algonquin territory as the Algonquins made forays into Iroquois territory. But permanent Iroquois occupancy of land was always confined within the limits of New York State. The claim of New York was a mere shadow and seems to have been recognized as such by its own delegates, for their state was the first to surrender its claims and to convey its interests to the nation.

The claim of Massachusetts was based upon a charter obtained in 1628 or 1629 which comprised "a strip of territory between the Merrimac and Charles rivers with three miles on the farther side of each and extended westward to the Pacific Ocean." This strip could have extended over the north portion of the State of Illinois.

Connecticut claimed under a charter granted by Charles II, in 1662, in which the colony was given all the land south of the south line of Massachusetts reaching to the latitude of New York and "westward to the South Sea." This would have crossed the north portion of the present State of Illinois immediately south of and adjoining the Massachusetts claim.

Virginia claimed under a charter of James I, dated 1607 and amended in 1609, which granted land by two lines, one running west commencing 200 miles south of Old Point Comfort, and one running northwest from a point 200 miles north of Old Point Comfort. These claims had been made and discussed even before the treaty of peace was signed in 1783. All these claims, however, were, as we have seen, finally compromised and settled by conveyance from all of the claimant states to the United States.

Some curious reader of history may inquire why it was that the United States ordinance of April 23, 1784, creating the Northwest Territory, did not go into effect. The ordinance unquestionably was passed legally by Congress and became a part of the law of the land; yet it was never proclaimed, nor were any officers appointed by the President or Congress to put it into execution. There are several reasons that will naturally occur to an inquiring mind if it examines the ordinance itself and the circumstances existing immediately before and after its passage.

Thomas Jefferson, who framed the ordinance of 1784, left America for France and remained abroad for several years thereafter. He was compelled to leave his legislative child to the care of Madison and others who lacked the keen interest of paternity. In his desire to throw open the western lands to actual settlers who would buy in small quantities and improve the land with home and tillage, Jefferson had inserted in the ordinance a provision for the immediate foundation of at least seven small states, rectangular in shape. The survey ordinance of May 20, 1785, then provided that each state should be subdivided by survey into rectangular townships six miles square, each township to contain thirty-six sections of land. The ordinance of 1784 further provided that the government for these states was to be organized by the settlers themselves under authority of Congress, and that the territorial government, pending the birth of the states, could adopt with or without alteration such laws of the other states as suited its purpose.

In 1784 and 1785 the Indians were still in undisturbed possession of these lands, excepting a few French settlements at Detroit, Peoria, St. Joe, Vincennes, Mackinac and in Southern Illinois, not numbering in all over 2,500 souls. These latter were neither numerous enough nor sufficiently acquainted with the English language, or self-assertive enough, to take a single step towards the foundation of a territorial government. Except the French, the few white men in the Northwest Territory at that time were insignificant in number.

Another reason why there was no attempt to create a government under the 1784 ordinance was that the United States Gov-

ernment had made no provision for giving title of the land to settlers. The Indian titles had not been procured and no price had been fixed, or the terms of purchase provided for, by law or ordinance. Moreover, there was no great inrush of actual settlers yet in evidence north of the Ohio. The land speculator had not yet gotten in his deadly work upon the unpaid discharged soldiers of the Revolution, who had received with their discharge papers not cash but "certificates of indebtedness of the United States." The discharged veteran could not exchange these certificates for cash, food or clothing, except at a heavy discount. The land speculators soon saw their opportunity, but it took a couple of years after peace was signed in 1783 to organize, advertise and merchandise these certificates at a heavy discount. When this work was done, the "Ohio Company of Associates" became active and appeared before Congress March 3, 1786, having been organized at Boston for the purpose of dealing in land. That company succeeded in buying 1,500,000 acres, and then came the Scioto Company asking 5,000,000 acres, and other companies asking other millions of acres, all under the terms of sale given to the Ohio Company.

The resolution of Congress under which the large sales of land in bulk were made was passed October 23, 1787, and authorized the United States Board of Treasury to enter into contracts "in behalf of the United States with any person or persons for any quantity of land in the western territory, the Indian rights wherein have been extinguished, *not less than one million acres in one body*, upon the same terms, as it respects price, payment and surveying, with these directed in the contract with M. Cutler and W. Sargent." The M. Cutler and W. Sargent therein mentioned were undoubtedly the Rev. Manassa Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, who were the leading spirits and lobbyists of the Ohio Company of Associates, and who are mentioned in a former chapter.

A consideration of the above matters will explain why it was no territorial government was proclaimed or officered under the territorial ordinance of 1784 and 1785. The sales made under the ordinance of 1787, at or about this time, however, whether made in bulk or to actual settlers, did not affect the

lands of the present State of Illinois. That ordinance did protect or attempt to protect the rights of the French settlers in Illinois, but these simple people had in many cases bartered away their rights for inadequate and often trifling consideration to the ever-present crafty land speculator. The Indian titles to land in Illinois were not extinguished until some years afterwards, and the Illinois lands were not thrown open to settlers for purchase until the Indian titles were by hook or crook acquired.

CHAPTER XVII

ILLINOIS UNDER NORTHWEST TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

On October 5, 1787, Gen. Arthur St. Clair was selected as governor of the Northwest Territory and Winthrop Sargent was appointed secretary. Soon thereafter, James M. Varnum, Samuel H. Parsons and John C. Symmes were appointed judges. They were all prominent citizens and most of them were interested in the large land grants heretofore mentioned. These gentlemen, by virtue of the provisions of the 1787 ordinance, became the law-making body of the territory and enacted a set of laws, an abstract of which is, according to Dillon in his *Historic Notes*:

1. The first law was one providing for the establishment of a militia system in the territory of the United States.

2. A law providing for Courts of Quarter Sessions, County Courts of Common Pleas, and a law providing for the office of sheriff, and for the appointment of sheriffs.

3. Another law providing for the establishment of court of probate.

4. A law providing for the sitting of the general court in the territory to hear general cases beyond the adjudication of the courts of the counties. This court was to be held by the three judges or by any two of them. They were to be held four times a year in such counties as suits the pleasure of the judges. This general court shall have civil and criminal jurisdiction. The law provided for adjournment of sessions and for continuance of processes.

5. A law was enacted providing for oaths of office for the several officials in the several counties.

6. A law respecting crimes and the punishments thereof. Treason, murder, and arson, if death results, are punishable by



PRIMITIVE GRAIN MILL

death. Burglary and robbery, by whipping, fines and imprisonment. Minor offenses were punishable by fines, whippings, disfranchisement, or the pillory. Offenders who could not pay their fines were sold by the sheriff for limited terms according to the offense.

Children or servants who were disobedient to the commands of their parents or masters might be sent to a house of correction by the courts.

Drunken persons were to be fined for the first offense five dimes, for the second offense ten dimes and for the third they could be sent to the stocks.

“Whereas, idle, vain and obscene conversation, profane cursing and swearing, and more especially the irreverently mentioning, calling upon, or invoking the Sacred and Supreme Being, by any of the divine characters in which he hath graciously condescended to reveal his infinitely beneficent purposes to mankind, are repugnant to every moral sentiment, subversive of every civil obligation, inconsistent with the ornaments of polished life, and abhorrent to the principles of the most benevolent religion. It is expected, therefore, if crimes of this kind should exist, they will not find encouragement, countenance, or approbation in this territory. It is strictly enjoined upon all officers and ministers of justice, upon parents and others, heads of families, and upon others of every description, that they abstain from practices so vile and irrational; and that by example and precept, to the utmost of their power they present the necessity of adopting and publishing laws, with penalties upon their head. And it is hereby declared that the Government will consider as unworthy its confidence all those who may obstinately violate these injunctions.”

This quotation has been made at length to enable the reader to obtain some insight into the notions that the people of that time held relative to profanity. In an additional paragraph the governor and judges lay down the rule governing labor and acts of charity upon the Lord's day or the first day of the week.

7. A law regulating marriages. Marriage contracts cannot be consummated unless the intention of the parties to the contract is published at least fifteen days before the marriage. The

means of publicity was announcement in the place of worship three different Sundays or holy days, or by publishing through a written statement acknowledged before a justice of the peace, etc.

8. This was a supplementary law pertaining to Act 1 relative to the organization of the militia.

9. A law providing for the exercise of authority by the coroner.

10. A limitation of the time of commencing civil and criminal actions.

Governor St. Clair did not make his appearance in Illinois until some time in March, 1790, when he visited Kaskaskia. The white population then, in what is now the State of Illinois, did not exceed 2,500. John Reynolds, afterwards governor, who landed in Illinois in 1800, and who had an excellent opportunity of estimating the population at that time and before, states that there were only 2,000 white people in the state in 1790, of whom 1,200 were French. He also states that in 1800 those who spoke English were between 800 and 1,000. It is certain that the French population did not increase between 1790 and 1800. The discomforts and annoyances which they had been suffering under American rule since Clark's invasion had been reducing rather than increasing their numbers. The people were poor and ignorant of American laws and customs. Their holdings had never been surveyed or platted, but had been occupied and utilized under unquestioned claims of ownership for many years.

The governor promptly proceeded to lay off a county, and with becoming modesty called it St. Clair. The Illinois and Mississippi rivers were its western borders and the Ohio River its southern boundary. The northeasterly boundary was a line drawn from the Illinois River at the mouth of Mackinac Creek to Fort Massac on the Ohio River. The governor then appointed some twenty-eight county officials, twenty of whom were French. The most important and capable of the new appointees were John Edgar and James Piggott. The former of these was appointed to three offices, captain of militia, judge of Common

Pleas and judge of Quarter Sessions. The latter was appointed captain of militia and justice of the peace.

After appointing these officials, the governor issued a proclamation requiring all persons claiming title to land to come to his office and present their titles. Pursuant to this order, many claimants proved up their titles, but as the governor also required them to have their lands surveyed, many of the poor claimants were in such destitution that they were unable to pay for surveys. The governor reported to Congress that many surveys were made and recorded but that a part of the surveys were not returned because the people objected to paying the surveyor and that it was too true that they "are ill able to pay." He further reported that the people in the settlements in Illinois on the Wabash were in great distress and had been since they came under the rule of General Clark. The people in Kaskaskia and other towns had furnished supplies to Clark's troops and had given Clark everything they could spare, and had been paid in Virginia certificates that were without value, and when these certificates were presented to Virginia they were rejected.

In this plight and in fear of losing their properties held for many years, the people appealed to Father Gibault, who prepared a heart-moving memorial and gave it to the governor. It reads as follows:

St. Clair County, June 9th, 1790.

To His Excellency Arthur St. Clair,
Governor and Commander-in-chief,
Of the Territory of the United States
Northwest of the River Ohio.

The memorial humbly showeth, that by an act of Congress of June 20, 1788, it was declared that the lands heretofore possessed by the said inhabitants should be surveyed at their expense; and that this cause appears to them neither necessary nor adapted to quiet the minds of the people. It does not appear necessary, because from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions without disputes or lawsuits on the subject of their limits; that the surveys of them were made at the time the concessions were obtained from their ancient Kings, Lords and Commandants; and each

of them knew what belonged to him without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring them the peaceable possessions of their ancient inheritance, as they have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

Your Excellency is an eye witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provision to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which, it is conceived by them, there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your Excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before the Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expense of the survey ought more properly to be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it. Besides, this is no object for the United States, but it is great, too great, for a few unhappy beings who, your Excellency sees yourself, are scarcely able to support their pitiful existence.

Signed, FR. P. GIBault,
and Eighty-seven Others.

Before leaving Kaskaskia Governor St. Clair deputed Winthrop Sargent to complete the task of making records of titles to lands on the Mississippi and Wabash rivers. Up to this time (1790) so far as immigration was concerned, the situation in Illinois was one of complete stagnation. Lack of laws under which settlers could obtain title to land was one cause, but the greater cause was the hostility and depredations of the Indians. These red men had the audacity to insist that the white men of America should observe and carry out the terms of a solemn

treaty that the white men had made with them under British rule. They pointed to the treaty of Fort Stanwix, signed in 1768, wherein the white men of Great Britain obligated their country to respect the title of the Indians to all the land in the Northwest which lay west of a line drawn from about where the City of Lorain, Ohio, is located on the south shore of Lake Erie, south to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River. With both good logic and argument they contended that when the United States of America acquired the British title in 1783, it did so subject to the treaty rights of the Indians secured to them by the treaty of Fort Stanwix. The contention would have been good in any impartial-minded court. As usual in any controversy between a Caucasian and a black, brown, yellow or red man, the argument fell on deaf ears. War was the result. Bands of Indians from the Muskingum to the Mississippi seized their guns and went on the war-path.

President Washington ordered Governor St. Clair to gather an army and attack the Indians. In the fall of 1791 the American army under St. Clair was surprised as Braddock was surprised. On the banks of the Wabash the Indians sprung their surprise and administered the most humiliating and crushing defeats suffered by white men from Indians in history. The command of the American army was then given to "Mad Anthony" Wayne, of Revolutionary fame. The Indians had been sympathized with and encouraged, if not actually instigated, by the British officers at Detroit. Anthony's first act after his appointment to the command was a politic and peaceful one. He negotiated a peace with the Pottawatomie tribe in Northern Illinois, and this deprived the fighting tribes in Indiana and Ohio of the assistance and support they had been receiving from the tribes in the West. He then began vigorously training the freshly-recruited troops placed in his charge, and after they had been thoroughly disciplined he attacked the Indians at Fallen Timbers, where they were encamped in the shadow of a British fort, and routed them most thoroughly. The Indians were expecting British support, but to their consternation and surprise this was not forthcoming. The British commander of the fort even refused them refuge when they were beaten, and they were compelled to

scatter in all directions. This battle broke the Indian power for the time being and enabled General Wayne to conclude the treaty of Greenville on most favorable terms, August 4, 1795.

This treaty opened up for settlement the eastern and southern parts of Ohio and provided that the United States might hold reservations in Indian territory for forts, also establishing a new Indian boundary line. Among the locations for forts were three in the present State of Illinois, one at Chicago, one at Peoria and one at the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Fifteen years of peace followed the signing of the treaty of Greenville. That treaty established the policy of the United States to be followed thereafter in dealing with Indian claims; the policy of recognizing Indian titles and of acquiring same by treaty. Pursuing that policy while the strength of the Indian for resistance was constantly and rapidly diminishing, the United States was enabled by successive treaties to divest the Indians of all their titles in the Northwest Territory and then offer the lands so acquired to settlers. That the consideration paid to the Indians often was inconsiderable may be true, but such is the lot of those who are vanquished in battle. *Vae victis.*

The officials of the United States at that time always contended that the antagonism of the Indians to the Americans was constantly fomented and encouraged by the British officials in Canada. They did, undoubtedly, furnish the Indians with powder, guns and other weapons, and encouraged them to exchange their pelts for British merchandise. They openly sympathized with the Indians, but probably were careful not to involve Great Britain by overt acts of actual warfare. The British government still maintained garrisons at Mackinac, Detroit and Buffalo. The treaty of 1783 left several issues undisposed of, which the diplomats agreed could be settled in a future commercial treaty between Great Britain and the United States. The retention of British garrisons at the points above and the existence of trading posts in their vicinity where the Indians could procure arms and ammunition was a source of much concern to the Americans, and caused President Washington to send John Jay to London to bring about a treaty that would compel the British to remove their forts from American soil. Jay was

successful and such a treaty was signed November 19, 1794, and ratified by the Senate in 1795. Pursuant to the terms thereof the British surrendered their forts and trading posts on American soil to the United States.

The fur trade, then in the hands of the British traders, was a very lucrative one, and when the British abandoned American soil they transferred their trade to Malden, at the mouth of the Detroit River, and to St. Joseph's Island, in the channel connecting Lake Superior with Lake Huron. There they continued their trading with much success for years afterward.

These Indian troubles to the east of what is now Illinois seriously retarded settlements in Ohio and, in connection with the unjust and unfortunate treatment which the French settlements in Illinois had received for years from both British and American officials, absolutely stagnated all increase of population in the latter territory. A few Americans visited Kaskaskia, but almost without exception they were land speculators and not bona fide settlers. The delayed appearance of Governor St. Clair and his establishment of American courts did but little to improve the situation. He had divided the newly-created St. Clair County into three districts, Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher. In Cahokia the judges performed their functions in a satisfactory manner, as they had always done in the past, under all administrations; but in Kaskaskia and Prairie du Rocher it was otherwise. After the brief and belated visit of Governor St. Clair to Kaskaskia in 1790, he created St. Clair County and appointed county officials, and then shook the dust of Southern Illinois from his shoes and appointed and sent Territorial Judge Turner to Illinois to administer justice and straighten out its tangled affairs.

Governor St. Clair and the territorial judges who were the law-making body of the new territory, in enacting and proclaiming laws for the territory, had exceeded their powers in so doing. They had framed and attempted to enact laws of their own inspiration instead of adopting laws already in force in some of the American states. The three judges assumed additional functions and made the court one of both original and appellate

jurisdiction from whose decisions there was no appeal. Nearly all of its sessions were held at Marietta or Cincinnati, Ohio. No sessions had been held in Illinois from 1790 to 1794. The Federal Government had rebuked the governor and judges for blunders in law-making and the governor ordered the holding of a court in Illinois. Acting under the governor's order, Judge Turner reached Kaskaskia in October, 1794, and at once proceeded to act in an insolent and tyrannical manner. The records of the county courts had been kept in Cahokia in the custody of the prothonotary and clerk, William St. Clair, a relative of Governor St. Clair. Judge Turner ordered them removed to Kaskaskia and when the clerk protested the Judge took forcible possession of them, whereupon St. Clair resigned. The judge, by other violent and tactless proceedings, so enraged the people of Kaskaskia and Cahokia that they prepared a petition to Congress asking redress of their grievances. Rather than face the issue thus raised, Judge Turner resigned or fled the county to escape indictment or congressional investigation.

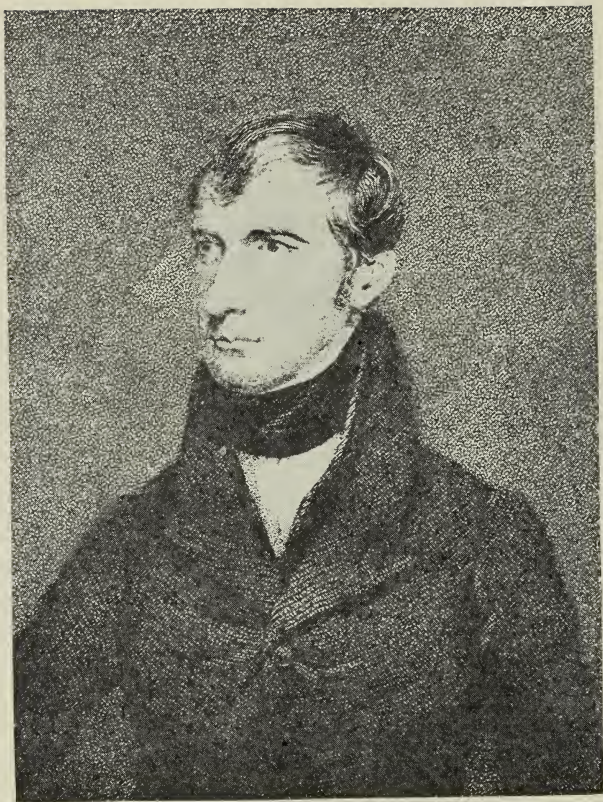
When Governor St. Clair heard of the conduct of Judge Turner he sternly rebuked him, restored Clerk St. Clair to his former position, and started for Kaskaskia with Territorial Judge John C. Symmes. On arrival at his destination he found that a bitter rivalry had been developed between Cahokia and Kaskaskia which could not be assuaged. In order to remove the bitterness or the dispute as to whether Cahokia or Kaskaskia was the county seat, the governor created the new county of Randolph, covering the south part of the present state, in which Kaskaskia would be the principal town and county seat, but leaving Cahokia in St. Clair County as its county seat. The governor's proclamation was issued October 5, 1795.

Let us now turn to the year 1798, when it was first ascertained that the Northwest country had a population of something over 5,000 white male inhabitants. This was *fifteen years after the territory had been ceded* by Great Britain to the United States, eleven years after it had been legally created a territory by Congress and eleven years after a territorial government had been installed. It took all these years to attract 2,500 white men to settle in one of the most fertile valleys of the world.

I say 2,500 and not 5,000, because there were 2,500 white men in Illinois in and about the year 1750, and according to the United States Census of 1800 there were about the same number in the same territory. During the fifteen years which had elapsed from the time it became American territory, white men had been trickling into the region at the rate of only 166 men per year. In these modern days when we read of thousands of eager men massed in crowds awaiting the signal gun which opens Government reservations to settlement, we cannot be blamed for wondering at the hesitation and deliberation displayed by the inhabitants of the Eastern states in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The 2,500 men that, during these fifteen years did settle in the Northwest territory, did not settle in Illinois. The Ohio Company, the Scioto Company and the other colonizing companies had lands in Ohio and Indiana, but none in Illinois. The few white settlers that did come here did not add to its population. They merely replaced French settlers who had become dissatisfied and left for St. Louis or Canada. Illinois was static from 1763 until 1795.

In 1795 it was found that in the Northwest territory there were between 5,000 and 6,000 white male inhabitants. The ordinance of 1787, it will be recalled, made provision for two classes of territorial government. In the initial or primary territorial government, all executive, legislative and judicial powers were exercised by Federal appointees. The secondary form arose when the territory had a "population of 5,000 free male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age." It provided that a Legislature should then be elected, one representative for each 500 free male inhabitants, that the Legislature so elected should select ten names for members of the territorial council from which Congress should elect five members of the council, and that the governor, the council and the representatives should become the law-making power of the territory with power to make all civil appointments to office.

It having been duly ascertained that the territory had the necessary population of 5,000, Governor St. Clair called the election of representatives to meet in Cincinnati. The proclamation called for the election of twenty-two (some writers say



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

First Governor of Indiana Territory (including Illinois).

twenty-three) representatives. There must have been a sudden and very large influx of inhabitants between the time when it was ascertained that there was a population of about 5,000 and the issuance of the proclamation, or the discovery of the necessary legal population was belated, or, further, that the governor may have been guided by his conviction that before the election the population would have increased to 11,000. The call for the election of twenty-two representatives was based upon an estimate of 11,000 inhabitants, because the ordinance provided for one representative for each 500 inhabitants. If there was a sudden increase in population it was in Ohio and not in Illinois.

In the Legislature elected pursuant to the call of the governor in 1799, Illinois had only two representatives, Shadrach Bond from St. Clair County and John Edgar from Randolph County. The residents of the western part of the territory and particularly those in Illinois, were by no means satisfied with their lot under the secondary form of territorial government. The Legislature met at a remote distance from them, the judges held but few and infrequent sessions of court in their vicinity, and the expenses of the new government were largely increased. Their representation in the Legislature, two for 2,500 inhabitants, seemed clearly unfair. They saw, too, that the eastern portion of the territory, which was constantly increasing in population, would soon become a territory of the first class and eventually a state. This would revert them into a territory of the first class. To escape from the remoteness of government and the increased expense of maintaining same, in 1800 they petitioned Congress to separate them from the eastern population.

The committee in Congress to which this petition was referred found that "in the western counties there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years," and that the immunity given to criminals by the want of such courts was attracting criminals and deterring settlers from locating. Congress acted promptly. On May 7, 1800, a law created the Indiana Territory, bounded on the east by a line starting on the Ohio opposite the Kentucky River and running north to the Canadian border. William Henry Harrison was appointed

governor and appeared at the capital of the new territory January 10, 1801. The newly-created Indiana Territory comprised all of Illinois and most of the present State of Indiana and contained a population of less than 6,000. All of Illinois except the land on and surrounding the French villages owned and occupied by the French, was an Indian reservation recognized by American law. In Illinois at that time the white population was about 2,500, of which 1,500 were French. Most of the latter were wretchedly poor and ignorant and exerted but little influence. There were, however, a few very able and financially responsible leaders of that nationality, Pierre Menard, who held many responsible offices in both territory and state and was finally elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois; and Nicholas Jarroh, Jean Dumoulin and Jean Francois Perrey, all of whom played an important part in the history of the state.

In 1801 most of the people of Illinois wanted to change the form of their territorial government from the first to the second class, but were opposed by Governor Harrison and his appointees. They, the people, believed that the change would enable them to have a voice in the making of their laws and the selection of their officials. The change would also enable them to send a delegate to Congress who could express their views in that important body. One of the living issues of that day was the modification of the sixth article in the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in the territory. The governor, who first opposed the change, finally consented to issue a call for an election upon the question as to whether there should be a change from first class to the second class. On August 4, 1804, this call was issued, the governor directing that the election should be held September 11, 1804 or on the thirty-eighth day thereafter. In view of the limited means of conveying information, and of travel existing at that time, the time given was inadequate and unfair. Partly because of the brevity of the notice and partly because of ignorance and indifference on the part of the voters, only 360 voters cast their ballots, 260 of which were for the change and 100 against it. Wayne County, which then comprised what is now all of Southern Michigan, did not hear of the call for election and did not cast a single

vote. On December 5, 1804, the governor proclaimed that the territory had "passed into the second or representative grade of government."

At the election for representatives held in January, 1805, Shadrach Bond and William Biggs were chosen by St. Clair County and George Fisher by Randolph County. When the elected representatives chose ten names for submission to the President for members of the territorial council, he selected John Hay from St. Clair County and Pierre Menard from Randolph County.

At this time the population of Illinois proper was probably between 6,000 and 7,000. According to the Federal Census of 1800 there were 5,641 people in the territory, divided as follows: Indiana proper, 2517; Illinois proper, 2458; Michigan proper 551, and Wisconsin proper, 115.

CHAPTER XVIII

SLAVERY AND INDENTURED SERVANTS—TERRITORY OF ILLINOIS CREATED

Early in the history of the Indiana Territory arose a question which mightily absorbed the attention of the settlers and pioneers then living in the territory, and which continued to excite and keenly interest them and their descendants and subsequently arriving settlers for many years thereafter. Article six of the Bill of Rights contained in the ordinance of 1787 provided:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the said territory except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

At the time of the passage of the ordinance there were slaves in Illinois. Under French rule early in the eighteenth century slaves had been imported and held in bondage during all the French, British and American administrations. Slavery had been and was recognized and tolerated by the Federal Constitution of the United States. The French habitants were accustomed to it and acquiesced in it. The American settlers, almost without exception, had come from Kentucky, Tennessee or other slave-holding states, and some of these American settlers had brought slaves into the territory from Southern states. Public sentiment in Southern Illinois and Indiana was largely favorable towards the retention of the system. The central and northern part of the territory then had no white population. Pioneer transportation was almost wholly by water, because it was less arduous, less dangerous and cheaper than overland travel through trackless forests and prairies. Waterway facilities were at hand for the Kentuckians, Tennesseans and Virginians, but not for the northern colonists, while the Great Lakes

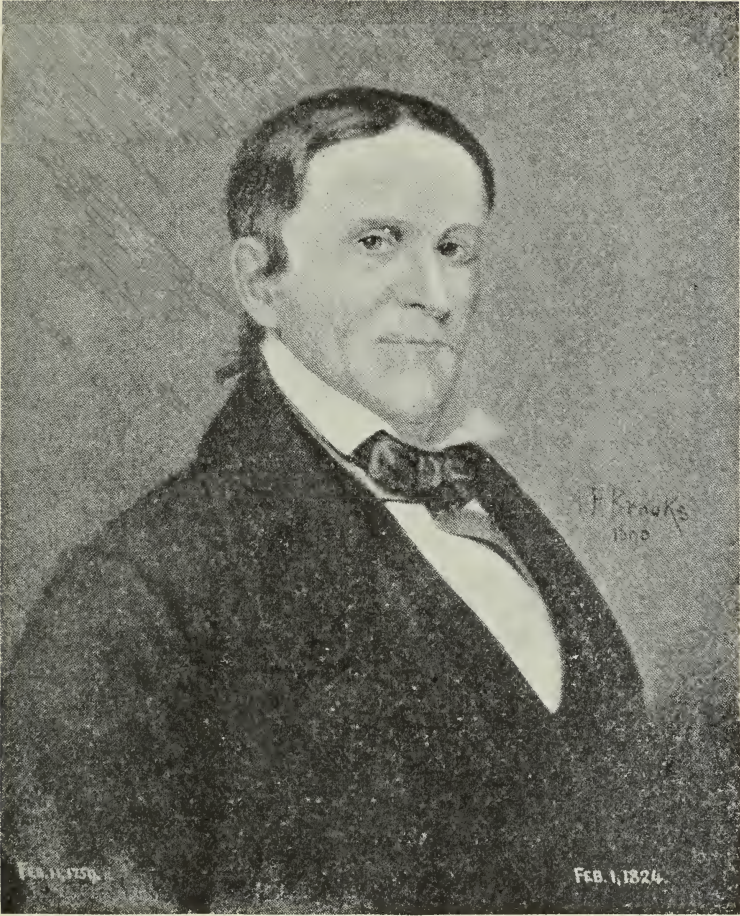


MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN 1801

were in British or French control. Thus the early settlers were from the South, where they had acquired pro-slavery convictions. Such being the condition of public sentiment both among the American and French settlers, they were speedily confronted with the problem of what to do with reference to Article Six. When Governor St. Clair arrived in Kaskaskia in 1790 he was called upon to decide the question as to whether the slaves then owned in the territory became freemen by virtue of the article mentioned, or remained in slavery. In a public statement, after giving careful consideration to the matter, he declared that the ordinance did not free the slaves then in the territory, but that it prohibited the bringing of other slaves into the territory. This quieted the fears of the slave-owners for a time but did not wholly satisfy the largely preponderant pro-slavery views of the people.

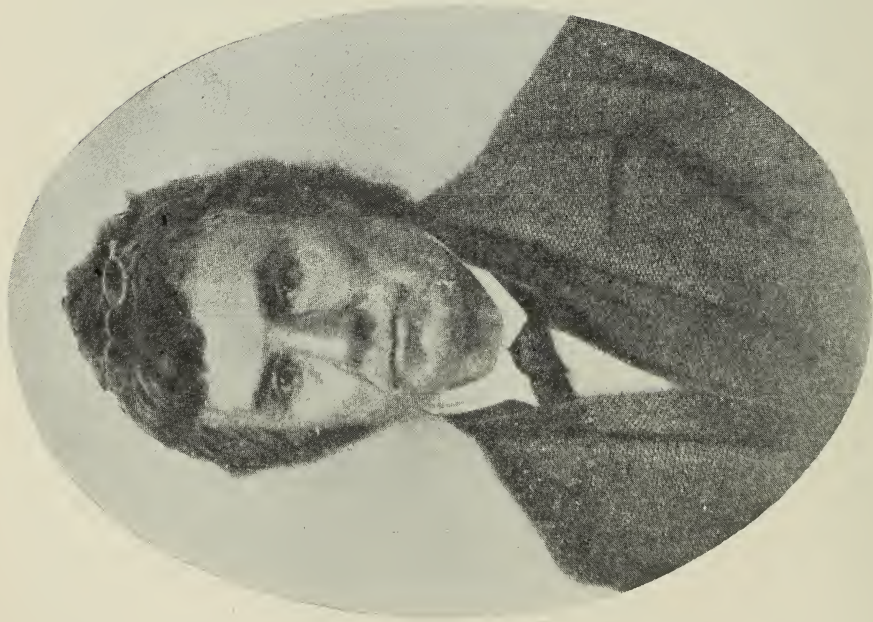
A petition from Kaskaskia was presented to Congress, January 12, 1796, asking that body to repeal Article Six, but the prayer of the petition was denied. Some old Revolutionary soldiers in 1799 presented a petition to the territorial Legislature, asking leave to bring their slaves with them, and permission to live with their slaves on the military tract north of the Ohio, reserved by Virginia. This was also denied because the Legislature believed that it would conflict with the ordinance. Another petition from Kaskaskia was presented to Congress January 23, 1801, asking permission to introduce slavery into Indiana Territory, containing a clause for gradual emancipation. No disposition of this petition was ever made. Notwithstanding all their failures to secure modification or repeal of Article Six, another effort was made in 1802.

While Governor Harrison was on a visit to Kaskaskia in the fall of that year, he was petitioned to call a convention for the purpose of devising the best way to secure the admission of slavery by law into the territory. This petition was granted and the governor called the convention November 22, 1802, the delegates elected from Illinois being Jean Francois Perrey, Shadrach Bond and John Murdock from St. Clair County and Pierre Menard, Robert Morrison and Robert Reynolds from Randolph County. The convention, which was presided over by Governor



Judice Jones

First practicing lawyer in Illinois.



PETER CARTWRIGHT

Pioneer Methodist preacher.



DR. GEORGE CADWELL

First Illinois physician.

Harrison, with John Rice Jones acting as secretary, prepared a memorial to Congress reciting that many prospective settlers were compelled to cross the Mississippi to Spanish territory for final settlement because they feared to bring their slaves into Illinois. The memorial concluded by asking Congress to suspend the operation of Article Six for ten years within the territory. This memorial met the same fate as all the previous petitions, for the reason as stated in the committee's report "that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region." But defeat and disappointment seemed powerless to kill pro-slavery sentiment in Southern Illinois.

The governor and the territorial judges were the law-making power. In their legislative capacity they met in their second session in the fall of 1803 and enacted a law that all persons coming into the territory "under contract to serve another in any trade or occupation shall be compelled to perform such contract specifically during the term thereof." This law would make contractual slavery lawful. All the owner of a law-made slave had to do to secure him from loss of his slave property was to order said slave to sign a contract for service for any number of years. What slave in fear of the lash would fail to obey?

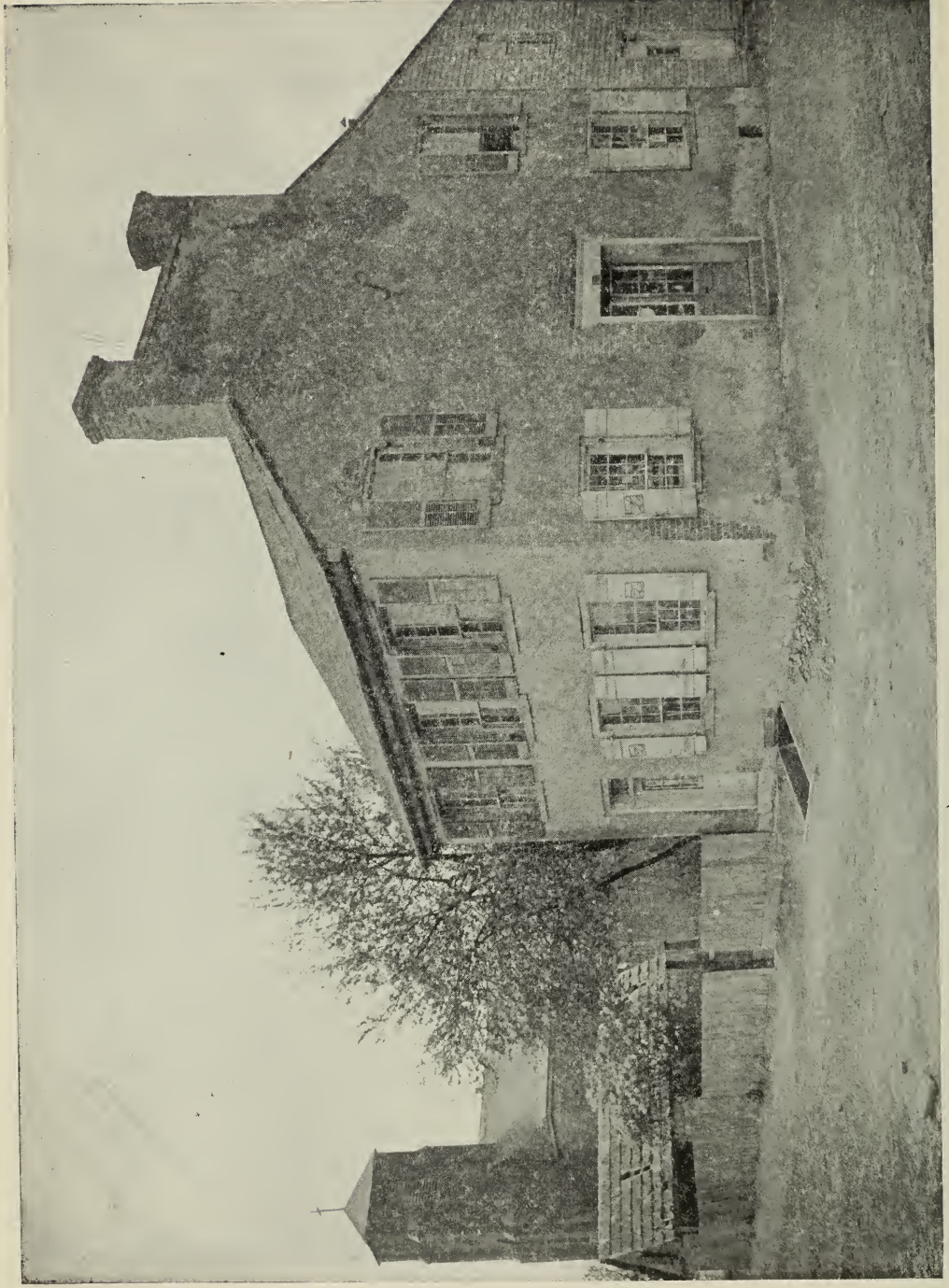
The Louisiana Purchase from France was made in April, 1803. In the Louisiana tract, which included what is now Missouri and Iowa, across the river from Illinois, slavery was permissible. The two Illinois counties petitioned to be made part of that tract for three reasons. First, they wanted the right to establish slavery. Second, they wanted immigration from the South, which they believed would be fostered by slavery. Third, they desired to get from under the arbitrary rule of Governor Harrison and his appointees, who had become most unpopular. This move failed of accomplishment, whereupon agitation was commenced for a change in the form of territorial government, which movement was successful as related in a previous chapter.

The struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery partisans still continued and was carried on with much persistency

and bitterness. A bill was introduced into the Territorial Legislature in 1805, asking Congress to admit slavery into the territory, but it failed of passage in the lower House. Bitter opposition had developed in Illinois against Governor Harrison and his friends and appointees. Having failed to escape his domination by being transferred into the Louisiana district, the people of Illinois now commenced an agitation for separation from Indiana and the creation of a new and separate territory to be called the Territory of Illinois. A petition was forwarded to Congress in 1806 to this effect, but the committee appointed by Congress reported adversely. Other petitions of like import were presented to the governor, and counter petitions protesting against the division of the territory were also presented to Congress. A special session of the Territorial Legislature was held in 1806, at which the question of slavery or no slavery in the territory was the principal subject of discussion. Petitions and arguments (probably from both sides) were prepared and forwarded to Congress, none of which produced any congressional action at that time. On August 17, 1807, the Territorial Legislature met for the second session. Jesse B. Thomas, a member of this body from Dearborn County, was also a candidate for the position of delegate to Congress. For a time he was non-committal on the subject of separation of the territory and the creation of a new territory. Upon obtaining a pledge from the separationists that they would support his candidacy for congressional delegate upon certain conditions, he secretly pledged himself to work and vote for separation in Congress, and was elected. He promptly repaired to Washington, presented his credentials, and was appointed chairman of the committee in Congress which was to consider the petition relating to the separation. The committee met promptly, considered all the petitions and arguments and reported favorably to separation. Thomas voted and argued very effectively and it was largely through his efforts that the law of separation was passed and subsequently signed by the President, February 3, 1809. It was estimated at the time by the committee that there were 17,000 people east of the Wabash in Indiana and 11,000 west of that river in Illinois. The law provided that all of Indiana

Territory lying west of the Wabash River and a line running due north from Vincennes to the Canadian border line, should be incorporated into a separate territory to be known as the Territory of Illinois.

By the passage of this law the Illinois Territory became a territorial government of the primary class. The Federal Census of the following year (1810) showed that it then had a population of 12,282 inhabitants.



STATE HOUSE AT KASKASKIA

Capitol Illinois Territory 1809-1818, and first State Legislature convened there.

CHAPTER XIX

ILLINOIS TERRITORY FIRST CLASS

At last the people of Illinois, harrassed since 1763, when the French monarchy ceded its rights over them to Great Britain, by misgovernment, weak government and no government, saw the prospect of home government in which the executive judicial and legislative officials would be compelled to exercise their functions in their midst. No more were they to be compelled to travel to Cincinnati or Vincennes to make their complaints or assert their rights. On February 3, 1809, Congress passed an act establishing the Territory of Illinois. By the terms of the act it comprised all of Indiana Territory lying "west of the Wabash River and a direct line drawn from said Wabash River at Post Vincennes due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada."

On April 28, 1809, Nathaniel Pope, who was appointed secretary of Illinois Territory by President Madison, arrived at Kaskaskia and issued the proclamation establishing the territorial government. He was followed to Kaskaskia June 11, 1809 by Ninian Edwards, who had been appointed territorial governor. At the time of his appointment Governor Edwards was chief justice of the Court of Appeals and was a friend of Henry Clay and Senator John Pope of Kentucky. Nathaniel Pope was a younger brother to the latter and both officials probably owed their appointment to the influence of Senator Pope and other prominent men in Kentucky. The territorial judges appointed were Jesse B. Thomas, who had worked so successfully for the establishment of the separate Territory of Illinois; Alexander Stuart and Obadiah Jones. Among the emoluments of office at that time were grants of land from the Federal Government, and Governor Edwards received 1,000 acres, which he located near Prairie du Rocher. Judge Thomas received 500 acres

which he located near the same village. Governor Edwards brought with him from Kentucky to Illinois his slaves and herds of cattle, and was also appointed to the position of superintendent of the salt mines near Equality.

The governor and the judges now became the law-making power and the former the appointive power of the territory. The laws of the Indiana Territory of which it had heretofore been a part, were reenacted and adopted as the laws of the Illinois Territory. In making appointments the governor found himself immediately importuned, by the men who had favored and brought about the separation of Illinois from the Indiana Territory, for all the offices. John Edgar was the leader of this party. The anti-separationists were equally insistent. Governor Edwards solved the situation when he allowed the militia-men to select their own officers, demanded popular elections for county officers and made his appointments pursuant thereto.

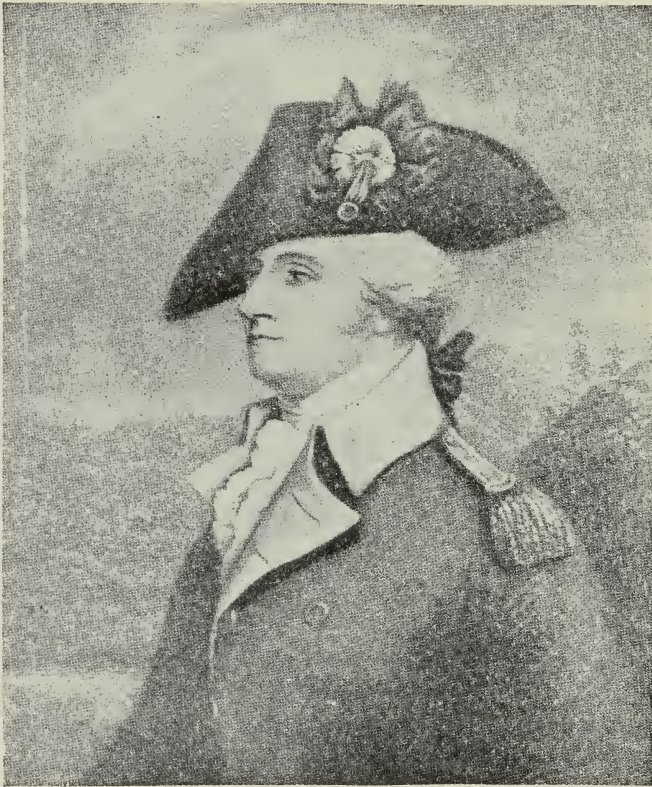
Up to the year of 1809 the lands of Illinois had not been opened up for sale and settlement. During his term as territorial governor of the Territory of Indiana, Governor Harrison had been appointed superintendent of Indian affairs. He understood the eagerness of the westerners for the opening up of these lands for purchase and labored diligently to secure the titles of the Indians, which was an essential prerequisite. He consummated treaties of any and all kinds with isolated and detached bodies of Indians, without waiting for action of tribes or confederation of tribes. He was not concerned about the justice of the treaty or the representative character of the Indians who signed. In 1803 he made a treaty with the Kaskaskias under which the signers surrendered their claims to land in Southern Illinois. In 1804 a few chiefs of the Sauks and Foxes were wheedled into surrendering their titles to lands lying west of the Illinois and Fox rivers, and in 1805 he secured lands on the Wabash from the Piankashaws. Another treaty was secured by him from other Indians at Fort Wayne in 1809. These treaties secured for the United States from the Indians what the lawyers might designate as *color of title*, even if the color of some of them was either black or yellow. President Jefferson was much concerned about the character of some of

these treaties and is said to have rebuked Harrison for his extreme aggressiveness.

As a result of these treaties, or some of them, a law was passed by Congress in 1804, providing that land in the Indiana Territory (then comprising Illinois) could be sold in quarter sections and reserving the sixteenth section in every township for school purposes. Under this law land offices were opened up at Detroit, Vincennes and Kaskaskia, the registrars and receivers were made land commissioners within their respective districts, and provision was also made in this law for settling the claims of those claiming under French and English grants. In Kaskaskia great difficulties arose in settling some of the French claims. Many of the original claimants to bounties or settlements had died, moved to St. Louis, or, in despair, had sold their claims for trifles. Cases were found where claims of 400 acres had been sold for \$30, and a 100-acre claim for \$14. Alvord states in his history that in Cahokia there had been granted 400 head rights, which by November, 1798, had passed into the hands of eighty-nine persons, only twelve of whom were French.

When it was known that the Federal Government had appointed these commissioners to unravel the tangled web of these titles, speculation ran wild and often developed into dishonesty. Dead men were revived and fictitious deeds discovered. Nearly the whole community became infected, and men who at other times would have scorned to resort to duplicity or mendacity became tainted. They seemed to consider that Uncle Sam was the only sufferer and that robbing Uncle Sam of his land was no crime. However, many of our wealthy citizens of this later day seem to be of the same opinion when they smuggle jewels and costly raiment through the custom house. In perusing the early history of this state, one is amazed to read how many officials in the early days had land hunger which has at times thrown doubt on the impartiality of their official acts and conduct.

The treaty that General Wayne made with the Indians at Greenville, in August, 1795, was with eleven different and distinct tribes of the Northwest. By its terms the Indians parted



ANTHONY WAYNE

Fighting general who conquered the Indians of the Northwest in 1795.

with their title to the eastern and southern portion of Ohio, but it established, as we have before said, a new Indian boundary line recognizing the rights of the Indians to retain as their hunting-grounds all of the territory west of that line, excepting certain small reservations in Indiana and Illinois upon which it was agreed that the United States might build and garrison forts to preserve the peace. This treaty quieted the hostility of the Indians for about fifteen years and little or no complaint was heard from them that the treaty was invalid.

War between the United States and Great Britain ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, October 18, 1814. By that treaty the Indian tribes were placed in the condition that they occupied in 1811 before the declaration of war. They were now abandoned by their powerful allies, the British, and left where they must fight it out with the young and powerful American nation or sign such treaties as the Americans demanded. To fight it out would have been suicidal. Their great leader, Tecumseh, had fallen in battle. Their source of supplies, for guns and ammunition, Canada, was taken from them by the treaty. Their fighting spirit was broken by their calamities. Early in 1815 the President appointed Governor William Clark, Governor Ninian Edwards and Augusta Chouteau commissioners to negotiate treaties with the principal tribes that had been allied with the British in the War of 1812. These commissioners arranged for a conference with the chiefs of some of the warring tribes and with them settled upon a basis for future treaties. The Indians at this time were in much the same position as were the Germans in 1919 at Versailles. They were compelled to consider and finally accept conditions such as are often presented to the vanquished by the victors. It was another case of *Vae victis*—Woe to the vanquished!

In 1816 a treaty was signed by Indians representing the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies, and other treaties of like character by the Peorias and Illinois. By these treaties the Indians quitclaimed their rights to 1,418,400 acres of land, most of which was in Illinois. In 1818 two other treaties were signed by the terms of which 17,886,280 acres of land were ceded by the Indians to the United States.

Within one month before the declaration of war by the United States against the British the Territory of Illinois had, by the vote of its qualified electors, become a territory of the second class. The act of Congress declaring it to be a territory of the second class was passed May 21, 1812.

CHAPTER XX

TECUMSEH AND TIPPECANOE

Governor Harrison began negotiating treaties with small groups of Indians about 1803 and between that year and 1809 had six different treaties signed by different chiefs and groups of Indians against which there was a great outcry among the Indians who claimed that they were signed without authority and were illegal and invalid. Wayne's treaty and Harrison's six treaties purported to convey a total of 40,000,000 acres of land for a consideration of about three cents per acre. The last of Harrison's six treaties was signed at Fort Wayne in September, 1809, and purported to convey 3,000,000 acres of the richest land in Indiana, east of the Wabash River and containing some of the land claimed by Tecumseh's tribe as their hunting-ground. The treaty was entered into by Indians claiming to represent the Pottawatomies, Miamis, Kickapoos, Weas and Eel River tribes. The Shawnees, to which tribe Tecumseh belonged, did not become a party to this treaty and when the news of its execution reached the great chief's ears and was noised abroad among the Indian tribes of the Northwest, there was an outburst of rage and indignation among them. The consideration given the Indians who signed the treaty was \$9,700 cash and about \$3,000 in ammunition, or less than one-half a cent an acre.

Tecumseh, the chief, and his brother, The Prophet, were the two leading spirits of the Shawnee tribe. Both were men of strong character and great native ability. The Prophet had been preaching a new gospel among the Indians of the Shawnee and neighboring tribes and had aroused among them a religious frenzy against the contaminations of the white men. He preached monogamy, abandonment of "fire water" and the clothes of white men, and the cultivation of the land. His brother, the



TECUMSEH

chief, gave their emotions thus aroused a more practical bent. He pointed out to them the wrongs and injustices being perpetrated upon them by the white men, and his, the white man's, trickery, deceit and dishonesty. He exposed the character of the Harrison treaties and argued that the hunting-grounds belonged in common to all the Northwestern tribes of Indians and not to any single Indian or group of Indians or to any single tribe of Indians. He pointed out to them that a few unauthorized Indians or a few weak chiefs bribed with a few dollars, or a few baubles, or a supply of rum, had no moral or legal right to barter away the hunting-grounds that the Great Spirit had given their ancestors centuries before. He argued that millions of acres had been practically stolen from them and that unless these treaties were annulled and such treaties prevented in the future, that they, the Indians, were facing starvation and inevitable early extinction. To prevent such a calamity he advised a confederation of all the Indian tribes of the Northwest; that this confederation arm and act in concert; that it demand a rescision of all these treaties, and in case of failure to obtain their rescision that they wage war in unison in defense of their property and lives against the common enemy—the people of the United States.

Tecumseh had a wide acquaintance among the different tribes. He had also a widespread reputation as a brave warrior chief and sage counsellor. He had the foresight to recognize (as Pontiac did before him) that the different tribes were helpless unless united, and that his race was doomed unless the different tribes were confederated and presented a united front in their demand for fair treatment. He urged upon his fellow-Indians that the hunting-grounds were the property of all the Northwest tribes in common and not in severalty, and that no treaty was valid unless signed by all the tribes. He was tireless in his efforts to form this confederacy and his fiery eloquence and vigorous action were fast bringing about the accomplishment of his aims. He established as the headquarters of his propaganda a village on Tippecanoe Creek, a tributary of the Wabash River, and there gathered many of his most earnest converts. He had been carrying on this movement for some time before

the treaty of Fort Wayne was signed. When the news of the event reached him he redoubled his efforts on both sides of the Ohio River.

Meanwhile, his white protagonist, Governor Harrison, was not idle. He had little sympathy with the red men and was reckless of their rights as recognized by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Greenville. He believed that the Indian right to retain the rich, fertile land for hunting purposes without utilizing the soil for home building and tillage must and should give way before the onward march of home-seekers and soil-tillers who were advancing from the East. He knew that every paper he could secure from the Indians purporting to cede their rights to the United States which he dignified with the name of treaty would be welcomed and ratified by the oncoming horde of settlers and land speculators as well as by the white men living in the territory as squatters or adventurers. He knew that every such treaty procured by him by hook or crook was increasing his popularity among the white men who had or soon would have votes. In defiance of Tecumseh's assertion that the land belonged to all the tribes and that all the tribes must sign any valid treaty, he secured the Fort Wayne treaty and prepared for war which he knew would be inevitable.

Without any formal declaration of war on either side, in 1810 the Indians began harrassing the white settlers. The British authorities in Canada, who were manifestly in sympathy with the Indians and antagonistic to the Americans, furnished the Indians freely with guns and ammunition and urged them to commit all kinds of depredations against the American settlers. The hostility of the British was rapidly developing into the war which broke out between the British and Americans in 1812. Many murders and atrocities against the whites occurred in 1810 and 1811. In October, 1811, while Governor Harrison was erecting a small fort in Indiana near the present site of Terre Haute, one of the guards was killed by Indians, and this and other recent atrocities by the red men enraged him and he prepared for war.

Gathering together 250 United States Regulars, an army of 800 white men mostly recruited in Indiana and Kentucky,

and 500 friendly Indians, Governor Harrison marched them against the Indian headquarters at Tippecanoe. When near their encampment Harrison sent forward a messenger asking for a conference with their chief. Tecumseh, accompanied by twelve of his ablest and most trusty lieutenants, was then absent in Kentucky engaged in his propaganda for confederation. Some



BATTLE OF THE THAMES—DEATH OF TECUMSEH

(From Brackenridge's *History of the Late War.*)

other chief or representative of the Indians met Governor Harrison and arranged for a further conference on the following day. On that following day, November 7, 1811, the Indians, at 4 o'clock in the morning, attacked the Americans, who were resting on their arms, and a bloody battle ensued. The American losses were equal if not greater than those of the Indians, but the Americans remained in possession of the battlefield, destroyed the crops, burned the town and scattered the surviving Indians, thus obliterating the headquarters of Tecumseh's confederation.

Upon returning from Kentucky and viewing with dismay the ruins of his capital and headquarters, Tecumseh crossed the border into Canada, where he joined the British forces in the War of 1812 and died gallantly in battling the pale faces

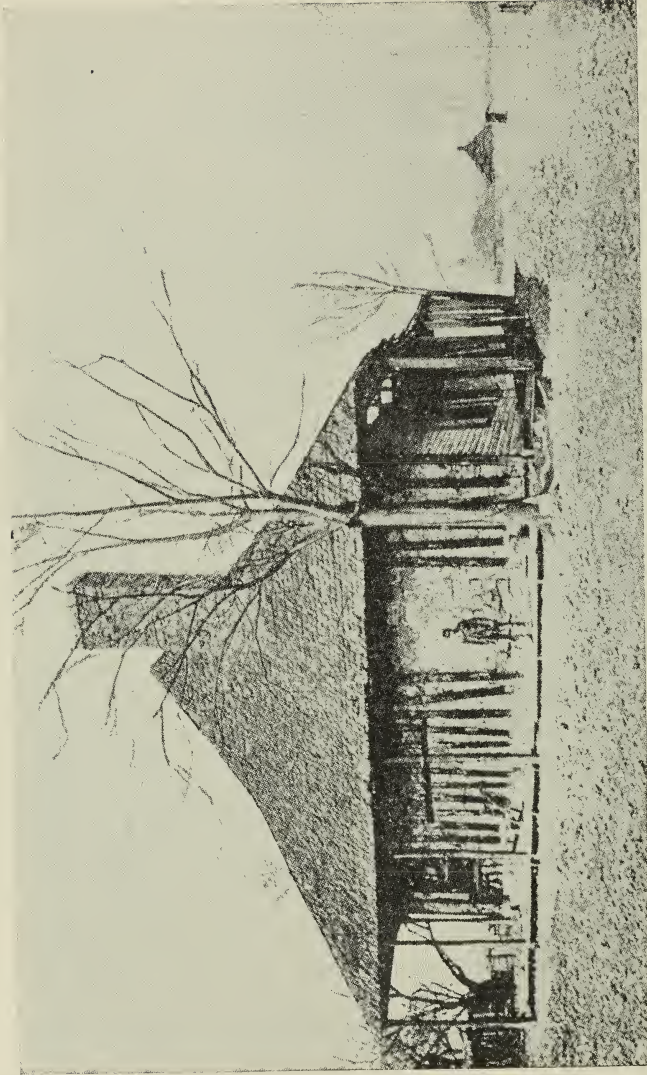
who he believed were despoiling his fellow-countrymen and exterminating his race. He has an enviable place in history as the gallant, wise and farseeing leader of a race doomed to destruction in spite of sagacity in council and bravery in battle.

The battle of Tippecanoe was but the forerunner of greater and officially declared warfare between the British and the United States. Notwithstanding the treaty of peace of 1783 and the subsequent treaty between Great Britain and America under which British troops and trading posts were removed from American soil, ill feeling between the citizens and subjects of both countries in the Northwest had not been allayed. Some of the old wounds of the War of the Revolution had not healed. The most potent cause of hostility and ill feeling was the struggle for the control of the very valuable fur trade which had been developed between the Indians and the whites. Notwithstanding the removal of the British garrisons to British soil in Canada, the English traders still managed to control most of that rich traffic on the upper Mississippi and around the Great Lakes. Their principal trading posts were at Mackinac and Prairie du Chien. At the latter place in 1811 there were 100 Canadian families, living on land that they had purchased and owned, and there carried on trade with about 6,000 Indians who visited the place every year. At Mackinac also a large traffic was carried on by the British and Canadians with the Indians. Although the Americans maintained a small garrison at Mackinac and a United States Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, they seem to have made but little headway in securing trade.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DECLINE AND ULTIMATE DISPOSITION OF THE FUR TRADE

In this history we at frequent occasions referred to the importance and value of the fur trade in the Northwest territory. It was the emolument and profits that could be derived from the purchase of furs from the Indians that lured the French voyagers and the *coureurs de bois* from Canada all along the Great Lakes and up and down the Mississippi and other rivers of the West. It was the real commercial incentive to the discoveries of these early French pioneers. The struggle of the French monarchy to retain this land was principally based upon the value of this fur trade to the French merchants in Canada. It inspired Joliet, La Salle and Tonti, Frontenac and Talon, and when the British overcame the French they regarded it as the paramount method of rewarding the British officials and enabling the British government to maintain its hold upon the territory. When the Americans took possession of the territory from the British, they regarded the fur trade of considerable importance, and for some years attempted to conduct competition with the British authorities for the retention of the same. The American Government, after taking possession of the territory, passed certain laws which prevented traders with the Indians from doing business in the way of purchasing furs without a license from the American Government. At that time most of the important posts of trading with the Indians were still in the hands of the Canadian merchants of French extraction. When the American Government passed laws prohibiting foreigners from trading with the Indians, the French traders entered into a compact with John Jacob Astor, who was then engaged in the fur business in New York, principally



CAHOKIA COURTHOUSE

Building removed and set up in Jackson Park, Chicago, in 1905. In this building were held sessions of court, the earliest existing records being dated in 1778.

with the Iroquois tribes, under which they joined their trading facilities by giving control thereof to the Astor interests.

The United States Government itself commenced in 1816 to establish fur trading posts in Mackinac, Chicago and Prairie du Chien, and also one at Green Bay. Later on, a trading house was established at Fort Edwards. The United States Government stationed troops in the neighborhood of these posts, in order to establish their standing and prestige, but these efforts of the Government proved fruitless in competition with the British traders. Private traders seemed to be more successful than even the Government. The South West Company which was trading in furs was controlled by John Jacob Astor, and this company for a time was conducting a successful business. Finally the French traders sold out all their interest in the South West Company to Astor, and he organized a new company, called the American Fur Company. This company retained almost all of the French and English traders, boatmen, interpreters, etc., who had been working for the former companies, but the officers of the company and all those holding responsible positions were Americans. Gradually the British interests faded before it.

In the Illinois territory, there were two main trading posts, one at Prairie du Chien in the territory occupied by the Sauks, the Foxes and the Winnebagoes, running up the Rock River and down the Mississippi. The other post was in the Illinois Valley at Peoria.

For a time a successful trade was carried on by the American Fur Company until about the year 1810 when the United States Government began making surveys of land. When these surveys were perfected and when the land offices were opened at Kaskaskia and Shawneetown for the sale of lands in 1818 or thereabout, the fur trade gave way before the onward rush of coming settlers, and thereafter we hear but little of the fur trade in the territory of the State of Illinois.

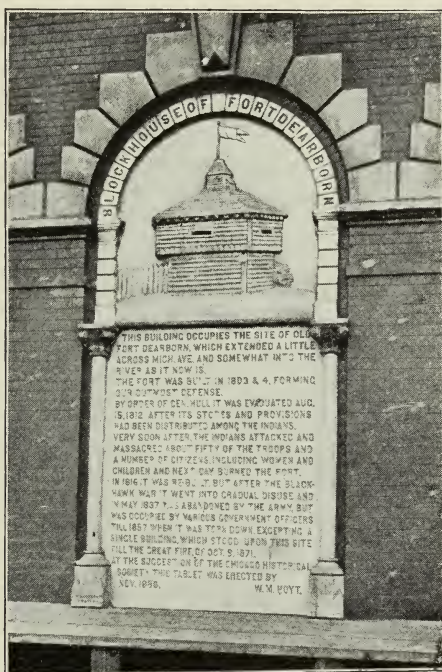
CHAPTER XXII

ILLINOIS IN THE WAR OF 1812

As we have heretofore noted, bitter feelings had arisen between the white settlers and the Indians after the Fort Wayne treaty of September, 1809. As a result of Tecumseh's appeals to the Indians to confederate, and of certain atrocities committed by the Indians in 1810 and 1811, the white settlers of Illinois became greatly alarmed and began erecting block-house forts in or near all the settlements. There were at this time only about 12,000 to 14,000 white people in the state and they were outnumbered by the Indians probably over ten to one. These forts were rudely constructed of logs, built up eight to ten feet high, with a low second story projecting over the lower story. They had strong oaken doors with inside bars that would withstand much violence, and had loop-holes through which the inmates could fire their guns. Sometimes four log houses were built on a square and these were connected by strong palisades. Inside this large enclosure many persons and their belongings could be grouped in case of an Indian raid. The underbrush and trees would be cut down for some distance from the buildings so that the Indians could not creep up on them unawares. Such forts were constructed at this time at or near most of the small settlements. More formidable places of defense, however, were at Chicago, Fort Massac, Fort Russell near Edwardsville and Fort LaMotte and Fort Vincennes on the Wabash. There were also forts of some kind at New Design, Bellefontaine and several other small places.

The Indians became very restive and belligerent and in small parties began stealing the property of the whites and shooting at, and even killing, white men and women. In these depredations they were incited and encouraged by the British and Canadians,

who furnished the Indians with guns and ammunition freely. For a time the British assistance was given secretly and was disguised, but as the ill feeling between Great Britain and the United States developed, hardly any attempt was made at secrecy. This was one of the causes of the War of 1812. The President in his message to Congress gave as the causes of



FORT DEARBORN MARKER

war the impressment of American seamen; the patrolling of our sea coast with armed vessels, interfering with our commerce, and *encouraging the Indians to attack our settlers in the West and furnishing the savages with guns and supplies.* While this cause of war occupies the last place in the President's message it proved to be the paramount one at the treaty of peace afterwards, as we will see when we come to discuss the terms of that treaty.

Responsive to the President's message to Congress in June, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain. Although this was the first recognition and declaration of war, as a matter of fact, war had been carried on openly by the Indians and secretly by the British garrisons in Canada for at least a year before that time. Governor Edwards, without Federal authority, had been encouraging the building of defensive forts and blockhouses and the organization of State Militia. Indeed voluntary military companies had been gotten together by the frontier settlers even before the governor gave direct authorization. The frontier line of settlements then extended from the mouth of the Illinois River through Alton and Fort Russell, Salem and Wayne County, thence northeast to the Indiana state line near Terre Haute. The United States, although full of warlike spirit at the time war was declared, was by no means well prepared for aggressive action against the great naval and military power of Great Britain, "the Mistress of the Seas," and the formidable forces of Indian allies which Great Britain summoned to her aid on the western prairies. Almost without exception all these tribes, embittered as they were by the St. Clair treaties and the dispossession of their hunting-grounds by the Americans, rallied to the call of the British authorities in Canada.

At the outbreak of the war the Regular Army of the United States consisted of ten regiments aggregating 5,000 men, a large portion of whom were stationed in small bodies in the different forts of the United States. In Detroit Gen. William Hull was in command of about 1,000 men, most of whom must have been untrained militia judging from their inefficiency as later disclosed. General Hull was a Revolutionary soldier and was then acting as territorial governor of Michigan. He was ordered by his superior officers to cross the river at Detroit and capture Fort Malden, then cross the Canadian peninsula and meet other invading American forces at Niagara, after which the combined forces could overrun and reduce Canada. The plan was excellent, but its execution was a lamentable fizzle. While Hull was attempting to reduce Fort Malden, the British General Brock, commanding 1,000 British troops, crossed the river into Amer-



REPLICA OF FORT DEARBORN

Constructed for the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition.

The photograph shows, left to right, the officers' barracks, a corner of the blockhouse, the powder magazine, soldiers' barracks.

ican territory and demanded the surrender of the American fort at Detroit, the Town of Detroit, and all of the Territory of Michigan. General Hull acceded to this arrogant demand and without a struggle surrendered the fort, town and territory, August 16, 1812. The American fort at Mackinac had also surrendered July 17 previous. Hull attempted to excuse his shameful conduct afterwards by saying that his supply of provisions was limited, that Mackinac had surrendered, that there was no hope of relief from Niagara and that the soldiers and inhabitants of the Town of Detroit would be massacred by the Indians if he did not surrender. The surrender of Detroit and Mackinac placed the entire Territory of Michigan under British control and exposed Illinois, Indiana and Ohio to attacks from the triumphant British and Indians.

At this time the forces of United States Regulars stationed in Illinois and near Illinois Territory were as follows: Fort Massac on the Ohio, thirty-six men; Fort Madison on the Mississippi, forty-four men; Vincennes, 117, and Fort Dearborn, fifty-three. These 250 men were confined in their duties to defending these forts and the territory immediately surrounding them and were not available for general open-country warfare. The pioneers of the territories of Illinois and Indiana were therefore left in the position of being compelled to defend their lives and property without Federal aid and their Territorial officers were compelled to devise such measures as they possibly could to give them any kind of protection.

Governor Edwards energetically encouraged the formation of military companies in the settlements and the erection of block-house forts for defense. While he and his fellow-citizens were thus engaged, the whole western country was shocked by a bloody catastrophe, the massacre at Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, and the shameful surrender of Detroit, both on the same day, August 15, 1812. The craven-spirited General Hull had learned in the latter part of July that Fort Mackinac had surrendered to the British; and, fearing that the small garrison of fifty-three men at Fort Dearborn would be next assailed and could not successfully defend the fort, sent by a friendly Indian an order to Captain Heald, then in command of Fort Dearborn,

to evacuate the fort and retire to Fort Wayne. Historical writers differ as to whether this order was for immediate evacuation or whether it left some discretion in Captain Heald as to when the evacuation should take place. Be that as it may have been, Captain Heald regarded the order as being unwise and procrastinated and delayed its execution for several days. The order was delivered to him August 7 or 8 and the evacuation did not take place until August 15. It is said that Captain Heald called into consultation his subordinate officers and John Kinzie, the Government Indian agent who was on friendly terms with the Indians in the neighborhood, and that they advised Heald not to evacuate the fort. It is said further that Winnemac (Winnemeg), the Pottawatomie chief who had brought the order of evacuation from General Hull, ascertained that the Indians surrounding the fort, Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies, were hostile and belligerent. He advised Heald that if he intended to evacuate he should do so at once, but pointed out to the captain that with the provisions and supplies that he had in the fort, he could hold out against a six-month siege. In the meantime the Indians had heard from Tecumseh that Fort Mackinac had surrendered and that Hull had retreated from Canada, and had orders from the chief to hold themselves in readiness for immediate warfare. Heald still temporized and held a conference with some of the Indian chiefs and some prominent white men to devise a plan for the safe removal of the garrison and the white men, women and children in and around the fort to Fort Wayne. At this conference he told the Indians present of his intention to evacuate and in order to win their assistance and good will promised to leave the large stock of Government supplies in the fort and the Government warehouse for distribution among the Indians. The Indians present promised him that they would furnish him an ample escort of friendly Indians to ensure his safe departure. Among the stores were large quantities of liquor, ammunition, food and clothing, a fact that was well known to the Indians. Heald acted as he did contrary to the wishes of Kinzie and his own subordinate officers and soon realized he had made a fatal mistake. Overnight he changed his mind and carried out a part of

his promise to the Indians and broke his promise as to the other part. He ordered all the whiskey and powder poured into the river and all the guns broken up and destroyed. When the Indians found the next day that among the goods delivered to them for distribution were neither guns, ammunition nor liquor, their indignation knew no bounds. This breach of faith fanned the smouldering embers of their enmity into a withering flame.

The cowardice of Hull and the indecisive and shilly-shallying conduct of Heald in a nerve-trying crisis, together with the hatred and ferocity of the Indian tribes, brought about the shocking calamity. It might have been obviated if Heald had acted firmly and promptly in obeying the order of his superior officer.

On the 14th of August, Captain William Wells arrived at Fort Dearborn with thirty friendly Miami Indians to assist Captain Heald in exacuating the fort. He had come in great haste from Fort Wayne, having heard that Captain Heald and his company were in great distress. Their arrival was regarded as a godsend, and preparations were made on the 14th of August for a departure the following morning. In the meantime, the Indians had become furious over their failure to receive from Captain Heald the guns and ammunition in the fort. On August 15th at about nine o'clock in the morning, the evacuation commenced. Captain Wells with his band of Miami Indians were in the vanguard. After them came twelve militiamen, and then the regulars, immediately preceding the wagons which carried camp equipage, women, children, and the sick. Behind them marched other Miami Indians, escorting Mrs. Heald, the captain's wife, and Mrs. Helm. When they arrived at what is now known as Fourteenth Street in the City of Chicago near the Illinois Central tracks, Captain Wells noticed that the savages to his right were making violent demonstrations and preparing to attack. Captain Heald then marched his men to some sand hills, where he came in sight of the hostile Indians, who attacked them vigorously. The regulars under Captain Heald returned the fire and caused the savages to retreat temporarily, but they gradually surrounded the Fort Dearborn troops and within a

very short time they had possession of the horses and wagons attached to the American army.

The Miami Indians were thrown into dismay and fled. For a time the regular troops under Captain Heald made a vigorous defense, but before long were compelled to surrender. After the surrender, the Indians attacked the women, the children and the sick. When the awful massacre was over, it was found that twenty-six of the regulars, twelve of the militia, two women and twelve children were dead, also Ensign George Ronan, Dr. Isaac V. Van Voorhis, and Captain William Wells died on the battlefield. Lieutenant Helm, twenty-five regulars and eleven women and children were taken prisoners. Many of these prisoners afterward died of wounds or were killed. Mr. and Mrs. Kinzie escaped or were allowed to return to their home, Kinzie and his wife having been on most friendly terms with the Indians.

On the following day, the Indians set fire to the fort, and then disappeared. Let it be said, however, to the credit of Black Partridge, an Indian chief, that he did everything he could to prevent the carnage. Learning of the hostility of the other Indians, he came to the fort before the American soldiers left it, saw Captain Heald, and delivered into his hands a medal that he had received from the Americans, saying that he was unworthy longer to bear it, as his fellow-tribesmen had made up their minds to massacre the whites. He stated, "I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy." It was this same Black Partridge who, during the massacre, saved the life of Mrs. Helm and prevented her massacre.

The year 1812 was a most disastrous one for America and the Northwest Territory. The surrender of Detroit and Mackinac and the destruction of Fort Dearborn encouraged British soldiers to believe that they could again re-possess this country and re-establish the British flag over the Northwest Territory. The British officers had in their employ a man named Robert Dixon, who was evidently popular among all the Indian tribes. He was a very adroit and able man, and was able to muster and bring to the support of the British authorities the strongest

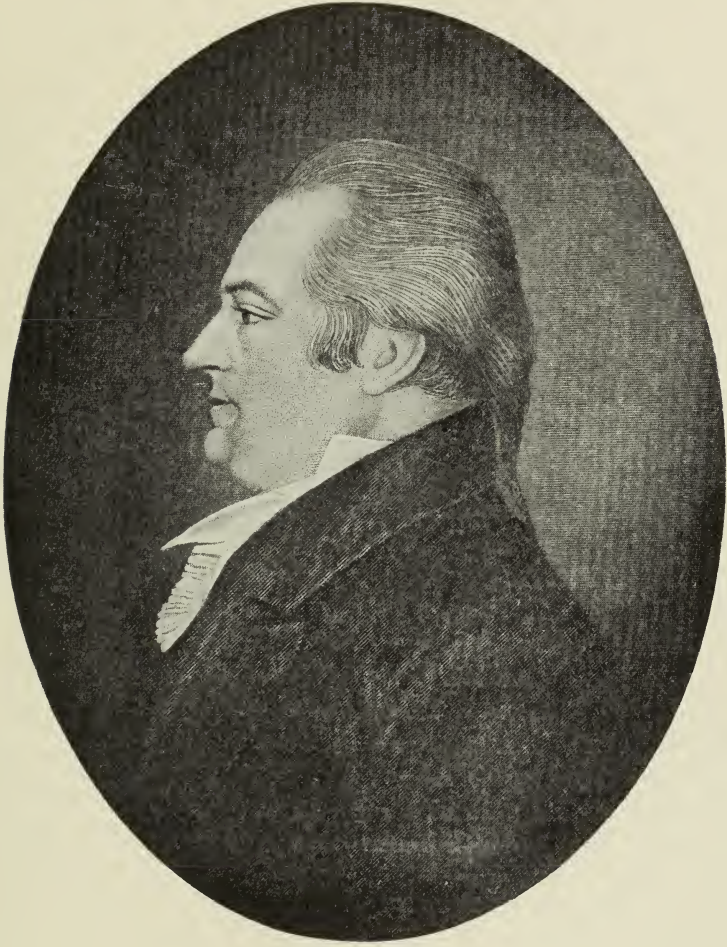
and most warlike of the Indian tribes of the Northwest. In 1813, he was found at Prairie du Chien, which was then regarded as the most strategic military position on the Mississippi. This place was made the most important post for trading with the Indians by the British authorities. During 1812-13, Dixon operated from this point among the Indians and succeeded in getting many of the Indian tribes to travel east to assist the British commanders around Detroit. If the British authorities after the fall of Detroit, Mackinac and Fort Dearborn had followed up these signal successes with attacks upon the American forts in Indiana and Illinois, it would have produced disastrous consequences for the American nation and American settlers. The British officers, however, needed the assistance of these Indians around Detroit, and because of their military necessities, the Americans escaped what the Americans believed at the time to be imminent disaster in the West. In Illinois and Indiana, the American authorities believed that any day the British forces with overwhelming Indian allies would be upon them. Many of the settlers gathered in their own forts and around the other forts occupied by American troops, and began to cry loudly to the Federal authorities for assistance. During the first year of the war, these Federal authorities had given them no protection. Governor Edwards, the territorial governor, had no Federal commission as military commander, and no money had been appropriated for the raising of the militia. Notwithstanding this awkward situation, Governor Edwards proceeded to collect and organize several companies of mounted militia, at his own expense. These mounted men patrolled the border from the Mississippi River to the Wabash. He caused to be erected a fort near what is now Edwardsville, which he called Fort Russell. A short time afterward, a company of regulars was attached to Camp Russell by the Federal Government, this being the only step taken by the Federal Government to protect the settlers in the Illinois territory in the years prior to 1813. In that year, the Federal Government authorized the recruiting of six companies of rangers for the protection of the settlers.

In 1812, Governor Edwards organized two expeditions for the invasion of the Illinois River Valley. The information was that at Peoria there was a large gathering of Pottawatomi, Miami and Kickapoo Indians, and that these Indians were organizing for assaults upon the frontier settlements to the south. The first of these expeditions, composed of recruits raised in Illinois, were accompanied by the governor himself, and in the ranks there marched one John Reynolds, afterward a governor of Illinois. On this expedition he was a buck private, and he wrote a very interesting account of the Illinois expedition. On the march from Fort Russell to Peoria, they encountered no belligerent Indians until they arrived at within four or five miles of an Indian village on Peoria Lake. Here they killed an Indian whose arms were raised and who was asking to surrender, and captured his squaw. Upon the arrival at the village itself, they found the huts deserted, and the untrained militia plundered and burned the village. This was the only achievement of the campaign.

The second expedition organized by Governor Edwards traveled by water to Peoria. Upon arrival at that point, they found it deserted by practically all of its inhabitants, including the United States Government agent, Forsyth, whereupon Captain Craig began appropriating all of the property left by the deserters. Upon Forsyth's coming into camp, however, he returned some of it. For several days thereafter Captain Craig and Forsyth were on friendly terms, but one day Captain Craig's boats were fired upon by some unknown person, whereupon Craig pronounced the people of Peoria guilty of the offense committed by the unknown party. He thereupon plundered and burned most of the town and carried away forty of its inhabitants as prisoners. Later on these prisoners were released by Governor Edwards. To his credit be it said that he compensated them for their losses out of Indian funds in his possession. Captain Craig's conduct was bitterly condemned by many of his associates and contemporaries. For a further and more interesting account of these expeditions, I would respectfully refer the reader to Reynold's account thereof in his "My Own Times."

By reason of their misfortunes during the year 1812, the Federal authorities finally became aroused to the necessity of better organization and larger forces. On May 1, 1813, the states of Kentucky and Ohio, and the territories of Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan were placed in one district under the command of Major General Harrison, and a sub-district thereof including Illinois and Missouri was created, with headquarters at St. Louis under the command of Brig. Gen. Benjamin Howard. The Federal authorities also effected an organization of ten companies of mounted rangers, and placed four of them in Indiana, and three each in Illinois and Missouri. These rangers were all mounted men and proved very effective. They moved rapidly and inspired the Indians with terror. General Howard began to act with great vigor. With a force of rangers recruited from Kentucky, Indiana, Missouri and Illinois, he pushed the American frontier further northward and soon arrived at Peoria, where he built a new fort, which he called Fort Clark and which was thereafter garrisoned by regular troops until the end of the war.

In June 1813, Gen. William Clark with 200 men succeeded in capturing Prairie du Chien, in the absence from that place of Dixon and the Indian tribes, which he had taken to Canada. Clark left a small force there after its capture, but this garrison was compelled to surrender to a large force of British and Indians from Mackinac soon thereafter. Following its capture by the British, two expeditions were sent up from St. Louis to regain Prairie du Chien. Hearing of these expeditions, the British authorities heavily reinforced the Sauk and Fox Indians at Rock Island, and their combined forces prevented the first expedition from going up the Mississippi beyond that point. The second expedition set out with the same destination in August 1814. It was commanded by Major Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States. The British and Indians met Taylor and his troops and inflicted heavy losses upon them. Taylor was compelled to retreat with his troops to Fort Edwards, a fort which was built near Warsaw, Illinois, and which was held by the Americans until the end of the war. The most northerly limits of the aggressive warfare on the part



NINIAN EDWARDS

Territorial Governor, and Governor of State, 1826-30.

of the Americans was a line drawn from Peoria to Warsaw. North of that, the Indians and British were triumphant.

Early in the year 1814, both of the warring nations began to tire of the conflict. The British had been successful on the eastern seacoast and in the Northwest, but had not been at all effective in the central or southern portions of the United States. Proposals of peace were made and accepted and peace commissioners were detailed to meet at Ghent for direct negotiations. During these negotiations, a peculiar situation developed. The main cause of the war, to-wit the impressment of American seamen by British vessels, seemed to have been forgotten. The British commissioners stressed as the important issue to be determined in the negotiations the question as to what should become of the Northwest Territory. The result of the conflict between the Americans and the British in that territory had been disastrous to the Americans, and had left the British in control of the Great Lakes in about the situation that existed at the close of the Revolutionary war. The British commissioners in their negotiations declared that an error had been made in settling the boundary in 1783 and that that error should be now corrected; that the whole region of the Great Lakes with its valuable fur trade must now be annexed to Canada and placed under the British flag. They made this claim not in so many words, believing that such a demand would be promptly rejected by the American commissioners, but they pointed out to the American commissioners that the Indians had been their allies and that they were independent nations and should be included in the treaty and made parties to the same. They argued that an independent nation of the Indians, with well defined boundaries, should be created, wherein neither Great Britain nor the United States would have any control or power to purchase the land. They pointed back to the Treaty of Greenville, contracted in 1795, which created the eastern border of an Indian reservation running south from what is now Lorain, Ohio. This line would have thrown most of Ohio, and all of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and the territory west of the Mississippi into a proposed buffer Indian state or a perpetual hunting ground for the Indian tribes. The British com-

missioners also intimated that they should be permitted to establish and maintain military and naval posts on the Great Lakes. To these demands thus formulated, the answer of the American commissioners was emphatic. If these conditions were pressed, they would break off negotiations. The American commissioners pointed out that the United States had followed the British precedent in refusing to accord rights to the Indian tribes. The American commission was composed of very able men, among whom was John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin. Intellectually and diplomatically they were more than a match for the British commissioners. The controversy was strenuous, but in the end the British commissioners gave way and recognized the rights of the Americans to the disputed territory by accepting a statement from the United States that it would restore the rights and privileges held in the year 1811, the year before the declaration of war. The commissioners of the respective nations reached no agreement in relation to armaments on the Lakes, and the treaty was decided December 24, 1814.

In the year 1817, the United States Government proposed to Great Britain that both navies on the Great Lakes be reduced to proportions which would render them useless in war. This proposal was accepted by Great Britain, and since that time two great nations have been enabled to live side by side with an unguarded frontier of over 3,000 miles, without friction or bloodshed. It is believed that this proposal was inspired by Benjamin Franklin, a great lover of humanity, and accepted by Lord Shelburne, an English diplomat who was also a great lover of peace.

The Indian tribes were not made parties to these treaties, and after the treaty was signed by Great Britain, they were placed in a position of being compelled thereafter to treat with a great and growing power whose citizens had suffered most from their depredations and whose citizens in the natural march of events would be insisting upon their government that the great fertile lands of the Northwest should be utilized for agriculture instead of for hunting grounds. The rights which they had in 1811 the United States agreed to recognize, but that these rights then possessed must afterward be yielded by them

before the onward march of civilization was plain to them as it was to the white men whose nation had signed the treaty. The Indian tribes knew that the great power upon which they relied, the British government, had failed them in this emergency; that they never could hope for further assistance from that great power; that thereafter they must treat with a young and powerful nation whose constantly increasing population would compel that government to acquire these hunting grounds by force, if not by treaty. The Indians recognized the inevitable. They became dispirited and down-hearted. Their great leader, Tecumseh, had given up his life in a lost cause. The tribes were ready to trade with the United States upon any terms that might be insisted upon by that great nation.

CHAPTER XXIII

ILLINOIS A TERRITORY OF THE SECOND CLASS— AND SOON BECOMES A STATE

The Ordinance of 1787 provided that one of the qualifications of a voter should be that he own "a freehold of fifty acres of land in the district." This qualification, probably more than any other cause, explains the smallness of the vote cast on the question of a change to a territory of the second class. Only 300 votes were counted, the great majority of which favored the change. On May 21, 1812, Congress, pursuant to this vote, declared the Illinois Territory raised to the second class. On September 14 of the same year, Governor Edwards, in the midst of his military activity, issued a proclamation creating the new counties of Madison, Johnson and Gallatin, and another proclamation about the same time calling an election October 8, 1812, for selecting members of a Legislature and a delegate to Congress.

The newly-elected Legislature (being the first to meet in Illinois) met at Kaskaskia November 25. Pierre Menard was chosen as president of the council and Dr. George Fisher was selected as speaker of the lower house. Governor Reynolds in his history says that all twelve members of the Legislature "boarded at the same house and slept in the same room." Much of the time of the Legislature was taken up with laws creating territorial courts and helping the governor organize and provision a militia to serve against the Indians. There was no penitentiary in the Territory and practically no jails where prisoners could be securely imprisoned. Hence the criminal laws passed by the Legislature had few provisions for confinement in prisons, but many other provisions for punishment that were barbarous and cruel and would not now be tolerated in

civilized states. Whipping on the bare back, with lashes from ten to 500; confinement in stocks and pillories, and branding with hot irons were some of the penalties set out in the criminal code of that day. Arson, rape and murder were punished by hanging. If a fine was not promptly paid the guilty man was auctioned off to a purchaser of his labor who could compel him to work out his fine at hard toil.

The maiden efforts of the first Territorial Legislature to raise funds by taxation, for the support of the government, furnish an amusing contrast to the methods of the legislation of our day when hundreds of millions of dollars are readily appropriated at each biennial session for the support of the state government. The first Legislature in Illinois (territorial) levied a tax on real estate of \$1 on each 100 acres of land on the bottoms along the rivers, and seventy-five cents on each 100 acres on the uplands for the support of the territorial government. The expenses of the counties were paid for, out of personal taxes, which were collected from the following sources: Each owner of \$200 worth of personal property had to pay \$1 poll tax and certain occupations and callings were licensed. Smith in his history gives Struve as reporting that as a result of the Legislature's efforts to raise funds to support the government of the territory, \$4,875.45 was collected in three years. At the present rate of wages this would not more than have paid the salary of a single janitor in the State House for a period of three years. How the governor, judges of the Supreme Court, members of the Legislature and other officials managed to get their meager salaries is a mystery that the ordinary man cannot explain. Shadrach Bond, Jr., afterwards governor of Illinois, was elected this year by the people as their delegate to Congress. Up to this time (1812) there had been but little immigration into Illinois. Fear of Indian atrocities was one cause, but the greater and more far-reaching one was the inability of settlers to gain legal title to the land upon which they located. We have heretofore pointed out the difficulties which the old French settlers encountered when they tried under American law to have their titles ratified.

In 1781 and later on, some of the soldiers who served under George Rogers Clark took possession of certain lands as "squatters" and without any legal title made improvements upon them. These men, as well as the French occupants of lands, had been petitioning Congress for validation of the occupation and titles. In 1791 Congress enacted a law providing that all Americans that had occupied lands before 1783 should have their titles confirmed as to 400 acres each. Congress also provided a law confirming the French titles under certain conditions. Up to the year 1800 no other titles to land in Illinois could be obtained in tracts of less than 4,000 acres.

In 1804 the United States had opened up land offices in Kaskaskia and Shawneetown for the purpose of settling titles, and quite a considerable number of settlers, upon learning of the location of these offices, concluded that from them they could procure title to land if they settled in Illinois. Up to 1812, however, no land had been placed on the market for sale to settlers who had come into the state between 1783 and 1813, and these new settlers had merely "squatter" claims. In the hope of obtaining good title by settlement, many of these "squatters" had made valuable improvements, built houses and barns, dug wells, cleared lands and enclosed them with fences. All of these improvements would be lost to them unless preemption laws were passed giving them relief. William Henry Harrison, when a delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory, had recognized the necessity of enacting some law which would give the poor settlers an opportunity to preempt and buy small tracts of land at a moderate price. He succeeded in securing a law which enabled a settler to preempt and purchase a half-section of land at \$2 per acre.

Shadrach Bond, upon his election as delegate to Congress for Illinois Territory in 1812, exerted himself vigorously in securing a preemption law that would enable a poor settler to secure a quarter-section of land, and thus attract settlers to the territory. He was a "dirt farmer" himself and an earnest, honest, capable man who was afterwards elected the first governor of Illinois on its admission to statehood. In Congress, Bond vigorously and intelligently worked for the passage of a

pre-emption law and according to Governor Reynolds in his *History of Illinois* (p. 273): "By his exertions . . . the first act of Congress was passed in 1813, to grant the citizens the right of preemption to secure their improvements." Under the provisions of this law the settler might select a quarter-section of land, and if he made improvements on the same he had the first right to buy at government sale. If the settler did not exercise his option to buy, he still had a lien on the property for the value of his improvements if bought by another.

The passage of this law, the ending of the war with Great Britain, and the subsequent treaties of peace with the Indians in 1815 under which they conveyed their titles to the United States, opened wide the doors in Illinois for rapid settlement and growth for the first time in its chequered history. From now on the condition of Illinois ceased to be static and became dynamic. Its population in 1810 was 12,282; in 1820 it was 55,162. Up to 1815 the increase of its population had been stayed by Indian guerrilla warfare, the war with Great Britain, difficulty of travel over mountains, through trackless forests and over bridgeless rivers, and the failure of the law to secure to settlers good title to the land upon which they located.

By the end of 1814 all wars had ceased, the British had retired to Canada, the Indians had ceded their Illinois lands to the United States, the steamboat had arrived, railroads were being planned and the United States was selling its lands to settlers at the very low price of \$1.25 an acre. The dammed-up waters of immigration and civilization had sapped and undermined the walls of war, isolation and law that had surrounded Illinois, and the waves began to overflow the fertile prairies of all the section. Riding on these waves came not only men and women from the Southland, as heretofore, but from all over America and from foreign lands. In May, 1812, Congress had passed a law repealing the burdensome and unfair enactment which compelled a citizen to own fifty acres of land before he could vote; at a time, too, when it was almost impossible to get title to any land. The new law threw open the voting right to all "free white males of twenty-one years of age" who had paid a territorial poll tax. This law gave the newcomers into Illinois

from the North and East the same right to be heard at the polls as the old settlers on all points of public interest. The common people from the territory from this time on began to be heard from at all elections.

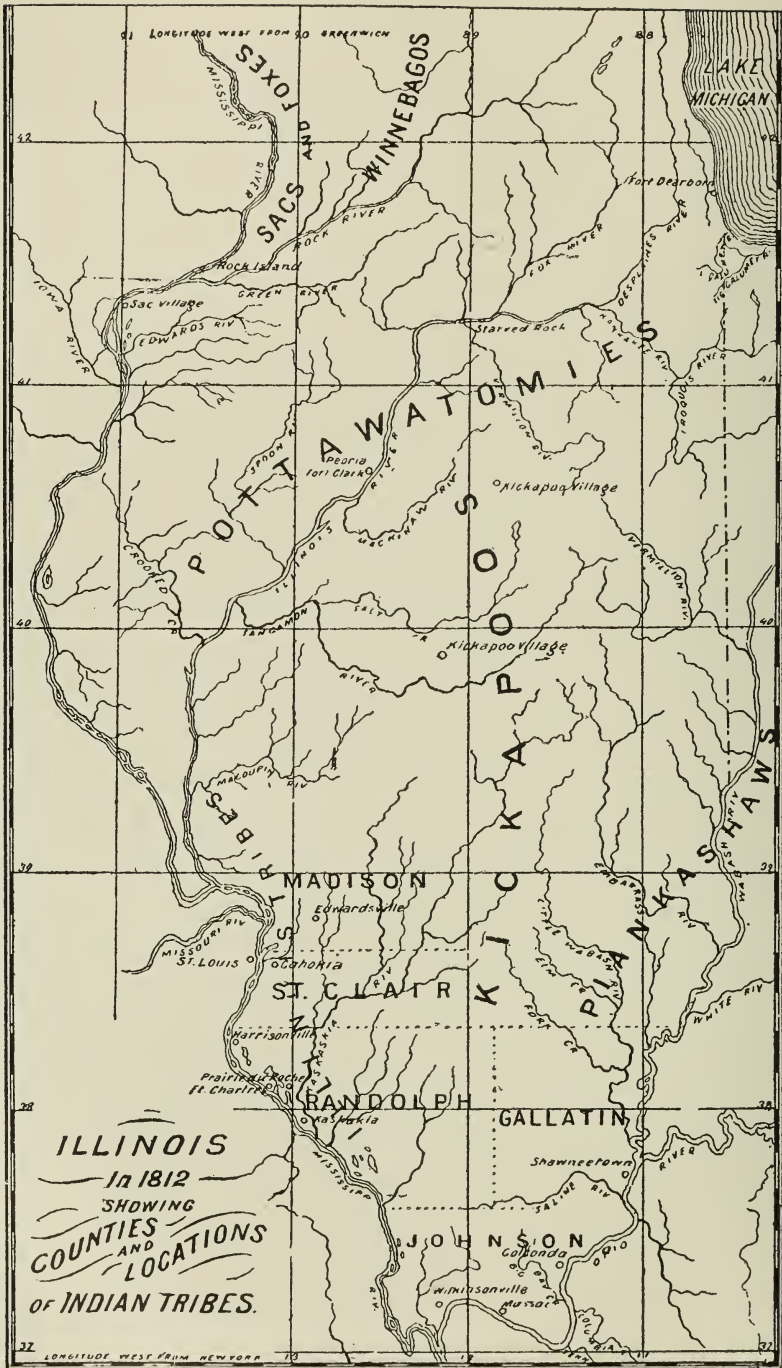
Among these new arrivals was Daniel Pope Cook, whom Commodore Vanderbilt would probably characterize as "one of those damned literary fellers." He first appeared in Kaskaskia in 1814 as a law student under the tutelage of Judge Nathaniel Pope, and was admitted to the bar in 1815 at the age of twenty-two years. Before meeting Judge Pope he was poor, friendless and in delicate health, but gifted with a brilliant mind and a facile pen. He early displayed his natural bent toward newspaperdom, took editorial charge of the *Kaskaskia Herald* and changed its name to the *Western Intelligencer*, and in 1816 editorials and articles signed "Aristides" appeared in the paper advocating the admission of Illinois to statehood. They were so vigorous and incisive that they attracted widespread attention to a topic which up to that time had not been seriously considered by the public. While he was so doing he was appointed by the President (probably through the recommendation of Congressional Delegate Nathaniel Pope) as messenger to carry confidential instructions to John Quincy Adams, then minister to the Court of St. James, London. Upon his return to Kaskaskia in 1817 he renewed in the *Intelligencer* his virile agitation for statehood, his most potent arguments in favor thereof being that under a State Constitution the following changes in government could be secured: First—The power of absolute veto, then existing in the territorial governor and strongly resented by the people, could be modified and restricted; second—that the law-making power of the state relating to internal affairs would be supreme; and third—that the judiciary of the state in all matters relating to the police power would be controlled and regulated by judges elected by the people. The territorial judges appointed in Washington had been very remiss and inattentive to their judicial duties, and serious crimes had gone unpunished because of their indifference and neglect.

At this time public sentiment had been controlled and guided by a very few, able and forceful men, some of whom were

affiliated with, and some opposed to Governor Edwards and his policies. Those who favored him were Nathaniel Pope, territorial delegate to Congress; Daniel Pope Cook, Thomas C. Browne, George Forquer and Pierre Menard, while among those of the opposition were Shadrach Bond, Jesse B. Thomas, Michael Jones, John McLean, Elias Kent Kane and William Kinney. So vigorous and convincing were the arguments that young Cook fulminated from time to time in his paper that finally all of these prominent men and the general public fell in with his crusade and clamored for statehood. Nathaniel Pope, the friend and patron of young Cook, as territorial delegate to Congress pressed with great ability in that body the now popular demand. One formidable obstacle in the way of statehood was the provision in the United States ordinance which required a population of 60,000 as a pre-requisite for admission. It was found, however, that when Ohio was admitted into the Union of states her population was only 45,028, notwithstanding the 60,000 requirement of the ordinance. Mr. Cook forcefully pointed to the admission of Ohio, contrary to the strict letter of the ordinance and argued that the admission of Illinois with less than the prescribed number of inhabitants "would not be inconsistent with the general interests of the confederacy." Another argument in favor of the creation of a new State of Illinois, which prevailed at the time and which probably was presented to Congress was the following: The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the territory. Nonetheless slavery actually existed therein and was tolerated and permitted by the territorial officials, some of whom owned slaves themselves. Slavery existed in the territory under both French and British rule, and the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain guaranteed to the inhabitants all their possessions under American rule. The conflict between the Ordinance of 1787 and the British-American treaty had never been adjudicated in the courts. Consequently many slaveholders refused to settle in Illinois lest their slaves might thereby become free; and many anti-slavery immigrants also refused to locate here lest they be compelled to witness slavery in all its horrors. This anomalous condition of affairs prevented immigration into the territory.

At the same time a bill was pending in Congress for the admission of Missouri to statehood and it was generally believed that it would be admitted as a slave state. The fear that the Missourians would anticipate the men of Illinois in securing admission of their state into the Union caused prompt action. The anti-slavery element feared that if Missouri was admitted as a slave state, that it would be used as a precedent for slavery in Illinois. On the other hand, the pro-slavery element feared the admission of Missouri to statehood before Illinois because, as they believed, it would attract immigration from the South and prevent settlers from coming into Illinois. It developed that both discordant elements, from different motives and activated by different fears, were united in favoring the admission of Illinois to statehood before the pro-slavery crowd in Missouri could secure statehood from Congress.

In anticipation of the approaching statehood, the Legislature, January 2, 1812, created the three new counties of Washington, Franklin and Union. Between 1812 and 1817 seven other counties had been created and named respectively Edwards, White, Monroe, Pope, Jackson, Bond and Crawford, thus making in all fifteen counties in the projected state. Nathaniel Pope, the territorial delegate, January 23, 1812, introduced in Congress the bill for the admission of the territory as a state into the Union. He was clever enough to have it referred to a committee of five, of which he was chairman. Two of the other members were from the northern states and the other two from the South. With at least one of the two latter he was on terms of personal friendship. As the bill was originally drawn it fixed the northern boundary of the proposed state at a line drawn east and west from a point drawn ten miles north of the most southerly part of Lake Michigan in an attempt to approach compliance with a provision of the Ordinance of 1787. Article V provided that there should be formed in the Northwest Territory, not less than three nor more than five states, with certain boundaries for the three states, which might be formed "south of an east and west line passing through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan." Delegate Pope amended the bill while it was pending before the committee so as to provide that the north line of



MAP OF ILLINOIS IN 1812

Showing counties and location of Indian tribes.

the proposed State of Illinois should be at north latitude 42° and 30' North. This latitude would place the north limit of the state where it now is and forty-one miles further north than the north boundary provided for in the original draft of the bill. Both of the southern members of the committee, Claiborne, of Tennessee and Johnson of Kentucky, were favorable to the proposed amendment because Illinois would be a neighboring state and they wanted it to be friendly and powerful. The northern members, Spencer of New York and Whitman of Massachusetts, were soon persuaded by Pope that it would be to the commercial and political advantage of the eastern states to give Illinois facilities for commerce with the East. He pointed out to them that the change would enable Illinois to establish a lake port either at what is now Chicago or at what is now South Chicago, or at both points, and that this would develop a large water commerce with New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, all of which states had lake frontage and locations suitable for the building of lake ports and harbors; and that the building of the Erie Canal from Buffalo through New York State to the Hudson River was then in contemplation, which would give continuous water communication between Illinois and New York City. He further contended that the joining of Illinois to these northern states by water routes would insure the perpetuity of the Union. If Illinois had the opportunity to develop extension of commercial relations with the eastern states over the Great Lakes as well as having opportunities of developing commerce with the southern states via the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, these commercial connections with both the north and eastern states as well as with the southern states, would inevitably make the future State of Illinois a bond of union between these different sections of the country, and that the future state could always be relied upon to oppose any move that in the future might be made to dis-sever the Union of the States. He further argued with his fellow-members of the committee and to Congress, when it met in committee of the whole, that every man who had passed over the narrow portage that separated the Chicago River and the Desplaines River near Chicago from Marquette and Joliet down to that day, had rec-

ognized and declared that the construction of a canal between Chicago and the Illinois River, thus opening up a waterway between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, was inevitable. He showed that every man in public life who had given even the most cursory examination of the project, had favored the building of such a canal. He then contended that its building was feasible only by having its termini both in the same state; that the building and operation of a canal with one terminus in Illinois and the other in another state would be absurd and impractical. As a final, clinching argument he suggested to the members of Congress elected from the northern and eastern states that if Illinois was denied the opportunity to establish waterway commerce with the North and East, that all of her future commerce would be down the Ohio and Mississippi, and that her commercial relations would naturally develop into friendship for the South and southern projects. These adroit and able arguments quickly proved convincing. The committee unanimously approved the amendment, as did both House and Senate shortly after the report of the committee.

The lack of the necessary population was still an obstacle to the passage of the bill. The petition of the Territorial Legislature claimed a population of 40,000, without presenting any census or proof thereof. As a matter of fact the territory had no such population when the petition was drafted. The members of the Territorial Legislature, when in response to public demand they drafted the petition, were indulging in the patriotic guess-work, which we so often note in our own day. Have we not, all of us, when on a visit to another city asked one of its residents what was its population? Have we not invariably been given a figure much larger than the last census and frequently much larger than the next census taken thereafter? The Territorial Legislature in this manner made a generous and patriotic guess and fixed the figure at 40,000.

The bill as originally drafted required the United States marshal to take a census and stated that the convention should not take action until he had reported a population of 40,000. The able and adroit delegate from Illinois Territory, Nathaniel Pope, secured an amendment allowing the Territorial Legislature

to take the census. The census taken in the spring of 1818 showed a population of 34,610. The Legislature had, however, provided for a supplemental census of those who might come to Illinois after the first census was taken, and when this supplemental action was accomplished, the Legislature considered same and reported a population later in the year of 40,258.

Even before this finding by the Legislature, the governor and the people of the territory proceeded on the assumption that the Enabling Act would be passed, and called for elections of delegates to a convention that would accept the provisions of the Enabling Act, and if advisable adopt a constitution for the newly created state. Too much credit cannot be given to the sagacity and ability shown by Nathaniel Pope in advocating and bringing about the congressional Enabling Act signed by the President of the United States, permitting the Illinois Territory to become a state. All of the amendments drafted and advocated by Pope were of great importance. One of these amendments provided for turning over to the state three-fifths of the fund of 5 per cent, which the original draft of the Enabling Bill provided should be used for improving roads, for educational purposes. As originally drafted, 5 per cent of the proceeds of the sale of public lands were required to be utilized for the building of roads. Pope's amendment required three-fifths of this fund to be applied for educational purposes.

As heretofore stated, the bill provided that a census should be taken by the United States marshal, which might have delayed the going into operation of the Enabling Bill for some years. Pope's amendment permitted the Territorial Legislature to take the census and supplemental censuses.

The most material and important amendment, however, was the amendment moving the northern line of the state forty-one miles north. Pope's foresight and sagacity enabled him to see the value of this amendment, but he surely could not have seen at that time (1818) the tremendous consequences that resulted from this amendment. Of course, he knew by the exercise of his foresight that it would be a wise thing for the State of Illinois to have a frontage on Lake Michigan which would enable it to establish one or more ports for commerce with other

states. He also clearly understood that it would be necessary to have both termini of the future canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Illinois River and Mississippi River within the limits of one state, but he never could have foreseen that the effect of this amendment would be in the year 1930 to place the State of Illinois in the third, if not the second position of power and importance in population, industry and commerce among all the states of the United States.

If the reader will draw a line from a point ten miles north of the lowest bend of Lake Michigan westerly from a point in the lowest bend of Lake Michigan due westerly to the Mississippi River, he will find that north of that line lie the counties of Jo Daviess, Stevenson, Winnebago, Boone, McHenry, Lake, Carroll, Ogle, DeKalb and Kane as they now exist on the map of Illinois, and most of Whiteside, Lee and Cook counties, and also part of Kendall and Will counties as at present constituted. In that territory there lies today considerably over fifty per cent of the population of Illinois, and includes within its limits the cities of Rockford, Galena, Freeport, Belvidere, Woodstock, Waukegan, Dixon, Oregon, Sycamore, Aurora, Wheaton, Evanston, Oak Park, South Chicago, Elgin, and above all, most of the great metropolitan City of Chicago. If this amendment had not been offered by Pope, approved by the committee and adopted by Congress and approved by the President, Illinois, instead of being today the third state in political, commercial, agricultural and manufacturing power in the United States, with an opportunity of soon becoming the second great state in the United States, would have been a state with a population of about three and one-half million, which would make it rank as about the ninth state in importance in the United States.

Somewhere I have read that the single fist of a human being prevented a break in a great levee and prevented a deluge. We have seen heretofore in this history how George Rogers Clark with 153 volunteer militiamen, without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood, practically decided the ownership of the great Mississippi Valley. In the same way, the forethought and sagacity and intelligence displayed by Nathaniel Pope in 1818, resulted in placing the present State of Illinois in the proud posi-

tion which it now occupies among the states of the United States, which it never would have occupied were it not for the sagacity and forethought shown by him.

Following the election which took place pursuant to the call heretofore mentioned, a convention met at Kaskaskia on August 3, 1818. By this time the additional census returns, with the patriotic assistance of Illinois census takers, was brought up to 40,258, and the convention without much hesitation or critical investigation accepted the count and proceeded to draw up a constitution for the new state. Within twenty-one days that convention adopted the constitution of 1818. Considering the time consumed by the convention and the inaptitude and lack of experience which most of the members of the convention had in the drafting of a constitution, it was a pretty fair attempt at framing an instrument suitable to the times.

Article 1 provided for the separation of the powers of the state into three distinct parts, executive, legislative and judicial.

Article 2 created as a legislative authority a General Assembly consisting of two houses, a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Article 3 placed the executive power in the hands of the governor.

Article 4 vested the judicial power in a Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the Legislature shall from time to time create.

Article 5 created a militia for the state and provided for its proper organization.

Article 6 declared, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been convicted," etc. In Section 3 of Article 6, however, there was a provision which validated contracts of service made under territorial laws and provided that children born of indentured parents shall be free, males at twenty-one and females at eighteen years of age.

Article 7 provided for the amending of the constitution.

Article 8 contained in twenty-two sections the Bill of Rights.

The constitution enabled every white male inhabitant twenty-one years of age, resident in the state for six months preceding

the election, to vote at such election. It also authorized the Legislature to have control of the appointment of all judges. The constitution also provided that every sixteenth section of each township of Federal lands was to be given over for the use of schools, and that one entire township in the state should be set aside for a seminary; that all of the United States lands should be exempt from taxation for six years after the sale thereof, and that military bounty lands were to be exempt from taxation for three years if held by the patentees or their heirs.

The section of the constitution relative to slavery and prohibiting it in the state, as amended and finally passed, was a compromise between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery members of the convention. In effect, it practically admitted that the former indentured laws of the territory practically amounted to slavery, but provided that the children of indentured persons were to become free. Under that provision, no indentures made outside of the state could be enforced within the state, but the constitution failed to bind the state not to make a revision of the constitution which would admit slavery. Notwithstanding that the constitution failed to have any provision in strict accordance with the Ordinance of 1787 relative to slavery, it was accepted and approved by Congress, and the President signed the same on December 3, 1818, and the State of Illinois came into existence as one of the states of the Union.

The constitution of 1818 differs from the constitution adopted in 1870 in several important particulars. Under the constitution of 1818, a governor or judges might be impeached by the Legislature if the lower house by a majority of those present voted for the impeachment and if two-thirds of those present in the Senate voted for conviction. Under the present constitution, it requires a majority for conviction of all those elected, and a two-thirds vote of the Senate to secure conviction.

Under the constitution of 1818, the governor was ineligible for reelection within eight years. Under the present constitution he is eligible for reelection *ad infinitum*.

Under the constitution of 1818, the governor and the Supreme judges were required to revise all proposed laws before their adoption, and if they disapproved of same, the laws could

not go into effect until they were again voted for by the Legislature and received the majority in both houses. Under the constitution of 1870, there is no such provision.

Under the provisions of 1818, the governor appointed the secretary of state. Under the constitution of 1870, the secretary of state is elected. In my humble opinion, the framers of the constitution of 1818 in this particular acted more wisely than did the framers of the constitution of 1870.

Under the constitution of 1818, judges of the Supreme Court and other courts were elected by the joint act of both houses of the Legislature and held their offices during good behavior. Under the constitution of 1870, they are elected by the people and hold their offices for definite fixed terms.

Before closing our consideration of the constitution, it might be well to ascertain who were the framers of this important document. In all there were thirty-three delegates elected to this convention. The counties of St. Clair, Madison and Gallatin elected three and the others two delegates each, making in all thirty-three. The leading and most important members of the convention were: Judge Jesse B. Thomas, Elias K. Kane, Joseph Kitchell, George Fisher, Conrad Will, James Lemen, Jr., Samuel O'Melveny, Benjamin Stephenson, Michael Jones, John Messenger, and Enoch Moore. There were six lawyers or judges in the convention: Jesse B. Thomas, Elias K. Kane, James Hall, Adolphus F. Hubbard, Joseph Kitchell. Five public officials: Benjamin Stephenson, Michael Jones, Willis Hargrave, William McHenry, Enoch Moore. Three doctors: Caldwell Cairns, George Fisher, Conrad Will. Four manufacturers: Jesse B. Thomas, Conrad Will, Thomas Kirkpatrick, Leonard White. One minister: James Lemen, Jr. One merchant: Abraham Prickett. The rest were all farmers, etc.

Elections for public offices were held at the same time as the election for the delegates to the constitutional convention, at which election Shadrach Bond was elected governor, Pierre Menard lieutenant governor, and John McLean a representative in Congress of the State of Illinois. With these gentlemen as its first public officials and with the constitution of 1818 adopted, the State of Illinois started upon its career as one of the states of the United States of America.

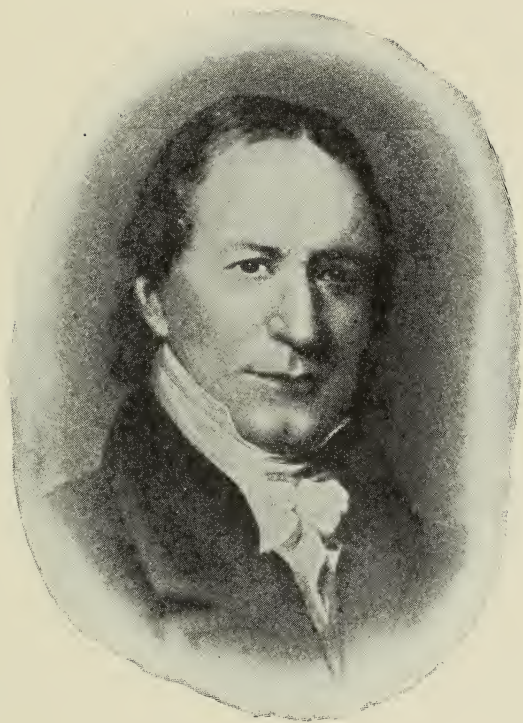
CHAPTER XXIV

A PICTURE OF THE INFANT STATE IN 1818

To enable the student of Illinois history even faintly to understand the course of events, the difficulties of its early inhabitants, the struggles of its pioneers, the rapid changes in its policies and government and its marvelous and swift development in population, power and political importance among the states, it is necessary that we picture to the student, insofar as we are able, the actual condition of the young state in 1818.

At that time, socially, politically and commercially, it was a weak infant. The first settlers, as we have heretofore seen, were the French *coureurs de bois* and traders in furs. The men of financial substance who were behind the fur trade and sustaining it financially dwelt in Canada or New York. Their representatives in Illinois were merely salaried men, or men working on commission, very few of whom had acquired a competence. With the exception of Colonel Vigo, a Spaniard; Pierre Menard, Cerra and a few others, shrewd and intelligent and intellectually-gifted Frenchmen, the inhabitants of Illinois before the advent of George Rogers Clark were poor but honest men who exerted little influence in the framing of laws and developing the agricultural richness of the state. The native American or English-speaking settlers that followed the French came almost exclusively from Kentucky, Tennessee and the southern states. Illinois was easily accessible to the incomers from the South who came up the Mississippi and down the Ohio and its tributaries. Water transportation was the easier and less laborious method of travel of that day.

The Alleghany and Appalachian mountains presented to the man of the eastern and northern states almost insurmountable obstacles to travel. Railroads were non-existent and automobiles undreamed of. Steamboats were just beginning to appear



Shadrach Bond

FIRST GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS
(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

upon the western rivers. Shipping on the Great Lakes was still in the hands of the fur traders, and so insignificant in amount even up to the year 1830 as to be practically unmentioned in the contemporary history of that day. With the exception of a few merchants from Philadelphia and a few agents for eastern houses who were merely sojourners, the English-speaking settlers were all from the South. A few of these were men of education and ability, almost all of whom were Federal officials or men with political ambitions who aspired to become officials in the new territory. Some of them brought slaves and other personal property into the territory, but men of financial substance in the new state in 1818 were few and far between. Of the 35,000 people within the state upon its admission to statehood, there were probably not over thirty-five who could draw a check for \$10,000 that would be honored by any bank in the United States. The great mass of the people in Illinois in 1818 were poor, vigorous, self-reliant, courageous men, women and children, who had braved the wilderness in the hope of sustaining life with the rifle, the hoe, and the axe, until they could wring from the soil and the forest a pre-empted or "squatter" farm for themselves and their children.

They dressed in homespun or deerskins and were nourished mainly on the meat of wild birds and wild animals and the fish in the streams. They supplemented this food with a little corn, roasted or roughly ground into meal, and vegetables grown around their log cabins. Capital was exceedingly scarce in Illinois in that day and indebtedness was almost universal. Luxuries were almost unknown and the necessities of life hardly earned. There were no reformatories or penitentiaries and practically no jails; consequently no imprisonment for crime. Murders and arsons occasioning loss of life were punishable with hanging. All other crimes were punishable with the lash, pillory or the stocks. Brutal crimes less than the taking of life were punished with as high as 500 stripes on the bare back, or branding with a hot iron. There were no public schools, and the few private schools were illy equipped and the teachers as a rule capable of imparting to their scholars but the simplest fundamentals of education. As to society, polish and refinement were

unknown except in the homes of public officials and a few well-to-do merchants. As a rule the French habitants were poor, virtuous and happy.

These settlements in Illinois being so weak, and so far removed from any civilized community, and amidst savage nations of Indians, that the inhabitants were forced to rely on each other for self preservation. This made them kind and friendly to each other.

These virtues were cherished and cultivated for ages, and transmitted through many generations; so that kindness and generosity became a fixed character with the Creole French.

They were ambitious for neither knowledge nor wealth, and therefore possessed not much of either. That sleepless, ferocious ambition to acquire wealth and power which seizes on so many people at this day, never was known amongst the early settlers of Illinois. The French of these twenty-two years had exactly, almost to a mathematical certainty, a competency of "worldly gear." There is a happy medium between the extremes of poverty and wealth, if mankind could settle on it, that would render them the most happy. These people had, at that day, in my opinion, found the "philosophers' stone" of wealth and happiness. They lived in that fortunate medium, which forced itself on them than they on it.¹

The people being governed by the precepts of the gospel enforced by the power and influence of the church formed a pious and religious community, which was the basis of the happiness of the Illinois people in the primitive times.

This was the golden age of Illinois, and at no subsequent period will the people enjoy the same happiness. Wealth and greatness do not necessarily make a community happy. Christian virtues must govern the heart before a people can be prosperous or happy.²

In the ball room much order and decorum are observed. Two aged discreet persons are chosen, who are called Provosts; one to select the ladies for the dance, and the other for the gentlemen, so that each one dances in proper turn. It is in this manner that these innocent and merry people spend much of their nights in the winter. The old people

¹ Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, page 37.

² Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, page 38.

regulate all; the time to retire and the time to meet again. By this regulation, much of the excesses of dancing parties are avoided. The young people are not so capable to judge in these matters as the old.

The French, in the early settlement of the country, turned their attention to the Indian trade, and to hunting, in a great measure, for their support. Game was then plenty. Buffalo and other wild animals were found in the prairies between Kaskaskia and Vincennes, that served to supply the inhabitants with food. The Indians called the Kaskaskia "Raccoon River," for the number of those animals living on it. A great many of the inhabitants were expert voyagers and hunters. These hunters and voyagers were a hardy and energetic race of men. No hardships or perils terrified them; and this laborious and difficult service was performed with pleasure, and frequently with songs. Often, these innocent and kind hearted men performed this labor with scanty allowance of food, and at times without anything, for day together, to eat.

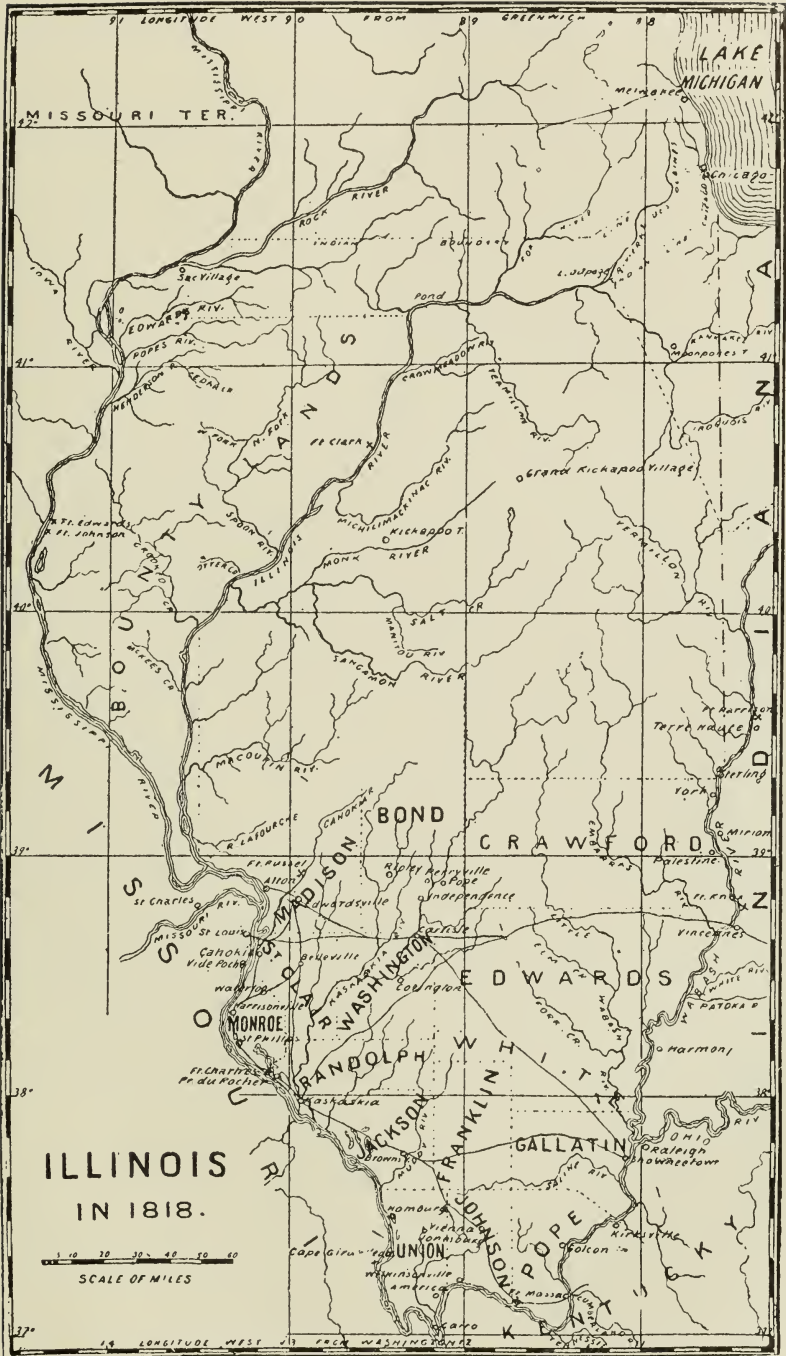
These people solved the problem: that an honest and virtuous people need no government. Nothing like a regular court of law ever existed in the country prior to the English occupation of Illinois, in the year 1763.³

This course of life of the Creole French, has secured them from any infractions almost entirely of the penal laws of the country. Very few, or none of the Creoles were ever indicted for the crimes the law books style *malum in se*. Not one, to my knowledge, was ever in the penitentiary for a crime. I believe, the records of the courts in Illinois do not exhibit an indictment against a Creole Frenchman, for any crime higher than keeping his grocery open on a prohibited day of the week.⁴

Commercial business was largely confined to barter and exchange of commodities. The population of the state at that time was confined to the southern twenty-four counties lying along the banks of the Ohio, Wabash and Mississippi rivers. The northern and central three-quarters of the state were practically uninhabited by white men. The Kickapoo Indians still maintained their wigwams in the middle of the state and still used that territory as their hunting-grounds. The northwestern

³ From page 53, Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*.

⁴ From page 101, Reynolds' *Pioneer History of Illinois*.



ILLINOIS IN 1818 AT THE TIME OF ADMISSION TO STATEHOOD

portion of the state was still occupied by the Sauk and Foxes under military supervision by American soldiers, at Fort Armstrong, near what is now Rock Island on the Mississippi River. To the east of these two tribes lay the villages of the Winnebagoes and Pottawatomies. At Fort Edwards on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Illinois, at Fort Clark, the present site of Peoria, and at Fort Dearborn, in what is now Chicago, the Federal Government maintained garrisons of United States Regulars. Outside of these troops and a few white hangers-on, there were practically no white men in Northern or Central Illinois except the French traders and the agents of the American Fur Company who were still trading with the Indians.

Fear of the Indians who were still resentful over the loss of their lands, and the delay of the United States Government in passing laws and establishing regulations under which settlers could secure title to these lands, delayed the settlement of the northern and central portions of the state for a few years after the admission of the state into the Union.

Before patent titles could be given to settlers or purchasers, it was necessary to survey the land so as to give a definite description of same in the patents. The method of surveying adopted by the Government was as follows: The face of the county was surveyed due east and west, and due north and south, into rectangular townships of six miles square. In each township there were set off thirty-six sections, each containing 640 acres of land and each section could be divided into four quarter-sections of 160 acres each. On the assumption that these Government lands should be a means of paying the national debt, they were first disposed of in large tracts of millions of acres to large investment interests and corporations who claimed that they were about to colonize same. In 1815, however, the Government began to place lands on sale in small lots at auction at \$2 per acre, payable in four annual installments. Many purchasers on these terms defaulted on making their annual payments, having bought only for speculation without intending to settle on the lands or improve the same. The Government therefore, in 1820, abandoned the program of selling on credit and placed the unsold land on the market for \$1.25 per acre

cash. The immediate but temporary effect of this change was to slow up purchases. The Government, before offering the lands at \$1.25 cash, had parted with a large amount of land to the French occupants, on military warrants and to speculators, who had paid only 50 cents per acre cash. These latter lands were on the market for sale in competition with the unsold Government lands and could be purchased on better terms than those fixed by the Government.

This situation for a time retarded Government sales. In 1822 they had sunk to about 27,000 acres. In 1826 they increased to about 80,000. In 1827 they fell to 50,000. Sales of 100,000 acres per annum were not made by the Government until 1829. The sales made in the land offices at Kaskaskia, Vandalia and Shawneetown where lands in Southern Illinois were offered for sale, were very small. These three land offices combined were only able to sell in 1821 14,000 acres; in 1822, about 6,000 acres; in 1823 about 2,600; in 1824, about 4,000; in 1825, about 3,000; in 1826, about 5,500; in 1827, about 7,400, and in 1828 about 11,500 acres. Many old settlers in Southern Illinois had only "squatter" rights to the lands they occupied and public opinion against those who attempted to buy over their heads was overwhelming, and made itself manifest in Congress, where legislation was finally passed compelling all purchasers at public sales to fully recompense the "squatter" for all his labor and improvements before they could obtain good title.

Between 1820 and 1831 inclusive, thirty-eight new counties were created in the State of Illinois, most of which were laid out on both sides of the Illinois River and its tributaries, and adjoining or near to said river, and as far north as the present City of Peoria, which plainly indicates that most of the land purchases and settlements made in the '20s of the nineteenth century were in Central Illinois. In the third and fourth decades of the same century most of the new counties were created in the northern and eastern portions of the state, indicating just as plainly that the settlements made in those decades were in those sections. It was in the early '20s of the nineteenth century, soon after the land began to be offered to settlers at

\$1.25 per acre, that the real expansion in population began in Illinois. In 1820 the population of the state was about 55,000, and land purchases were at low ebb in Southern Illinois. In the early '20s, however, purchases from the Government were increasing in Central Illinois. By 1830 the population had increased to 157,000 and by 1840 it leaped up to 476,000 in Central and Northern Illinois.

George W. Smith, in his valuable history of Illinois, declares that "in the summer of 1825 immigration revived considerably. A great tide set in towards the center of the state. Through Vandalia alone 250 wagons were counted in three weeks' time, all going northward. Destined for Sangamon County alone, eighty wagons and 400 people were counted in two weeks' time. Sangamon County was at that time without doubt the most populous county in the state." What was the racial origin or nationality?

Up to 1818 we have seen most of the immigrants into Illinois were from the South, but of different racial stocks. Governor Reynolds says that the first colony of foreign immigrants from the South were Irish. They arrived from Kentucky under the leadership of Samuel O'Melveny in 1805. They settled on the Ohio River in Illinois, about fifteen miles from Golconda, in Pope County, and sent O'Melveny as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention from Pope County in 1818. They grew rapidly in numbers, he says, and in 1830 there were seventy-five families in the settlement. Another group of Irish settlers located at Plum Creek, in Randolph County, near Kaskaskia, before 1810. A much larger settlement of English, immigrants was made in Edwards County under the leadership of Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, two intelligent and earnest Englishmen. In all, there were probably 300 families in this settlement. Another group of English colonists settled in Monroe County in 1817 under the leadership of Thomas Winstanley, locating and building a Catholic Church at Prairie du Long Creek. Quite a number of German colonists located in St. Clair County between St. Louis and Belleville about 1815 and they were followed by others who settled in the southeast portion of the county near the Kaskaskia River and on Clear Creek near

Jonesborough. The prominent leaders of these German colonists were Germain and Markee. Ferdinand Emert, a German leader, brought a colony of Germans from Hanover to the neighborhood of Vandalia about the time that the capital was moved to that place from Kaskaskia. According to Historian George W. Smith, native Americans in 1830 outnumbered all foreign-born settlers in Illinois about seven to one. The German-born were the most numerous. The other foreign-born settlers ranked according to their numbers as follows: English, Irish, Scotch, French, Swiss, Welsh and Spanish.

The overwhelming majority of the 35,000 people in the state when it was admitted to the Union came from the southern states and were impregnated with southern ideas and habits. They were either laborers, mechanics or small farmers in the states from which they emigrated, or landless men with little or no capital. Upon their arrival in Illinois they resorted to hunting up locations for "squatter" rights, building rude cabins, clearing the lumber lands, and fighting off hunger with their rifles and fishing tackle. Tillage and hog and cattle raising soon followed. Until 1830 farming and cattle raising were practically the sole occupations of the men of Illinois.

The enormous mining and manufacturing industries which for many decades past have made Illinois one of the richest and most productive states in America were then not only non-existent but undreamed of. While outcroppings of coal had been discovered before 1830, its use as a fuel was unappreciated and unknown. A few sawmills were in existence and lumbering was practiced, but only for local and home consumption. There was no demand for lumber outside of the local settlements, and commerce in either coal or lumber was non-existent. The lumber from their rude sawmills was used for building purposes, and for making wagons, farming implements and furniture for local use. These sawmills were mostly operated by horse-power until the use of steam-power commenced about 1830, when steam sawmills were erected and utilized.

There were no railroads nor even decent wagon roads at this time, and even if there had been a demand from outside of the state for Illinois lumber or coal, that demand could not have

been answered by Illinois. Coal had been used in small quantities about 1825 by settlers on the prairies where they had no timber, but its use was exceedingly rare because of the difficulty of transportation. In 1835 the Legislature gave a charter to the Mount Carbon Coal Company, but it could not have been a prosperous concern for its property was offered for sale in 1836.

The only other manufacturing industries carried on in the new state were brick-making, milling and salt-making, and these were only sufficient to supply local demands. Where water fall of sufficient force existed, water-power wheels were used both for sawing lumber and grinding grain, but only for the purpose of supplying local demands, and not for general commercial purposes. In 1817 Judge Jesse B. Thomas established a carding machine at Cahokia, but it is undoubtedly the fact that manufacturing in Illinois when it became a state was of the most rudimentary and insignificant character.

In speaking of the American people of that day, Governor Reynolds says: "Our name, blood and lineage are American and not Anglo-Saxon. It is true that most of the Americans are descendants of Europeans, but the preponderance of blood is not of the Anglo-Saxon race. There are more of the descendants of the Irish and Germans in the United States than of English. In fact the American race at present is so compounded and improved that we are a stock of our own." (P. 122, Reynolds' History.)

Education and Religion.

Up to the date of its admission to statehood, little had been done for education in the frontier state. There were no public schools then nor for many years afterward. The little education that was imparted was by private teachers for pay. This is not to be wondered at. The prime necessity of the frontiersman was the preservation of his life and the lives of his dependents. To preserve life he needed shelter, food and clothing. To secure these he was compelled to give his whole time and energy. He had to build his cabin and shelter for his live stock, to watch the Indians, to track the wild game, and to make his traps and fish nets in order by hook or crook to keep hunger

from his door. He had no time for education or for following the outward forms of religion. He built no schools or churches, nor had he the means to pay others for so doing.

The French *habitants* in Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and other French settlements still had and maintained the churches that they had erected during the French regime and divine service was well attended in these up to and long after Illinois became a state. Private instruction, both religious and lay, was doubtless given in these churches and in their Sunday schools in French by the French missionaries, some of whom remained during the American administration. A French clergyman named Des Moulin is mentioned by historian Pease in the second volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois* as conducting a French and Latin school at Kaskaskia. A New England schoolma'am operated a private school at Lulu. These private schools were generally of the grade of grammar schools. Girl schools were also in evidence where needle-work, painting and other specialties were taught. It was not until 1825, or seven years after Illinois became a state, that the Legislature took action in reference to the establishment of free public schools. At this stage of public affairs, 1825, the hardy pioneers of the state had been somewhat relieved from the onerous burdens of their early struggles to maintain their lives and protect their growing properties and could give some attention to the neglected education of their young, and from this time forward the desire of the people for both primary and advanced education in both public and private schools became widespread and emphatic. But schools and churches were still woefully lacking for the common people till about 1830.

At Galena, in 1829, Kent's school claimed that it taught Latin and Greek. At Alton an endowed school offered free education to all children residing within the corporation. In 1827 the Rev. John Mason Peck opened a theological seminary primarily for the education of ministers, but offering instruction to all in literature and the sciences. A desire for the spread of both religion and education soon became apparent.

The first waves of pioneer settlers in the state naturally by outward action showed but little evidence of the inner feel-

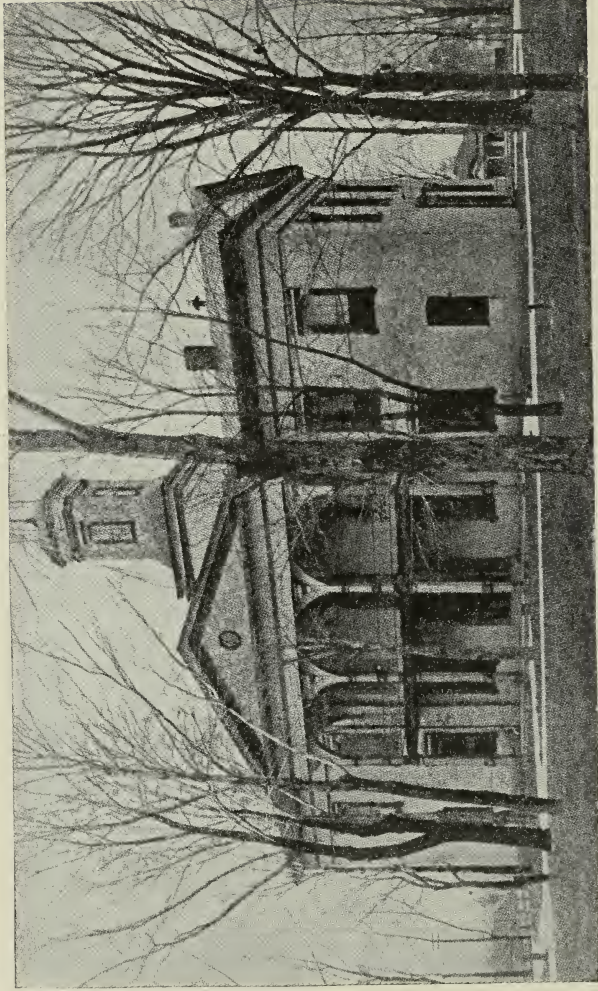
ings of these hardy men towards religious ceremonies. The clergymen and Sunday school teachers of their old homes had not accompanied them into the wilderness. Except among the French *habitants* there were no preachers, teachers or houses of worship in the new land. Instead of hunting for churches which were non-existent for non-Catholics, they acquired the habit of hunting for game, which was abundant. This non-attendance at religious meetings was not proof that they were all irreligious. As soon as clergymen of their own respective religious cults began to arrive and as soon as these reverend men secured churches or even temporary houses of worship, thousands of them felt and responded to the call to return to the teachings of their youth and filled the churches with zealous believers in the Christian faith. Most of these men from the Southland had been raised in the faith of the Methodist, Baptist or Presbyterian churches, and the ministers of these churches soon began campaigns for the revival of religious order among the pioneers around them in Illinois. Among the Methodist clergy, Peter Cartwright, Jesse Walker and James Axley were the most earnest, eloquent and successful. In 1824 the Methodist Church in Illinois had a presiding elder, nine circuits and eleven preachers, and a membership of 3,705 whites and twenty-seven colored.

The sale and consumption of hard liquor in all frontier settlements were almost universal and Illinois was no exception to the general rule. No gathering of men for social, political or commercial purposes was regarded as a success unless whiskey, rum or brandy was furnished in liberal quantities to round out and enliven the proceedings. Governmental officials charged with the duties of securing treaties with the Indians had no hesitation about smoothing out the negotiations with a liberal supply of fire-water. Home- and barn-raising, quilting parties, horse-racing and political gatherings were enlivened in the same manner. The Methodist ministers were among the first to decry and inveigh against this almost universal custom. If they did not succeed in eradicating the habit, they at least limited its universality. Many Baptist clergymen and exhorters appeared in Southern Illinois during the first decade of the

state's history. That denomination claimed in 1825 to have within the limits of the state fifty-eight preachers and exhorters. The Christian cults known as the Emancipating Brethren and the Christian Body had each thirteen preachers. The ablest and most prominent of the Baptist preachers was John Mason Peck. In 1817 he represented the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions at St. Louis. In 1822 the Massachusetts Missionary Society appointed him a missionary and he crossed the river from Missouri into Illinois. His indefatigable zeal enabled him to establish and maintain Bible societies, Sunday schools and missionary branches and bring many into the Baptist fold. His success, however, created some jealousy among the pioneer preachers of his own faith who were not so gifted or so well educated as himself, but this in no way weakened his zeal or retarded his success. After the Methodists and Baptists, the Presbyterians were next in importance in numbers in the '20s. In 1825 the Presbyterian preachers numbered sixteen. There were also a few Universalists in the state, and the Dunkards, Covenanters and Independents had each one preacher among them. Very few Catholics had come in from the South excepting the few Irish families who arrived with O'Melveny. They erected a Catholic Church in their settlement and secured the occasional services of a Catholic priest. The French steadfastly maintained Catholic services in all their settlements and as the northern and central portions of their state began to be populated from the East and from abroad, they began materially to increase in numbers and commenced to erect churches and secure the services of Catholic priests. Governor Reynolds, in his history, locates three English-speaking Catholic churches in Illinois before the year 1830.

Banks and Currency.

When Illinois became a state there were only two banks in existence within its territory, one the Bank of Illinois located at Shawneetown, and one the Bank of Edwardsville located in the city of that name. The officers of the former bank were all substantial residents of Shawneetown and conducted its business in an efficient manner and sustained its credit while doing



STATE CAPITOL AT VANDALIA

Vandalia was seat of government from 1820 to 1837. Above building was erected in 1836.

business. This bank, however, ceased doing business a short time after the state was admitted into the Union. The other bank, at Edwardsville, although sponsored by Governor Ninian Edwards, was backed by men of doubtful financial responsibility. Most of its \$300,000 stock was held by Kentuckians and only one-tenth of its stock was paid into its treasury. In 1821 it failed disastrously while largely in debt to the United States for deposits made to the credit of the Federal treasury.

The currency in use in the fledgling state for all commercial transactions was of a most grotesque and ridiculous character. The notes of the Edwardsville Bank were regarded with well-founded suspicion, and the notes of the Bank of Illinois were limited in number and hard to find. All kinds of bank notes from all kinds of banks were peddled about, at all kinds of discounts. Some were issued by solvent banks, some by specie-paying banks, some by banks that had already failed, some by banks that were about to fail, some were counterfeits and some were purported to be issued by banks that never existed. In this situation the doors were thrown open for swindling and deception.

In payment for the lands sold to settlers, the United States would accept the notes only of solvent eastern banks or of the United States Bank, so that all the bank notes of value were drained into the United States Treasury. Nearly all the grain, Mississippi to New Orleans and sold in a glutted market where there was no facility for exchanging credits with the eastern stock, and other products of the farms, were shipped down the states. Clothes, shoes and house furnishings, all of which were manufactured in the East, and all of which were needed by the people in Illinois, could not be purchased because of the want of a reliable currency and the almost universal indebtedness of the Illinois settlers.

Such was the gloomy condition of financial affairs when the young State of Illinois started on a financial career which has recently landed her as the second richest state in the United States. In June, 1929, the State of Illinois paid to the Federal Government the second largest income tax paid by the states of the Union.

In the last few pages we have attempted to envisage social, commercial, manufacturing and financial conditions of the young state and its inhabitants at its birth. If strict truth be told, we cannot boast that it was a lusty, vigorous infant. Its population was in fact less than that required by the Federal ordinances relating to the Northwest Territory. Its constitution was rather restrictive of popular power and somewhat hazy and cryptic with relation to human servitude. The great body of the people, while brave, energetic and earnestly striving for the opportunity to acquire land and build up homes, were as a rule wretchedly poor and unused to the methods of self-government. Education, except among a few who had acquired advanced education in other states and countries, was often of the most rudimentary character. Religion was at low ebb except among the old French *habitants*.

And yet no young state was ever born in the United States at a time and under circumstances so propitious for the rapid growth and extraordinary development into a great commonwealth, as we will be able to demonstrate in the next chapter. Its location in the United States, with its waterway connections both toward the North and East, as well as to the South and West, made it the heart of the nation and the nerve-center of the United States of America, soon to become the richest and most powerful republic in the whole world.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIGHT FOR SLAVERY

To the student of history in the twentieth century, it seems incredible that at any time in the history of Illinois a considerable number of its citizens were in favor of establishing slavery of human beings as a part of the policy and law of the state; and yet such is the historical fact.

It must be remembered that human slavery had been installed within the borders of what is now Illinois by the early French colonizers in the eighteenth century and that it had never been legally abolished either under French, British or American administrations. Indeed, under American territorial administration, slaves had been brought into Illinois by some of the most prominent officials of the territory and state, and remained as slaves in the territory until and after the admission of the state into the Union. It also must be remembered that the great majority of the residents of the state in 1818 had come from the slave-holding states south of the Ohio River. They had been accustomed to and were satisfied with the conditions of the "institution," as it was called in the southern states. It gave them no shock to find slaves in Illinois. There was no concerted move to abolish slavery in Illinois before its admission as a state. It was favored and encouraged by many and quietly tolerated by others. It had not, during territorial days, become a vital question or a subject for controversy.

When its people applied for admission as a state they were confronted with the United States Ordinance of 1787, creating the Northwest Territory, which read as follows:

The following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in said territory and forever remain unalterable.

Article 6: There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The pro-slavery members of the constitutional convention evidently were in control of the same and were as anxious for creation of the state as those who were opposed to slavery. All members favored statehood. Unless some declaration against slavery were incorporated into the constitution, they knew the proposed constitution would be rejected by Congress and statehood refused. In this extremity the pro-slavery people skillfully and adroitly drafted a provision against slavery which satisfied the anti-slavery element in the convention and by its weasel words finally secured the approval of Congress, while its anti-slavery members were asleep or mystified by its language.

These were the words which were so cleverly inserted concerning slavery in the first Constitution of Illinois: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude *shall hereafter be introduced* into this state otherwise than for the punishment of crimes," etc. Slavery had already been introduced into the state. Slaves and indentured servants, who were in almost as abject a condition of service as slaves, were numerous in Illinois at the time this constitution was adopted and noting the word "hereafter" in the constitution there was a rush to have indentured articles approved before the constitution went into effect.

In considering the peculiar phraseology of the constitutional provisions of Illinois in 1818, let us compare it with the constitutional provisions of the states of Ohio and Indiana, both of which states were carved out of the same Northwest Territory as was Illinois. All of these three states when admitted to statehood were subject to the terms and conditions of the Ordinance of 1787 which created the Northwest Territory. When the State of Ohio adopted its constitution for admission to the Union it prohibited slavery, *but it did not pledge the state or its people not to amend the constitution in the future*, and its representative in Congress, Mr. Harrison, claimed afterwards that the state had a right to amend its constitution on the subject

The People

of the Illinois Territory, having the right of admission into the general government as a member of the union, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of Congress of 1787, and the Law of Congress "Approved April 18th, 1818" entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states and for other purposes" in order to establish justice, promote the welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, Do by their representatives in convention Ordain & Establish the following

Constitution,

or Form of Government, and do mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free and independent state by the name of the

State of Illinois.

And they do hereby ratify the boundaries assigned to such state by the act of Congress aforesaid, which are as follows, to wit: _____

Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river; thence up the same and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty two degrees and thirty minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio

FACSIMILE OF CONSTITUTION

(From Illinois Blue Book.)

of slavery at any time it saw fit to do so. The State of Indiana, when it was admitted to the Union, adopted a constitutional provision against slavery and *bound its people for all time not to amend* its constitution so as to legalize or permit slavery within its borders. The State of Illinois, it will be noted in the provisions of its constitution, neither abolishes slavery at once nor contains any pledge not to amend its constitution on that subject at any time thereafter. Its failure to adopt the provisions of either of the Ohio or Indiana constitutions on the subject of slavery is specially significant in view of the fact that both of these constitutions had been adopted by these states before that of Illinois, and the members of the Illinois Constitutional Convention must have had the constitutions of these other states before them when they framed the Constitution of Illinois. The inference is conclusive that the Constitution of Illinois was drafted by pro-slavery penmen in the convention deliberately, so as to preserve the rights of existing slave-holders and those having indentured servants, and to permit the reopening of the issue of slavery after the admission of the state into the Union by an amendment to the Constitution of 1818, or by a new constitution thereafter to be adopted. To have framed a constitution favoring slavery, or one making no declaration on the subject, would have invited a denial by Congress of the application for statehood. Therefore, some declaration against slavery was necessary, and a cleverly-worded declaration against slavery, but reserving a method of reopening the question, was devised and carried in the convention, and secured both statehood and the opportunity of further discussion and amendment. That opportunity soon arose and was promptly seized by the pro-slavery element in the state.

Governor Shadrach Bond was elected in 1818; his term of office expired in 1822. As under the constitution he was ineligible for reelection at that time. Edward Coles announced his candidacy for governor in October, 1821. He was a cultured, college-bred gentleman, the son of a colonel in the Revolutionary war. His family was on terms of intimacy with Jefferson, Patrick Henry, James Madison and other prominent men in Virginia. He became by heritage the owner of a considerable estate

The following List is for Johnson County
 contains the families agreeable to each Column
 of price white Male 2 1/2 of white 3 feet of Color 4 1/2
 Page first 1

Names of Heads of Families

Names of Heads of Families	white Male under 21 years	white Males over 21 years	Color	Slaves	Total
Irvin Morris	1	0	0	0	1
Jane Morris	0	2	0	1	3
James Finney	1	0	0	1	2
Andrew Coghren	1	8	0	0	9
James Bain	1	7	0	0	8
Samuel S. Simpson	1	3	0	0	4
Adam Starvick	1	3	0	0	4
James Price	1	5	0	0	6
Jacob Starvick	2	5	0	0	7
Barbary Price	0	7	0	0	7
Jesse Kennedy	1	3	0	0	4
David Shearer	1	7	0	0	8
John Gressham	1	11	0	0	12
Simon Price	1	3	0	0	4
Jonathan Price	1	1	0	0	2
Harvey Johnson	1	7	0	0	8
Matthew Johnson	1	7	0	0	8
Joel Johnson	1	5	0	0	6
Richard Price	1	7	0	0	8
Total of 1 st page	12	95	0	2	109

FIRST STATE CENSUS
 (From Illinois Blue Book.)

and a score or more of slaves. He acted as private secretary to President Madison from 1809 until 1815. In 1814 he addressed a letter to ex-President Jefferson, asking the latter to exercise his power as a statesman to bring about the emancipation of the slaves of the United States, which evoked from that great man the following response: "The hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. It will come. This enterprise (emancipation) shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man." Mr. Coles was appointed by President Madison special ambassador to Russia and had traveled extensively in Europe, visiting Russia, France and Great Britain. He spent some time in France, where he met General LaFayette and other distinguished Frenchmen. While traveling through England he met Morris Birkbeck, a very intelligent and successful tenant farmer in Wiltshire, near Oxford, and told him of the very rich and undeveloped agricultural land in Illinois. His description of the Illinois country so interested Birkbeck that the latter soon afterward came to Illinois to investigate conditions. Birkbeck was so favorably impressed with what he saw here that he speedily returned to England and quickly organized a colony of English farmers and farm hands, brought them to Illinois, and established a large and flourishing colony of Englishmen at or near Albion, in Edwards County.

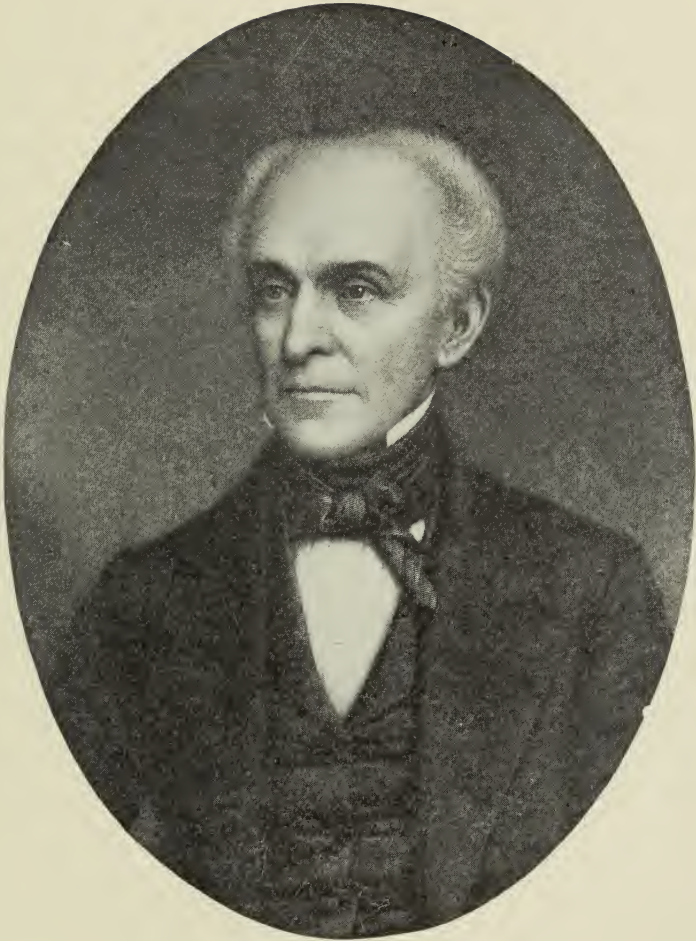
After his return from Europe, Coles again visited Illinois in 1818 and was present in Kaskaskia when the first constitutional convention was in session. He had then been offered by President Madison the position of registrar of the land office at Edwardsville. This position had a good salary attached and moreover was a most advantageous one, in that it offered a splendid opportunity for developing a wide acquaintance with the general public. Coles was politically ambitious and clearly saw the gates of future advancement opening before him. He promptly selected Edwardsville as his future home, and, being a man of some means, secured a considerable amount of land there for his farm development. Returning to his Virginia estate in 1819, Coles arranged for its future care, packed such personal property as he needed in Illinois in wagons, and with horses, wagons and about twenty slaves that he owned traveled

overland and by water to Illinois. At Brownsville, Pennsylvania, he secured two large flatboats and floated down to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio. While on the Ohio one day he ordered the boats pulled to shore, and after surrounding himself with his slaves he announced their main mission. He then told them he was going to locate in Illinois and described to them its rich fields and their future opportunities if they would locate with him. He promised them each emancipation from slavery, and 160 acres of land and help for farming, and they, of course, joyfully accepted their freedom and every one of them agreed to accompany him to Edwardsville. Before landing in Illinois Coles gave each of his slaves a written certificate of freedom and all settled around his home near Edwardsville. Upon his arrival there Coles commenced his work as land registrar and rapidly made a wide acquaintance, and by his agreeable manners made friends of these acquaintances. In October, 1821, or about two years afterwards, he announced his candidacy for governor and was elected to that office in 1822.

To move into a state a stranger and become its governor at the very next election, and all within three years after appearance in the state was an exhibition of what a politician of this day would call "fast work," which has not often been equalled. I myself however unwittingly approximated Coles' record of expedition in securing election to prominent office in 1905. For several years before that year I had been living in River Forest outside of Chicago's corporate limits in Cook County and sitting as judge in the Circuit Court of Cook County. My family was growing rapidly, my eleventh and twelfth children (twins) being born in 1901. Our home in River Forest became too small to accommodate our family and we sold that home in River Forest in 1902. We found a residence in Chicago more suitable to our family needs. Within three years thereafter I was elected mayor of Chicago. When I made the move in 1902 I had not the slightest idea of becoming a candidate for mayor of Chicago. Only a citizen of Chicago was eligible for the position. So far as we can learn there was not a single man in Illinois of political prominence who backed his candidacy. Governor Ninian Edwards, who was probably the most active politician

and most indefatigable political writer of his day, does not in any of his published letters mention Coles' name. Coles' competitors in the race were three: Chief Justice Phillips of the Supreme Bench, Associate Justice Thomas C. Brown of Shawneetown and Gen. James B. Moore. Of the four candidates, Coles and Moore were opposed to slavery, while Phillips and Brown were known to be in favor thereof. The result of the election must have been a surprise and keen disappointment to the pro-slavery element, for, while it demonstrated that the pro-slavery party had the most votes, the anti-slavery party had more political sagacity and success. The vote according to different accounts was as follows: Coles, 2810 or 2854; Phillips, 2760 or 2687; Brown, 2543 or 2443; Moore, 522 or 622. If we add the votes cast for Phillips and Brown together we find that the pro-slavery candidates had 5303 votes, while the anti-slavery candidates, Coles and Moore, received only 3,332 votes in the aggregate. In other words, the pro-slavery element divided their votes almost equally between the two pro-slavery candidates, while the anti-slavery element cast the immense preponderance of their votes for Coles. A plurality of fifty or 167 votes had elected an anti-slavery governor in what was then a pro-slavery state! What a narrow escape had Illinois from starting out on a career of advocacy of slavery in 1822!

Immediately after his inauguration as governor, Coles forced the slavery issue to the front. In his inaugural address he discussed four subjects of prime public importance,—finances, agriculture, canal and slavery. The last of these subjects, however, turned out to be the first in public interest. *Governor Coles recommended the emancipation of the slaves then in Illinois.* Now the question of slavery in Illinois was not a new one. It had been discussed under British, French and American territorial administrations in the past. There were many in the community that favored the gradual extinction of slavery in the future, but no one before Governor Coles had ever openly advocated the instant abolition thereof and the immediate manumission of slaves. This part of the governor's message acted as a bomb-shell thrown into the Legislature with a lighted fuse.



EDWARD COLES, GOVERNOR 1822-26

The governor's message was delivered before the joint assembly of the Senate and House of Representatives and therefore a joint committee of the Senate and House was appointed to take action thereon. This committee was composed of eight men, five from the Senate and three from the House. The five senators were Beard, Boon, Kinney, Ladd and White and the three representatives were Moore, Emmit and Will. The report made by the senators was unanimous and read as follows: "Your committee are clearly of the opinion that the people of Illinois have now the same right to alter their constitution as the people of Virginia, or any other of the original states, and may make any disposition of negro slaves they choose without breach of faith, or violation of compact, ordinance or act of Congress." This was the position taken by Harrison, the representative of Ohio in Congress long before, and it was the contention of all the pro-slavery people in Illinois. It was generally understood at this time, both in the Legislature and by the people that if a constitutional convention were called to amend the constitution, that the pro-slavery sentiment was so strong that it would force an amendment through that would establish slavery in Illinois. This was the belief of the senate committee, for after passing the resolution heretofore reported, it adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that the General Assembly of the State of Illinois (two-thirds thereof concurring therein) do recommend to the electors, at the next election for members to the General Assembly, to vote for or against a convention, agreeable to the Seventh Article of the Constitution."

Risdon Moore and John Emmit of the House reported adversely to the majority report and recommended the abolition of slavery, but Moore was the only one of the eight who finally voted against the convention. The pro-slavery people were in a strong majority in both House and Senate, but a call for a constitutional convention under the provisions of the fundamental law of the state required a two-thirds vote in both houses of the Legislature. The pro-slavery members of the Senate were two-thirds in number when all were present, but John Grammar, one of their number, was absent, and they could not

call for a vote until he returned. On February 7, 1823, Grammar returned and a vote on the convention resolution was taken in the Senate, February 10. The resolution passed, twelve to six, and the Senate resolution was transmitted to the House. A test vote had been taken on the same subject in the House a few days before, resulting in a vote of twenty-two for the convention and fourteen against. Two of the adverse votes were cast by McFatrige and Rattan. McFatrige voted against it from conviction; Rattan voted adversely so that he could move afterward for a no-consideration. Subsequently, however, McFatrige had been converted to vote for the convention by promises made to him that the Legislature would pass a bill changing the county seat in his county. When the Senate resolution was voted upon in the House, February 11, all thirty-six members of the House were present and voted, but on the tally the vote was found to be twenty-three affirmed and thirteen negative. Lacking one vote of a two-thirds majority, the resolution was lost, and it was discovered that Nicholas Hansen, the representative from Pike County, who had before that time voted for the convention, had changed his mind, and on February 11 had voted against it.

Great was the excitement thereat! Hansen was denounced as a traitor and a pledge-breaker and his life made boisterous and unpleasant. That night a vociferous meeting was held in the State House and various emphatic and uncomplimentary remarks and views expressed about Hansen. After the meeting tumultuous crowds with tin pans and horns visited the lodgings of the anti-convention members and Hansen was hung in effigy. Plans were made immediately for his political punishment. When he first appeared in the Legislature his election had been contested by John Shaw, his opponent in the election. The dispute in the election arose out of the fact that in one precinct Shaw had received eighty-three votes at a polling place set up by the electors, while Hansen had received only twelve votes in a polling place presided over by the regular judges of election. The returns for Shaw had been rejected by the judges, but Shaw had filed a notice of contest before the Legislature. At Hansen's request Shaw let the matter lie over for a few days

and did not refile the notice until the legal time had expired. The house committee had seated Hansen, it is said, because it was believed he would vote against Edwards and for Thomas as United States Senator. The committee, however, threw out Shaw's contest because it was filed too late, although the delay was caused at Hansen's request. The equity of the action is doubtful. Hansen's betrayal of the conventionists, however, changed the sentiments theretofore existing in his favor, and the House proceeded in a high-handed manner to set aside their formal disposal of the election contest.

On February 12 (Lincoln's birthday, afterward in Illinois to be made a legal holiday and now observed as a day sacred to human freedom) the House by a vote of twenty-one to thirteen ordered a reconsideration of its action in the Shaw-Hansen contest, considered certain documents and affidavits, held a debate on the same, and finally, by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen, the name of Shaw was substituted for the name of Hansen as a sitting, legally-elected member of that body. After the vote was declared Shaw took Hansen's seat as a member of the House. Representative Turney then moved to reconsider an appeal from the decision of the chair on a motion for a reconsideration of the convention resolution. The decision was reversed, the reconsideration was ordered, and the resolution for the convention was then passed in the House by a vote of twenty-four for and twelve against.

Further punishment for Hansen seemed necessary. On motion of Representative Field, Hansen's name as one of the canal commissioners was stricken from the list. The battle for and against the convention was now on before the people and lasted for eighteen months. It was prosecuted with great bitterness and intensity on each side. On February 15 the pro-conventionists met and appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people, giving reasons why the convention should be held and the constitution amended, but wholly ignoring the slavery question. A few days later the anti-conventionists met and adopted an address charging that the main object of the conventionists was to establish and retain slavery in Illinois.

This was probably the truth, but it was never openly admitted by the conventionists.

Before the passage of the convention resolution in the Legislature the sentiment in favor of slavery was largely preponderant in Illinois. This assertion we can establish in several ways. First, it was apparent from the anemic phraseology of the article on slavery in the Constitution of 1818. The convention that framed that article would have flatly favored slavery if it had not feared that Congress would undoubtedly reject a constitution of that character, flying in the face of the Ordinance of 1787. That convention knew that some declaration against slavery would have to be inserted in the constitution or Illinois would not be admitted into the Union. The milk-and-water article against slavery was therefore adopted to secure statehood and it accomplished the purpose. Secondly, the election for governor in 1822 showed that five-eighths of the voters cast their ballots for pro-slavery candidates instead of the candidates who were opposed to slavery. Thirdly, the composition of the Legislature of 1822 showed that nearly, if not quite, two-thirds of both houses were in favor of slavery.

While the pro-slavery sentiment of the people of the state was largely preponderant when the resolution for the convention was passed, that sentiment began to lose ground soon afterwards. The high-handed, arbitrary and unfair methods pursued by the House in evicting Hansen and securing thereby a two-thirds vote for the convention, disgusted many fair-minded citizens who had been tolerant of slavery. An unbiased reading of the events of that day as commented upon by different writers of history leads one to believe that the real object sought by the proponents of the convention was the amendment of the constitution of the state so as to legalize slavery. The conventionists never openly admitted this and their lack of candor in this regard must have prejudiced many fair-minded men. A masked movement in political life is feared as much as a masked man is dreaded in private life. The anti-conventionists, on the other hand, kept pulling the masks off of their opponents and continued to denounce the horrors of human slavery. Many good men and women in Illinois had grown up from infancy in the slave states

and had their consciences and sense of justice so benumbed by constant association with slavery, that they became tolerant of it. And yet, when the anti-conventionists opened fire upon slavery and kept pounding against the atrocity and inhumanity of the thing, many of these benumbed people from the South began to find that they had consciences that were troubling them and began to regard slavery as a crime against both God and man.

Early in the campaign, the anti-conventionists and anti-slavery people, through fifteen of the eighteen men who in the Legislature voted against the convention, issued an impassioned appeal to the voters of the state, from which we quote: "Consider the spectacle that would be presented to the civilized world, of the people of Illinois, innocent of this great national sin, and in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of free government, sitting down in solemn convention to deliberate and determine whether they should introduce among them a portion of their fellow-beings, to be cut off from these blessings, to be loaded with chains of bondage and unable to leave any other legacy to their posterity than the inheritance of their own bondage. The wise and the good of all nations would blush at our political depravity."

Such appeals had their effect even among those who all their lives had been surrounded by slaves. It is proper and interesting to look back and consider the names and standing of the prominent men of that day and ascertain how they stood in the great crisis of the state's history and the national history. Those favoring the convention were:

(1) Elias Kent Kane, one of the ablest men of that day, who was a graduate of Yale and a successful lawyer. He had been a member of the first Constitutional Convention, Secretary of State under Governor Bond, United States Senator, and was a member of an excellent family. He had also been a United States Territorial Judge before the admission of the state to the Union. During the campaign for the convention he managed and controlled the *Republican Advocate*, which paper strongly supported the conventionists.

(2) Thomas Reynolds was a lawyer of considerable standing and was for a time chief justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois and afterwards became governor of Missouri. He also supported the conventionists and assisted Kane in managing the *Republican Advocate*.

(3) Theophilus W. Smith had also been a member of the Supreme Bench, was very prominent in politics and aggressively supported the call for the convention.

(4) Shadrach Bond, the first governor of the State of Illinois.

(5) Joseph Phillips, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who had been prior to that time Secretary of the Illinois Territory when Illinois became a state. He was a pro-slavery candidate for governor against Coles and received the second highest vote for that office, and also was an ardent advocate of the convention. Supporting these five prominent leaders in politics were grouped,

(6) Richard M. Young, who had been a member of the Second Assembly, a Judge and a Senator of the United States;

(7) John McLean, a fine orator, a Member of the Assembly, who had been a Member of Congress from Illinois and in 1824 was elected United States Senator to succeed Ninian Edwards;

(8) Jesse B. Thomas, who had been a Territorial Judge, president of the Constitutional Convention and one of the first United States Senators from Illinois;

(9) John Reynolds, who had been on the Supreme Bench of Illinois, a Member of the State Legislature and a Member of Congress, and who was afterwards elected the fourth Governor of Illinois; and

(10) William Kinney, a Baptist preacher and politician, an excellent public speaker and a member of the Legislature; all actively and ardently supported the movement for the convention.

The leaders of the opposition who worked and talked and wrote against the holding of the convention were all ardent anti-slavery men, and will now be enumerated:

(1) Edward Coles, then Governor, whose public career has been heretofore summarized.

(2) Morris Birkbeck, a very intelligent, well-educated English settler, who had established a large English colony at or near Albion. Though not a public speaker he was a fluent and able controversial writer. He was a vigorous assailant of slavery and in the *Illinois Gazette* he published very able and convincing arguments against slavery and the holding of the convention.

(3) Daniel P. Cook, the son-in-law of Ninian Edwards, who started the movement for the admission of Illinois to statehood and was mainly instrumental in securing its success. He was a brilliant writer and campaigner and an ardent enemy of slavery, and part owner of the *Illinois Intelligencer*, in which paper he fulminated most of his vigorous arguments against slavery and the convention. He held many prominent positions, including membership in Congress.

(4) David Blackwell, a lawyer, a member of the Legislature, and, in 1823, secretary of state. He bought the *Intelligencer* during the campaign while it was advocating a convention, and made it an anti-convention paper.

(5) Samuel D. Lockwood, attorney-general in 1821 and a loyal supporter of Governor Coles and his policies. He was afterwards placed upon the Supreme bench of Illinois.

(6) John M. Peck, a Baptist clergyman along missionary lines, who in 1820 had settled at Rock Springs, near Belleville. He organized an anti-convention society in St. Clair County early in the campaign, and other societies in other counties were organized on its inspiration. He was a very able organizer and gave great strength to the anti-convention movement. In 1826 he founded the Rock Springs Seminary.

(7) Thomas Lippincott, a minister of the Gospel, who also ably supported the anti-convention movement.

(8) Thomas Mather, a prominent merchant.

(9) Hooper Warren, a journalist and newspaper owner, who was a bitter opponent of slavery in any and every form. In his paper, the *Spectator*, at Vandalia, he vigorously assailed slavery and the conventionists.

(10) George Churchill, a journalist-farmer and a warm friend of Hooper Warren, and a constant contributor to Warren's

paper, the *Spectator*. He was a member of the Legislature and highly esteemed by the men of his day.

(11) Jonathan H. Pugh, who was also a member of the Legislature, from Bond County, and took an active part in opposing the calling of the convention.

(12) George Forquer, a half-brother of Governor Ford, was another prominent man who opposed the holding of the convention. At different times he held the positions of secretary of state, attorney-general, representative in the Legislature and registrar of the land office at Springfield.

(13) William H. Brown was part-owner of the *Intelligencer* during the unseating of Nicholas Hansen. He wrote a critical editorial and gave a detailed account of that transaction in the first issue of the paper published after the event. Whereupon the Legislature, to punish Brown, gave the contract for public printing to his partners, William Berry and Robert Blackwell. This compelled Brown to surrender his partnership to Blackwell and Berry, and Robert Blackwell made it a pro-convention paper for a year until Governor Coles and his anti-convention friends purchased the paper and placed David Blackwell, brother of Robert, in charge as editor. The paper under the last management became an open and earnest opponent of slavery. The public printing at this time was often substantially the sole source of a paper's revenue. Many newspapers then, as they do now, allowed their advertisers to control their policies and editorial columns.

The foregoing names were the names of the men most prominent in Illinois at the time of the struggle for and against the holding of the Constitutional Convention. So far as holding official positions in public life is to be considered, the weight of authority was with the pro-conventionists. The anti-conventionists, however, had the governor and all of his friends with them. Moreover, they had the better end of the argument and the more righteous cause, and in the end righteousness and liberty won and injustice and slavery went down to defeat.

Henry Eddy, editor of the *Illinois Gazette*, is claimed by some writers to have been opposed to the convention. Others claim he was not. While his paper threw its columns open to

both sides, the better opinion seems to be that he quietly if not violently, favored the convention. The *Kaskaskia Republican-Advocate* and the *Illinois Republican* at Edwardsville supported the convention. The *Illinois Intelligencer*, as we have seen, wobbled and finally opposed the convention. The *Edwardsville Spectator* also wobbled, but finally, by promises of financial aid, was won over by the anti-conventionists. The motives that guided most of the newspaper owners of the day were not of the most ideal character. They either favored slavery or were induced to oppose it by financial rewards.

After a campaign of exceeding violence, lasting about eighteen months, the people went to the polls and the pro-slavery element found itself routed. The vote for the convention was 4,972; that opposed to the convention was 6,640. Most of the southern counties voted majorities in favor of the convention by large percentages, as follows: Gallatin 82 per cent, Pope 69 per cent, Alexander 60 per cent, Jackson 66 per cent, Jefferson 70 per cent, Hamilton 67 per cent and Franklin 60 per cent. In the south the conventionists lost only one county, Union. In the north central counties they were badly beaten by large percentages. Pike County gave the anti-conventionists 90 per cent, Fulton 92, Morgan 91, Sangamon 83, Clark 79 and Edgar 99. In the eleven counties south of St. Clair, Washington, Marion, Wayne and White, 3,788 votes were cast, 62 per cent of which were for the convention and slavery. In the nineteen counties north of that line, 7,814 votes were cast, of which only 33 per cent were for the convention and slavery.

The full significance of this election and its importance to the state and nation cannot be appreciated by the student of history unless he widens his vision beyond the borders of Illinois and casts his inquiring eyes over the whole of the United States. At the time of the formation of the Republic of the United States, it was composed, as we all know, of the thirteen original states of the Union. In six of these states human slavery existed as an institution, recognized by law. The laws of these states made black human beings within their borders chattels that could be bought and sold as cattle or sheep. These states were Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland

and Delaware. The other seven states, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were free states. From the date of the adoption of the Constitution by the original thirteen states and the creation of the American Republic, slavery was a vital question upon the admission of any new state into the Union of States. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century only three new states had been admitted into the Union. Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted into the Union in the eighteenth century. The last of these three states to be admitted was Tennessee, in 1796. At the opening of the nineteenth century the United States of America consisted of sixteen states, eight of which were slave states and eight free states. In the nineteenth century states were admitted to the Union in the following order:

- Ohio, in 1802, a free state;
- Louisiana, in 1812, a slave state;
- Indiana, in 1816, a free state;
- Mississippi, in 1817, a slave state;
- Illinois, in 1818, a free state;
- Alabama, in 1819, a slave state;
- Maine, in 1820, a free state;
- Missouri, in 1821, a slave state.

At the time this heated campaign was being carried on in Illinois for a constitutional convention in the years 1823 and 1824, there were twelve free states (inclusive of Illinois) and twelve slave states. If Illinois had amended its constitution in the proposed convention called to meet in 1824 and declared for slavery, there would then have been in the Union thirteen slave and only eleven free states. In other words, if Illinois amended its constitution so as to favor slavery, it would have changed its position from among twelve free states to a position among thirteen slave states. As each state was entitled to two senators in the United States Senate, the thirteen slave states would have had twenty-six votes as against twenty-two senators from the eleven free states and no law thereafter could have been passed by Congress limiting or restricting slavery in the United States. If any new territory, north or south, applied for admis-

sion to the Union and presented a constitution to Congress prohibiting slavery within its boundaries, the twenty-six senators in the Senate could prevent its admission. If the conventionists had succeeded at this election in calling the convention, they undoubtedly would have been powerful enough to have amended the constitution so as to provide for slavery in Illinois and the effect upon the future of the United States would have been tremendous. The thirteen slave-holding states would have been all-powerful for a decade at least in permitting slave-holding territories to be admitted to the Union and in denying statehood to free soil territories. Even if they were unable in the lower house of Congress to pass laws extending slavery, they could, by their decisive majority in the Senate, have prevented the passage of any laws limiting or restricting slavery.

The call for the constitutional convention in 1824 in Illinois brought on a great crisis in American history that affected both the nation and the state. If Illinois had become a slave state in 1824, the whole future history of the United States possibly and probably would have been materially changed. And yet the national aspect of the fight in Illinois does not seem to have been stressed in the campaign. The first edition of Governor Reynolds' history, published by N. A. Randall, at Belleville in 1852 (now exceedingly rare and valuable), makes no mention of the national aspect of the campaign. In his history, "My Own Times," published by the Chicago Historical Society in 1879, he devotes two short chapters to slavery in Illinois. He was in the midst of the struggle and his comments upon the same, years afterwards, are worthy of consideration. Governor Reynolds writes:

It is well known that the first introduction of slavery into Illinois was by Philip Francis Renault, in the year 1720. On his passage from Europe to America he procured from San Domingo five hundred slaves to work the mines in Illinois, and these negroes are the ancestors of the French slaves in this state. The descendants of those slaves, who reside in Illinois, are now free, and are located mostly in and around Prairie du Rocher, in Randolph County.

When Virginia conquered the country, and the same was annexed to that State, the right of property to their

slaves was guaranteed to the inhabitants, as well as their other property.

In the act of cession of the country from Virginia to the General Government, the right of property, slaves among the rest, was secured to the inhabitants of Illinois.

The act of Congress known as the "Ordinance," which was passed in the year 1787, and by which the North-Western Territory was organized as a government, prohibited, positively, the introduction of slavery into the Territory, and Illinois, at that time, formed a part of the Territory.

This Ordinance was construed to operate prospectively, and not to operate on the French slaves in the Territory at the time.

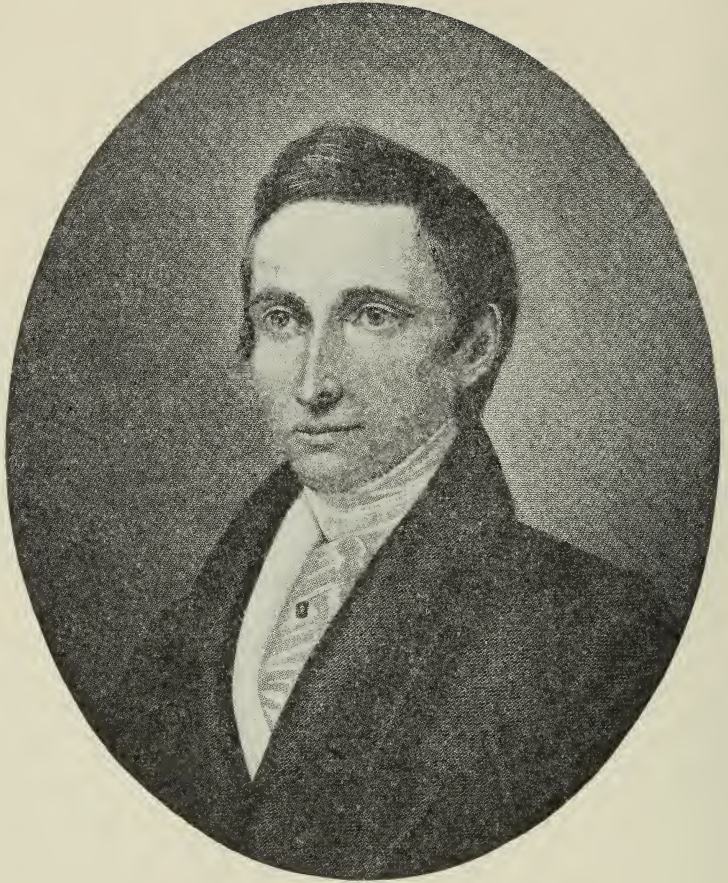
This act of Congress was the great sheet-anchor that secured the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois from slavery. I never had any doubt but slavery would now exist in Illinois if it had not been prevented by this famous Ordinance.

Soon after the organization of the Indiana Territory, of which Illinois formed a part, laws were enacted by the Territorial legislature permitting slaves to be introduced as "Indentured Servants;" and under this law many were admitted into the Territory.

The owner might go with his slaves before the clerk of the court of common pleas, and make an agreement with his negroes to serve the master a certain number of years, and then become free. The children were to serve their masters—the males until they were thirty-five years old, and the females to thirty-two years. This agreement was to be done within thirty days after the slave entered the Territory, and if the slaves would not consent to the agreement, they might be removed out of the Territory within sixty days. This agreement was made a record binding on the parties.

Although this proceeding was intended by the legislature to introduce a species of slavery, yet I knew many slaves and their families who were manumitted by the operation, and are now free. This act of the legislature operated as a kind of gradual emancipation of slavery in the Territory.

Both constitutions of the State expressly prohibited the introduction of slavery, the first had no intention to manumit the French slaves, but the supreme court of the State, in 1845, decided that slavery, French or any other,



*Your friend &
Daniel Cook*

FOR WHOM COOK COUNTY WAS NAMED

could not exist in the State. This decision liberated all the French slaves in the country.

Public opinion, being strong in this State against slavery, reached the bench, as well as it does every other department of the government, and what was right twenty years before was wrong in 1845, in relation to slavery.

In 1810, one hundred and sixty-eight slaves are said to have been in the Territory. In 1820, they increased to nine hundred and seventeen; and in 1830, they decreased to seven hundred and forty-six.

The Missouri question, so called at that day, 1823, more of a political character than the public lands, agitated little Illinois to the very center. The State had then not many more than fifty thousand inhabitants, but the subject of slavery was discussed in the court yards, sometimes in the pulpits, and at all gatherings of the people, as well as in the presses, and on the stump throughout the State. In the elections of this year, this question was the prominent element. At that day, there was no question of Democracy or Whiggery. John McLean, the member then in Congress, voted on the Missouri side of the question, which beat him at the election. Daniel P. Cook took the other side, and was elected.

The discussion of this subject was bitter and acrimonious. This subject has always engendered bitter feelings among the people, and has a tendency to array one section of the Union against the other. The people in Illinois, in 1820, were ready almost to commit violence on one another, and in fact the whole Union was so agitated that, like an earthquake, no one knew when it would subside, and all friends of the integrity of the Union were alarmed and shuddered at the fearful consequences of the agitation, and the sectional feelings produced on the occasion. The public agitation of the subject of slavery, and particularly in the halls of Congress, should be avoided as much as possible.

Governor Reynolds' statement that the "whole Union was so agitated" is the only reference to *national* interest in the election that I can find in his writings. Governor Ford in his history published in 1854 in no place indicates that there was national interest in the election at the time it was held. Smith in his history, however, does state that "the press of the South as well as the papers of St. Louis, which had a considerable circulation in Illinois at that time, ably supported the conven-

tion." He also states that Henry Biddle, Roberts Vaux and other rich Quakers in Philadelphia aided the anti-conventionists, principally with literature. Still, I do not find that the effect of the election upon the nation at large was stressed at the time of the contest by the speakers and writers engaged therein.

Before leaving this very interesting subject it is proper to make comment upon the unfortunate and undeserved result of this election upon the future prospects of the two most able and devoted friends of human freedom. Governor Coles and Morris Birkbeck did more than any other two men in the state to prevent it becoming tainted with the curse of slavery. Governor Coles' nominations to office were all rejected by the pro-slavery Senate and his recommendations to the Legislature were ignored. As a candidate for the United States Senate he was defeated, the Legislature electing Elias Kent Kane over him. Soon after he was sued by the State to recover \$200 for each slave that he brought into the state and freed without giving bond of \$200 for the good behavior of each freed slave. The State actually recovered judgment against him for \$2,000, which hung over his head for some years. To add to his misfortunes all of the buildings and improvements on his farm near Edwardsville were destroyed by an incendiary fire.

Birkbeck was nominated by Governor Coles as secretary of state, but the nomination was rejected by the Senate. His farming investments brought but poor returns; he lost many friends; was charged with being an infidel; was hanged in effigy and forced to flee for his life and drowned while crossing a river. The misfortunes suffered by these two able, upright and courageous men offer but another instance of the proverbial "ingratitude of republics." Well might Governor Coles have cried, in the words of Cardinal Wolsey:

"Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my State, He would not in mine age
Have left me naked to my enemies."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW STATE

When Illinois became a state in the United States of America, December 3, 1818, it did so under exceptionally fortunate circumstances for early growth and development of a democratic form of government. Up to that date its inhabitants had little, if any, experience in self-government. Such government as had been imposed upon them during most of the time from the French occupation in 1673 to 1763, when France surrendered to Great Britain; from 1763 under British domination until George Rogers Clark's forceful invasion in 1778, and then down to Governor St. Clair's appearance with United States credentials in 1790, was wholly autocratic or oligarchical. They were never consulted as to its form or conditions, and never had an opportunity to voice their desires at the ballot box. Even under United States Territorial rule from 1790 down to 1818, as part of the Northwest Territory, the Indiana Territory or the Illinois Territory, their participation in the making of laws or selecting their own officials even when they were in territories of the second class, was so limited by the qualifications thrown around those who were entitled to vote, that self rule was a shadow or a sham. They were so accustomed to oligarchical rule and so timid in asserting state sovereignty when they framed the Constitution of 1818, that in that instrument they provided that the people could elect *only* the governor, lieutenant-governor, sheriff, coroner and members of the Senate and House of Representatives. Under that instrument all other officials, including judges, were to be selected by the governor or the Legislature, or both. A jump from absolute oligarchy to full democracy seemed to the men of that day too hazardous a risk. The time for development, however, political, industrial and commercial, was propitious.

The War of 1812 had settled forever all fear of British aggression from Canada and had paralyzed the fighting spirit of the Indians. The Government of the United States had secured title to the Indian lands and was just beginning to throw these lands upon the market. Steamboats were appearing on the Ohio and Mississippi, displacing the keelboats and flatboats hitherto used for navigation. The Erie Canal was being dug between Albany and Buffalo, and financiers were planning to construct another canal from the Delaware River to the Ohio. Above all, the confederated states of the United States had sensed their existence and power as a nation, both internally and externally, in dealing with each other and with foreign nations.

The Congress of the United States, in enacting laws, was broadening the Federal power. The Supreme Court of the United States was construing each stretch of Congress for power as within its right; and the United States Government was enacting laws which would develop its commerce on the high seas, and into foreign lands, and limiting the importation of foreign products into and through American ports.

Let us note a few of these matters, so that we can see their importance in the development of the United States and the newly-created State of Illinois. In 1816, on the recommendation of President Madison, Congress chartered the second United States Bank with a capital of \$35,000,000, one-fifth of which was contributed by the United States, the United States Government electing one-fifth of its directors. At this time there were about 300 state banks in existence, but very few of which were on a specie payment basis. The law creating the United States Bank required that after the creation of this bank, it would become a depository of United States funds, and that any state bank that did not operate on a specie paying basis could not become a United States depository. This law was attacked by the State of Maryland as unconstitutional, but the Supreme Court of the United States declared through Chief Justice Marshall that "a national bank is an appropriate means to carry out some of the implied power conferred on the National Government by the Constitution. If the end is within the scope of

the Constitution, all means which are adapted to that end, and which are consistent with the spirit of the organic law, are constitutional."

The epochal decision was rendered in 1819, during which year a widespread financial panic swept over the country, causing the failure of many state banks and mercantile establishments. The causes of this panic were several. During the second administration of President Jefferson, 1804 to 1808, the Napoleonic war between France and Great Britain was conducted on the high seas with a total disregard of the rights of neutral nations. American ships, which before the outbreak of that war were carrying on a large and lucrative business, were halted on the ocean by armored cruisers of both belligerents, but mostly by the British, their cargoes seized, and their seamen arrested, and impressed into the British service. These acts practically destroyed American commerce and would have justified a declaration of war by the United States against either or both of the belligerent nations. Jefferson, however, was averse to war, and both he and his Secretary of State, Madison (afterwards President), were lovers of peace. Instead of resorting to war in a wholly unprepared condition for same, either from a military or financial standpoint, Jefferson resorted to retaliatory legislation in Congress. At his request Congress enacted a law ordering all British vessels out of American harbors; and another law, called the Embargo Act, compelling American vessels to refrain from carrying on foreign commerce; and still another non-intercourse act, prohibiting all commerce with Great Britain. These laws, enacted for the purpose of crippling the English, however, turned out to be more effective in destroying American commerce and paralyzing the shipping trade of the United States. The continued confiscation of American property and ships, and the impressment of American seamen into the British service, however, so inflamed the American people that finally in 1812, under President Madison, war was declared by Congress against Great Britain. The destruction of American shipping during the Napoleonic war, and the financial burdens imposed upon the young nation by the expense of the war, was one of the causes of the panic of 1819. The war

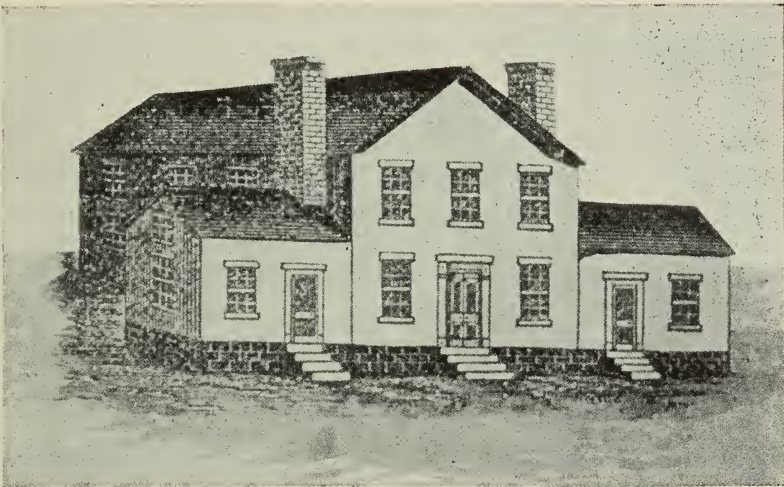
had cost the nation by 1814 over \$100,000,000 and over 30,000 human lives and the destruction of the nation's trade and commerce.

Another cause of the financial panic of 1819 was the almost total absence of reliable banking currency and bills of exchange. The charter of the first United States Bank had expired in 1811. It had furnished an excellent currency, which was now withdrawn. Its place was taken in 1811 by state bank currency, which proved disastrous. These state banks sprung into existence like mushrooms between 1811 and 1816. Some authorities number them at 300; others between 250 and 300. Very few of them were on a specie paying basis, and many of them could be negotiated only at enormous discounts. How a war could be carried on successfully with such a currency system in vogue was a mystery.

By 1816 the Jeffersonian Republican party, then in power, which had opposed the creation of the first United States Bank, reversed its policy and declared in favor of the creation of the second United States Bank. President Madison surmounted the prejudices of a lifetime, it is said, and cheerfully signed the bill. Henry Clay disregarded his former views of hostility towards a national bank, and actively advocated and voted for the bill. While the law creating the bank was enacted in 1816, the attack upon its constitutionality by the State of Maryland delayed the going into effect of its wholesome provisions until Chief Justice Marshall declared it constitutional in 1819. The law creating this bank compelled the state banks to become specie payment banks or cease to become government depositories. This drove the weak banks into liquidation, and created widespread distress among the manufacturing interests, but in a few short years it established a state currency, and restored public confidence and encouraged trade and industry.

Another class of laws enacted by Congress about this time which gave enormous impetus to the development of the nation and its manufacturing interests were the protective tariff laws. Great Britain had been furnishing the young republic, from the day of its birth to the days of Madison, with all the manufactured products in use among its people. The Embargo and

Non-Intercourse policies of Jefferson and the decrees and orders of the British Council had worked a change in the economic life of the American people. When they were unable to procure manufactured articles they needed from abroad, they began in a crude but energetic way to manufacture substitutes therefor in American shops and homes. These substitutes may not have been as elegant and polished as the foreign articles, but they were useful and in demand. When peace was declared in 1814,



ROCK SPRINGS SEMINARY

Built by the Rev. John Peck in 1826.

the foreign-made articles again appeared in the American market, and as they were more finished in appearance and more cheaply manufactured, they threatened the growth of American manufactures. The infant industries of the Americans were being impaired by foreign competition. This situation gave birth to the American doctrine of a "protective tariff."

Prior to the Napoleonic war, the American people had been content to ship abroad, and particularly to England, their raw products, lumber, cotton, tobacco, fish, hides, wool, pig-iron and cereals, and to purchase all manufactured articles, such as tools, machinery, furniture, leather, woolens, cotton goods, clothing,

iron and steel goods, jewelry, silks, coffees, teas, carpets and other manufactured necessities and luxuries from England and France. When trade in these articles was cut off by the Napoleonic wars, the British orders in Council and the American Embargo and Non-Intercourse laws, the need of such manufactured articles brought about the creation of the incipient manufacturers of America, and when these young industries were threatened with extinction by foreign competition, Congress acted promptly. In 1816 it passed a protective tariff law and this law and other tariff laws of like character, subsequently passed, saved the "infant industries" of the nation and started the manufacturing industries of the United States on a career which enables them today to sell their products in all the seven seas of the world in competition with all the great manufacturing countries on earth. Some of these "infant industries" in modern times have grown so enormously that laws passed for their further nourishment are and will be regarded as extortionate rather than protective legislation.

From a consideration of the foregoing pregnant occurrences which took place within a few years of the admission of Illinois to the Union, it can be easily seen why the time was propitious for an early and tremendous development of the nation and the infant state. Let us summarize these occurrences chronologically: In 1814 a treaty of peace had been signed with Great Britain which ended a costly war forced upon the United States, when it was poor and unprepared for war, by the arrogant and indefensible conduct of Great Britain upon the high seas. Under the terms of that treaty the British evacuated Detroit and other posts in the United States held by them, and left the United States free to deal with their Indian allies who were not made parties to the treaty. This abandonment of their Indian allies by Great Britain placed the Indian tribes at the mercy of the Americans. In 1816 Congress commenced its policy of developing American manufactures, and weakening the sale of British goods in America, by enacting protective tariff laws. In 1816 Congress established the United States Bank which would secure to the people reliable currency and bills of exchange and restore public confidence in the Government and in all commercial trans-

actions. In 1818 Illinois was admitted to statehood. In 1819 the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the United States Bank law, thus confirming in the people the possession and use of a currency system which was both reliable and impregnable. The last of these occurrences took place at a time when, owing to an absurd if not grotesque system of state banks established under unscientific and inadequate state laws, had created a financial panic throughout the nation.

Within a few short years after the passage of the foregoing Federal laws, the nation had recovered from its financial distress, and the young State of Illinois began its march to greatness, but not until it, too, had suffered from the vagaries of inefficient and unskilful banking laws.

As manufacturing began to develop in the North and East, which occurred after the passage of protective tariff laws, the demand for farm products in the West began to increase, and in the '20s and '30s of the eighteenth century, immigrants began to pour into Illinois. In 1830 the population had increased to 157,000, and in 1840 it was 476,000.

CHAPTER XXVII

POLITICS IN ILLINOIS DURING THE FIRST DECADE

When Illinois became a state, James Monroe was President of the United States. Monroe was the successor of James Madison, under whom he had served as Secretary of State, just as Madison was the successor of and had been the Secretary of State under Jefferson. Both had been trained in and were devoted to the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, which had enunciated and upheld the following principles:

Equal and exact justice to all, peace and friendship with all nations, alliances with none, the preservation of the rights of the national government, free elections, free speech, free press, reliance upon a disciplined militia, public economy, encouragement to agriculture and commerce, trial by jury, the habeas corpus and the exercise of persuasion before resorting to force.

Jefferson, Madison and Monroe all were members of the party then called Republican. The Federalist party, that was in the ascendancy under President John Adams, had been routed and was in a hopeless condition of decline and public disfavor. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Monroe, had abandoned the Federalist party of his father and joined the Republicans, temporarily, at least.

The commerce and shipping of the Republic had been shot to pieces by the Orders in Council of Great Britain, the Napoleonic wars, and the Embargo acts of the American Congress prior to and during the War of 1812 with Great Britain. During the war, from 1812 until 1814, the country was compelled to incur great indebtedness and its commerce was destroyed. When the treaty of peace was signed in 1814, its business was prostrated, and in 1819 a financial panic swept the country largely as a result of its destroyed business, its blunders in banking

and its lack of a reliable medium of exchange, sometimes called currency.

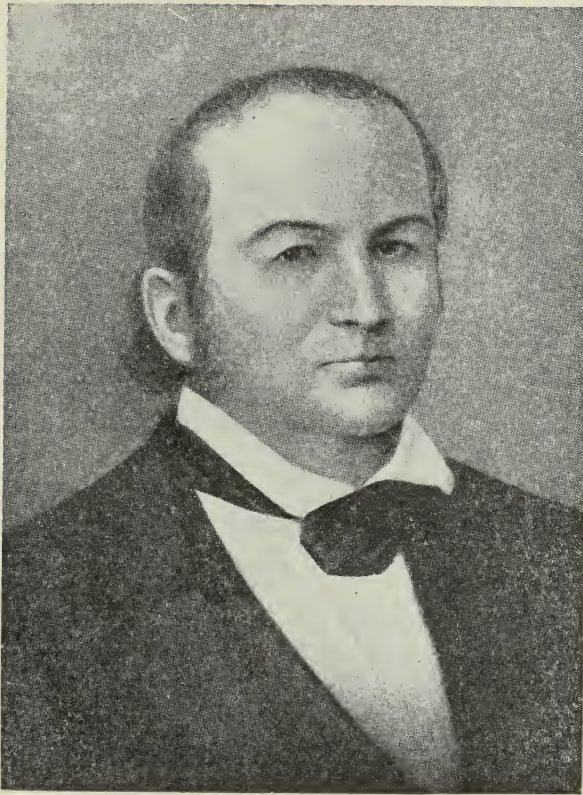
The charter of the United States Bank, created by Hamilton, had expired in 1811. Its petition for a new charter had been denied by a majority of one in the Senate and one in the House. When its charter expired a mushroom growth of state banks sprang into existence. In 1816 there were 246 of these state banks. The deluge of bank notes put into circulation as the result was disastrous. These notes could not be redeemed in specie, and there were no legal remedies for the refusal to redeem. Under the stress of the embargo and non-intercourse policies pursued by Congress, and the constant refusal to redeem in specie, these bank notes rapidly depreciated in value. During the war most of the banks suspended specie payments, causing great financial losses and general economic distress.

At this junction the Republicans, who in the past had opposed granting an extension of the charter of the United States Bank, recognized the dangerous condition of the finances and the trade of the country, and changed their policy with reference to the establishment of a United States Bank, whose paper would pass current as redeemable in specie. In 1816 the United States Bank was chartered by a Congress composed of members, a great majority of whom were identified with the Republican party. Henry Clay, who was largely instrumental in defeating the recharter of the former United States Bank in 1811, left the speaker's chair to advocate the passage of the law creating the new bank in 1816, and President Madison signed the bill cheerfully and promptly. It took some time, however, after the creation of this Federal bank before specie payment was resumed. The new bank was patterned along the same lines as the old one, but the capital was \$35,000,000, while that of the old bank was only \$10,000,000. The Government held one-fifth of the stock and appointed five out of the twenty-five directors.

Another new departure in politics occurred at this time in the powerful Republican party which afterwards became known as the protective tariff policy. Before the War of 1812 most manufactured articles in common use among the people were

imported from abroad, mostly from England. The war shut off these importations and the Americans began in a feeble and inexpert way to manufacture all the necessities and some of the luxuries of modern life. After the treaty of peace was signed in 1814, the country was soon flooded with British manufactured goods which could be made and sold much more cheaply in the low-wage factories of England. They were underselling and ruining American manufacturers. There were then in truth and in fact many real "infant industries" that were suffering from the competition, and the Republican party of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe recognized the necessity of protecting these young industries by compelling foreign importers to pay an import duty sufficiently high to enable the home industries to prosper and develop. The adoption of this policy and the creation of a stable currency soon brought to the whole country an era of prosperity. The Federal party disappeared. Political animosities died out for a time and a situation developed which was called at that date "The Era of Good Feeling." This was the political situation from a national standpoint at the time of the admission of Illinois into the Union and it continued until the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency in 1825. There was no political difference on public questions in Illinois up to that time except upon slavery. All other contests were contests of personality. It was simply a succession of struggles between men, as to whom should hold office until Adams was chosen as President by Congress over Andrew Jackson.

In this struggle of personalities for office in Illinois before 1825, one man was so pre-eminent, and for a time so dominant and successful, as to give his name to one of these conflicting forces. Ninian Edwards, before he moved to Illinois, was a prominent and influential citizen of Kentucky, a member of the Supreme Court of that state, and a cultured, well-educated gentleman. Through the influence of Henry Clay and other powerful friends, he had been appointed Territorial Governor of Illinois and had occupied that position for nine consecutive years. Upon admission of Illinois into the Union he was promptly elected to the United States Senate and remained in that exalted body



NATHANIEL POPE

Territorial Delegate to Congress in 1818.

for six years. Afterwards, in December, 1826, he was inaugurated governor of the State of Illinois. By reason of his high character, his influential connections, his culture and his long continuance in public office, he easily secured the leadership of the office-seeking coterie which was called the "Edwards party." Those who opposed him and his coterie of friends had no such a pre-eminent leader as Edwards, although they did have among their members some very able men. The opponents of the name to their combination and consequently were known as the "Anti-Edwards party." Attached to the Edwardsites were the following men: Nathaniel Pope, former territorial delegate from Illinois to Congress, who had succeeded in moving the northern line of Illinois fifty-one miles northward and securing the admission of Illinois to statehood. He had, however, been made a Federal Judge, which prevented his open and active participation in politics. He was a cousin of Edwards and helped him in all his struggles. Another ardent supporter of Edwards was Judge Pope's nephew, Daniel Pope Cook, a very able and popular young man who married Governor Edwards' daughter. Judge Thomas C. Brown, chosen for the Supreme bench of Illinois, was also one of the Edwards party. Attached to the Edwards' interests also were Benjamin Stephenson, William Kinney, Richard M. Johnson and James Johnson, all of whom were interested financially with Governor Edwards in the Edwardsville Bank and real estate ventures. Among the prominent and influential men who formed the "anti-Edwards" party may be mentioned the following: Elias Kent Kane was the leading spirit in the first Constitutional Convention and more actively participated in the writing of that instrument than any other one man. He was elected to the United States Senate from Illinois and served two terms in that body. John McLean, who was defeated by Cook for Congress, but was elected United States senator to succeed Governor Edwards. Jesse B. Thomas, the leader of the anti-Edwards party. He had been successively Territorial Judge, president of the Constitutional Convention and United States Senator from 1818 until 1829. Shadrach Bond, the first state governor of Illinois, was also a member of the anti-Edwards party. Joseph Duncan,

originally not identified with either party, was taken up by the anti-Edwards party and nominated by it for Congress against Congressman David Pope Cook, theretofore unbeatable, and succeeded in winning over that formidable antagonist. He was afterwards elected governor of Illinois. John Reynolds was also one of the anti-Edwards party. He had as a private served in the War of 1812, and was elected judge of the Supreme Court from 1818 to 1824. Towards the end of Governor Edwards' term, however, Reynolds entered into an alliance with Governor Edwards, and was himself elected governor of the state in 1830. Governor Reynolds wrote an interesting history of the Territory of Illinois up to its admission into the Union, which was published in 1852, and another historical work entitled "My Own Times," published (or republished) in 1879. He must be distinguished from Thomas Reynolds, his uncle, who was also a distinguished citizen and official in early Illinois history. He, Thomas, was a member of the Supreme Court at the same time that his nephew, John Reynolds, was a member of that body. Rev. William Kinney, a Baptist preacher, was originally one of the anti-Edwards party, and was elected lieutenant-governor over the Rev. S. M. Thompson, who was Edwards' running mate in 1826.

At the first election for governor, in 1818, both factions were agreed in supporting Shadrach Bond; but in the election for senators, Edwards, while successful, was compelled to sit in the Senate with his rival, Judge Jesse B. Thomas. The rivalry and antagonism between these two able men widened and deepened during their joint senatorial careers. Thomas succeeded in procuring from William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, the appointment of himself to the lucrative position of United States examiner of western land offices. Cook, the member of Congress from Illinois, and son-in-law of Edwards, attacked Crawford vigorously and persistently for so doing, charging improper conduct against both Crawford and Thomas, but both were exonerated in the congressional committee report. At this time both Crawford and John C. Calhoun were candidates for the Presidency and Calhoun's friends in Congress doubtless supported Cook in his charges against Crawford and Thomas,

hoping thus to discredit Crawford and weaken his prospects for a Presidential nomination. Edwards himself became badly involved in the controversy. He attacked Crawford's policy in reference to the western banks in the Senate, using certain material which Cook had dug up in the House, in his demand for the production of official documents in Crawford's office which he believed would discredit Crawford. The latter retorted by showing Edwards' connection with the Edwardsville Bank, which had failed owing the United States Treasury some \$50,000. Both Edwards and his friends were stockholders in this bank. Edwards rejoined that he, Edwards, had in a letter warned the United States Treasury of the weak financial condition of the bank before it failed. This Crawford denied and the controversy simmered down to a question of personal veracity between Edwards and Crawford without sufficient corroboration on Edwards' part, and Crawford secured a vindication from Congress. The publication of letters attacking Crawford, signed A. B., was traced to Edwards and his failure to maintain the charges made therein brought discredit upon the writer and discouragement to him and his friends at a time when they were endeavoring to prevent Thomas' reelection to the Senate. About the same time Edwards became badly embarrassed financially and weakened in health. During the senatorial session of 1822-1823 he rarely appeared in his seat in the Senate and finally sought from the President the appointment for himself as minister to Mexico. Cook's energy and influence secured this appointment, but when he failed to substantiate the charges made by him against Crawford under the *nom de plume* of "A. B." he was compelled to resign this appointment. Prior to so doing, he had resigned his senatorship in order to accept the Presidential appointment and he was thus returned for a time to private life. His son-in-law, Cook, however, was still successful in upholding the Edwards flag and in retaining his place in Congress. He had defeated McLean in 1817 and 1822, Kane in 1820 and Bond in 1824 when they sought election to Congress. He had developed a tremendous personal popularity which carried him again and again to success. His intimacy with Edwards and his identification with him and his policies had not as yet

weakened his hold on the people. A time was now approaching when that popularity was to be put to the test with disastrous results.

During the presidential election of 1824, Cook had pledged himself to cast his vote in Congress, if the choice for President came before that body, for the candidate whom a majority of popular vote indicated to be the popular choice. There were four candidates for the Presidency in the field, Jackson, Adams, Clay and Crawford. In the state at large, Jackson received 1,272 votes; Adams, 1,542; Clay, 1,047, and Crawford, 219. In this computation, however, there were excluded 629 votes cast for Turney as presidential elector. Turney had pledged himself to vote for either Jackson or Clay. If the votes for Turney were added to those given either to Jackson or to Clay, Jackson would be credited with 1,901 or Clay would have been credited with 1,676. In either event Jackson or Clay would have received more votes than Adams. If given to Jackson he would have had an enormous majority over Adams.

This was the situation when the election of the President was thrown into the House of Representatives, by reason of the fact that none of the four candidates had received a majority of the electoral vote. That electoral vote had been cast as follows: Jackson had received ninety-nine votes, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one and Clay thirty-seven. Jackson had received a plurality of the popular vote. Under the Constitution there was no election and the same Constitution required that the House of Representatives should select the President from among the three candidates that had received the largest number of electoral votes. This eliminated Henry Clay, then Speaker of the House. Crawford's chances of selection were shattered by a stroke of paralysis, leaving only Jackson and Adams as real contenders. In this juncture, the situation in which Cook, the Illinois Congressman, was placed was powerful as well as critical. As the vote for the Presidency in the House was taken by states and the successful candidate must secure a majority of the states, a single congressman of the state which had only one congressman, or a majority of the congressmen in a state, could determine the vote of that state for the Presidency. Cook

S. NO. 1.

A BILL

Providing for the establishment of Free Schools.

To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them: their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people: and it is a well established fact, that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened: and believing that the advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be, the means of developing more fully the rights of man; that the mind of every citizen in a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness: it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole: Therefore,

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois represented in the General Assembly, That* there shall be established a common school or schools in each of the counties of this state, which shall be open and free to every class of white citizens between the ages of five and eighteen years.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted, That* the county commissioners' courts shall, from time to time, form school districts in their respective counties, whenever a petition may be presented for that purpose, by a majority of the qualified voters resident within such contemplated district; *Provided, That* all such districts, when laid off, shall, respectively, contain not less than thirty families.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted, That* the legal voters in each district to be established as aforesaid, may have a meeting at any time thereafter, by giving ten days previous notice of the time and place of holding the same; at which meeting they may proceed by ballot to elect three trustees, one clerk, one treasurer, one assessor, and one collector, who shall respectively take an oath of office faithfully to discharge their respective duties.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted, That* it shall be the duty of the trustees to superintend the schools within their respective districts, to examine and employ teachers, to lease all land belonging to the district, to call meetings of the voters whenever they shall deem it expedient, or at any time when requested so to do by five legal voters, by giving to each one at least five days notice of the time and place of holding the same, appointing one or more persons living within the district to serve the necessary notice, to make an annual report to the county commissioners' court of the proper county of the number of children living within the bounds of such district, between the ages of five and eighteen years, and what number of them are actually sent to school, with a certificate of the time a school is actually kept up in the district, with the probable expense of the same.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted, That* each and every school district, when established and organized as aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby, constituted a body politic and corporate, so far as to commence and maintain actions on any agreement made with any person or persons for the non-performance

was in that position and could determine the vote for Illinois. He cast it for Adams and not for the candidate who had received the plurality of both the electoral and popular vote, Andrew Jackson.

In 1826, when he came up for reelection he was compelled to face the charge that he had violated his own pledge to the people in 1824, and the charge that he had defied the popular demand not only in his own state, but in the nation. He was further handicapped by the fact that his father-in-law, Edwards, who had been defeated for reelection as United States Senator, was running for governor of the state at the same time that he, the son-in-law, was running for Congress. The resentment of the people caused by his vote in Congress against the popular hero, Jackson, and his connection with the Edwards family oligarchy, proved too much to overcome. Joseph Duncan, a modest newcomer into public life as state senator from 1824 to 1826, sensed the state of popular feeling correctly, and although by no means as able a campaigner as Cook, offered himself as candidate for Congress against Cook and beat him decisively. It was the first occasion since the admission of Illinois to statehood that Cook failed to receive popular approval at the polls, although he had sought public office every two years from 1818. His defeat was the beginning of the end of the Edwards dynasty.

Strange to say, at the same election at which the popular Cook went down to defeat, his father-in-law, Edwards, was elected governor, although he had been beaten for United States senator by John McLean only two years before. From 1809 down to 1824 he had been continuously in public office as Territorial Governor and United States Senator, and in 1825 was for the first time in sixteen years without public office. He had also suffered serious financial reverses by reason of his connection with an insolvent bank and rather questionable land speculation. His success by a narrow majority over Sloo, his principal opponent, was probably due to the weakness of that opponent, who was not widely known nor possessed of a forceful personality. Sympathy with the reduced fortunes of the former governor and senator and remembrance of some of the many

good things he did in public life may also have contributed to his election. Although his popularity with the masses was perceptibly fading, by this election Edwards had received a qualified vindication, and at his inauguration as governor, in December, 1826, he appeared before the Legislature with all the pomp and glory of early days, costumed in knee-breeches, silk stockings, ruffles and powdered hair. He had, however, an unsympathetic Legislature that paid little attention to most of his recommendations.

One of the good laws that was passed during Edwards' incumbency was that which made provision for the establishment of a penitentiary. Up to that time no penitentiary for the punishment of crime and no decent jails had been built in Illinois. Because of the non-existence of such places practically no prisoners were sentenced to imprisonment. They were either sentenced to whipping, branding, leased out to the highest bidder for enforced labor, or hung. The criminal code of the state tolerated all these atrocious penalties and was a disgrace to the state. John Reynolds, who had been on the Supreme bench and who was afterward to be elected governor, was the impelling personality who secured the passage of the penitentiary law. Having encountered on the bench the enormity of the criminal code, he earnestly pressed home upon his fellow-legislators, that the criminal code must be amended, and that before such an amendment could be secured, there must be created a place where imprisonment could be enforced and thus supplant legal brutality. The finances of the state at the time, however, were in such a frightfully depressed condition that money could not be found to build the proposed penitentiary. Reynolds got around this situation by getting the Legislature to pass a petition to Congress to donate to the state the Saline lands reserved by the United States for the manufacture of salt. The timber on this land used for salt manufacture, had all been consumed and the land had been practically worthless for salt manufacture for some time. The petition was adopted by the Legislature and granted by Congress. The state thus secured about 80,000 acres of land which it sold for farming and other purposes and used part of the proceeds in building a penitentiary which was

completed and further enlarged and developed by Reynolds when he became governor.

The election of Governor Edwards by a reduced majority, was the last success of the so-called Edwards party. Its popularity had waned and its power greatly weakened by the defeat of Cook. It went into a rapid decline during Edwards' administration and exerted no influence in the state thereafter. Jacksonian Democracy had appeared upon the scene and local squabbles for office gave way to national questions in political life.

A brief reference to the important occurrences and accomplishments of the three gubernatorial administrations of Governors Bond, Coles and Edwards, the three first state governors of Illinois, is appropriate before we leave this ten-year era.

After Nathaniel Pope, the territorial delegate, had succeeded in amending the petition of the Illinois Territory for admission to statehood so as to move the northern boundary of the state fifty-one miles north of the most southerly point of Lake Michigan; and securing the adoption of the amended petition by Congress, the new state adopted a constitution and elected officials. Congress then approved the constitution so adopted and formally admitted the State of Illinois into the Union. Shadrach Bond, elected without opposition, was inaugurated governor, October 6, 1818. About two years afterward the seat of government was moved from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, this being the outstanding event of the Bond administration. Edward Coles was elected his successor and was inaugurated in 1822. The fierce struggle for a new convention to amend the constitution so as to make Illinois a slave state, which has heretofore been commented upon, was the outstanding occurrence in the Coles' administration. The governor bitterly and successfully opposed the holding of this convention, and with the assistance of able friends of human liberty heretofore mentioned, saved the young state from obloquy and the disgrace of tolerating human slavery within its borders. General Lafayette visited Illinois during the Coles administration, and was received with all possible honor and acclaim. The new State House at Vandalia was destroyed by fire December 9, 1823, during Coles' administration, and was rebuilt by the citizens of Vandalia at a cost of \$15,000. This,

however, proved an "Indian gift," as the citizens sought afterwards and obtained reimbursement for the money subscribed for the rebuilding. The first general school law was also passed in 1825, during Coles' incumbency, at the instigation of Senator Duncan, afterwards elected governor.

Ninian Edwards, formerly Territorial Governor and United States Senator, succeeded Coles in 1826. During the Edwards administration the Legislature, over the veto of the governor and his Supreme Court advisory board, passed the grotesque and dangerous law creating a State Bank with power to loan money to insolvent debtors, elsewhere noted in these volumes. The folly of this law, was demonstrated very soon, the bank was closed, and its liabilities settled by the issue of state bonds during the very next administration, that of Governor Reynolds.

CHAPTER XXVIII

NATIONAL POLITICS ENTERS ILLINOIS

Up to the year 1828, as we have seen, all elections in Illinois were simply struggles of individuals to obtain office. From 1818, when Illinois became a state, until the election of John Quincy Adams to the presidency by Congress in 1824, there was practically but one national party in politics, the Republican party founded by Thomas Jefferson and perpetuated by him and his successors, James Madison and James Monroe, from 1801 to 1825. In 1809 the Federalist party had been starved to death from want of political nourishment, or, in other words, from lack of votes at the polls. An "era of good feeling" had set in and for twenty-four years the Republican party had practically no opposition. In 1824 five different candidates sought the presidency, all of them ostensibly members of the Republican party. They were Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford and John Quincy Adams. Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury and Adams Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet. Both of them must have claimed to have been members of the Republican party or they would not have been chosen for such responsible positions in the cabinet of the Republican President. None of the five candidates received a majority in the electoral college, although Jackson had a large plurality in the electoral college and a plurality in the popular vote.

As we have heretofore seen, the election of the presidency was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Adams was elected President. The election of Adams caused a split in the Republican party which widened and deepened until the next presidential election. One element of the party called itself the National Republican party and nominated Adams for the presidency, while the other element nominated Andrew Jackson as the candidate of the Democratic party. Thus came into being

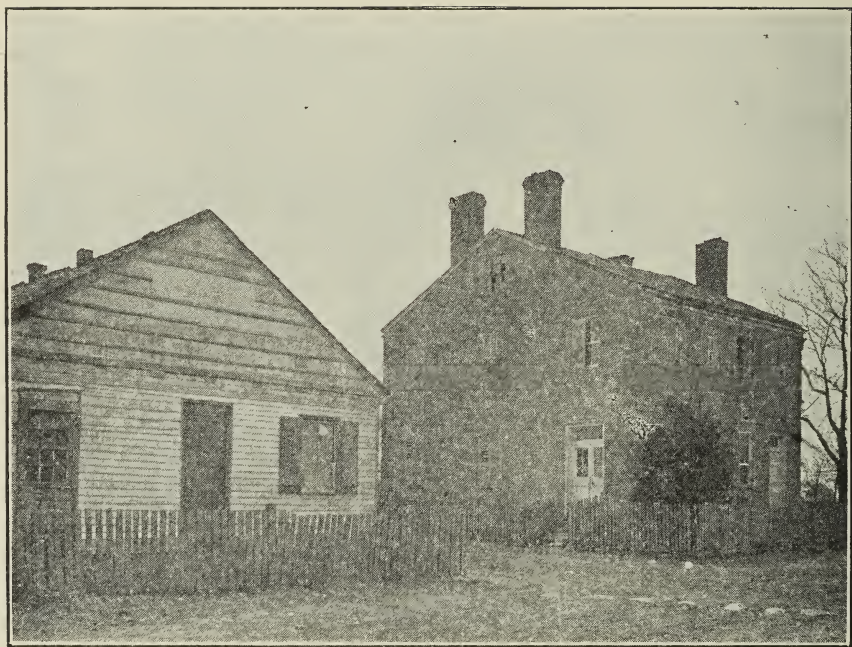
in American politics, both in the nation and state, the name and party since known as the National Democratic party.

It will be remembered that at the election for the presidency in the House of Representatives in 1824, Daniel Pope Cook, the Illinois representative in that body, cast the vote of Illinois for Adams and not for Jackson. In so doing, although he may have acted with the best of motives and according to the dictates of his own conscience and sense of patriotic duty, he committed a political blunder which was the main cause of his defeat in 1826 and his elimination from public life until his death, which occurred about 1830. In the minds of the common people in Illinois and elsewhere, in 1825 and thereafter, Jackson had become an idolized hero. Although he was known to be hot-tempered and headstrong, his patriotism and devotion to the well-being of the common people, his courage and sagacity as a soldier and his glorious record on the battle-fields of the nation had endeared him to the average run of humanity above all other Americans of his day. His domestic life was clean, his integrity universally conceded, his patriotism unquestioned, his energy boundless and his intentions honorable and upright. As devoid of early education as was Lincoln, he lacked the latter's thirst for same. He was *a doer of great deeds rather than a thinker of great thoughts*. Both on the battle-field and in the White House he acted with dynamic force that carried all before it. His vigorous, although at times hasty and explosive acts, endeared him to a people who were then, both in Illinois and throughout the nation, becoming more and more democratized. Up to the advent of Jackson the nation's executives and the executives of Illinois had been taken from what was at that time regarded as the cultured, well-born classes, and the elective franchise in Illinois had been limited to property owners, as well as in many other states. These restrictions on the right of voting had recently been giving way before the popular demand for manhood suffrage, and the poor and uneducated were beginning to understand their power in participating in the machinery of government. They were democratizing the nation in thought and action. In Jackson, comparatively poor and uneducated, who talked, lived and fought in democratic fashion, they recog-

nized one of themselves, extraordinarily forceful, able and successful. He thus became a popular idol and by reason of his incorruptible integrity and exalted patriotism so remained until his death and throughout history.

The casting of the vote of Illinois by Cook for Adams and against Jackson, the popular idol, together with his close affiliation both socially and politically with the "Edwards dynasty," brought to a close Cook's splendid career in the history of Illinois. His greatest reward (not then probably appreciated in its full importance) was to have his name given to what is today the most populous and powerful county in the Northwest, and possibly in the Western Hemisphere.

From this time (1828) on for nearly thirty years, the test applied to all candidates for state offices in Illinois was loyalty to Jackson during his lifetime and to Jacksonian Democracy after his death. John Reynolds, both of whose parents were Irish-born rebels against British rule, was elected governor as a conservative Jacksonian Democrat and inaugurated in 1830. He had been a member of the Supreme Court from 1818 to 1824, and was an early pioneer, having emigrated from Tennessee to Illinois with his father's family in 1800 when a boy of twelve years of age. He was a ranger in the private ranks in the War of 1812 and when governor, 1830-1834, took the field as commander of the Illinois troops in the Black Hawk war. He wrote and published in 1852 a *Pioneer History of Illinois to the Year of 1818*, which is not only intensely interesting, informative, and at places amusing, but which because of the fact that he was intimately acquainted with and an active participant in the pioneer habits and social and political gatherings of the territory under American rule, furnishes the student of Illinois history with the most reliable picture of the pioneer life of the territory before it became a state. Copies of this old history are rare and valuable. I am one of the fortunate owners of one of these rare histories, as a result of the generosity of that splendid book-lover and very able journalist who still vigorously edits the *Belleville News-Democrat*, Hon. Fred J. Kern, former congressman from the Twenty-second Illinois Congressional District and president of the State Board of Administration from



THE CAIRO BANK AT KASKASKIA

1913 to 1917. In 1879, under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, the Fergus Printing Company published a modern edition of Reynolds' History of Illinois, *My Own Times*, which is a much larger and more comprehensive work than the pioneer history published in 1852. Because of the destruction in the Chicago fire of 1871 of most of Governor Reynolds' original *My Own Times*, I have not been able to get a copy of the original edition.

The Black Hawk war took place during Governor Reynolds' term of office and as we shall later see in the account of that war, he, Reynolds, acted with great intelligence, promptitude and vigor in raising the volunteer troops in Illinois and placing them at the disposal of the Federal commanders. He accompanied the troops in person and did everything in his power to uphold the dignity of the state and nation. Whatever criticism there be over the origin and prosecution of that war, it must be, if honest, directed at the Federal authorities. Governor Reynolds, as we have heretofore noted, was the father of the legislation providing for a state penitentiary and had the satisfaction of being able, while governor, to see the fruits of that legislation demonstrated by the actual building of the first state penitentiary at Alton.

As illustrating from what small beginnings the great State of Illinois has developed, I quote from Reynolds' *My Own Times*, as follows: "The revenue imposed from taxes between November 1, 1811 and the eighth of the same month, 1814, was \$4875.47. Of this sum \$2516.89 was paid into the Treasury and \$2378.47 remained in the hands of the delinquent sheriffs to be paid over. (Reynolds *My Own Times*, p. 105.) The appalling condition of poverty among the people, the absence of a circulating medium of exchange, and the grotesque, aye opera bouffe condition of its banking laws between 1819 and 1831 are vividly illustrated by another quotation from the same work, as follows:

A bank was chartered by the first General Assembly in 1819, but it never went into existence. The country was flooded with bank paper all over the Union after the close of the war, but worthless paper of the Western States went down, and left the country almost without any cur-

rency towards the years of 1819, 1820, and 1821. The pressure reached Illinois in its aggravated forms, and property was down to nothing. Cows and calves sold for four or five dollars, and wheat at thirty-five and forty cents per bushel; corn was, in many places, down to ten cents. The people, and the members of the General Assembly who were elected in 1820, were enthusiastic for some relief, but what kind of amelioration of "hard times" was not considered or known.

The people had contracted large debts when the money was plenty, and now, when it was so scarce, it was almost impossible to pay these demands. These considerations urged the people and the General Assembly to seek some relief from this impending evil.

In the early part of the winter of 1821, the legislature conceived the idea of creating a State Bank, formed wholly for the time present, ON THE CREDIT OF THE STATE. This bank was to have a capital of a half a million dollars, and to issue in the beginning only three hundred thousand dollars. The State, by its directors, was to manage the mother bank and the branches, and the whole to remain under the control of the General Assembly. Money was to be loaned to no individual on personal security in sums above one hundred dollars, and to be secured in real estate at two-thirds the value. The notes were to draw an interest of six per cent per annum, and the bank to exist for ten years.

The worst feature yet to be told, was that if a creditor did not take this paper for his debt at par the debt would be replevied for three years. The paper was made receivable for all taxes, State debts, and many others, which the State had the power to control. As it has already been stated, the council of revision had to pass on all bills and approve or reject them. The bill was presented to the council, and three of the five members vetoed it, and returned it to the House of Representatives with their objections. Governor Bond, Judge Philips, and myself, disapproved of the measure, and Judge Wilson and Brown consented to it. The General Assembly became excited and passed the law by a constitutional majority, over the objections of the council. This charter became the law of the land, and the bank went into operation. The veto-message of the council raised the objections to both its constitutional errors and its policy. The paper of this bank was floating through the atmosphere of Illinois for

ten years, as a poisoning and pestilential vapor that withered and blighted the country for that length of time. The paper never was at par and sunk, at times, down to twenty-five cents per dollar.

At almost every session of the General Assembly, during the existence of the bank, either the bank or the bank debtors prayed relief, which was a prolific source of legislation.

The members of the legislature paid themselves, at times, nine dollars per day, and the other officers of the State were also paid in proportion to the depreciation of the paper.

The "stay-laws" and "stop laws," as they were called, operated a great injury to the people, not only for the non-payment of all debts, but they encouraged a kind of disregard for honesty and morality, which in all communities is essential to preserve. I always opposed all laws that interposed any impediment between debtor and creditor. This is a relation—debtor and creditor—existing between free men, made by themselves, that the laws should hold sacred and inviolable. The law in all well-regulated communities should extend its efficient arm to the collection of debts. I am opposed to imprisonment for debt, but it is dishonest legislation to permit one individual to retain the substance of another by law.

The old State Bank lingered out its miserable existence, never observing its promises, or meeting the expectations of its friends, and was wound up in 1831. I had been an observer of its incapacity for the ten years of its existence, and had suffered by its muddy water so much, that I was determined to do all in my power to wind it up and rid the country of its pollutions. In my first message to the General Assembly, dated December 3d, 1820, I presented the subject as follows:

"The subject of the State Bank, as connected with our revenue, will, necessarily, occupy much of your time. The true policy, in my opinion, is to close the business of the bank as soon as a proper regard to the interests of the State will permit. This, too, ought to be done with as little oppression to the bank debtors as possible.

"Within a short time all the paper of the bank will become payable. And although the bank policy has been most ruinous to the State and many of its citizens, and only benefited a few speculators, yet the State is in honor and duty bound for its payment at the appointed time. The

credit and character of the State are involved in the prompt payment of this claim; and I do most sincerely recommend you to sustain that character, which no doubt you will take pleasure in doing, by providing adequate means. The warrants of the State ought not to be allowed to fall below par."

In pursuance of the above recommendation a law was passed, and a loan of one hundred thousand dollars was made to enable the State to meet the claims against the State Bank. The loan was effected and the bank wound up. A good currency was introduced and much benefit by the operation, yet in many sections of the State the loan was unpopular, and it was said the State was sold to Wiggins who made the loan to the State. Many of my friends were prostrated a while for doing their duty in this case, but at last the measure became popular.

These were the words of the man who, as one of the judges of the Supreme Court, was on the advisory committee which advised the governor (Bond) to veto the banking law and who afterwards, when governor, succeeded in having the grotesque bank wound up, its debts paid off and its life extinguished. This wierd law was passed by ill-informed pioneer legislators, ignorant of banking requirements and financial science, avowedly and openly for the express purpose of loaning the state's credit to insolvent debtors, in the vain hope that in some vague way in the distant future, these insolvent debtors would become solvent and remember to pay their debts to the state. It was a financial joke but an historical one that must be recorded in telling the history of Illinois. The result was inevitable. The insolvents secured the state's bank notes in exchange for their own, failed to pay their notes, and the state was compelled to issue its bonds to pay its bank notes.

During the administration of Governor Reynolds occurred the last war with the Indians in Illinois, known as the Black Hawk war, which has been treated at some length elsewhere in this work. It entailed the loss of about 200 American lives, an almost complete extermination of the Sac tribe of Indians at a cost to the state and nation of \$2,000,000. During Reynolds' administration the population of the central and northern portion of the state increased immensely. Chicago was incorporated

as a town in 1833. In 1830 the County of Putnam had 700 inhabitants. Rushville was incorporated in 1831 with 180 inhabitants. In 1831 there were 10,000 people in the counties of Pike, Calhoun, Adams, Schuyler and Fulton, all north and west of the Illinois River in the military tract. Peoria was laid out in 1826 shortly before Reynolds became governor. As evidencing the rapid growth of the population, we find that the counties of Rock Island, LaSalle, Cook and Champaign were all created in 1831 and 1833, during Reynolds' incumbency. Prior to Reynolds' election in 1830, the population of Illinois north of Peoria, excepting at the lead mines around Galena, did not average two white human beings to the square mile.

Reynolds was elected as a Jacksonian Democrat. His opponent, William Kinney, a storekeeper, Baptist minister and seasoned politician, was of the same political party. The latter was an ardent professor of that political faith, while Reynolds, less ardent, was just as steadfast in his loyalty to Jackson. No conventions were held up to that time to make nominations. Both candidates announced their own candidacies, declaring their loyalty to Jackson. The candidates, however, had different temperaments and dispositions and conducted their campaigns along different lines. Reynolds was the better educated, and more suave and tactful in his public utterances. While proclaiming his loyalty to Jackson and Democracy, he was not abusive of his political enemies, the Whigs. Instead of excoiating, he exhorted them to enter the Democratic fold. Kinney, a much abler stump speaker, indulged in invective against Adams, Clay and the whole Whig party. The result was that the Jacksonian Democrats split their votes between the two Jacksonian Democrats, while the Whigs who went to the polls voted for Reynolds as the lesser of two evils, and Reynolds was elected by a substantial majority.

This election and the succeeding election of Duncan over Kinney for governor in 1834 gave birth to the convention system of selecting candidates in the Democratic party in Illinois. Duncan claimed while he was a candidate that he was a Jacksonian Democrat, although his loyalty to "Old Hickory" was doubted by many. Kinney, his opponent, made the same pro-

fession. The result was the same as when Reynolds was a candidate. Duncan divided the Democratic vote with Kinney and received nearly all of the Whig vote and was elected. To prevent such situations in the future, the Democrats in the nation, about 1835, adopted the convention system of electing candidates for public office. They declared in set resolutions that politics in the Republic was based upon differences of principle as to government and that the triumph of principles, rather than the triumph of leaders or a leader, was the aim to be sought in politics. They declared that "without a frequent interchange of political sentiment, expressed by the people, and repeated by their delegates, properly authorized, the democracy cannot insure that success in their elections which the purity and integrity of their principles entitle them to claim."

The Democrats had discovered that victory for their principles and candidates could not be secured unless they consolidated and centered the vote of their party upon one man pledged to support their principles and eliminating the candidacy of other rivals within the party, because these rivals would divide the vote of the party and allow a minority in the opposing party, consolidated on one candidate, to win over their majority. It was decided that in each election district delegates should be elected to the county, state or national conventions of the party, where a declaration of principles should be adopted and a single candidate for each office should be selected, pledged to support that declaration of principle, and receive the undivided support at the election of all members of that party.

This system adopted by the Democratic party about 1835 had much to commend it. By assembling its leaders and framers of public principles in one place for conferences, consultation, discussion and debate, it enables a party, after mature deliberation, to promulgate a full-considered declaration of the policies to be pursued by that party if placed in power, and enables the party as one man to support the candidate who pledges himself to carry out those policies when elected. The wisdom of the plan has been demonstrated from the fact that from that time down to the present, the same has been adhered to by the Democratic party and that within a short time afterwards it

was adopted by its great rival, the present Republican party. The Whigs in Illinois did not adopt the convention system till some time afterwards. It was derided, criticized and condemned by them until they began to ascertain its effectiveness. Since its adoption by both of the great political parties it has often been criticized, as being in operation, capable of fraudulent manipulation. That fraudulent acts in the election of delegates and in the calling of conventions and recording their results sometimes occur cannot be questioned, but I know of no business calling, occupation or trade, and no meeting of men or women, where fraud may not and does not at some time enter. Fraud vitiates all things. Frauds occur under the direct primary systems as they occur in conventions. Under either system care must be taken to eliminate fraud.

Those voters in Illinois who had favored Adams or Clay for the Presidency in preference to Andrew Jackson in 1828 and were therefore opposed to Jacksonian Democracy, were dubbed as Whigs, which name they accepted without demur. These Whigs for many years were in a hopeless minority. They were timid about placing men in nomination for public offices as Whigs. Few or none of the Whigs would announce their voluntary candidacies as Whigs because they felt that such an announcement would kill their chances of election. Between 1828 and 1848 no candidate avowedly opposed to Jackson or Jacksonian Democracy could be, or was, elected to state or national office in Illinois. The Whig voters in Illinois, except on one occasion, either remained at home on election day, or voted for that Jacksonian candidate that was the least offensive to them of the candidates seeking election. On the one exceptional occasion, when Harrison was the National Republican-Whig candidate for the presidency, they rallied in force at the polls and cast a large but unsuccessful vote for Harrison in Illinois. Harrison was beaten in this state, but won throughout the nation.

In the gubernatorial election when Reynolds was successful in 1830, and again when Duncan was elected, both of these men received numbers of Whig votes because the Whigs regarded these men as the least offensive Jacksonian Democrats at these

two elections. The Democrats early recognized that the candidacies of two or more men by individual announcements, professing themselves to be Democrats, would soon split the party wide open and allow the Whigs, though in a minority, to win at the polls, and they soon adopted the convention system to avoid this disaster. The system, however, was not found at the start to be simple or easy of adoption. It was often found to be cumbersome and inconvenient to follow the evolution of a national convention up from the precinct election through all the civil voting units, to the choice of national delegates to national conventions. The advisability, aye political necessity of the consolidation of the vote of the party behind one set of principles and one candidate, was to the Democratic mind paramount over the inconveniences of the system. The Democrats believed that the aims and wishes of the common people under the convention system would be registered and systematically carried on and up from the simple gatherings of the people in election or school districts, through the congressional or judicial conventions to the national conventions. They contended, too, that the system was democratic and prevented wealth from determining the choice of candidates in caucuses as had frequently happened in the past.

The Whigs, however, did not take kindly to the system. They claimed that it prevented worthy and financially responsible men from offering themselves as candidates for election. The Whigs, however, had the reputation of having within their ranks most if not all of the wealthy men and bankers in the state; and, although in a minority, the Whigs had bought and owned most of the stock in, and had organized, the State Bank and the Bank of Illinois, in 1834, which institutions had become quite unpopular. The majority of the Whigs were by no means idealists, but were successful accumulators of wealth. The Whigs reluctantly adopted the convention system in 1839, some years after the Democrats. Prior to their so doing they had bitterly criticized the system. It was forced upon them by its apparent success in the Democratic party and not by any evolution within the party.

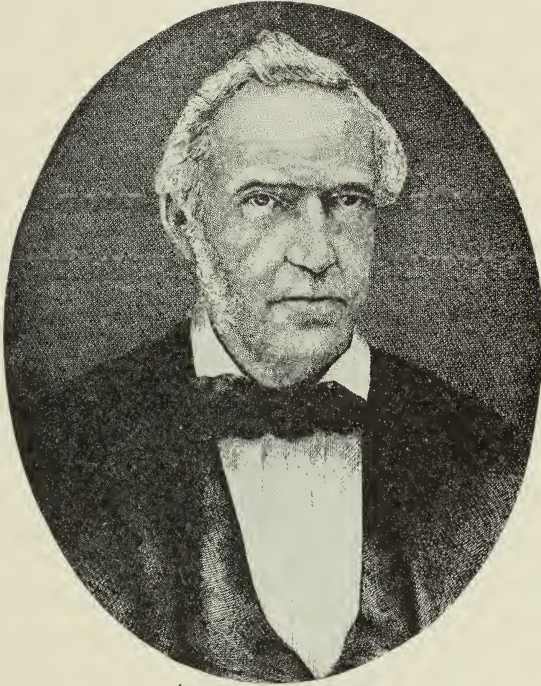
On November 17, 1834, Governor Reynolds resigned as governor of Illinois, to become a member of Congress, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor William L. D. Ewing, who held the office for fifteen days, or until Governor Duncan was inaugurated. Ewing's term as governor was the shortest in the history of Illinois. Reynolds was, under the Constitution of 1818, ineligible for reelection and had been during his term as governor elected to Congress. This accounts for his resignation as governor.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN REYNOLDS AS GOVERNOR

John Reynolds, a pioneer who had entered Illinois from Tennessee as a boy in 1800, the son of an Irish rebel against British rule, was elected governor of Illinois in 1830. He had been a ranger in the private ranks in the War of 1812, was practicing law, and had served a term with his uncle, Thomas Reynolds, on the Supreme bench of the state. At the time he announced his candidacy for governor, he was a popular member of the Lower House of the State Legislature and a lawyer of good standing in active practice. In politics he was a Jacksonian Democrat, but not in favor with the ultra or radical element of his party. The Jacksonian Democrats of that year, 1830, were divided into two camps—the ultras, who advised persecution of their political enemies, the Whigs, because of their political opinions, and the conservative Jacksonian Democrats, who decried political proscription of the Whigs. Reynolds announced his candidacy as a Jacksonian Democrat but as opposed to proscribing any man because of his political opinions.

His rival candidate, W. C. Kinney, was a Baptist minister, a successful store-keeper, and at the time of his candidacy was lieutenant-governor of Illinois. He was in politics also a Jacksonian Democrat, but of the ultra type. It was alleged in the heated campaign between him and Reynolds that Kinney had declared that the Whigs "should be whipped out of office like dogs out of a meathouse." Kinney claimed in the campaign that he had the ear of President Jackson and could dictate the Federal appointments in the state. Both candidates ardently claimed to be Jacksonian Democrats. No man could be elected



Your friend

John Reynolds

GOVERNOR 1830-34

at that time who did not make such a profession of political faith.

The candidate for lieutenant governor on the Kinney ticket was Zadoc Casey, who was also a minister of the Gospel, and Reynolds and his adherents made much of the fact in the campaign and decried the injection of "the church into politics." This was particularly effective against Kinney by reason of the fact that both candidates were openly following the custom of that time and treating their followers to liberal libations of whiskey. As Reynolds describes in his *My Own Times*: "It was the universal custom of the times to treat with liquor. We both did it, but he was condemned more for it than myself by the religious community, he being a preacher of the Gospel." (*My Own Times*, p. 188.) Naturally, there would be much more criticism of a minister of the Gospel buying whiskey for electioneering purposes than of a layman doing the same. The result of the election was that Reynolds received a large majority of the Jacksonian Democratic votes and nearly all of the Whigs, and was elected by a large majority.

In his inaugural message, Reynolds advocated free popular education, general internal public improvements, the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the improvement of the Chicago harbor. He cleverly and adroitly dodged the question of increasing the state taxation by the issuance of state bonds for the making of these improvements; and endeavored in nearly every instance to throw the burden upon the Federal Government. He did, however, recommend the completion of the first state penitentiary at Alton at the direct cost of the state. Under his administration a law was passed refunding the old State Bank paper which had the effect of putting the state paper back at par value.

The Black Hawk war broke out in 1831 during Governor Reynolds' administration and lasted for eighteen months. The governor actively and energetically participated therein, as we have shown in another chapter. In his *My Own Times* he devotes sixty-five pages to that interesting topic which are well worth reading by any history-loving student. In that work he treats his political rivals with much courtesy and apparently

very fairly. It is a very interesting volume and I recommend its perusal.

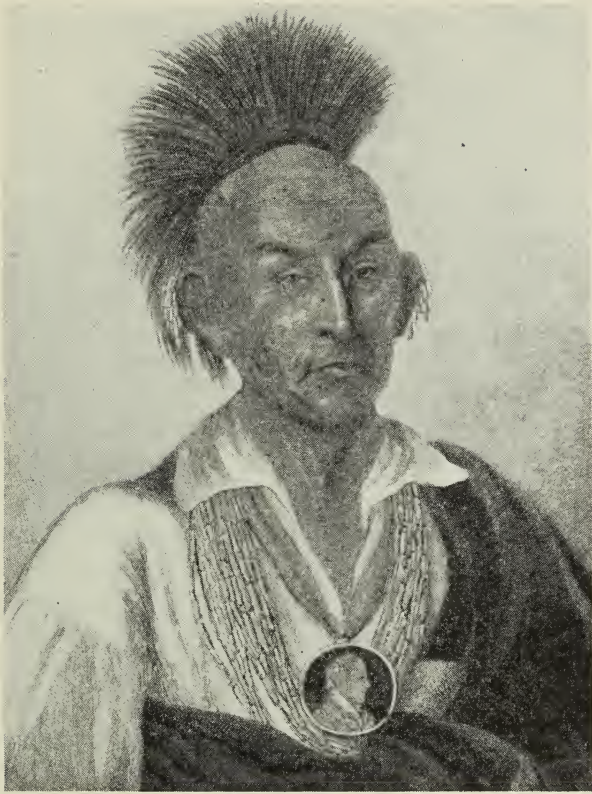
In the summer of 1834 Charles Slade, the member of Congress from Reynolds' congressional district, died, leaving a vacancy to which Reynolds was elected. This position he held for three years thereafter. Under the Constitution of 1818 he was ineligible to succeed himself as governor and this is probably the reason he sought election to Congress. To the credit of Governor Reynolds and the Legislature who served under him must be placed the law which upheld the financial honor of the state in 1830. During the first session of this Legislature it became its duty to make provision for the redemption of the notes of the old State Bank which fell due during the next summer. Former Legislatures had feared to risk the popularity of its members by the redemption of these notes by taxation or otherwise. Something must now be done. At the insistence of Governor Reynolds the Legislature authorized the making of the "Wiggins' Loan" of \$100,000. The money was obtained by borrowing this sum, and with the money so obtained the notes of the bank were redeemed and the honor of the state was saved. This wise and manly act, however, recoiled upon the legislators and but few of the men who voted for this loan found favor in the sight of their constituents for many years thereafter. They became as unpopular as the legislators who shortly afterwards voted for the "Little Bull Law." This "Little Bull Law" was a wise law intended for the improvement of the breed of cattle and prohibited small bulls of no pedigree from running at large. Popular opinion was in favor of placing bulls and human beings on the same level with reference to their wanderings. The public denounced the law as discriminatory and proscriptive and vented its dissatisfaction upon all who voted for it. Votes for the "Wiggins' Loan" and the "Little Bull Law" retired many legislators to private life.

CHAPTER XXX

BLACK HAWK AND THE LAST STAND OF THE INDIANS

We now come to an episode in the history of state and nation which it is unpleasant to discuss, but as it was unquestionably an important occurrence in the history of Illinois it must be considered and frankly treated by anyone presuming to record the facts of history.

Up to the year 1831 the last remnant of the confederated Sac and Fox tribes, with the consent and approval of the Federal Government, had occupied two villages near what is now Rock Island. The village possessed by the Sac tribe was on the north side of the Rock River, near that city. The Fox village was three miles away on the Mississippi. These villages for a century had been the principal seats and burial grounds of these tribes. In the year 1804 five of the chiefs or head men of these tribes had gone to St. Louis to secure the release of one of their tribe charged with the murder of a white man. It is very questionable as to whether these five Indians had instructions from their tribes in any other matter. While in St. Louis they were inveigled by William Henry Harrison (who was notorious for securing by unscrupulous methods unfair treaties from the Indians) into signing a paper by the terms of which their tribes conveyed to the United States 50,000,000 acres of land in consideration of an annuity of \$1,000. In describing this transaction, Pease in his volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois* uses the following language: "In this transaction he (Harrison) treated with five chiefs, away from home, on a mission which was, at least primarily, for a different purpose; while these head men were befuddled by firewater he concluded a treaty which, in return for an annuity of \$1,000, stripped the Sac and Foxes of 50,000,000 acres of land." P. 150, Pease.



Courtesy H. W. Fay, Springfield.

BLACK HAWK

The territory purported to be conveyed by this document covered all the land in Illinois north of the Illinois River and east of the Mississippi in addition to large tracts in Wisconsin and Indiana. Whiskey seems to have been an essential and material concomitant of most of the Harrison treaties. President Jefferson had occasion to strongly disapprove of Harrison's methods in securing treaties, and in May, 1805, ordered Harrison to make explanations in order to "counteract the effect of his own questionable methods." (Idem.) Thomas Forsythe, agent for these two tribes, and knowing them better than any other white man, in discussing this treaty in 1832, wrote: "The Sac and Fox nations were never consulted nor had any hand in the treaty, nor knew anything about it. It was made and signed by two Sac chiefs, one Fox chief and one warrior." (Idem.) By the terms of this alleged treaty, however, these two tribes were allowed to live and hunt upon this land so long as it was the property of the Federal Government.

Up to the year 1823 these tribes lived in peaceful and unmolested possession of these villages, heretofore mentioned, and the lands surrounding the same. The land around these villages was very fertile, and every year the Indians planted it with corn and other crops which never failed. Vegetables grew rapidly and on the island near them strawberries, blackberries, plums, apples and nuts grew in great profusion. The Government had not parted with its title to these lands by patents to settlers. About the year 1823 white men going to and from the lead mines at Galena began to notice the fine crops produced upon their lands by the Indian squaws. Acting on the principle that a red man had no right to till or enjoy any land that a white man wanted, these covetous white men "squatted" on these lands and drove the Indian squaws and children off and into the villages. Naturally, the Indians who had occupied and tilled these lands for a century resented such treatment. The conduct of the white "squatters" was in violation of the law and the terms of the alleged treaty of 1804. Of all the immense domain claimed to have been conveyed to the Government by that document, these few and narrow fields around their village were the only portions that were actually tilled and made productive by the In-

dians, and it would have been not only decent and just, but good policy, for the United States Government to have reserved this land and allowed the Indians to cultivate it as their forefathers had done for years past.

The "squatter," however, was not a man to consider justice or decency as against an Indian, no matter how peaceful that Indian might be. The "squatters" became insolent and violent. The Indians became resentful and violent. Pontiac's war, the War of 1812 and wars between these tribes and other Indians had weakened the Sac and Fox not only in number of warriors but in morale. They resisted the aggressiveness of the white "squatters" for a time without shedding blood. Since the treaty of 1816 these tribes had killed no white man and their forbearance under the violent encroachments of the "squatters" was amazing. Each and every year the "squatters" came closer and fenced in the fields that the Indians had tilled. Keokuk, the most important of the Sac chiefs, wise, able and eloquent, recognizing the futility of warfare against the whites, gave up the struggle in despair, and advised his fellow-Indians to abandon the homes and graves of their ancestors, and to cross the Mississippi and establish new homes in Missouri. Under the circumstances which confronted him and his people, this was the weak, but wise, thing to do. The officials of the Federal Government, instead of acting with justice and humanity, stood idly by and, to the humiliation of the American sense of honor and fair play, allowed these "squatters" to dispossess the Indians of their homes, their crops and the final resting-places of their dead. They did this not only by inaction, but by affirmative acts.

The "squatters," for over seven years, were allowed by Federal officials to encroach further and further into the lands occupied and tilled by the Indians, and finally the registrars at the United States Land Office allowed these "squatters" to file preemption claims and accorded to them preemption rights over certain quarter-sections of land, which included most of one of their villages, their graves and the corn lands, which for over a century had been occupied by the Sac and Foxes and their ancestors. The American sense of justice and fair

play had in the breasts of the persons charged with public duties at that time (1830 and 1831) been benumbed or debauched by the land-gluttony prevalent, and sad to say it was tolerated or overlooked by those in high authority in the nation, and afterwards enforced by bloody and shameful warfare.

Even the claim of right of preemption was illegal. Preemption presumes that the land preempted is peacefully occupied by the preemptor. This land, for which preemption rights were accorded to the "squatters," was land in open and notorious occupation by the Indians and had been so for years. The whole affair was not only scandalously unjust but illegal in every respect. Keokuk had been, as we have said, weak but wise, in advising his people to succumb to brute force and retire from their ancestral homes. There was another Indian chief on the scene, who was neither weak nor wise. Although over sixty years of age he had still retained the vigor and valour of Pontiac and Tecumseh,—aye, and of Leonidas and Horatio. He regarded the advice of Keokuk as weak and cowardly. Many of the warriors resented the attitude of Keokuk and this faction found a ready and resolute leader in Black Hawk, who was a co-leader and rival chief of Keokuk. He was probably jealous of the prominence of the latter, but he promptly advised his warrior friends to resist the encroachments of the "squatters" and thus advanced his own power and lessened the authority of his rival. The struggle between these two chiefs continued for two crop seasons. Keokuk finally succeeded in inducing the greater number of the two confederated tribes to cross the Mississippi, surrender their homes and graveyards and locate in Missouri.

Black Hawk and his followers tenaciously remained in their village. For some time he advised against bloodshed and violence, being concerned only with peaceable but determined acts of occupation and possession. When the preemption claims of the "squatters" were brought forward and the claim made that they had legal title and the right to dispossess the Indians, he began to examine into the treaties and other legal questions and discovered the terms of these documents. He ascertained the circumstances under which Governor Harrison had wheedled certain Indian chiefs into signing the treaty of 1804 while in-

toxicated, and the fact that this treaty was confirmed by other treaties in 1816, 1822 and 1825; which subsequent treaties, however, made no specific reference to the substance of the treaty of 1804. He discovered, too, that certain monies and goods which had been given to the Sac and Fox tribes annually by agents of the United States Government, which he and the other Indians believed were gifts, were in fact paid over to the Indians under the annuity provision of \$1,000 to be paid annually under the terms of the treaty of 1804. Upon making these discoveries he promptly advised his Indian followers to refuse thereafter to accept any such monies or provisions and sought advice from his friends, the English officers at Malden, Canada, and from other Indian chiefs in other tribes. He told the men the result of his investigation into the treaties and the circumstances surrounding their signatures, and they advised him that if his statements to them were true the United States could not, and would not, remove him and his tribes from their village at Saukenuk, near Rock Island.

It is claimed, too, that General Cass was also consulted by Black Hawk and that the general gave him the same advice. The village (or villages) called Saukenuk, it must be borne in mind, was not the ordinary Indian village which could be moved from time to time without much inconvenience. It, or they, (for they were practically one community) was as near an approach to a modern permanent small city as we can find in Indian history. There were 700 lodges constructed in the manner of the "long houses" of the Mohawks which would accommodate and give shelter to from 6,000 to 7,000 Indians. Some of them were 100 feet long and from twenty to thirty feet wide, with their roofs and walls made weatherproof with thatch. Many hundreds of acres around the village were cultivated and tilled and had been for many years.

Acting upon the results of his investigation and the advice he had been given by both white men and Indian chiefs, Black Hawk now turned upon the "squatters" and preemptors, and told them defiantly that the land had never been legally ceded, and ordered them peremptorily to leave the country. It was inconceivable to him that the Great Father of the United States

would tolerate the forcible seizure of this small tract of land upon which his people had lived for a century at least, and where they had buried their dead, after his agents had cheated them out of 50,000,000 acres with bribes and whiskey. When Black Hawk defiantly ordered the settlers off of these lands and threatened them with violence in case of refusal to leave, eight of these settlers sent a memorial of their grievances to Governor Reynolds in which they set out that the Sac Indians "had threatened to kill them; that they acted in a most outrageous manner; threw down their fences, turned horses into their corn-fields, stole their potatoes, saying the land was theirs and that they had not sold it, . . . leveled deadly weapons at the citizens" and that these terrible Indians had entered "a home, rolled out a barrel of whiskey, and destroyed it." A few days afterward, April 30, 1831, thirty-seven settlers complained to the governor that the Indians were acting in "an outrageous and menacing manner." Receiving no reply thereto, a personal delegation called upon the governor in the following month. From letters, memorials, delegations and rumors, Governor Reynolds reached the conclusion that an Indian war was imminent, and issued a call for volunteer soldiers.

While I have written some strong words in criticism of the Federal officers who acted or refused to act in the crisis that led up to the so-called Black Hawk war, let it be understood that I have no word of censure of the state officials of Illinois, who, when hostilities broke out between the settlers and the Indians, called for volunteers to suppress the hostilities and restore peace. War is war; or, as Sherman is reputed to have said: "War is hell!" It was the duty of the governor of Illinois and the public officials of the state when war or organized violence broke out within the confines of the state, such as riots, rebellion or guerrilla warfare, to call to the colors the men of the state to suppress disorder, prevent pillage and prevent bloodshed. Calling for volunteer troops, in taking the field in person, and placing himself and his troops at the disposition of the Federal Government to enforce Federal law and Federal authority when flouted, was the duty of each state official.

In June, 1831, 600 volunteers had responded to the governor's call for troops, and along with ten companies of United States Regulars, these 600 men under command of Gen. E. P. Gaines soon appeared before the Indian village at Saukenuk. Dismayed at the show of overwhelming force, the Indians watched the evolutions of the soldiers in front of their village June 25, and during the following night the entire tribe vacated their village and crossed the river into Iowa. The next day the troops entered an empty village, and set fire to and destroyed most of the lodges. It turned out that the purchaser of the land under most, if not all, of the Indian village was Colonel Davenport, the United States Indian agent. This scandalous and disloyal act infuriated Black Hawk and his followers to such a degree that they contemplated killing him. Black Hawk, in his autobiography, as quoted by Smith, says:

We concluded that if we were removed by force, the trader, agent and others must be the cause, and that if they were found guilty of having driven us from our village they should be killed. The trader stood foremost on this list. He (Colonel Davenport) had purchased the land on which my lodge stood, and that of our graveyard also. We therefore proposed to kill him and the agent, the interpreter, the great chief at St. Louis, the war chiefs at Forts Armstrong, Rock Island and Keokuk, these being the principal persons to blame for endeavoring to remove us.

On June 30, 1831, Governor Reynolds and General Gaines concluded a treaty with Black Hawk and his tribe under the terms of which the Indians agreed to confirm the treaty of 1804 and bound themselves not to cross to the eastern side of the Mississippi except by permission of the United States Government. This treaty was undoubtedly executed by the Indians while they were in extremes and facing starvation, but this time they knew and understood its terms. Up to this time they had used no weapons or taken any lives in defense of their homes and graves. The American authorities had acted ruthlessly and by the display of overwhelming force had compelled the Indians to sign a treaty which forever deprived them of visiting their old home or crossing the great river. This last engagement

they afterwards broke deliberately and openly and thus violated the terms of the treaty.

Why were they so rash and foolish as to defy a great, powerful nation and within the territory of one of its states that had a population of over 160,000 when the fighting men of their tribe did not exceed 500 warriors? Pease in his volume of the *Centennial History* gives the two reasons: *Starvation* and *the desire to avenge the murder of eight of their tribe by the Menominee Indians*. Pease uses the following language in discussing this matter :

The Indians, however, had left their growing crops in Illinois, and it was too late to plant anew in Iowa. By autumn they were out of provisions. One night a little company of their young men crossed the river to steal roasting ears from the crops they had left on their old lands. The whites fired upon them and complained loudly of the double offense of thieving and of violating the treaty. Much more startling was the daring of an expedition of Foxes, who went up the Mississippi to avenge upon the Menominee warriors the murder of eight Fox chiefs the previous year. They fell upon a party of twenty-eight drunken braves encamped on an island opposite the fort at Prairie du Chien, and scalped and mutilated the whole band. This to the Indian code was only just reprisal; Black Hawk reluctantly refused to deliver up any of his band for trial, especially since so much demand had been made of the Menominee the year before.

During the episode famine conditions continued. At the invitation of the Prophet, Black Hawk determined to cross the Mississippi the following spring and raise a crop with his friends, the Winnebago. He had a childlike conviction that so long as he showed no warlike inclinations and was not entering his old village, the Government would not molest him.

In April, 1832, with 400 warriors and their women and children and personal belongings, Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi River in full view of Fort Armstrong and started up the Rock River in the direction of his friends, the Winnebago Indians. Gen. Henry Atkinson, then stationed at Fort Armstrong, sent an express agent after the Indians, ordering them

to return to Iowa. Black Hawk answered that he was on a peaceful mission to plant corn and secure food, and refused to return. When threatened with force he persisted in his refusal. It was for Black Hawk and his tribe a fateful blunder caused by the hungry bellies of his tribe and himself. As soon as it was noised abroad that Black Hawk and his tribe were back in Illinois and foraging along the Rock River, the whole state was ablaze with excitement. Notwithstanding Black Hawk's protestations to General Atkinson that he was on a peaceful mission to procure food for his starving people, the public was convinced that the Indians were again on the war-path. Atrocities on both sides had always been the characteristics of former Indian wars, and the 160,000 white people of Illinois almost unanimously determined that Indian warfares must come to an end and that this was the opportunity of making this Indian war the last one.

Governor Reynolds recalled the terms of the treaty that Black Hawk and his fellows had signed only the June preceding and was indignant that its terms should be so flagrantly violated. He issued an impassioned and vigorous call for troops and within thirty days 1,600 volunteers assembled at Beardstown. They elected their own officers, and while there was much fighting spirit, the discipline was rather loose. Divided into four regiments, a spy battalion and two odd battalions, they marched to Fort Armstrong early in May, and General Atkinson of the United States Army at that point, took command. General Atkinson then placed Gen. Samuel Whiteside in command of the recruits, and he was ordered to take them fifty miles up the Rock River to Prophetstown, there to remain until they could be joined by ten companies of United States Infantry from Fort Armstrong, with provisions. When these recruits reached Prophetstown they burnt the vacant village, by way of diversion, and then marched on to Dixon, leaving their baggage and provisions behind them in order to make better time. Here they found two other independent battalions of mounted volunteers commanded by Maj. Isaiah Stillman, full of fight and thirsting for Indian blood.

To appease their sanguinary desires, Whiteside detailed Stillman and his men to go further up the Rock River and try to find the whereabouts of Black Hawk and his warriors. Stillman and his men started off with great enthusiasm upon this mission. On May 14 they encamped in a small grove entirely surrounded by an open prairie, impossible for ambushade. Black Hawk and his band of Indians, with their women and children, were only a few miles away. The chief had been for a week in conference with the Winnebagoes and the Prophet, and found he could not secure any aid or assistance from them, from other Indians or from his former English friends. Even the hospitality of the Winnebagoes was lukewarm. He began to fear that his own people would soon discover that he could get no assistance. They were on the verge of starvation and he heard the ominous news that the whites were gathering in huge armed force around him. In this dilemma, he pushed on to Sycamore Creek to have council with the Pottawatomies. Upon the advice of Shabbona, their chief, this tribe refused him relief, even refusing him corn for his starving people. After this last experience with the Pottawatomies Black Hawk gave up all hope of aid and made up his mind to surrender. Stillman's troops, he learned, were but eight miles away, 340 in number. Here was a chance with some little dignity to raise the white flag and save his band from death by starvation. He sent three young warriors under a flag of truce to Stillman's camp to arrange the surrender. Some of Stillman's men saw the three Indians approaching at a distance of a mile away. Without awaiting any order these men jumped on their horses and, surrounding the three peaceful Indians, yelled and swore like madmen. While the Indians were explaining to them their peaceful mission, the soldiers in camp saw five other Indians, nearly a mile further away, whom Black Hawk had sent to watch the treatment accorded his three peace messengers. Twenty other soldiers from the camp dashed out to meet the Indians and these twenty were soon followed by other soldiers. The five Indians, seeing that they would soon be surrounded by a large number of soldiers, turned and attempted to flee. The whites fired and killed two of them, and when the soldiers having the three peace messengers

in charge heard the shots which killed the two fleeing Indians, one of them deliberately shot and killed in cold blood one of the three Indians who were under the flag of truce. The other two peace-seeking Indians then took to their heels and during the excitement in the camp managed to escape. It would seem that there was little or no discipline in the camp, and each soldier acted upon his own impulse, which eventually brought disgrace and tragedy both to officers and men.

The escaping Indians returned to Black Hawk and reported to him the infamous treatment accorded to the three Indians who were his emissaries under the flag of truce and the death of their comrades. They were followed by wild and disorganized bodies of the Stillman battalions thirsting for more Indian gore. Black Hawk, when informed of the outrageous treatment, was first amazed and then infuriated. He had only forty warriors accessible. When he saw the mounted American soldiers approaching, he formed his forty warriors behind some chaparral and ordered his men to sell their lives as dearly as possible in avenging the deaths of their peace-seeking comrades. The foremost line of Stillman's soldiers was hardly upon them when Black Hawk's warriors rushed bravely into their first rank with wild yells and war-whoops, firing their guns with deadly effect. The blood-thirsty ardor of the Stillmanites was soon chilled, and in the belief that the whole Indian tribe was after them, they turned tail and raced madly for their own camp yelling, "Injuns! Injuns!" So rapid and inglorious was their retreat that the great body of them outdistanced the Indians and escaped injury. But a few who were injured fell behind and eleven were killed.

The affrighted Stillmanites did not stop when they reached their own encampment, but raced on madly to Dixon. During that night and the following day they kept streaming into Dixon with Munchausen tales of being pursued by from 1,500 to 2,000 Indians under the fiendish and diabolical control of Black Hawk, and of the terrific slaughter that resulted. Captain Adams and a handful of men, however, made a brave stand and fought until killed. The total loss to the American troops was eleven men killed, but their camp was captured by Black Hawk's men,

who found and confiscated a badly-needed lot of provisions, as well as a goodly supply of blankets, saddle-bags and other camp equipment. The fight was promptly and facetiously christened "Stillman's Run" by Stillman's contemporaries and this name still sticks to it in history.

The effect of this skirmish, for it was nothing else, was prodigious. Although between four and five regiments of volunteers were already in the field, together with ten companies of United States Regulars, while Black Hawk at no time since he crossed the Mississippi had 500 warriors, Governor Reynolds immediately issued a call for 2,000 men. This was found to be necessary, as many of the soldiers already in service, disheartened by Stillman's escapade, were begging for discharge. The officers began to find out that it was impossible to carry on an effective campaign with unwilling and disheartened militiamen. About the end of May they consented to their being mustered out of service. Three hundred rangers, however, reenlisted immediately. Their victory over Stillman had an altogether different effect upon the Indians. They filled their half-starved stomachs with the provisions they had found in Stillman's camp and appropriated the camp equipment to their warlike needs. Black Hawk sent out scouting parties to watch the movements of the soldiers and then removed the women and children to the swampy but secure retreats around the head of the Rock River in Wisconsin. He then, with his unencumbered warriors and Indian recruits that joined him from the Winnebago and Pottawatomie tribes, left Wisconsin and began to harass Northern Illinois with guerrilla warfare. Irregular border warfare was now carried on by the Indians and whites in which about 200 white men lost their lives, the Indians suffering about the same number of deaths.

Governor Reynolds' call for additional troops was answered promptly. Within three weeks after Stillman's defeat, 3,200 mounted volunteers took the field under command of General Atkinson. Together with the United States Regulars the full number of men in the field numbered 4,000. The Indians numbered about 400 and were without a commissariat. After consuming the provisions found in Stillman's camp, they were

compelled to live on the bark of trees, roots and horse-flesh. The swamps into which they were compelled to retire for temporary safety furnished them neither game nor fish. When Atkinson with his superior forces drove them into the headwaters of the Rock River, near Lake Koshkonong, where the women and children had been left for safety, Black Hawk was compelled to flee still further to the north and west, where he hoped to cross the Mississippi with his starving band into Iowa. When Atkinson's army, after wading this trackless marsh country with water often up to their hips, reached Lake Koshkonong, they found a deserted camp and not an Indian in sight. The soldiers had been short-rationed and compelled to sleep on their arms every night lest they be ambushed. Pursuing a will-of-the-wisp enemy that they feared, and hated, but never could see, they became discouraged and dissatisfied. Governor Reynolds, who had accompanied the army thus far, became disgusted with this type of military life and he and his entire staff returned home. Towards the end of July Atkinson found his forces reduced to one-half of their original number and fell back from his pursuit of the fleeing Indians to Fort Koshkonong. He then awaited the return of the troops under Generals Henry, Alexander and Dodge, who had been detached to Fort Winnebago to secure supplies. While Atkinson with the main army was awaiting the arrival of these troops, Henry, Alexander and Dodge discovered that Black Hawk and his famishing tribe were only thirty-five miles away. After a conference they all agreed that they ought to disobey the order requiring them to return to Fort Koshkonong, and attack the Indians directly and without the orders of their superior, General Atkinson. Alexander, upon consulting his inferior officers and men, found that they would refuse to obey. Henry found much of the same insubordination among his officers and men, but he promptly and decisively quelled the mutiny, and with General Dodge commenced a three-day forced march against Black Hawk through the swamps. They soon found the fresh trail of the fleeing Indians leading towards the Four Lakes and the Wisconsin River. Here at last they had found the elusive enemy. They at once piled their tents, blankets and baggage where they stood, and thus unen-

cumbered hastened their pace until they were within two or three miles of the Indians' rear guard. Cooking implements abandoned by the Indians and finally old and exhausted Indians lying helpless on the ground proved to them that the Indians were almost within gun-shot.

By July 21 the Indians had reached the bluffs near the Wisconsin River, but could go no further by reason of their extreme exhaustion. To protect their crossing of the river in the night-time, Black Hawk selected a picked body of fifty braves to make a last stand. When the American soldiers finally came in sight of the Indians they dismounted. Leaving the horses behind them they charged the Indian line, yelling like madmen. The Indians after one wild counter-charge, lay on the ground and fired their guns again and again from this position. The fight lasted about half an hour, with losses about even. But Black Hawk had achieved his aim. Darkness came on and Henry feared to push his men into marshy ground in the dark. During the night Black Hawk managed to transport his famished warriors and their wives and children across the Wisconsin.

In this engagement the Indians had sixty-eight killed and many were wounded. The American forces had but one killed and eight wounded. This proves the immense superiority of the American forces both in the number of fighting men and in armament and ammunition. Black Hawk afterwards declared that he would not have fought this fight if it had not been that he desired time to get his women and children across the river. Having rescued his women and children, Black Hawk made up his mind that "the game was up," and that the only way that he could save the remnant of his starving tribe was by unconditional surrender. On the following day, before dawn, he detailed a loud-voiced warrior to announce to the Americans that his tribe was starving, that his warriors were unable to fight longer and to ask the Americans to peacefully plan it, so that he and his warriors could cross the Mississippi and cause no more trouble. The Indian detailed for that purpose came within sight and hearing of the American camp and made the announcement in his Indian tongue. Unfortunately, however, the interpreters had left the American camp the night before

and no one in camp knew what the Indian brave was saying. That he was offering on behalf of Black Hawk to surrender was not known until after the fight or massacre at Bad Axe. What followed here, after the fight at Wisconsin Heights, must bring a flush of shame to the cheeks of every American who reads it.

A large party of Black Hawk's tribe that he succeeded in transporting across the Wisconsin at the cost of the lives of sixty-eight warriors, consisting of old men, women and children, had secured from the Winnebagoes some canoes and rafts and started to float down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. As non-combatants they mistakenly believed that they would be safe from attack. All civilized people refrain from so doing. At Blue Mounds, on the Wisconsin River, *these harmless, defenseless refugees were attacked by United States Regulars from Prairie du Chien*, thirty-two women and children were captured, and the rest of the party were killed or drowned in the attack, or scattered to die in the woods of wounds or starvation. Some of those that escaped into the woods were massacred while in a dying condition by Menominee Indians officered by white men. I regret that I have not the names of these white officers so that I could hand them down to historic infamy.

The remainder of the starving tribe of Sac who had crossed the Wisconsin River were not able to procure other canoes or rafts and started overland through the woods and swamps to the Mississippi. Twenty-five of the warriors wounded in the Wisconsin Heights fight died on the way. Some traveled on foot, some on horseback but all moving slowly in their impoverished condition, at length what was left of them reached the great river. Some of the old men and children perished on the way. On the afternoon of the day they reached the Mississippi, the steamboat *Warrior*, loaded with soldiers, approached the helpless Indians on the western shore of the river, under the command of John Throckmorton. Black Hawk, fearing that more of his band would be massacred, ordered his braves not to shoot. He then raised a white flag and called out in the Winnebago tongue to send a canoe so that he could go aboard the steamer and surrender himself. The message was delivered

and translated to Throckmorton, but he pretended to believe it was a decoy and called to the Indians to send a boat aboard. The Indians had no boat or canoe anywhere accessible and told him so. Notwithstanding, the redoubtable captain opened fire with a cannon on the unfortunate Indians, killing twenty-three and wounding many more. Lest this statement be regarded as incredible I quote Throckmorton's own language made in his report of the occurrence.

The captain, under date of August 3, 1832, writes :

After about fifteen minutes delay, giving them time to remove a few of their women and children, we let slip a six-pounder, loaded with canister, followed by a severe fire of musketry; and if you ever saw straight blankets, you would have seen them there. . . . We fought them for about an hour or more until our wood began to fail. . . . This little fight cost them twenty-three killed, and of course a great many wounded. We never lost a man.

At the time of this murderous attack of Throckmorton upon Black Hawk and his immediate body-guard, the main body of the retreating tribe had not yet reached the banks of the river, after Black Hawk had offered to surrender. He (Black Hawk) and the small body of warriors with him were at the time engaged in the effort to transport some of their women and children across the river into Iowa. The remainder of the tribe, sore-footed, famished and weary, were approaching the Mississippi.

The troops under Henry, after the fight at Wisconsin Heights, were short of provisions and were unable to follow up their success in pursuit of the fleeing Indians, and fell back to Blue Mounds. In the meantime General Atkinson had assembled the United States Regulars and about 2,000 volunteers at Blue Mounds. He marched these troops and those of General Henry to Helena, on the Wisconsin River. Crossing the Wisconsin at this point, he soon found the trail of the retreating Indians and ascertained that they were eating birds and the bark of trees and the flesh of their ponies that had died on the march. Atkinson, probably because he was jealous of Henry's success in finding and vanquishing Black Hawk in his absence,



KELLOGG GROVE MONUMENT, BLACK HAWK WAR

placed Henry and his troops in the rear of the pursuing army, and in charge of the baggage, and pressed the rest of his troops forward upon the Indian trail with great vigor.

When Atkinson and his army were almost upon them, the Indians resorted to a ruse. Twenty or thirty of them marched back upon the trail and boldly attacked the pursuing troops with instructions to retreat promptly after the first attack towards the Mississippi, but towards a point on the river three miles away from the point where the main body would strike the bank of the river. If the Atkinson troops followed them, that would enable the rest of the band to reach and cross the river. The ruse was partially successful. The troops in the vanguard did follow the retreating Indians, but when the troops in the rear under Henry came up, they discovered that the main trail of the fleeing Indians led in a somewhat different direction. Henry, in command of the rear-guard numbering 300 men, ordered his men to follow the main trail and shortly thereafter fell upon the main body. In this body there were probably 300 warriors, but they were exhausted, half famished and illy supplied, and were burdened with women and children. They fought desperately but without avail. Atkinson, hearing the noise of conflict in his rear, ordered his troops to the scene of battle. About the same time the steamboat *Warrior* again appeared upon the scene and began to rake the islands to which some of the Indians had fled, with canister.

The massacre (for such it was) of Bad Axe lasted for nearly three hours and resulted in the killing of 150 Indians and the drowning of the same number in their efforts to cross the river. Governor Reynolds, in commenting upon this affair in his work *My Own Times*, writes as follows: "Many of the Indians attempted to swim the river and were shot in the water. Although the warriors fought with courage and valor of desperation, yet the conflict resembled more a carnage than a regular battle. It is supposed that 150 Indians were killed in this engagement and many drowned in attempting to swim the river. Fifty, mostly squaws and children, were taken prisoners. Some squaws were killed by mistake in battle. They were mixed with the warriors and some dressed like males." (Reynolds'

My Own Times, p. 265.) The American loss was only seventeen killed and twelve wounded. Reynolds writes that Black Hawk commanded and was with the twenty Indians who threw Atkinson off the main trail. (P. 264.)

As a result of the massacre at Bad Axe, the Black Hawk Sac were almost completely exterminated. Probably 1,000, including women and children, crossed from Iowa into Illinois a few months before under Black Hawk's leadership. Before or during the fight at Bad Axe, only 300 had recrossed the river back into Iowa. These were attacked by Sioux Indians by direction of General Atkinson and half of them were slain. It is reputed that August 2, 1832, only 150 of the tribe could be found alive, and most of these must have been women and children.

On the night following the attack from the steamboat *Warrior* upon Black Hawk and his body-guard, the old chieftain fled into the woods just east of the scene of the slaughter, hoping to find refuge with the Winnebagoes. General Street, the Indian agent, detailed two Winnebago Indians to follow him, take him prisoner and return with him to Street, at Prairie du Chien. They were successful in their quest and delivered him to General Street, August 27, 1832. He was taken from Prairie du Chien to St. Louis and kept in Jefferson Barracks during the winter of 1832-33. He was afterwards taken to Washington, D. C., at the request of President Jackson. After an interview with the President he was confined for a short time in Fortress Monroe and then released and allowed to spend the last few years of his life with the little remnant of his tribe which had survived war, famine and massacre. He died October 3, 1838.

While the so-called Black Hawk war was in progress, President Jackson had ordered Gen. Winfield Scott to assemble a body of United States Regulars and proceed to the scene of the trouble. Scott left Fort Monroe June 20 and reached Chicago July 10. En route his troops were attacked by an acute type of Asiatic cholera from which 300 died before he reached Chicago. On arrival there, Fort Dearborn was turned into a hospital and the garrison bivouacked on the open prairie. Ninety more of his troops died at Fort Dearborn, the epidemic persisting until

July 29. On that day General Scott left Chicago and arrived at Prairie du Chien August 8 after the massacre of Bad Axe. He had been authorized by the President, in association with Governor Reynolds, to secure if possible a treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes that would insure permanent peace.

Upon arrival at Prairie du Chien, Scott assumed command of all the forces, both regulars and militia; placed the few regulars who had survived the ravages of the deadly cholera while traveling from Detroit to Prairie du Chien under command of Colonel Eustis, and ordered them to proceed to Fort Armstrong on Rock Island. After mustering out the volunteers, Scott repaired to Fort Armstrong and ordered all the Sac and Fox prisoners to meet him at the fort for conference and discussion about a treaty. At this juncture the cholera again broke out among the troops in Fort Armstrong, resulting in fifty more deaths and 300 attacks. This compelled him to dismiss the Indian prisoners with orders to await notice of further assembly. On September 21, 1832, the ravages of the cholera having finally ceased, the Indians were again assembled and a treaty placed before them for signature. It was of course signed. A refusal would have invited extinction or life imprisonment for the captives. Keokuk and eight others of the Sac represented the Sac tribe and the Fox were represented by twenty-four of that tribe. General Scott and Governor Reynolds represented the United States Government. It should be noted, however, that in this treaty, forced as it was upon a defeated and decimated band of Indians by an overwhelmingly powerful and victorious nation, that more consideration was shown to the conquered than was shown to them by the Harrison treaty when they were unconquered in 1804. At the signing of the Harrison treaty, four or five whiskey-soaked warriors were wheedled into parting with 50,000,000 acres of rich land for an annuity of \$1,000. A stricken governmental conscience in the breasts of General Scott and Governor Reynolds, or a deep sympathy with the Indians in their misery, or a desire on the part of Scott and Reynolds to undo some of the injustices of the past, induced the American commissioners to allow the Sac and Fox to retain a reservation of 400 square miles to be

set aside for them by the President, and secured to the tribes an annual annuity of \$20,000 a year for thirty years. The treaty further provided that the Indians should receive forty kegs of tobacco and forty barrels of salt annually for thirty years, to pay \$40,000 of their debts and a large amount of provisions to relieve their urgent poverty. *There is quite a contrast between these provisions in favor of the Indians, and that provision in the Harrison treaty of 1804 which gave them \$1,000 a year for 50,000,000 acres of land.*

A gigantic statue of Black Hawk and not of General Atkinson, nor any other American warrior, now overlooks with steady but sorrowful gaze the beautiful Valley of the Rock River, the lost home of his people. It was erected by patriotic Americans whose love of country did not forbid them to sympathize with the sufferings of rashly brave men who died in what they believed was a righteous defense of their homes and the graves of their ancestors. Black Hawk was a brave, high-souled, intelligent man who was resentful of injuries done him and his people, but he lacked both tact and judgment. After he and his tribe had signed the treaty of June 30, 1831, under the terms of which they retired across the Mississippi to Iowa and bound themselves to remain there, they acted in a most foolhardy manner in breaking the treaty and recrossing into Illinois in the following year. It is probably true that his people were starving in Iowa. But when Black Hawk and 500 warriors and 1,500 women and children recrossed the river from Iowa into Illinois in April, 1832, their former cornfields had been in possession of the "squatters" and preemptors during the winter of 1831-32 and no food could have been found on these fields. Black Hawk knew that the crossing of the river and violation of the treaty would compel him and his 500 warriors to face the armed forces of a nation of 15,000,000 of white men and that such a conflict would be suicidal. He lacked the tact and discretion of Keokuk. Instead of surrendering himself and his starving people to the United States authorities in Iowa, or at Fort Armstrong, and throwing upon them the responsibility of starvation and famine, he provoked an inevitable conflict which could have but one end. But it must be remembered in excuse

of Black Hawk that in 1832 there was no telegraph or railroad by which he could have reached the ear of the President at Washington or Governor Reynolds in the State Capitol. His former treatment by the United States agents at Fort Armstrong was such that he may have had no confidence in the humanity or sense of justice in that quarter. Whatever may have been his lack of tact or good judgment, it was not so nearly worthy of criticism as the scandalously unfair treatment that the United States authorities accorded to him and his tribe in and before the year 1831.

The Black Hawk war gave an opportunity to a large number of young men to make their first appearance in the public life of the nation. It was the first stepping-stone towards future greatness for an extraordinary number of brilliant young men who afterwards loomed large in the history of the United States. Some of them were privates in the ranks of the volunteers and some of them young lieutenants in the Regular Army fresh from West Point. Among them were two who were afterward elected Presidents of the United States, Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln; one who was afterwards elected president of the Southern Confederacy during the Civil war, Jefferson Davis; one who was then governor of Illinois, John Reynolds; five who afterwards became governors of the same state, Thomas Ford, Thomas Carlin, William L. D. Ewing, Joseph Duncan and John Wood; four who afterwards became United States senators from Illinois, Sidney Breese, O. H. Browning, James Semple and William L. D. Ewing; and several who became successful and distinguished generals in the United States Army, among them John A. Logan, John A. McClernand and Winfield S. Scott. Two Confederate generals in the Civil war, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston, were also among the young men who participated in the Black Hawk war. Among others who volunteered in this war and afterwards rose to distinction were Peter Cartwright, a great camp-meeting preacher; Gen. Samuel Whiteside; Henry Atkinson; John Raum, father of Green B. Raum and John M. Raum, United States generals in the Civil war; Henry Eddy, of Shawneetown; Harrison Wilson; Murray McConnell, and Adam W. Snyder, whose death after his nom-

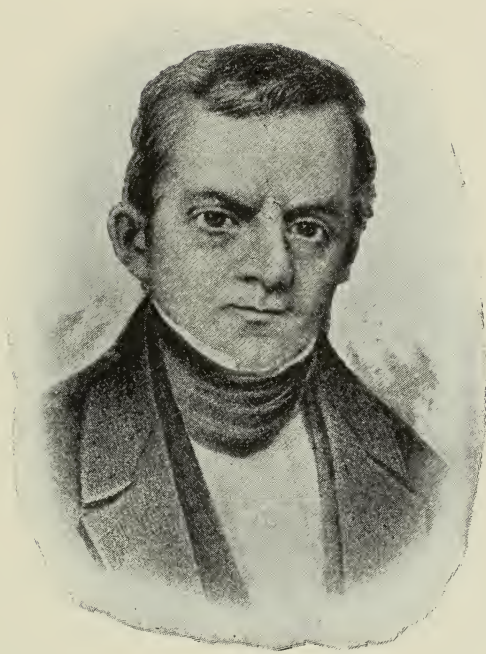
ination alone prevented his election as governor of Illinois; Gordon Hubbard; Zadoc Casey and John T. Stuart, law partner of Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln volunteered as a private and was afterwards elected captain of his company in the Black Hawk war.

CHAPTER XXXI

ADMINISTRATION OF JOSEPH DUNCAN AS GOVERNOR

In December, 1834, Joseph Duncan was inducted into office as governor of Illinois. He had for a number of years been a member of Congress from Illinois and was the first man in Illinois to succeed in beating Daniel Pope Cook at the polls. During his incumbency in the office of congressman he was always aligned with Jeffersonian Democracy, although during the last two years of same he had shown some independence in casting his votes in Congress, occasionally voting contrary to Jackson's measures.

Nonetheless, he claimed to be a Jacksonian Democrat, explaining that where he had voted contrary to the Jackson program, Jackson and not he, Duncan, had changed his position. He was opposed by W. C. Kinney, the perennially unsuccessful candidate for governor. During the campaign Duncan remained in his seat at Washington and thus escaped the heckling and questioning that he might have encountered if he were personally on the stump in Illinois. Kinney was no more successful against Duncan than he was against John Reynolds four years before. Duncan was elected with the help of Whig votes, and in his inaugural message he disclosed his Whig proclivities and advocated measures that Jacksonian Democrats regarded as political heresies. He favored the establishment of state banks in which the state would be financially interested. Only four years before, the people had seen the collapse of a state bank, leaving a state debt of \$100,000, and the Legislature was not ready to renew the experiment. Enough members, however, were found to speak in favor of the governor's scheme to open the subject for discussion, and work was energetically commenced to convince the opponents and doubters.



James Lee Ewing

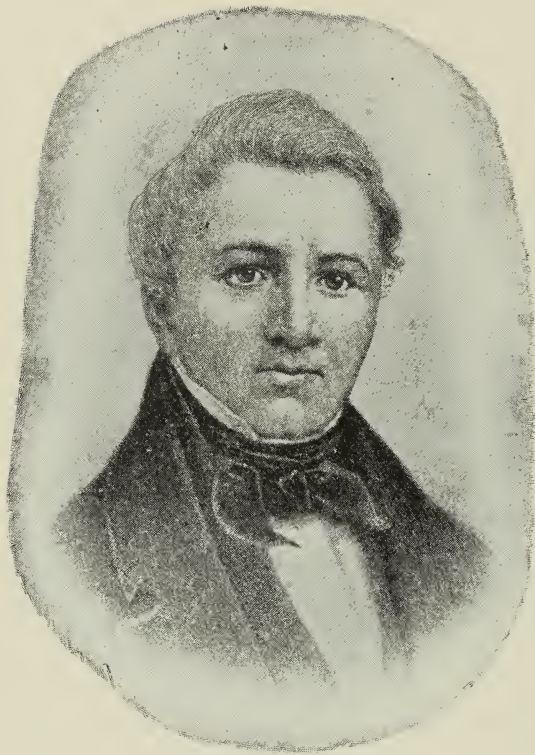
GOVERNOR 1834

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, gives a very vivid account of the log-rolling and reprehensible methods pursued to obtain votes for the establishment of the banks. (Pp. 170 to 175, inclusive.) The final result of these efforts was the enactment of a law creating a banking corporation with a capital of \$1,500,000, with the privilege of increasing the capital to \$2,500,000. The state received \$100,000 worth of the stock for its own investment. The same Legislature at about the same time revived the old charter of the Shawneetown bank, which had ceased to do business twelve years before. Governor Ford, in his history of Illinois (pp. 171 and 172) states that the bill creating the state bank passed the lower house by a majority of one vote and that one of the votes was obtained by promising the caster of the vote an appointment as state's attorney. The head office of the state bank created by this act was located at Springfield and branches were established at Alton, Chicago, Galena, Jacksonville and Vandalia. The charter, in the effort to make the state bank one to be controlled by residents of Illinois, gave a preference in subscribing for stock to residents of Illinois and required with the subscription for each share of stock a deposit of five dollars. Immediately coteries of scheming capitalists, according to Ford, were organized to secure a majority of stockholders and obtain control of this bank. Among these capitalists were Theophilus W. Smith, then one of the judges of the Supreme Court; John Tilson, Jr., Thomas Mather, Godfrey Gilman & Company of Alton, and Samuel Wiggins. Some of these men had obtained large sums of money from New York and Connecticut for use as subscriptions in the state bank. As preference under the charter was given to residents of Illinois and to small subscribers, these capitalists, or some of them, secured the names of residents of Illinois, subscribed in their names for the stock and obtained powers of attorney from all such subscribers authorizing the payment for the same and assignments of all their right as subscribers to these capitalists. By using these instruments and other devious methods, five men, with the connivance of the commission appointed to organize the bank, succeeded in having thirty-nine shares more than one-half of the total subscriptions assigned to them. These

five were Tilson, Mather, Wiggins and the members of Godfrey Gilman & Company. The state bank so organized went into operation in 1835 under the presidency of Mather and a board of directors controlled by the syndicate of five. Godfrey Gilman & Company were prominent merchants at Alton, heavily interested in the lead mines of Galena, who controlled enough of the stock to elect a majority of the board of nine directors. The stock was over-subscribed and for a time was quoted at 113 on the dollar. The Whigs were in complete control, although a few Democrats were appointed officials for appearance sake. At and before the creation of the bank there was great rivalry between Alton and St. Louis. Godfrey Gilman & Company were heavy backers of Alton and the most influential merchants of that city. The great ambition of that firm was to control at Alton the great commerce in lead, most of which had been going from Galena to St. Louis. Having control of the new state bank, this firm succeeded in negotiating a loan of \$800,000, with which it attempted to corner the lead market. For a time the price of lead increased enormously, but within a few months the corner collapsed and the firm found itself insolvent and \$1,000,000 was lost to the new state bank. Governor Reynolds declares: "The bank must have lost by all its Alton operators nearly \$1,000,000, and was nearly insolvent before the second year of its existence, though the fact was unknown to the people." (P. 178.) This was the beginning of the end of this state bank, although its final collapse occurred later on.

Governor Duncan was more responsible than any other man for this and another disastrous banking law. Although the creation of a state bank was not an issue at the time of his election, he, without any authority from the electorate, raised the question, in his inaugural message and in 1835 advised the purchase by the state of \$100,000 worth of the reserved stock. Under his administration again in 1837 the Legislature increased the capital stock of the bank by \$2,000,000, the whole of which was to be subscribed for by the state. During his administration in 1835 the old Shawneetown Bank, which had been dead for years, was resuscitated with a capital of \$300,000, and in 1837 this capital was increased by \$1,400,000, of which \$1,000,000



Joseph Duncan

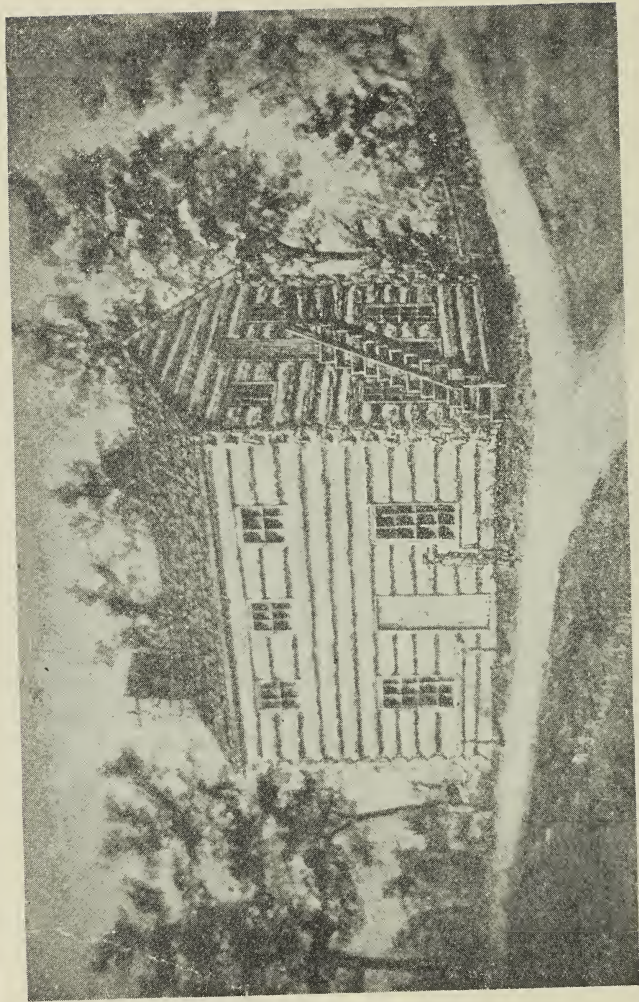
GOVERNOR 1834-38

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

was to be subscribed for by the state. As a result of this rash and reckless legislation, partially inspired by Governor Duncan and wholly authorized by him, the State of Illinois became the owner of more than \$3,000,000 worth of stock out of a total of \$5,200,000 in two insolvent and ill-managed banks under the control of private capitalists who deliberately looted one of them in private speculation of a gambling character. These ill-advised and misconceived laws creating these banks, and the wild and visionary laws for general public improvements which were forced upon the Legislature during Governor Duncan's administration by public hysteria, brought the State of Illinois to the verge of bankruptcy within six or eight years. It is best described and summarized by Governor Ford in his history, p. 278, where he describes the situation in 1842 as follows:

To sum up, then, this was the condition of the state when I came into office as governor. The domestic treasury of the state was indebted for the ordinary expenses of government to the amount of about \$313,000. Auditor's warrants on the treasury were selling at fifty per cent; discount, and there was no money in the treasury whatever; not even to pay postage on letters. The annual revenues applicable to the payment of ordinary expenses, amounted to about \$130,000. The treasury was bankrupt; the revenues were insufficient; the people were unable and unwilling to pay high taxes; and the state had borrowed itself out of all credit. A debt of near fourteen millions of dollars had been contracted for the canal, railroads and other purposes. The currency of the state had been annihilated; there was not over two or three hundred thousand dollars in good money in the pockets of the whole people, which occasioned a general inability to pay taxes. The whole people were indebted to the merchants; nearly all of whom were indebted to the banks, or to foreign merchants; and the banks owed everybody; and none were able to pay.

Governor Duncan was not chargeable with the demand for general public improvements. That element was well nigh universal. But the demand for state banks founded principally on state credit, but controlled by private capitalists, did not originate with the people. To add to the misfortunes of the



FIRST LOG COURTHOUSE, QUINCY, ADAMS COUNTY

banks and the state, the panic of 1837 now appeared. In May, the two banks suspended payments. Governor Duncan called a special session of the Legislature to legalize the suspension and prevent the forfeiture of the state bank's charter. Subsequent thereto, the Legislature proceeded to do so with certain limitations. It limited the amount of notes which the bank might issue to the amount of capital actually paid in, and prohibited dividends until the bank resumed payments.

In the meantime the state bank had sought to be made a depository of the United States. The secretary of the treasury, a Democrat, finding it to be controlled by his political enemies, the Whigs, and that they were hostile to the party in power at Washington, refused to make it such a depository. The loans to Godfrey Gilman & Company, and other acts of mismanagement, were being whispered about and the Democrats in and out of office began to declaim about its management and even to demand the revocation of its charter. Governor Carlin, in 1839, denounced the bank for suspending payments and asked the Legislature to appoint a committee of investigation. This committee was appointed and found a sorry state of affairs in the bank. It discovered that Wiggins, one of the directors, had borrowed from the bank on his stock, which was unpaid for; that the Chicago branch had through its cashier loaned large sums to pork speculators and was denying accommodations to others. It also discovered the scandalous loans made by the bank in Alton. Governor Carlin, in 1842, recommended the repeal of the bank charter.

During Governor Duncan's term of office occurred the shameful and unjustifiable killing of Elijah P. Lovejoy in the streets of Alton by a mob that was seeking to destroy his property, a newspaper press then stored in a warehouse. Lovejoy was a high-minded Presbyterian minister, chivalrous and determined in character. He was ardently and pugnaciously a foe of human slavery in any form. He believed it was a crime against both God and man and had no hesitation in saying so and printing it in his religious paper. Driven from St. Louis where he had been publishing his paper, by the violence of pro-slavery sentiment in the State of Missouri, he came to Illinois because it was

a free-soil state and started to publish his anti-slavery paper at Alton. Because of the so-called "abolition" statements expressed in his paper, his press was seized and destroyed by mobs on three different occasions. Undaunted by these manifestations of violent disapproval, he, with the assistance of friends, secured a fourth press and had it safely stored in a warehouse at Alton. He and his friends armed themselves to prevent its destruction. A mob gathered in front of the warehouse in which the press was stored and in which Lovejoy and his friends were all well armed. The mob attempted to set fire to the warehouse. A shot from the warehouse killed a man in the street. The mob became furious and again attempted to set fire to the building. To prevent this, Lovejoy and two companions with arms came out of the warehouse and fired into the mob. While so doing, Lovejoy was shot and killed and his two companions were badly wounded by fire from the mob.

This shocking affair created a sensation throughout the entire nation, and intensified the bitterness which had long existed between the enemies of slavery and the defenders of the same. That Lovejoy had the legal right to denounce slavery and defend his property cannot be questioned. Aye, he had the legal right to advocate "abolition," unpopular though it was at that time and at that place. So unpopular was Lovejoy at Alton that as Smith declares in his history: "As the hearse" (containing the body of Lovejoy) "passed through the streets it was met by the hisses and scoffs of the men who were loafing about the streets. There was no inquest and no funeral." (P. 184, Vol. II.) Yet unpopular as was the name of Lovejoy at Alton in 1837, it became one idolized throughout the state and nation within a few short years thereafter. Lovejoy, dead, accomplished much more for the cause of human freedom than Lovejoy living. The "blood of the martyr is the seed" for his cause. The echo of the shot that killed him rang 'round the world. Lovejoy's death and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were the first skirmish-line shots in the great Civil war of 1861.

Much of the enmity towards and unpopularity of Lovejoy locally around Alton arose not from his opposition to slavery,

for there were many of that view in the community. Much of it developed because he failed to keep his pledges as to the public, his insistence upon abolishing slavery by confiscatory methods, and unjust and vituperative attacks upon all who did not agree with him. He unjustly and untruthfully assailed Christian men and women who did not belong to his own sect of Christians, and by both tongue and pen in matters outside of the controversy about slavery displayed a bitterness and fanaticism unworthy of a Christian minister of the Gospel. However, while his loss of local popularity may be traced to these sources, his loss of life was caused by one cause alone, his heroic defense of the right of free speech and a free press. In his brave assertion of the right to champion the cause of human liberty, he gave up his life as cheerfully and as gallantly as did Robert Emmett or John Brown.

CHAPTER XXXII

SPRINGFIELD BECOMES THE STATE CAPITAL AND LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS APPEAR IN PUBLIC LIFE

In the year 1837, Andrew Jackson then being President of the United States and Joseph Duncan governor of Illinois, the City of Springfield was selected by the Legislature as the permanent capital of the State of Illinois; and two young men appeared on the political horizon as members of the Legislature of 1836-37 whose names were to become famous, not only through the state and nation, but throughout the civilized world—Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. The former was to be hailed afterwards as the “Great Emancipator” of over 3,000,000 human beings, then held in the bondage of slavery, the savior of a nation threatened with annihilation by the most formidable rebellion in history, and the greatest martyr to human liberty on the rolls of time. The latter was to leave a name not so imperishable in achievement as that of Lincoln, but still a glorious one, that of having devoted his life to a strenuous, continuous and nobly patriotic struggle, to prevent the dismemberment of his native land and standing nobly behind his political rival when rebellion raised its grizzly head, and seconding every effort made by his political antagonist to conquer treason and save his country.

Laying aside for the present the consideration of their great futures, let us endeavor to visualize the two men, their characters and surroundings as they appeared in 1836 when they were both young members of the same Legislature—the one a Whig, the other a Democrat. Both were ambitious young lawyers of limited practice. A five-dollar retainer would have secured the service of either of them in any honest, decent litigation. They were alike in many particulars. Both were born

outside of Illinois, one in Kentucky, the other in Vermont. They were both poor, both ambitious, both good debaters. Both had already given evidence that they were to become leaders of their respective political parties. Both quickly arrived at those positions of leadership. Physically and temperamentally they differed. Lincoln was tall, angular, very homely, with a sad and melancholy face when in repose, self-conscious and awkward, particularly when in the presence of women. In conversation or debate he was far-seeing, argumentative, logical and quite frequently humorous. His early life was shockingly poverty-stricken and was sustained for years only by the coarsest manual labor. He had little or no schooling, and what education he acquired was self-taught and self-obtained by gluttonous reading. Douglas in stature was short and thick-set. He was bright-faced and rather good-looking. His manner was jovial, impulsive and optimistic. He was a ready talker and very eloquent. His first appearance in Illinois was at Jacksonville in 1833, from which place he walked to Winchester to take a job as clerk. He then taught a private school for forty dollars a month, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1834. Lincoln and Douglas met each other in the practice of the law and were friendly to each other. When they met as fellow-members of the same Legislature in 1836, there were two widely antagonistic parties in national politics, the Whigs and the Democrats. The Whigs were led by Abraham Lincoln, John T. Stuart, Ninian Edwards, John J. Harding, Jesse DuBois and O. H. Browning. The Democratic leaders were Stephen A. Douglas, W. L. D. Ewing, James Shields, Ebenezer Peck, John C. Calhoun and William Thomas. By 1840 Lincoln was easily recognized as head chief of the one and Douglas the high priest of the other.

In 1839 the presidential election of the following year was approaching. The administration of President Van Buren was being assailed by the Whigs and was being defended by the Democrats. A friendly debate was arranged that year by the Whigs and Democrats, in which both Douglas and Lincoln engaged, in the first of the many debates which were held between these two great men. This was the first vigorous contest which



WHERE LINCOLN CLERKED—OLD NEW SALEM

the Democratic party had to face since the election of Jefferson. It lost in the nation, but the Democrats carried Illinois for Van Buren.

Before the year 1837 the state was wildly agitated on the subject of making public improvements, such as railroads and canals by appropriations, or the issuance of state bonds. Sangamon County at that time, by virtue of an apportionment law passed in 1835, had nine representatives in the Legislature, two in the Senate and seven in the House. These representatives, all of them Whigs, were instructed by their constituents in Sangamon County to "vote for a general system of local improvements" and "to bring to Springfield the capital of the state." The persistency, sagacity and loyalty which they displayed towards their constituents, and the remarkable success which crowned their efforts, entitle them to have their names recorded at length in any history of Illinois. The names of these gentlemen were as follows: Senators Job Fletcher and Archer G. Herndon and Representatives Abraham Lincoln, W. F. Elkin, Ninian Edwards, Robert L. Wilson, John Dawson, Andrew McCormick and Dan Stone. They were nearly all tall men, the average being six feet. Because of their height they were dubbed by their legislative comrades "The Long Nine," which name has stuck to them historically.

The location of the state capital at Vandalia was understood to be terminated in 1840. Alton had been favored for the state capital by public referendum a short time before, but its citizens had been carried away during the craze for the building of railroads with state money from that aim, and had a glorious vision of their city being made the terminal for several railroads from the East which would make Alton a greater city than St. Louis. The "Long Nine" adroitly assured the Altonites that their dreams of a future railway center should come true. They promised to vote for Alton as a railroad center if Alton would vote for Springfield as state capital. Inasmuch as they had been instructed to vote for "a general system of local improvements" and "bring the capital to Springfield," the "Long Nine" felt in duty bound to be as generous with their promises of support of favors to other localities in the state upon the same terms

that they made with Alton. Chicago, Ottawa, LaSalle, Joliet and Peoria wanted support for the canal connecting them with Lake Michigan, then under construction. Cairo and Galena wanted a railroad connecting these two cities. Mount Carmel wanted a railroad connecting it with Alton. Peoria wanted a railroad to Warsaw, Belleville wanted one connecting it with Mount Carmel and Bloomington wanted another. The counties lying along the Wabash, Illinois and Rock rivers wanted improved navigation on all these streams. Even those counties that had no rivers or places for railroads wanted cash for wagon roads. The "Long Nine" talked to all of them. They were instructed to vote for "a system of general improvements." These demands for canals, railroads and wagon roads, evidenced a general system of demands for such improvements. The "Long Nine" decided to be as genial and accommodating with the other citizens of the state as they were with the Altonites. They would vote for appropriations, or the issue of state bonds to carry out the wishes of these different communities of the state, if the representatives of these communities would do the decent thing and make the charming and hospitable City of Springfield the permanent capital of the state. The able and adroit "Long Nine" found it easy to make such admirable bargains with the representatives in the Legislature of these cities and localities of the state along the line of voting for "a general system of local improvements" and "making Springfield the capital." The "Long Nine" and the representatives of all these localities and interests found little trouble in getting together, the result of which fraternal feeling was the passage of two important, far-reaching laws.

The first of these laws was one which in substance provided for the issuance of state bonds for the making of "a general system of public improvements" as follows:

For Construction of railroad from Galena to Cairo to cost-----	\$ 3,500,000
For Northern Cross Railroad through Spring- field -----	1,800,000
For Alton & Mount Carmel Railway-----	1,600,000

For Peoria & Warsaw Railway.....	700,000
For Branch of Central Road to Terre Haute	650,000
For Bloomington & Mackinac Railway.....	350,000
For Belleville & Mount Carmel Railway.....	150,000
For Improvement of Navigation Wabash, Illi- nois and Rock Rivers.....	300,000
For Improvement of Little Wabash and Kas- kaskia Rivers.....	100,000
For Counties Having No Rivers and No Pro- posed Railways for Their Wagon Roads and Bridges.....	200,000
	\$10,200,000

The other law was the law to make Springfield the state capital.

The members of the "Long Nine" were all Whigs, but it must not be concluded from their success that this extraordinarily generous disposal of the state's money or credit was due to the Whigs alone. As a matter of fact, the votes for the general improvement act came from Democrats as well as Whigs. The demand for public improvements had swept the state like a contagious epidemic. Canals were being built in the eastern states. Railroads were projected and some actually constructed in the old states. A great convention had been called by the people to meet at Vandalia a few days before the commencement of the session of the Legislature. It had passed, enthusiastically, resolutions demanding that the Legislature enact laws which would bring about the digging of canals, and the building of railroads, and other improvements throughout the state. The great majority of the people believed that the state could, and should, be gridironed with railroads and canals, and that the state and all its inhabitants would be enriched thereby. The resolutions passed by the public improvement convention were placed in the hands of a man friendly to their cause, young Stephen A. Douglas, a Democratic leader, who presented their plans to the Legislature. A lobbying committee was appointed by the convention to argue with the mem-

bers of the Legislature and keep track of their votes. Under such pressure, with the great majority of the people known to favor the project, the passage of some form of legislation providing for such improvement was inevitable. The only question left for determination was as whether the improvements contemplated should be made by private persons or corporations, or by the state; whether by private capital or by the credit of the state. The bill as drawn by the convention and as presented by Douglas called for the expenditure of \$7,450,000 in making the improvements, the money to be borrowed by the issuance of state bonds to be sold at par. Some few members were opposed to the measure as adopted, but they were unorganized, and when they occasioned a delay in the passage of the bill it resulted in an increase in the amount involved.

The governor and his advisory council vetoed the bill, but the Legislature promptly passed the bill over the veto. Only the year before, the Legislature had granted charters to private companies authorizing the building of railroads in the state, but as nothing had been done under these charters, the Legislature must have concluded that if they relied upon private capital for building the improvements, the delay would be vexatious and unsatisfactory. The law making appropriations for general public improvements turned out, however, to be only "a noble experiment" which was soon found to be both unworkable and expensive. Within five years the grandiose improvements contemplated by the act had to be abandoned when the state had become possibly indebted to the amount of \$15,657,950 and had little or nothing to show for it except the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which alone of all the proposed improvements turned out to be feasible, practical and an asset to the state.

It is a matter of interest to remember in this connection that both Lincoln and Douglas at the beginning of their political careers, impelled by popular demand and with the best of motives, were mainly instrumental in having a law passed that they believed was a "noble experiment" but which afterwards proved to be disastrous to public interests. When Governor Duncan was installed in December, 1834, the state was indebted only to the amount of \$217,276. As the result of the general

system of public improvements law passed over his veto the state was actually indebted in December, 1838, when he retired and Governor Carlin was inaugurated, in the sum of \$6,688,784, itemized as follows:

Bonds Exchange for Bank Stock	\$2,665,000
Bonds for Internal Improvements	2,204,000
Bonds for Illinois and Michigan Canal	1,000,000
Borrowed from School & Seminary Fund	719,784
Wiggins Loan	100,000
	<hr/>
Grand Total	\$6,688,784

Needless to say the "Long Nine" was successful in securing a winning majority vote for Springfield as the state capital. Springfield won handsomely and today still remains the capital of the State of Illinois.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL

The Illinois and Michigan Canal has played so continuous and so important a part in the history of the state as to become entitled to a separate and distinct chapter in any history of Illinois.

The first white men that we have any authentic history of that floated on the Illinois, Desplaines and Chicago rivers were Pere Marquette and Louis Joliet. Paddling up the Illinois from the Mississippi in 1673 they entered the Desplaines, and, following the course of that river, came to what in modern times was called Mud Lake, a slough which in springtime floods gave water connection between the Desplaines and the south branch of the Chicago River. The Indians had used it as a portage between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River from time immemorial. It was the shortest and most natural water-course to take, as they were headed for the missionary camp and French trading post on Green Bay, whence they had started out on their voyage of discovery, and they had with them Indian guides from Kaskaskia on the Illinois River to guide them over waters navigable for canoes and portages between streams.

The value and importance of every portage which is the shortest cut between two navigable waters was known to every trained French explorer and particularly to so highly experienced an explorer as Joliet. That he and Marquette crossed the portage at Mud Lake between the Desplaines River and the south branch of the Chicago River cannot be doubted. Marquette's own written statement on the matter is exceedingly brief, but inferentially it amply sustains the contention that he and Joliet passed then what is now Chicago on their return from the Mississippi.



CHICAGO IN 1831—SHOWING FORT DEARBORN

“We found there (on the Illinois River) an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois lake (either Mud Lake or Lake Michigan) whence at last we returned in the close of September to the bay of the Fetid (Green Bay) whence we had set out in the beginning of June.” (From Thwaites’ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59.) If by the “Illinois Lake” he meant Mud Lake, he must have crossed Mud Lake to get to Lake Michigan, as they were traveling in canoes and this was the only portage from the Desplaines to the Chicago River and Lake Michigan.

That Joliet and Marquette reported to Governor Frontenac the existence of the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers in Wisconsin and between the Desplaines and Chicago rivers at Chicago, and its adaptability for a canal cannot be doubted. All of Joliet’s notes and maps were lost by the upsetting of his canoe, but he afterwards drew a map from memory and his letter to Frontenac declares: “I have the happiness today to present you with this map which gives the position of the lakes which one had to cross to reach Canada or North America, which extends over 1,200 leagues from East to West.” That on this map he failed to make the course of his voyage of discovery including the rivers and portages is incredible. Indeed he is quoted by some writers as having declared in 1674 that “it would only be necessary to make a canal by cutting through a half a league of prairie.”

From the very earliest times the importance of this portage or slight elevation of land about six miles west of the courthouse in Chicago, which divides the basin of the St. Lawrence from the Mississippi basin, has been recognized and noted. Its slight elevation and the ease with which a canal could be dug connecting Lake Michigan and the Mississippi have been commented upon by every writer and statesman anyway familiar with the Northwest. The existence of that portage or slight elevation of ground so near to Lake Michigan caused the Congress of the United States, at the instigation of Nathaniel Pope, to move the northern boundary of Illinois fifty-one miles further north

than originally designed in order to place the building of a great canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River within the boundary of one state, the State of Illinois. Joliet was impressed with its value, as was the great LaSalle. All travelers and missionaries were quick to see the need in the future of a canal connecting Lake Michigan with the headwaters of the Illinois.

In 1811, before Illinois became a state, a bill was introduced in Congress asking for the construction of such a canal. In 1812 its value as a means for national defense was pointed out. In 1814 President Madison, in a message to Congress, called attention to the subject, and a committee was appointed to investigate and it reported that it was "a great work of the age" both for military and commercial purposes. In 1816 Governor Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, on behalf of the United States, secured a treaty from the Pottawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas, under the terms of which these tribes ceded to the United States a tract of land including Chicago and a strip of land connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, upon the understanding with the Indians that the strip would be utilized for the building of a canal which would be of great value to the Indians as well as the whites. In 1817 Major Long reported to Congress that "a canal uniting the waters of the Illinois River with those of Lake Michigan may be considered the first of importance of any in this quarter of the country, and the construction would be attended with very little expense compared with the magnitude of the object."

In 1819 Calhoun, Secretary of War, directed the attention of Congress to the proposed canal and its importance for military purposes. The first governor of Illinois, Shadrach Bond, in his first message to the first Legislature, recommended the building of such a canal, and nearly every governor of the state has favored and recommended the building of some character of a canal connecting the same bodies of water or the greater development of the same. In 1822 Congress made a grant of land to the state for the purpose of building such a canal, the grant being ninety feet in width on each side of the proposed canal. In 1822-23 the Legislature passed a law providing for the ap-

pointment of commissioners to make estimates and report in reference to the building of the canal.

Five men, Emanuel J. West, Thomas Sloo, Erastus Brown, Samuel Alexander and Theophilus W. Smith, were appointed commissioners, and hired two engineers, Justin Post and Rene Paul, who made preliminary surveys, and reported that the canal would not cost to exceed \$700,000. In 1824 the Legislature chartered a corporation called the "Illinois and Michigan Canal Association" which was empowered to dig the canal. The capital stock of the corporation was \$1,000,000. The charter provided that "all cessions, grants and transfers made or that may hereafter be made, by the Government of the United States for the purpose of promoting the completion of the canal, shall and vest in said corporation."

Congressman Daniel Pope Cook was quick to see that with such a selfish and unconscionable charter in existence, Congress would be exceedingly wary about making any other grants or giving any more assistance in the way of bringing about the completion of the canal. For the public good, Congress would be liberal, but for private gain it would be exceedingly slow to act favorably. He demanded the revocation of the charter in 1825. His demand was acceded to and the charter was annulled. In 1827 Cook, ably assisted by the United States Senators from Illinois, Elias Kent Kane and Jesse B. Thomas, secured from Congress a grant of land to the State of Illinois "for the purpose of aiding her in opening a canal to connect the waters of the Illinois River with those of Lake Michigan." The grant covered 224,322 acres in a strip ten miles wide between Ottawa and Chicago, each alternate section being granted to the state. This land was authorized to be sold and the proceeds used for the construction of the canal.

In 1826 another board of canal commissioners was appointed, composed of three members, Dr. Gershon Jayne, Edward Roberts and Charles Dunn. They ordered a different survey, by a new engineer, James M. Bucklin, who reported that the cost of construction would be much greater than the former estimate. In 1829 another act was passed giving the commission more ample powers in supervising the sales of land along the proposed

waterway. Under the powers given the commission under this later act, the commission laid out the towns of Ottawa and Chicago, at each end of the proposed canal. Bucklin's estimate of the cost of the canal was \$4,043,386. Somewhat later, at the request of persons interested, he reported the cost of building a railroad between Chicago and Ottawa to be \$1,052,488. This question of building a railroad instead of a canal between the two towns was being seriously considered and a movement started for that purpose. Congress was petitioned to permit the state to substitute the railway for the canal and an act authorizing the same was passed by Congress March 2, 1833. Both schemes had their supporters and the matter halted until 1835 when the governor was authorized to borrow \$5,000,000, *by mortgaging the canal lands*. Attempts to float this loan were unsuccessful. Money-loaners, evidently, had doubts as to the value of these lands. Ex-Governor Coles, who had been commissioned by the canal commissioners to negotiate such a loan reported that he could not obtain such a loan in Philadelphia because the full credit of the state was not pledged to pay the proposed loan.

In January, 1836, the full credit of the state *was* pledged by the Legislature to pay the bonds given for the loan. Bonds were issued and accepted, and the loan was secured. The people along the line of the proposed canal were immensely pleased, particularly in Chicago, then rapidly growing in population and importance, and on July 4, 1836, formal commencement of construction was celebrated with much ceremony in that city, at which Dr. William B. Egan, a prominent citizen of Chicago, delivered an excellent congratulatory address. A new board of canal commissioners was created to work under the direction of the governor, which was required to make reports every three months, and work was actually commenced in digging the canal. A sale of canal lots and bonds was had June 30, 1836, both at Chicago and Ottawa, and lots were sold for large sums of money. It took twelve years to completely construct and fully equip the canal, work commencing in 1836 and being finished in 1848. The operation of the canal by state commissioners commenced in the latter year and proved both useful and profit-

able. By 1870 the profits under state ownership and operation enabled the state to pay off the whole cost of \$8,000,000, and retain ownership clear of all liens.

The canal, however, was constructed at a time when all canals were operated by animal power, was built with that power in contemplation, and was so operated by the state. The depth and width of the canal and its locks and banks were made to accommodate animal power only. The use of electricity for transportation was then unknown and not even remotely conceived until the twentieth century. The use of steam power was in its infancy and not applied to canals. It was the belief that if such power were attempted that the agitation of the waters of the canal by paddlewheels on the side or rear of the boats would erode and destroy the banks of the stream. Steam-power on canals was unknown and unused at the time of the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Before 1870, however, it had become known that the canal operated as it was by animal power could not continue to be operated at a profit in competition with the railroads. These latter were building and operating heavier and more powerful locomotives and longer trains of cars at much reduced operating costs. The laborer with the scythe cannot compete with the reaping and binding harvester propelled by the tractor, or the old-fashioned housewife's needle with the sewing-machines of modern times. What to do with the old-fashioned animal-operated canal began to be discussed by politicians and people in 1868, when it was known that the old canal had outlived its day and age and would soon become unremunerative. It had paid for itself and owed the state nothing. In fact it was the only one of the grandiose projects provided for in the "general system of internal public improvements" in the Legislature in 1836 and 1837 which proved practical and which was carried out and utilized by the people.

In 1867 the Legislature passed a resolution calling for a popular vote on the question of holding a constitutional convention. Pursuant to a small but favorable popular majority, delegates to the constitution were elected and assembled December 13, 1869, and framed a new constitution which was approved

by the people in 1870 and which is still the constitution of the state. In that convention arose the question as to what should be done with the old canal, which would soon become unremunerative. The members from the southern part of the state were in favor of selling the canal and placing the proceeds of the sale into the public treasury, while the delegates from Chicago and the northern part of the state strenuously opposed the same. The canal had first been suggested by the French explorers and missionaries, had been favored and fostered by the Federal government, and had been advocated by every governor from Bond to Duncan. No territorial or local jealousy would have developed if the other general improvements legislation in 1836-37 had been carried out. The canal was the only one of the contemplated "general improvements" that was carried out, and it was successful.

The canal as constructed extended nearly 100 miles from Lake Michigan into the interior of the state. It had developed prosperous towns and cities along its course. Over it for twenty years millions of dollars worth of wheat, oats, corn, butter and other farm products had been floated into Chicago and the manufactured articles made in that city were carried into Central and Southern Illinois. All the towns and cities along the canal and river were prosperous and growing in size and importance. The delegates from the southern counties viewed the canal, as a good thing for Chicago and the waterway cities and towns, but as of no use or benefit to them. The credit of the whole state had been used to build the canal and it belonged to the whole people of the state and not to Chicago and environs, they argued. They demanded that the canal be sold and its proceeds be placed in the public treasury, so that the southern people of the state could share with the northern people the proceeds of the sale. The northern people retorted that the sale of the canal was inspired by the railroads, to cut off competition and enable them to raise freight rates.

The issue thus framed in the constitutional convention was referred to the committee on canals and canal lands, which wisely found a compromise and reported a provision which was

adopted by the convention. The provision is now a part of the constitution of 1870 and reads as follows:

The Illinois and Michigan Canal . . . shall never be sold or leased until the specific proposition for the sale or lease thereof shall first have been submitted to a vote of the people of the state at a general election and have been approved by a majority of all the votes polled at such election. The General Assembly shall never loan the credit of the state or make any appropriations from the treasury thereof, in aid of railroads or canals; provided, that any surplus earnings of any canal may be appropriated for its enlargement or extension.

Soon after the adoption of the new constitution in 1870, the old fossilized canal built between 1836 and 1848 for operation by animal power and small canal boats of a size capable of being pulled by horses or mules was found to be antiquated and unremunerative. It is as useless today for a commercial canal as the domestic spinning-wheel of a century ago. The only use to which it is now put, is to allow small launches and pleasure craft of light draft to ply between the Illinois River and the Sanitary District Canal and its locks are opened and shut for this purpose. Its right of way between Chicago and Joliet is valuable and it has been suggested that this right of way might be used for double-decked highways between these cities when it can be reconstructed for that purpose.

A demand for an adequate, up-to-date, modern canal began to develop shortly after the old canal was found to be obsolete. Proper facilities for the carrying of commerce between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico have always been demanded by an intelligent public and will be reiterated until such facilities are furnished and in operation.

During the '70s and '80s of the nineteenth century the canal was practically abandoned for commercial purposes, because of its obsolete character and was derisively dubbed "the tadpole ditch." Agitation developed during these decades for the building of a canal of such size and equipment as would be adapted to, and capable of, caring for the commerce of the twentieth century and all future developments in the Mississippi Valley.



PRESENT BUILDING ON SITE OF OLD PALISADE FORT, GALENA

The foundation being part of the original construction.

The vision of Joliet, of Nathaniel Pope and of the many great statesmen of state and nation during the past, of an enormous water commerce between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, across the State of Illinois, had not faded from the intelligent minds of the statesmen and people of Illinois. There was an incessant and growing demand among manufacturers and merchants for the building of such a canal to accommodate such a commerce. The disposal of the sewage of the great City of Chicago and its environs, whose population had enormously increased and was continuing to increase by leaps and bounds, was also demanding the attention of the public.

As a result of this agitation, the Legislature in 1889 incorporated the Sanitary District of Chicago, which was empowered to dig "one or more main channels, drain ditches and outlets for carrying off and disposing of the drainage, including the sewage of such district." The law was so adroitly worded as to evade that provision of the constitution of 1870 which declared that "the General Assembly shall never loan the credit of the state, or make appropriations from the treasury thereof, in aid of railroads or canals." The word "canal" did not appear in the law lest the law might be attacked as an indirect subterfuge for building a canal by legislative authority, even though the general credit of the state was not involved. While the main purpose of the law was to give Chicago and its surrounding towns and villages sanitation, it was generally understood by those "in the know" at the time that the "channels" so constructed were to be of such great dimensions, that they or it could and would form a link in a great canal connecting the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico.

I was intimately acquainted at that time with Richard Prendergast, who had recently retired from the County Court Bench of Cook County, and also, although not so intimately, with Frank Wenter, afterwards president of the Drainage District; Melville E. Stone, treasurer of the District; E. H. Gary, county judge of DuPage County and afterwards president of the United States Steel Company; Orrin N. Carter, attorney for the District, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court; and Thomas F. Judge, clerk of the Sanitary District, and learned from them

and others that the "channel" would connect the south branch of the Chicago River and the Desplaines River, and would be a canal of enormous dimensions, sufficient to accommodate vessels of about fourteen foot draft.

The election for the first board of trustees in or about 1889 was a most interesting one. The machine managers of the Democratic and Republican parties had met and agreed upon a slate upon which appeared the names of eight candidates, (four Democrats and four Republicans). These eight names appeared on both Democratic and Republican tickets, thus assuring (as both machines figured) the election of these eight men. Nine trustees were to be elected. Beside the eight names that appeared on each ticket, each party placed in nomination one other name; the Democrats naming a Democrat and the Republicans a Republican. It looked like what the politicians called a "cinch" for the eight. There was great public dissatisfaction therewith, and the papers denounced the plan as a bipartisan political trick to place the expenditure of an enormous amount of public money in a self-constituted political junta. Judge Prendergast was outspoken in his denunciation of the bipartisan scheme and called together a few men who felt as he did, among them Democrats, Republicans and independents. They called upon Melville E. Stone and Victor F. Lawson, of the *Chicago Daily News*, which paper was denouncing the bipartisan deal. As a result, a Citizens ticket was placed in the field, headed by Prendergast and containing the names of John J. Alpeter, William Boldenweck, L. E. Cooley, B. A. Eckhardt, P. Gilmore, Thomas Kelly, William H. Russell and Frank Wenter. Prendergast, who was a brilliant orator, took the stump and roasted the political machines until they became cinders, the *News* and other papers helped in turn the spit, and to the amazement of both machines their slated tickets were broken into fragments and the whole Citizens ticket was elected.

The Sanitary District since its creation in 1889 has constructed a huge canal, the main and power channel being over thirty-nine miles in length; and a river diversion channel of thirteen miles with a depth of twenty-two feet, and a width at the top varying from 198 to 225 feet and from 160 feet to

202 feet at the bottom in the earth sections; and with a width at the top of 162 feet to 160 feet at the bottom in the solid rock sections and a width of 200 feet in the river diversion. This enormous work, calling for over 44,000,000 cubic yards of excavation, had cost the citizens of the District about \$95,000,000 up to the year 1924.

The building of this great canal, so suitable for the navigation of vessels of even heavy draft, further intensified the demand of the people for the construction of a large commercial canal between Lockport and Utica which would enable vessels of eight-foot draft to ply between Chicago and New Orleans. The inhibition of the constitution against loaning the state's credit for the building of canals stood in the way of state aid. Chicago and its environs had already spent nearly \$100,000,000 on its sanitary "channel," and by no possible pretence or subterfuge could it claim that a canal between Lockport and Utica would be a sanitary "channel."

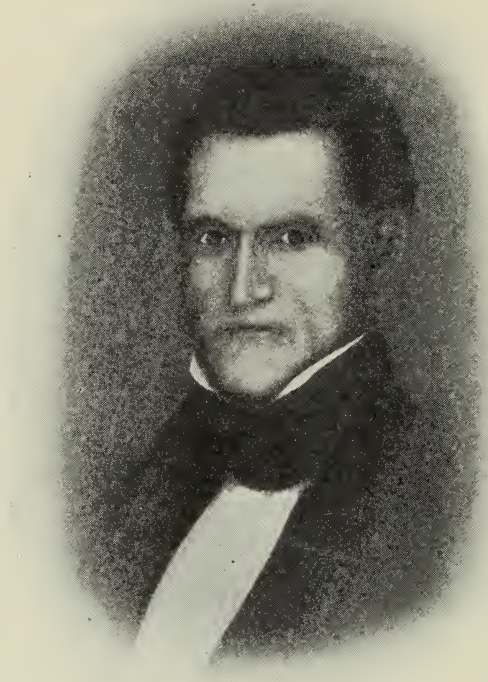
At length, however, the demand for a "Lakes to the Gulf" waterway grew so strong under the administration of Charles S. Deneen as governor, that the Legislature in 1907 provided for an amendment to the constitution authorizing the expenditure of not to exceed \$20,000,000 for the construction of the waterway from Lockport to Utica. The amendment was approved by the people in 1908 and proclaimed by Governor Deneen during the same year. Further reference to the Illinois waterway will be made when I come to discuss the administrations of Governors Deneen, Dunne and Small.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THOMAS CARLIN, GOVERNOR

In the year 1838, Thomas Carlin, a Democrat, was elected governor of Illinois over Colonel Edwards, his Whig opponent. He was of Irish extraction, had been commander of a spy battalion in the War of 1812, and his occupation was that of a farmer. While not possessed of a college education he has been described as a man of "good common sense, high moral standard, great firmness of character and of unflinching courage." His administration inherited two heavy loads to carry, the nationwide panic of 1837 and 1838 and the hysteria for "a general system of public improvements in Illinois," both of which came into being during the preceding administration of Governor Duncan. Carlin had been infected with the craze during Duncan's administration, and had not recovered from its influence when he was inaugurated governor. Among others who were infected with the craze was nearly every prominent man in the Legislature, both Democrats and Whigs. Among those favoring the general improvement scheme were John Crain, John Dougherty, John Dawson, Stephen A. Douglas, Ninian Edwards, William F. Elkin, Augustus C. French, William H. Happy, John Hogan, Abraham Lincoln, N. F. Linder, John A. McClernand, John Moore, Joseph Naper, James H. Ralston, James Shields, Robert Smith, Dan Stone and James Semple, the Speaker. In the lower House sixty members favored the scheme and only about twenty-four opposed it. Nearly all of those favoring public improvements were afterwards elected to prominent and responsible offices by the people.

In his inaugural message Governor Carlin urged the continuance of the work on public improvements in a restricted and modified way, but soon learned while in office the futility of its



John Carlin

GOVERNOR 1838-42

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

further development. By the winter of 1839-40 he had reached the conclusion that the works projected were too pretentious and would prove too costly and that credit could not be obtained for their further prosecution. He called a special session of the Legislature to meet at Springfield (the new capital) September 9, 1839, to take action on the cessation of work on the public improvements and the state indebtedness. In his message he stated that "the ruinous policy of simultaneously commencing all the works and constructing them in detached parcels was alike at variance with the principles of sound economy, destructive to the interests of the state and to the system in all its parts." The last part of Carlin's administration was devoted to schemes for keeping up the payment of interest on the public debt and trimming the sails and jettisoning the public improvements cargo of the waterlogged ship of state. No doubt, Governor Carlin surrendered the ship to his successor, Governor Ford, with a sigh of relief in 1842 when the latter was inaugurated. He managed, however, to keep the interest paid on all indebtedness of the state up to and including the year 1841.

During Carlin's administration in 1839 and 1840 the peculiar and aggressive sect of religious fanatics known as the Mormons moved into Illinois from Missouri. In the latter state they had gotten into bitter controversies with their non-Mormon neighbors, as well as with the state authorities, and were compelled both by public sentiment and the action of the governor of Missouri, and the threat of criminal proceedings in the courts of that state, to move out of its territory and jurisdiction. They chose Illinois as their place of refuge and many thousands of them began the building up of a large city and the erection of an impressive temple at Nauvoo, in Hancock County.

In Missouri the Mormons had been supporting the Democratic party at all elections. But when a Democratic governor of that Democratic state drove them out, they became embittered against the Democrats and when they moved into Illinois began to vote for and support the Whig party. Henry Clay and John T. Stuart, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States from Illinois, both of them Whigs, introduced

in Congress and supported Mormon memorials protesting against their treatment in Missouri.

According to Governor Ford's history, p. 262, "in August, 1840, they voted unanimously for the Whig candidates for the Senate and Assembly. In the November following they voted for the Whig candidate for President, and in August, 1841, they voted for John T. Stuart, the Whig candidate for Congress in their district." This alarmed the Democrats, as the Mormons were rapidly increasing in members, and it seemed likely that they would soon hold the balance of voting power in the state. Both parties thereupon began to be solicitous over the Mormon



JOHN MARSHALL'S RESIDENCE IN SHAWNEETOWN

vote, and sought to curry favor with the Mormon leaders. At this juncture the Mormon leaders appeared before the Legislature of 1840-41, seeking certain charters for the rapidly-growing City of Nauvoo. Dr. John C. Bennett, their spokesman and main lobbyist, presented the draft of the proposed charter to Mr. Little, the Whig senator from Hancock County and to Mr. Douglas, the Democratic secretary of state. Both of these gentlemen were anxious to do favors for the Mormons with the view of securing the Mormon vote, and helped Bennett

in getting the matter before the Legislature. Little, the Whig, presented the Mormon bills in the Senate and had them referred to the judiciary committee headed by Snyder, a Democrat. The proposed charters were reported upon favorably and the bills passed in the Senate without a protesting vote. In the same way, shortly afterwards, the bills were passed in the House without objection. Both parties were equally participants in the passage of these laws, which were the basis of the Mormon Rebellion, which occurred under Governor Ford and which brought about the killing of the Mormon leaders and the expulsion of the cult from Illinois.

CHAPTER XXXV

POLITICS ON THE BENCH

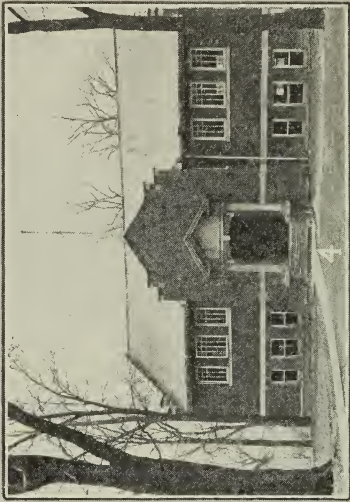
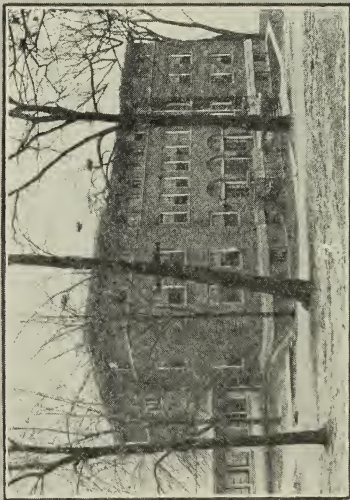
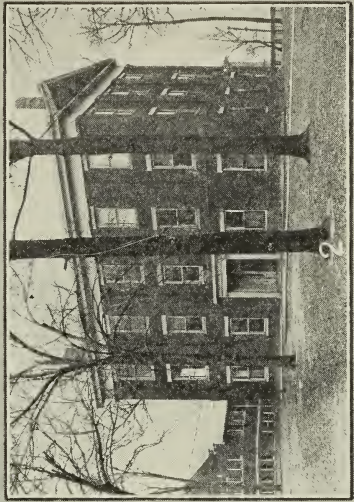
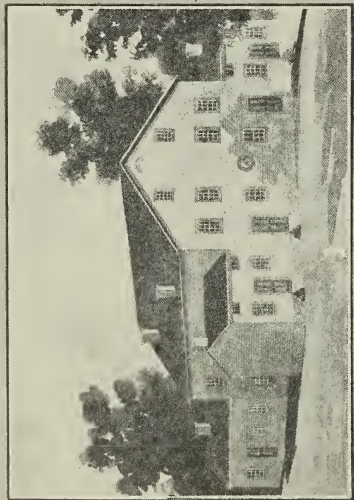
In the year 1838 Thomas Carlin, a Democrat, was as stated in the last chapter inaugurated governor. He found in the office of secretary of state, A. P. Field, who had been appointed by Governor Edwards when he was an "original Jackson man" and allowed to remain in office for ten years by two succeeding Democratic governors. Field in the meantime had changed his politics and for some time before 1838 had become an ardent and aggressive Whig. He was not in sympathy with the Democratic state administration placed in power by popular vote and attempted to obstruct its measures when he possibly could do so.

The office of secretary of state was an appointive one, the appointment being placed in the governor by the constitution. Governor Carlin, desiring a secretary in sympathy with his administration, appointed John A. McClernand secretary of state. Field was of a pugnacious disposition and succeeded in getting the Whig Senate to stand by him and refused to surrender his office to McClernand. After the adjournment of the Legislature the governor again appointed McClernand to the office and the latter demanded possession of Field. Field again refused to surrender his office and McClernand appealed to the Supreme Court for relief. Field's contention before that court was that the constitution failed to fix the term of office of secretary of state, and that a person once appointed to the office held it without limit as to time unless removed for cause upon trial. The McClernand contention was that the office, being an appointive one and the appointment being vested in the governor, that the governor alone had the right to determine the length of tenure; that the power to appoint in the absence

of a constitutional tenure carried the power to remove as a necessary corollary.

The Supreme Court, as then constituted, was composed of three Whigs, Wilson, Brown and Lockwood, and one Democrat, Smith. Two of the Whigs on the bench, Wilson and Lockwood, decided against McClernand. Smith, the Democrat, decided in his favor. The other occupant of the bench, Brown, being related to McClernand, with decent propriety refrained from rendering any decision. The decisions of the two Whig judges, under the circumstances, became the decision of the Court binding upon the litigants. In effect the decision held that a constitution which in no place expressly fixed the tenure of any office for life or during good behavior inferentially by its failure to fix a definite tenure for an appointive office, made that office one for life or during good behavior, regardless of the wishes and intent of the appointive power. So strained a construction of the state constitution which would create offices for life shocked the conscience of the community and roused the Legislature to action. Another case decided by the same court about the same time still further aroused the public and elicited widespread criticism and doubts of the integrity of the court.

A test case made up (according to Governor Ford) by two Whigs acting in collusion, was called for trial before a Whig judge sitting in the Circuit Court, in the Galena district. It involved the right of aliens to vote at elections in Illinois. The constitution of 1818, then in force on this subject, declared: "In all elections, *all white male inhabitants* above the age of twenty-one years having resided in the state six months preceding the election shall enjoy the right of an elector." This provision of the constitution was adopted by the pioneer constitution builders with the express purpose of inducing immigration into the sparsely settled state and giving the new arrivals into the state the right of participating promptly in the elections and governmental policies of the state. This right given by the constitution to "inhabitants" for "six months" had been exercised by the newcomers without question or objection for over twenty years. When the state began to build the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1837 there was a great influx of laborers



MCKENDREE COLLEGE

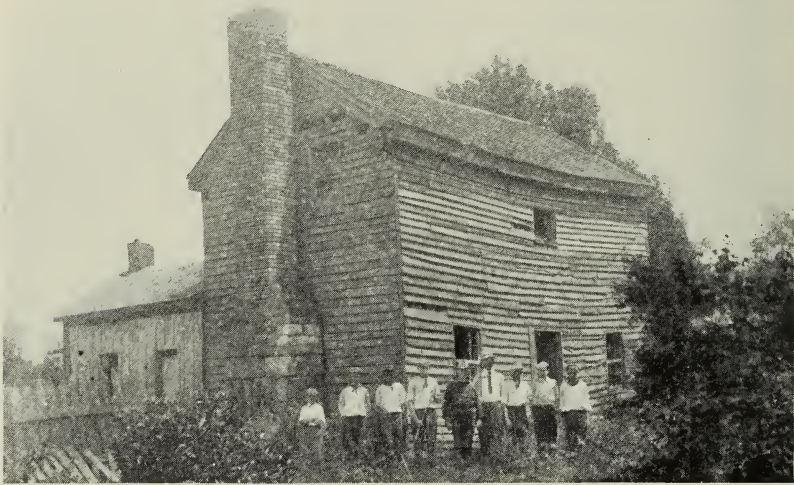
1. Original building erected in 1828, burned 1856.
2. Old main building erected in 1850.
3. Clark Hall.
4. Library, built 1918.

(From *Illinois Blue Book*.)

from Europe, and particularly from Ireland, to Chicago and along the canal to obtain employment. These laborers had fled from tyrannical, monarchical rule and were naturally imbued with a love of democracy. The name of the Democratic party as well as the principles it at the time proclaimed attracted them to the party. Overwhelming numbers of these laborers, many of whom soon became farmers along the canal, voted the Democratic ticket. The Galena collusive law suit was designed to disfranchise these foreign-born "six months inhabitants" of Illinois. The circuit judge at Galena promptly ruled that the word "inhabitant" in the constitution did not mean "inhabitant" but "citizen," and the case was taken to the Supreme Court on appeal. The Supreme Court was constituted as it was in the McClernand case, three Whigs and one Democrat. The Democrats, largely as the result of the McClernand decision, were tremendously excited and alarmed. It was currently reported upon respectable authority that the decision was to be a three-to-one finding in favor of the Whig contention that the six months inhabitants must be six months citizens. Through a flaw in the record, Stephen A. Douglas and other Democratic lawyers obtained continuances until December, 1840. In the meantime, however, the Democrats in the Legislature, fully convinced of the political bias of the court, and that it would defy decency and fair construction of words in order to help the Whig party, introduced in the State House, December 10, 1840, a bill for the reorganization of the judiciary. It passed the Senate after a long and bitter debate by a vote of twenty to seventeen, and was adopted by the House by a vote of forty-five to forty, February 1, 1841. On February 8 the council of revision (consisting of the governor and the judges of the Supreme Court) returned the bill with rejection, signed *only* by members of the Supreme Court. The Whigs attempted a filibuster in the Senate but it failed and the bill passed over the veto by a vote of twenty-three to sixteen in the Senate and forty-six to forty-three in the House.

The law as passed, provided for the appointment of five additional judges of the Supreme Court and required the newly-appointed five and the four sitting judges to perform the duties

of circuit judges in the nine circuits, and all as appellate judges in the Supreme Court. The five new judges appointed were all Democrats and thus the Democrats secured a majority on the Supreme bench. The sitting judges took alarm at the introduction of the bill December 10, 1840, and at the December term handed down a decision reversing the Galena Circuit Court, and Justice Smith's opinion squarely upheld the right of a six



THE LAST REMAINING HOUSE IN OLD BROWNSVILLE

The first county seat of Jackson County. Built about 1830.

month's inhabitant to vote. The two Whig judges, Lockwood and Wilson, concurred in the reversal, but rather obscurely, on the ground that the clerk had no legal power to ask the voter if he were an alien. The decision, however, settled the right of resident aliens to vote until the adoption of the second constitution of 1848.

The spectacle presented by these transactions in the Supreme Court and in the Legislature is not one on which the state can pride itself. That confidence in the fairness and integrity of the highest judicial tribunal of the state should be so shattered as it was in 1840, and that the highest legislative and executive

bodies in the state should take such drastic action in reference to its judiciary is not a pleasant chapter to read in considering the history of any state.

The five men placed upon the Supreme bench pursuant to the law reorganizing the courts were all Democrats. Their names were Sidney Breese; Thomas Ford, afterwards governor of Illinois; Stephen A. Douglas, afterwards United States senator and Democratic candidate for the Presidency; S. H. Treat and Walter B. Scates. All were men of ability and of excellent character. I became well acquainted with the last of these, Scates. He was the senior member of the law firm of Scates, Hynes & Dunne, of which I was the junior member when I began practicing law at Chicago about the year 1880. He was a fine old gentleman of the highest integrity, an excellent lawyer, and was at that time carrying on a litigation for and advising with some members of the old and at one time powerful tribe of the Pottawatomie Indians. William J. Hynes, the other member of the firm, had been a member of Congress and was the ablest jury lawyer at the Chicago bar during the '80s and '90s of the nineteenth century. I have listened to many eloquent men in my day, and I doubt if I ever heard more eloquent speeches than those that fell from the lips of William J. Hynes. The four great orators of my time were Bourke Cochran, W. J. Bryan, Emory A. Storrs and William J. Hynes, all of whom have gone to their Great Reward. No orator now living, in my judgment, could equal any one of these great masters of words and emotions. Hynes, like Storrs, was as witty as he was eloquent.

CHAPTER XXXVI

GOVERNOR THOMAS FORD

HE COMPLETES THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL, FUNDS THE STATE'S INDEBTEDNESS, SALVAGES THE CREDIT OF THE STATE, PREVENTS REPUDIATION AND BECOMES INVOLVED IN THE MORMON AND MEXICAN WAR

No governor of Illinois faced a more serious and critical condition of state affairs than did Governor Thomas Ford in 1842 when he was inducted into office. According to Moses, in his *History of Illinois*, the state at that time was indebted as follows:

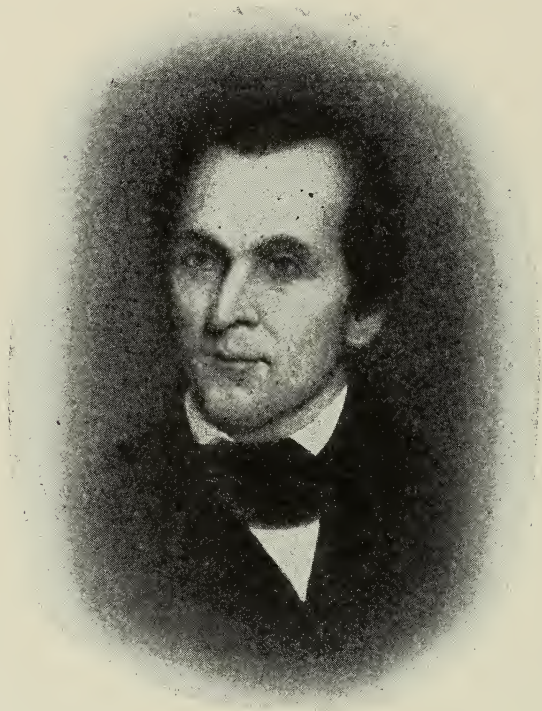
To Banks for Stock.....	\$ 2,665,000
For Internal Improvement Bonds.....	6,014,749
For Canal Debts (Bonds).....	4,504,160
For State House at Springfield.....	121,000
To School, College and Seminary Fund Borrowed by the State.....	808,084
To Banks (Borrowed).....	664,188
To Interest Due January 1, 1843.....	880,769
	<hr/>
Total Debt Due January 1, 1843.....	\$15,657,950

Substantially the only valuable asset which the state could show as against this enormous liability was the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which in the end proved remunerative to the state. The other projected internal improvements were known at the time to be wild and visionary and conceded to be "upon the rocks." The banks in which the state held stock to the extent of \$2,665,000 had suspended payment and were expected to be wound up in the courts for insolvency or bankruptcy. The credit

of the state had, for the time being, been ruined by its wild adventures into banking and building enterprises, and no more money could be borrowed. This is the financial situation that Governor Ford was compelled to face. The cry of state repudiation of its debts was being heard both in the Legislature and among the people.

Now Governor Ford before his election as governor was not prominently identified with the politics of the state. He was not regarded as one of the eminent leaders of his party. When selected by the Democratic party as its candidate for governor he was a member of the Supreme Court and was holding Circuit Court in the northern part of the state. He was regarded as an upright, honorable, painstaking and just judge. He had the esteem and respect of his fellow men in that position. His selection as candidate was accidental and resulted from the fact that the candidate for governor selected by the Democratic party in convention assembled in December, 1841, Adam W. Snyder, died during the campaign, in May, 1842. Compelled by the circumstances to act quickly, the Democrats, looking around for a new candidate, finally selected Ford, as a man of clean character and an upright judge, and placed him before the people as their candidate for the highest office in the state. According to Governor Ford, the nomination was tendered him without solicitation on his part.

When the new governor faced the gloomy financial situation which he found after his inauguration, and sought its solution, the choice his party and the people had made proved a most admirable one. Although having had no great experience as a banker or comptroller, he had the moral sense and courage to recognize the folly and financial enormity of a great and growing sovereign state repudiating its debts. His message to the Legislature was a wise and able document. Its keynote was framed in the following sentence: "Let it be known in the first place that no oppressive or exterminating taxation is to be resorted to; in the second, we must convince our creditors and the world that the disgrace of repudiation is not countenanced among us, that we are honest and mean to pay as soon as we are able." In the message he pointed out two



Thomas Ford

GOVERNOR 1842-46

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

reasons why the state in recent years had not increased appreciably in population. One reason was that the people of other states and nations feared to settle in Illinois lest they be saddled with exorbitant taxes to pay state debts. The other reason was that people outside of Illinois had acquired a contempt for the public men of Illinois, because of their lack of ability to conduct public affairs wisely and economically, and feared that as the result of reckless government the people would declare for repudiation of public debts.

The first thing to demand Ford's attention was the completion of the unfinished Illinois and Michigan Canal. This Ford wisely determined must be completed, and, with the assistance of Justin Butterfield, a Chicago lawyer, he succeeded in devising a financial scheme under which the capitalists who held unpaid canal bonds, would advance sufficient money to complete same, provided the state would convey to them all the canal property in trust to secure the new loan and all the old canal debt; and would obligate the state to raise money by moderate taxation, to liquidate gradually, but surely, the state's whole indebtedness. In this way the money was raised to complete the canal and it was put in operation in 1848.

Governor Ford next turned his attention to the banks in which the state held stock which was quoted as worth about 50 cents on the dollar. He succeeded in arranging with these banks the surrender of the state bonds which these banks held in payment for the state's stock in exchange for the state stock in the banks, dollar for dollar, and thus reduced the state's debts over \$3,000,000. He succeeded in getting the Legislature, which was originally in favor of cancelling their charters and throwing them into bankruptcy, to approve his scheme of surrendering the state's stock in the two banks in exchange for the state's bonds held by the banks. The bills providing for this exchange, framed by the governor, finally passed the House by a vote of 107 to 4, and afterwards were passed by a decisive vote in the Senate. By these two bills a debt of \$2,306,000 of the state was cancelled and the future credit of the state enormously strengthened in the money marts of the world.

Governor Ford was next called upon officially to dispose of the bitter and bloody controversy that arose between the Mormons at Nauvoo and the Christian Gentiles that surrounded them in Hancock County and the western part of the state. Thomas Rees, the able editor of the *Springfield Register*, has recently published in the *Journal* of the Illinois Historical Society, a review of this interesting affair, which is so lucid and condensed that with his kind permission I will adopt and appropriate it as part of this history. Rees writes as follows:

Inception of the Mormon Movement.

Now let us consider the beginning and the progress of the Mormon church as represented by these new arrivals in Nauvoo.

Joseph Smith was born December 23, 1805, in Windsor, Vermont, the son of a farmer. He moved with his family when ten years of age to Palmyra, New York, and when fourteen years old they moved to Manchester. He claimed to have been converted at a revival. He determined, however, to investigate the subject of religion more fully.

He relates the following story: "I retired to a secret place in a grove where I became enraptured in a heavenly vision and where I saw two glorious personages. They warned me against the churches and I received a promise that the true gospel should be revealed to me at a later date."

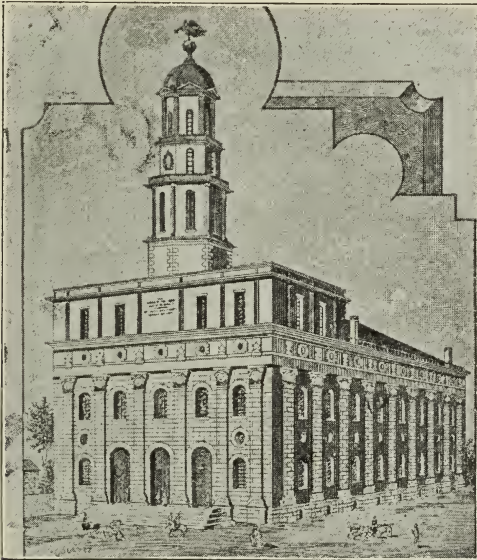
When he was about eighteen years of age, he said, a messenger visited him in another vision and proclaiming himself as an angel of God informed him that he was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about a glorious dispensation. He further said he was told at that time of the location of a certain set of plates that were buried in the ground. There were a thousand of these plates and they seemed like gold and were of a thickness equal to thin tin, each plate being beautifully engraved. The plates were about 6 x 8 inches in size and the whole package was about six inches in thickness.

Smith claimed that he showed these plates to ten men, all of whom declared they had seen them and testified positively as follows: "Joseph Smith showed the plates to us, that we did handle them with our hands, that we saw the engravings thereon, and that we had seen and 'hefted'

them and that we knew of a surety that said Smith had got the plates."

These plates were placed in the hands of one of these men, Oliver Cowdery, who translated them, and the teachings thereon as translated were used as the foundation of the Mormon doctrine.

In 1830 the Mormon church was started in Fayette, New York. Then Sidney Rigdon, one of Smith's principal adherents, went over to Kirtland, Ohio, and after a great



MORMON TEMPLE, NAUVOO

revival established the church there and then they began the building of a temple there. In connection with this religious movement Smith had organized a bank at Kirtland, but the bank failed and Smith and his brother became very unpopular. They were ridden on a rail through the town, tarred and feathered and ordered to leave the community. But they were not dismayed and removing the tar and feathers they presented their doctrines at the same place on Sunday, the day following.

Smith then claimed to have received a new revelation to go to Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri, a short distance east of Kansas City and there to establish

a new Zion. So they moved again, the church continued and the foundation for another temple was laid at Independence.

The Mormons remained there until they were compelled to evacuate and seek some other location. This brought them up to the time of their removal to Quincy and their arrival in Nauvoo. . . .

On their arrival in Nauvoo, in the winter of 1838 to '39, Joseph Smith not only continued to hold the position of head of the church, but after the city was organized he soon became, either by his own appointment or election, the mayor of Nauvoo. Immediately on their arrival in Illinois the Mormons began to take an interest in politics and they soon became a mighty political power. They elected their own representatives to the Legislature.

From the liberal legislature of Illinois they demanded much and received a great deal. They secured from the legislature—through the efforts of their first representative, one Dr. John C. Bennett—three of the most remarkable charters ever granted by the State of Illinois to any community. . . .

The three charters which they secured in the legislative session of 1840-41 were: one for the incorporation of the city of Nauvoo, one for the founding of the University of Nauvoo, and the third for the organization of a military legion. The success in securing these charters was made easy by the fact that both political parties at that time were vieing with each other for the good will and support of the Mormons.

The three charters were all contained in one act of the legislature and embraced among other provisions a city council, a board of trustees and a court martial. Each of these branches, supreme in their way, were invested with legislative, judicial and executive powers. The rights were to enact, establish, ordain any and enact all laws and ordinances *not in conflict with the constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois*. There were no provisions, however, in the act guarding against infringement of or the ignoring of any or all the laws either of the State of Illinois or of the United States.

The intention of the three charters seemed to be to establish at Nauvoo a government of the Mormons, by the Mormons and for the Mormons, independent of control either by the state or the United States. The third charter created a military legion, an army to uphold such acts or

laws as the Mormons wished to enforce. It is said that this military legion at one time numbered six thousand men, and was entirely at the command of Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general and as leader and prophet of the Mormons.

In addition to this legion there was a sort of secret organization known as the Danites or the sons of Dan, whose work was done secretly and who could be depended upon at any time under the directions of the prophet to remove characters objectionable or obnoxious to the authorities of the church.

Joseph Smith being head of the church, mayor of Nauvoo, and general-in-chief of the Nauvoo legion, his authority was unquestioned. Not satisfied with being the head of everything in his kingdom he even aspired to become president of the United States.

On the third of February, 1841, the city of Nauvoo was organized under its charter, with Dr. Bennett who had secured the charter, as its first mayor, but he was soon succeeded by Joseph Smith. The legion and the university were organized about the same time but the university never seemed to have made much progress. However, Joseph Smith's big asset and office was lieutenant-general of the legion.

One of the first acts of the city council was to pass a vote of thanks to the state government for favors conferred, and to the citizens of Quincy for the kindness shown them when driven from Missouri and when they found refuge in Illinois. This appears to be the only thanks ever extended by the Mormons.

The legion was furnished with state arms through General Bennett, who had not only secured the charters alluded to but who had also been appointed quartermaster-general of Illinois one year before by Governor Carlin.

On May 24, 1841, Joseph Smith sent out a notice that all Mormons in the state must locate in the county of Hancock, in which the city of Nauvoo was situated, and the one particular part of the county where he proposed to reign supreme and govern all the people thereof in the name of the Lord.

About this time as usual, Joseph Smith and the Mormon church began to have all kinds of trouble, both internal and external. Smith was arrested on several requisitions sent over from Missouri for crimes said to have been committed while he was there. But with the wonderful charters he

possessed and his control of the courts, each time he was promptly released by writs of *habeas corpus* or other means.

The progress of the Mormon church continued, however, and on the 6th of April in the year 1841, the corner-stone of the third Mormon temple was laid at Nauvoo. History records that there were ten thousand people present at this ceremony and the temple which was to be erected at a cost of one million dollars—a good deal of money in those days—was intended to be and when completed was, without doubt, the finest structure of any kind in this western country.

Notwithstanding the fact that Nauvoo, under Mormon rule, had become a hotbed of crime and the hiding place of criminals who sought and secured refuge there after committing crimes in or near that section, the city as a growing metropolis still seemed to be in a flourishing condition. Both political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, were continually making overtures to the Mormons. Stephen A. Douglas of the democratic party was popular with them, while John T. Stuart, Lincoln's law instructor and afterwards his first law partner, ran for congress on the Whig ticket and secured almost the solid vote of the Mormons in Hancock County.

The Mormons however were not the only people in Nauvoo. Naturally such a flourishing city in the new west attracted many people and of those who came there many were just about as bad if not worse than the Mormons.

In addition to enmities existing between the Mormons and other religious sects, the Mormons also differed among themselves and a violent quarrel broke out between Joseph Smith and his principal military aid, General Bennett.

The Fatal Tragedy.

New churches with regular or nondescript doctrines were organized in Nauvoo and an anti-Mormon newspaper, called the *Expositor*, was started in the city, but only one edition thereof was ever issued. This paper was immediately suppressed by Joseph Smith, and by his orders the press and material were immediately destroyed. This created a great furore. . . .

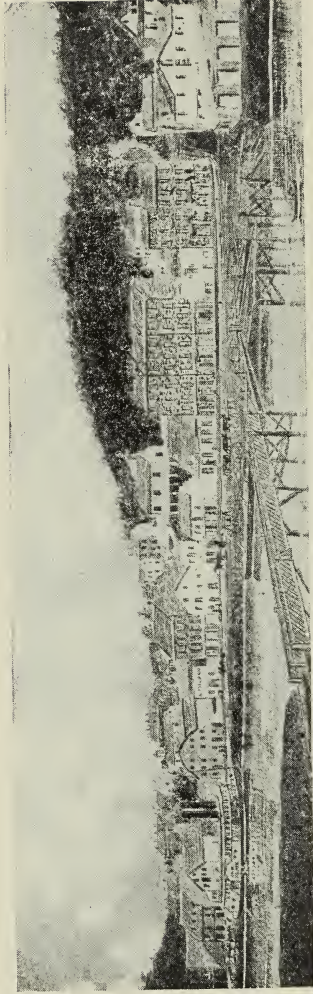
The non-Mormons in Nauvoo met in convention and passed resolutions demanding the immediate expulsion from Illinois of Smith and his associates. Smith had not imagined that the breaking up of this little printing office and the suppression of this little newspaper would create so great an excitement.

Things became so threatening that he ordered out his military legion to defend himself and save his church. In the meantime the governor, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, ordered out the militia of the several counties in the vicinity of Nauvoo and started a march on the city. He met the legion and engaged in battle at rather long range. There were a few casualties, perhaps, but not many fatalities. However, the cloud of war hung over the city.

An armistice was arranged and a compromise effected. Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, agreed to surrender themselves under a warrant that was issued against them, and for their own safety and the good of the community they agreed to be incarcerated in the jail at Carthage, the county seat, twelve miles away. They were promised protection by Thomas Ford, who was then governor of Illinois. In connection with this agreement the governor required Joseph Smith to turn back to the state the arms, consisting of guns and cannons, which had been placed in his custody for the use of his legion.

Had the governor carried out his agreement and taken the proper precautions to guard the Smiths in the jail, the state of Illinois would have escaped a serious blot that has rested upon its escutcheon ever since. Instead of fulfilling the agreement, by inexcusable neglect he allowed a mob to march on the jail, make an assault thereon and shoot and kill Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, in cold blood. Joseph Smith at the time he was killed was only 41 years old, but in that short span had led a busy life. He was survived by three sons.

Governor Ford, however, failed or was unable to keep his part of the agreement after the Smiths had surrendered themselves into the custody of the state officials on the 23rd and 24th day of June, 1845. The Mormons had prior to that date surrendered to the state authorities the three cannon and 220 stands of arms, out of the 250 stands that they had been furnished by the state to equip their militia. On June 27, 1845, when Governor Ford was in Nauvoo with some of the militia, a mob composed of disbanded militiamen with blackened faces made arrangement with eight men belonging to the militia company guarding the prisoners, called the Carthage Grays, to load their guns with blank cartridges and fire these blank cartridges



GALENA LEVEE, 1844

(From an old drawing by an engineer of the U. S. army then located
at Galena.)

when the militiamen with blackened faces appeared to kill the prisoners. Under this nefarious scheme the disbanding militia-men broke into the jail and assassinated both Joseph Smith and his brother in cold blood. It was the blackest and foulest crime ever committed in Illinois and has brought more disgrace unto the state and upon its officials than anything that has ever occurred in the history of the state. Governor Ford and his staff have been bitterly criticized for acts and omissions in connection with the disgraceful affair. A state that will give through its governor assurance of life and protection to a person who surrenders himself to the governor of such a state upon such an assurance and fails to keep its solemn pledge of safety must necessarily fall very low in public estimation. Governor Ford has left in his history his explanation of the matter which is by no means a satisfactory one. He lays the blame upon his treacherous and cowardly subordinates, but it shows lack of firmness, decision and energy on his part. In justice to him who did much good for the state in other matters, it is but just to give his version of the matter, which extenuates but does not wholly relieve him from all responsibility.

Governor Ford in his *History* gives in substance this version of the unfortunate affair: On June 27, two or three days after the surrender of the Smith brothers, Governor Ford attended a council of war at Carthage to determine whether or not the State Militia, numbering some 1,700 men under arms, should march into the City of Nauvoo to search for counterfeit money and to strike terror into the Mormons. The governor had already agreed with his officers to take this course. He had intended to take the prisoners along with him and his troops into Nauvoo, but was dissuaded by his officers from so doing. At the conference with his officers on the morning of June 27, the governor had changed his mind with reference to marching his troops into Nauvoo. He had only 1,700 men and only two days' provisions and he was reliably informed that the Mormons in Nauvoo could muster 2,000 well-armed men in case of conflict. A majority of his officers at the conference on June 27 advised him to adhere to the original plan and march the entire body of the state militia there assembled on to Nauvoo.

The governor overruled them and as commander-in-chief ordered all the troops but three companies disbanded on that day. He ordered two companies, one of them the Carthage Grays, to remain on duty and guard the jail at Carthage where the Smiths were confined, and the other company, commanded by Captain Dunn he retained with him to escort him to Nauvoo. He says: "Although I knew that the company (the Carthage Grays) were the enemies of the Smiths, yet I had confidence in their loyalty and integrity." (P. 343.) He also admits that this company had been mutinous a few days before and "had behaved badly towards the brigadier-general in command." (Idem., p. 343.)

Leaving Brigadier Deming in charge of the two companies at Carthage guarding the prisoners, and Captain Smith in charge of the Carthage Grays, on June 27 Governor Ford, escorted by Captain Dunn's dragoons, and by Colonel Buckmaster, quartermaster-general, left for Nauvoo. When only four miles from Carthage, "Colonel Buckmaster intimated to me a suspicion that an attack would be made upon the jail." (Idem., p. 345.) Uninfluenced by this communication the governor and his escort continued on the way to Nauvoo. A contingent of the Warsaw militia, on the way to their appointed rendezvous, received the governor's orders to disband. Disappointed and enraged thereby, about 200 of these soldiers blackened their faces and started towards Carthage, where they encamped. Here they learned that one of the companies left in Carthage to guard the prisoners had disbanded and returned to their homes. The other company, the Carthage Grays, was encamped on the public square of Carthage a few hundred yards away from the jail. Only eight soldiers were left in or about the jail to guard the prisoners. These eight were in a conspiracy with the black-faced militiamen to permit the killing of the prisoners by firing blank cartridges at the assailing mob. As the result of cowardice or connivance, Brigadier-General Dement was out of town, and Captain Smith of the Carthage Grays nowhere to be found.

Governor Ford did much that entitles him to the gratitude of the state in sustaining her honor and integrity in a great

financial crisis, in averting from her the disgrace of repudiation of her debts, and in dragging her out of the morass of weird and wild speculative adventure, and in nobly responding to the call of the nation in the Mexican war, but he lost much prestige by his handling of the Mormon outbreak. He was surrounded by traitors and incompetents and his personal presence on the scene failed to instill into them any sense of duty to him as their governor and leader, or of loyalty or respect for their state. The only rational explanation of the whole disgraceful affair is that the entire atmosphere of that part of the state at that time was charged with the malignancy of religious fanaticism and hatred, such as in other times and at other places have disgraced some of the most progressive nations of the world; such as recently brought humiliation and disgrace upon Great Britain in Palestine; and such as at times humiliate the decent, fair-minded citizens of our own country when hooded and masked men attempt by violence to deprive American citizens of their lives and liberty or their constitutional and political rights in the United States of America.

After the tragic death of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith, bitter controversy arose in the Mormon Church as to the leadership of the cult. In the earliest days the church was under the presidency of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon who controlled the management of the church. Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith being dead Rigdon proposed that the church abandon Nauvoo and remove to Pittsburg. He particularly desired all the wealthy Mormons to move in that city and claimed that he had a revelation to that effect and that it must be obeyed. While he was making this contention apostles engaged in missionary journeys in the different states and countries in the world began to return to Nauvoo and proposed that the apostles from this time on should control the church as they did after the death of Christ.

Brigham Young, one of the shrewdest and ablest of the apostles, now put forth the claim that he was the Peter of the twelve apostles. His contention prevailed and missionaries were sent to the four corners of the world to tell of the death of the martyred Joseph. They carried out this purpose with such

zeal that it was shortly contended that there were between a quarter and a half million people adhering to the Mormon faith.

While the conflict between Rigdon and his friends on one side, and the twelve apostles upon the other side, was continued, there was constant signs of disintegration. After Rigdon was defeated by the apostles, the wife of Joseph made claims of primacy in behalf of her young son, Joseph Smith, and her claims were supported by William Smith, a younger brother of the deceased prophet. Brigham Young and his friends, however, finally prevailed and William Smith was excluded from membership in the church.

The question of removal from Illinois now arose among the apostles, some favoring Texas, others Oregon and others the borders of Mexico. The apostles now claimed that a revelation had been made to them under which they were not permitted to leave Nauvoo until the temple was completed.

The Gentiles of Hancock County and the surrounding territory, in the meantime, were becoming very impatient over the dilatory movements of the Mormons. New converts began to arrive in Nauvoo and the city had a population of from eighteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. The Mormons appealed to the governor to bring the murderers of the Smiths to trial. The Gentiles kept clamoring for the expulsion of the Mormons. An election took place in 1844 and the Mormons voted solidly for the Democratic candidates. This greatly annoyed the Whigs and the Whig leaders sent out an invitation to the militia captains of Hancock County and adjoining counties requesting them to report in the neighborhood of Nauvoo to carry on a great "wolf hunt." The wolf hunters began assembling in Hancock County for the purpose of attacking the Mormon wolves and the situation became critical. Governor Ford ordered Brigadier-General Hardin, Colonel Baker, Merriman and Weatherford to raise 500 troops and hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Hancock County. The governor himself went into Hancock County and took command, whereupon many of the anti-Mormon wolf hunters, including the Carthage Grays, left Hancock County. Some of those charged with the murder of the Smiths returned to Hancock County and offered to stand trial. They

were placed on trial but declared not guilty. The alleged trial was a mere farce. All persons friendly to the Mormons were excluded from the court and neighborhood. Several hundred armed men filled the courtyard and the courtroom. The judge and governor were both powerless to enforce the law.

In the fall of 1845 the homes of many Mormons in Hancock County were burned and the occupants forced from their homes. The governor saw that it was impossible to execute the law in Hancock County and knowing that the Mormons were contemplating moving to a new location, advised the Mormon leaders to act promptly and withdraw from the state. The governor left General Hardin in Nauvoo as his representative and he, General Hardin, finally reached an agreement with the Mormons, which provided that the state would cease prosecutions of the Mormons if the Mormons would leave the state on or before the spring of 1846.

In February, 1846, between 2,000 or 3,000 crossed from Nauvoo to the Iowa side of the Mississippi on the ice and started westward. In the course of the following summer 16,000 had crossed the Mississippi into Iowa. All of the Mormons had departed except a thousand people who had come to Nauvoo but recently who were not able to dispose of their property. Not withholding this hegira an armed conflict between 250 Mormon soldiers and 800 well armed citizens took place during the year 1846. The engagement, however, was by artillery at long range, which continued for a day or two.

A compromise was finally reached under which the Mormons agreed to lay down their arms and leave the city for the Iowa side of the river. The temple was completed in the fall of 1846. There had been some sort of a revelation that the saints should not leave Nauvoo until the temple was completed. It fell to the lot of a few Mormons under this alleged revelation to hold at bay the belligerent Gentiles until the temple was finished.

Thus came to an end the stormy political, religious and rebellious career of the Mormon Church in the State of Illinois. While its claim for inspiration from on High through Joseph Smith and its oft-asserted revelations from the Deity to Smith

appeared to the ordinary, sane citizen not only improbable but dishonest and self-serving; it nonetheless attracted the attention and secured the belief of many honest, hard-working men and women who obeyed its sacerdotal orders implicitly. Its management and discipline were of such a character, however, as always to incur the dislike and ultimately the hatred of all their Gentile neighbors. This was the case in Ohio, where they first located; in Missouri, where they settled after leaving Ohio; in Illinois during their stay in that state, and in Utah for a considerable time after they located in that then-distant territory.

It was their aim in Illinois, as elsewhere, to establish within its civil boundaries and civil and criminal law an *Imperium in imperio*. Their ambition was to secure within the boundaries of their own property and city "a law unto themselves." It was their aim to administer within their own territory all laws, civil, criminal and ecclesiastical, not only as between members of their church, but as between members of their church and Gentiles, and as between Gentiles and other Gentiles residing in a Mormon town or city; to elect their own judges, city officials, police and even their own militia. This necessarily and inevitably brought on a contest with the laws of the state and conflict with the officials of the state, and eventually resulted in their expulsion from Illinois. Their experience in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois induced them after leaving the last-named state to abate most of their inordinate aims for civic sovereignty and to become content to live and labor subject to the civil and criminal laws of the state within which they wished to reside.

On May 11, 1846, during Governor Ford's administration, the Congress of the United States, at the request of President Polk, declared war on Mexico. The English-speaking people of Texas in 1836, then a component part of the Republic of Mexico, had revolted from Mexican rule, and by heroic fighting against much more numerous armies of Mexicans in the battles at Gonzales, San Antonio and San Jacinto had succeeded in establishing the Republic of Texas. Shortly afterwards, the inhabitants of this new republic agitated for the annexation of Texas to the United States. The demand for annexation was

Sec 1 Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, that Peter Harrison, John Henry and Henry James be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to view, mark and permanently locate so much of the State road, leading from Springfield in Morgan county to Lewiston in Dallas county, as lies between Springfield and George G. Millers ferry on the Sangamon river.

Sec 2 Said commissioners or a majority of them shall meet at the town of Springfield on the second Monday in March next or as soon thereafter as practicable and after being duly sworn by some officer authorized to administer oaths, shall proceed to perform the duties required of them by this act, involving as much as possible the injury of private property.

Sec 3 The said commissioners shall as soon thereafter as convenient, cause to be filed with the clerk of the county commissioners court of the county of Morgan a report and complete map of said road which report and map shall be preserved and shall form a part of the records of said court. Said road when so established shall be kept in repair as other State roads are.

Sec 4 The county commissioners court of Morgan county shall allow to said commissioners out of the county treasury, such compensation, as to them shall seem just and reasonable.

Patel N. R. Feb 5. 1835

A. P. Nichol Clerk

overwhelming in Texas, but public opinion in the United States was, for a time, divided upon the expediency thereof. The Texans claimed the Rio Grande River as the southerly dividing line between their country and Mexico, while Mexico claimed all property south of the Nueces River. The Mexican government by proclamation stated that it would regard the annexation of Texas by the United States as an act of hostility. The Democrats, particularly those in the South, were almost unanimous for annexation. Polk, then candidate for the presidency in 1844, having been successful over Clay, the Whig idol, and Tyler, the Whig President whose term of office was about to expire, construed the election as a popular mandate for annexation and made haste to recommend to Congress that Texas be annexed by a joint resolution of Congress or through a treaty. Congress passed the joint resolution, but many senators expressed their preference for a treaty and it was believed that Polk, when inaugurated, would negotiate a treaty with Texas. President Tyler, however, decided that his administration should not be deprived of the honor of adding so great a territory to the domain of the United States and before his term expired he forwarded the joint resolution of Congress to the Congress of Texas, which was promptly approved by the Texans and July 4, 1845 the Republic of Texas became a part of the United States.

Shortly after the adoption of the joint resolution by the United States Congress, the Mexican minister demanded his passports, and not long thereafter the American minister left Mexico and war between the countries became inevitable. War having been declared, Congress authorized the President (Polk) to call for 50,000 volunteers and appropriated \$10,000,000 for the prosecution of the war. The 50,000 troops were apportioned among the states, but were mostly drawn from the South and West. Illinois was authorized to mobilize three regiments, or 3,000 men. Governor Ford issued his general order as commander-in-chief in Illinois, calling for 3,000 volunteers. During the Mormon trouble the militia had become badly disorganized. The governor directed the sheriffs to convene the old militia organization in each county and add to the number those who responded the names of all volunteers in each county, an-

nouncing at the same time that the first companies assembling eighty men to the company would be accepted and enrolled in the order of their reports until the state's quota was completed. Within ten days more than the state's quota reported to the governor and by June 15 forty companies over the Illinois quota were offered for enrollment. Alton was selected as the place of rendezvous and all of the companies reported there for duty and assignment. Three regiments were promptly organized, the first commanded by Col. John J. Hardin, the second by Col. William H. Bissell (afterwards governor of Illinois) and the third by Col. Ferris Foreman. Although only three regiments were called by the President from Illinois, a fourth was ready and waiting for enrollment. Largely by the insistence of Congressman Edward D. Baker, the fourth regiment was accepted and enrolled, and he, Baker, was commissioned as its colonel.

The people of Illinois had become well acquainted with many of the generals and other commanding officers who led them during the war with Mexico, in the Black Hawk war. Among them were Gen. Zachary Taylor, Col. Jefferson Davis, Gen. W. S. Harney, General Twiggs, E. D. Baker, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston. All of them had seen service in the Black Hawk war, most of them as junior officers. The First and Second regiments of Illinois troops left Alton July 17, 18 and 19 and reached San Antonio about August 23, where they remained until September 26, under command of General Wool. Later on they crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico and reached Saltillo, Mexico, where they were joined by General Taylor's army of 4,000 men. Near that point, at Buena Vista, February 22, 1847, was fought the celebrated battle of that name. The Americans engaged numbered about 5,000, while the Mexicans were three or four times their number. The Illinois troops, first and second regiments, distinguished themselves in that battle and contributed most materially to the great American victory. The total loss on the American side was killed 264, wounded 482. The Mexican loss was about 2,500. The first regiment lost, including Hardin, twenty-nine killed and sixteen wounded; the second regiment lost in killed sixty-two, and wounded sixty-nine.

The Third and Fourth regiments of Illinois troops left in July, and via New Orleans reached Camargo, on the Rio Grande, in time to meet Gen. Winfield Scott and his army at that place. Here the commanding general made the Third and Fourth Illinois regiments and one New York regiment into a brigade and placed Gen. James Shields of Illinois in command.

General Worth arrived at Cerro Gordo and joined the forces under General Twiggs and General Patterson. At this place they met General Santa Anna commanding 15,000 seasoned troops who had arrived from Buena Vista. General Scott deemed the position occupied by Santa Anna almost impregnable, and ordered a cutting of a road in the rear of the Mexican position. This duty was assigned to the Illinois troops and the work was accomplished with great skill. It required the carrying of batteries across a deep chasm and the placing of these batteries on hills commanding the enemy's position. The duty was assigned to Gen. James Shields' brigade composed of the Third Illinois, Col. Ferris Foreman commanding, Fourth Illinois, Col. E. D. Baker commanding, and a regiment from New York. Under the direction of General Shields the brigade lowered the cannon down on the rear side of the gorge by strong ropes and pulled them up on the farther side. During the night time the Illinois troops under Shields succeeded in placing the batteries in position to command the rear of Santa Anna's entrenchments. On the following day the battle was won and the Mexicans were in full retreat. In the midst of the battle General Shields was wounded with a grape-shot through his lungs. The wound was so severe that he was reported dead and his obituary was printed in several papers. Almost by a miracle he survived the serious wound, to become afterwards judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois and United States senator from three different states, Illinois, Missouri and Minnesota.

The American loss in the battle of Cerro Gordo was 417, 64 being killed and 353 wounded. General Twiggs in his report of the battle of Cerro Gordo declares: "The gallant troops of Illinois shared to no inconsiderable extent in the dangers, toils, and hardships as their large ratio of losses attest, and their

heroic deeds have reflected imperishable honor and glory upon our state.”

The Fifth and Sixth regiments from Illinois were organized and sent to the front but were unfortunate in not being able to participate in any of the active battles of the campaign although always ready and eager so to do.

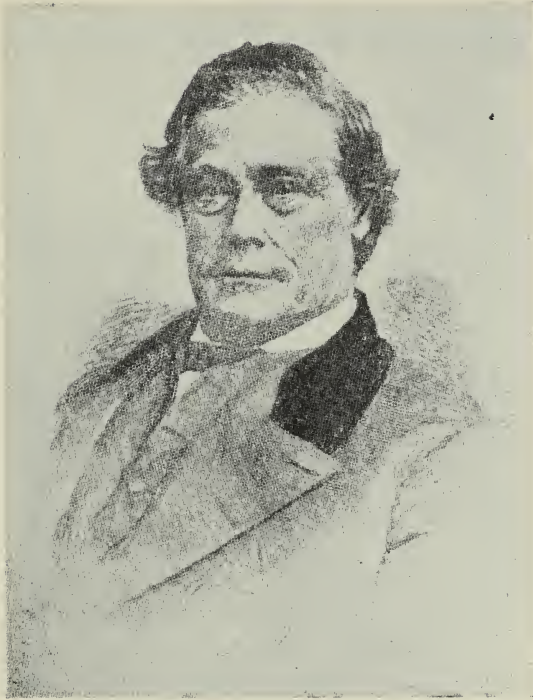
In the Mexican war Illinois furnished 6,123 volunteers and suffered a loss of 80 killed, 12 died of wounds and 160 wounded.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE STATE ADOPTS A NEW CONSTITUTION IN 1848

In the two decades between 1830 and 1850 the population of Illinois was growing by leaps and bounds. In 1820 it had within its borders only 55,162 souls. In 1830 it had 157,445, in 1840 it had 476,183 and in 1850, 851,470. With commensurate rapidity it was developing its agriculture, commerce, industry and education. Frontier life, with its homespun clothes and home-made implements and vehicles, and its uneducated children, was being replaced by a more comfortably-clothed and better-equipped mode of life, where children were receiving at least a rudimentary education. Thousands of well-educated men and women were moving into the state and bringing with them some of the comforts and atmosphere of civilized life.

The Constitution of 1818 was adopted hastily and hastily approved by Congress, and without prescience of future growth and requirements. It was not submitted to the people of the territory for their approval. By 1840 its defects and limitations began to be felt, and agitation started for a constitutional convention which would frame a new fundamental law more in accordance with the needs and requirements of the day. The first effort to secure such a convention in 1842 was a failure, the popular vote having failed to respond to the call. In 1846, however, the public voted decisively for a new constitution and elected 162 delegates to the same. By occupation these delegates were fairly representative of the people of the state at that time. Seventy-six of them were farmers, and strange to say there were only fifty-four of them lawyers. Most of the delegates were Democrats, but on the whole the constitution of 1848 was so free from political bias that it was supported at the election called for adoption by the great body of the people, both Whig and Democratic. Only six small and unimportant papers



OWEN LOVEJOY

Abolitionist leader and brother of the martyr, Elijah P. Lovejoy.

in the state opposed the adoption of the proposed constitution and these papers were supported only by the judges in office and a few of their friends and appointees. The constitutional convention was in session for about three months and the constitution as framed was adopted by the people by an overwhelming majority. Tried by experience, there were several defects in the constitution of 1818 which inspired and brought about the holding of a constitutional convention. One of these defects was the method of the selection of the judges of the state. Under the Constitution of 1818 the judges were selected by the Legislature and not by the people. This method had, in the judgment of the people, injected politics and political bias into the decisions of the courts and in reprisal for same had injected politics into the selection of judges into the Legislature. The McClermand-Field case and the attempt of the Whig judges to disfranchise legal voters were still fresh in the minds of the people when they ordered a constitutional convention and their delegates in that convention made the judiciary of the state elective by popular vote so that in the future a judge evincing political bias on the bench could be punished by the people by driving him from the bench at the next election. The convention went further to insure control of all officials by the people at the ballot box. The new constitution made all state and county officials elective by popular vote. Having before them the calamitous internal improvement and bank laws recently passed by the Legislature, which had bogged the state in a morass of enormous indebtedness, the constitutional convention prohibited the state from incurring any indebtedness exceeding "\$50,000 to meet casual deficits or failure in revenues." It provided further that all appropriations must be made by the Legislature for the ordinary and contingent expenses—the aggregate amount of which shall not exceed the amount of revenue authorized by law to be raised during the period for which the appropriations were made. To prevent the revival or extension of the charter for the state bank or any other bank then in the state, the constitution contained a provision expressly prohibiting same. To further clinch matters of that character the constitution declared "the credit of the state shall not in any

manner be given to or in aid of any individuals, association or corporations.”

To prevent the raising of the cry of “repudiation” in the future, the constitution provided for a two-mill tax, the proceeds of which were to be used exclusively for the payment of the state indebtedness. Appalled, evidently, by the enormous extravagance of legislation in the past, the convention in its strenuous urge for economy in the future went to a ridiculous extreme in fixing the salaries of public officials. It fixed salaries as follows: For the governor, \$1,500 per annum; state auditor, \$1,000; state treasurer, \$800; judges of the Supreme Court, \$1,200; and Circuit Court, \$1,000. The number of the members of the Legislature was cut to 100, or twenty-five senators and seventy-five representatives, who were to be paid \$2 per day while in session for forty-two days and \$1 per day if the session lasted over forty-two days. How the State of Illinois under the Constitution of 1848 was able to secure able and honest public officials to accept office and perform intelligently and effectively their official duties is a mystery.

The Constitution of 1848 was adopted by the people by a vote of 49,060 affirmative against 20,883 negative.

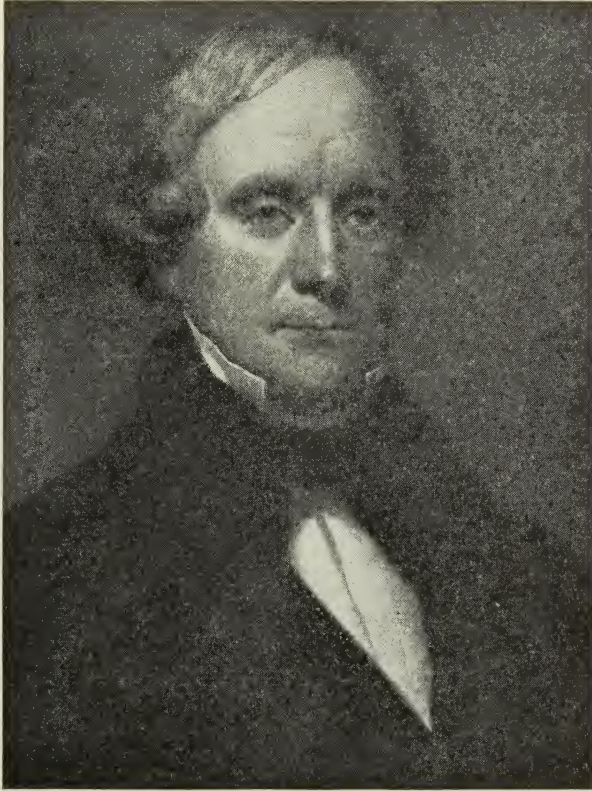
The delegates to the Constitutional Convention numbered 162, of whom ninety-two were Democrats and seventy were Whigs. The convention met at Springfield on June 7, 1847. Its most prominent members were: John M. Palmer, lawyer and soldier, afterwards elected governor and United States senator from Illinois; Zadoc Casey, afterwards elected lieutenant-governor and member of Congress from Illinois; Walter B. Scates, judge of the Circuit Court and the Supreme Court of Illinois; David Davis, afterwards justice of the United States Supreme Court and United States senator from Illinois; John Dement, soldier in the Black Hawk war who served in three constitutional conventions in 1847, 1862 and 1870; Anthony Thornton, afterwards member of Congress and judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois; Samuel D. Lockwood, attorney-general of Illinois and member of the Supreme Court of the same state; and Stephen T. Logan, eminent lawyer and partner of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FRENCH

Augustus C. French was elected governor on the Democratic ticket in 1846 over his Whig competitor, Thomas L. Kilpatrick, by a vote of 67,453 to 58,700 and gave a wise and business-like administration to the state. He was a man of high character, who was left an orphan before he was twenty years old, with the responsibility of educating and caring for four younger brothers, which burden he cheerfully assumed and splendidly carried out. He was admitted to the bar and became a very successful lawyer, served with credit in the Illinois Legislature, and was appointed receiver of public monies by the Land Office at Palestine. He enjoyed the friendship of Douglas, which doubtless helped him to his nomination and election. Upon his induction into office he found the state heavily indebted as a result of the disastrous experiments with "general internal improvements" made by the Legislature during former administrations. This indebtedness amounted to many millions, and four years' interest thereon, amounting to about another million dollars.

Under his administration the new Constitution of 1848 was adopted, and in this constitution there was a provision for the levying of a two-mill tax to be applied to the principal of this great debt. He wisely recommended to the Legislature the funding of the debt, and as there was a widespread belief that there were many counterfeit bonds afloat, he recommended the calling in and verification of all the state's bonds, their cancellation, and the issuance of new bonds to replace those found to be valid. The old bonds had not been registered and the new bonds were registered and numbered. Both principal and accrued interest on the old valid bonds were funded into the new issue. In 1850



Courtesy H. W. Fay, Springfield.

AUGUSTUS C. FRENCH, GOVERNOR 1846-53

Governor French stated that the total indebtedness was \$16,627,509, and that most of it had then been funded.

The war with Mexico continued during Governor French's term. With much energy and zeal he responded to the Government's call for troops and forwarded the ardent volunteers to the battle front with commendable celerity. So efficient and satisfactory did Governor French's administration prove to be, that when the provision of the new Constitution of 1848 legislated him out of office, the people demanded his reelection. Practically without opposition, he was nominated and reelected for a four-year term, commencing January, 1849, and ending January, 1853.

In 1849, under French's administration, Sidney Breese's term in the United States Senate expired, and a contest arose in the Legislature as to whom would succeed him. Breese was a candidate for reelection. His competitors were John A. McClernand and Gen. James Shields, the hero from Illinois desperately wounded in the Mexican war. Shields was successful and elected by the Legislature, but a question arose as to his eligibility because of his being a native of Ireland. A special session of the Legislature was called and his ineligibility was removed by law, and he was then again elected to the United States Senate from Illinois.

In 1850 the revenues of the state for the first time in many years exceeded the expenditures. This was the result of increase in revenue from the two-mill tax under the new constitution, the one and one-quarter-mill tax under the old constitution, legislation in Congress making all lands in the state conveyed to private owners amenable to state taxation, and the tremendous increase of the value of land during the preceding five years. The taxable value of property in the state in 1850 was over \$100,000,000. Under French's administration in 1850, the congressional land grant to the Illinois Central Railroad was passed and the railroad was incorporated, though it was not built until six years afterwards. Governor French was the first governor of the State of Illinois to succeed himself in that office.

Since the adoption of the Constitution of 1848 all governors of Illinois have been elected in November and inaugurated in January.

CHAPTER XXXIX

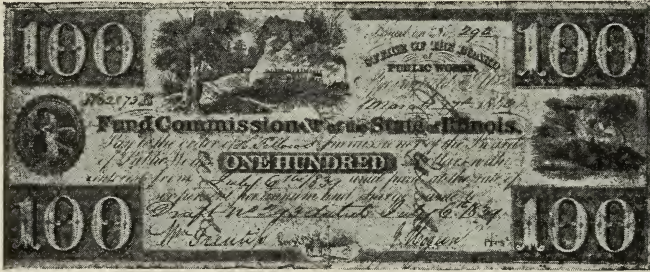
ILLINOIS BECOMES PROMINENT IN THE POLITICS OF THE NATION

In the history of Illinois we now come to the year 1850, a year pregnant with a political issue which at first affrighted the nation, but which was soon amicably disposed of, for a time at least, by a compromise suggested by a great patriot and revered leader of the Whig party, Henry Clay, heartily approved of by the greatest statesman of his day, Daniel Webster, and launched into law by the brilliant and patriotic leader of the Democratic party, Stephen A. Douglas. From that year of 1850 and for ten years thereafter, Illinois furnished the stage upon which the politics of the nation were enacted, and furnished the two leading actors in the political drama of that decade. The history of Illinois for the next ten to fifteen years becomes the history of the United States.

The question of the extension or restriction of slavery appeared in the United States in formidable and belligerent shape in the year 1850, when California applied for admission to statehood, and the people resident in the far Southwest applied for the organization of Utah and New Mexico into United States territories. All of this wide domain had been acquired by treaty from Mexico but recently, and its residents demanded some sort of Federal law for their protection and government. California was rich, prosperous and ready for statehood, and part of California and New Mexico, and all of Utah, were north of the Missouri Compromise parallel. When their applications for membership came before Congress the representatives from the Northern states demanded that any law admitting California to statehood or organizing Utah and New Mexico into territorial government should provide that slavery should never be

permitted within their boundaries. Congressmen from Southern states forcibly protested, and thus, in 1850, the subject of slavery was raised to exorcise and torment the nation and to embitter the North and South against each other.

As we have heretofore seen, when the confederacy of the thirteen colonies was formed to wage the War of the Revolution, slavery existed in more or less degree in all of them. The slave trade was in full blast, under the approval of the British king and was carried on between Africa and the colonies by the vessels and mariners of New England, and was very profitable. When the confederation of colonies developed into the



A ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR CANAL SCRIP BILL

nation of the United States of America and adopted a constitution, six of the thirteen states had laws which recognized, encouraged and legalized slavery, and the Constitution of the United States was so framed as to confirm these laws in these states and in any other state that would enact slavery, and so as to prevent the general Government from interfering with these slave laws. When the confederacy of the colonies was formed in 1778 and the constitution of the nation was adopted in 1787 slavery had existed very generally throughout the civilized world and had flourished for two centuries in the New World. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the slave trade was carried on very extensively by British, French, Dutch, Danish and Portuguese ship-owners. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* states that "about 1790, negro slaves were exported from Africa annually as follows: By British, 38,000; by the French

20,000; by the Dutch 4,000; by the Danes, 2,000; by the Portuguese 10,000; total 74,000. More than half the trade was in British hands." Most of these slaves went to the American colonies and the West Indies. One-sixth of the population of the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war was composed of black slaves. In the eighteenth century "there grew up a direct traffic from Africa to the North American colonies in colonial vessels, chiefly owned in New England and New York. Newport and Bristol, Rhode Island, were the noted centers of the trade." (*Ency. America*, Vol. XV, in chapter on United States slavery.) Eleventh Edition, 1911.

In constructing a nation out of the confederated colonies, the Revolutionary fathers and founders of the nation were compelled to recognize that human slavery was in existence in most of the thirteen colonies to a smaller or greater degree, and that its perpetuation and preservation was demanded by at least six of the thirteen colonies as one of the essential elements of the nation's fundamental law. To the men and women of our day, living in the atmosphere of the twentieth century, when human slavery not only in the United States but in the whole *civilized* world has been destroyed, and when it is regarded by all sane men and women as shocking and a crime against both God and man, it seems at first glance that these nation-builders of 1787 were lacking not only in the instincts of humanity and justice, but in constructive skill and far-seeing wisdom, in consenting to incorporate into the constitution of the nation, provision for the perpetuation of slavery, which would inevitably, sooner or later, sap its foundation and wreck the whole political structure. That a nation so built could not for long endure, we know. Traffic in human flesh and the ownership of human bodies could not long withstand the savage onslaught of outraged thinkers and humanitarians.

But the men who in 1787, were gathering together the weak, war-worn and heavily indebted thirteen colonies, and attempting to unite them in one great nation, and were confronted by facts and a situation which prevented them from building a political structure of white marble. Nearly one-half of their building stone was black, brown or yellow. The structure had to be

built or the colonies would be homeless. So they took the materials they had and placed the black and off-colored stones in the foundation, so that they would be out of sight. In phrasing the constitution they perpetuated and preserved the institution of slavery in the states, but soothed their qualms of conscience by avoiding the use of the specific words "Slave" or "Slavery" in the instrument. They placed the black and discolored stones in the basement, where they soon began to rot and disintegrate. Remember, reader, when you attempt to criticise Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe, Hamilton, Franklin, Hancock and the other great men of that day, who participated in, or were consulted in, framing the Constitution of the United States, that these men had been living all their lives in communities where human slavery had existed legally for over two centuries, and at a time when the most civilized and progressive nations in the world were trafficking in human beings; that they had just succeeded in extricating themselves from the tyranny of a king who had forced the Southern colonies to invest their savings in human beings; and that no nation could be founded unless the property rights so acquired by the colonists would be recognized and protected. The framers of the Constitution of 1787 were confronted with this situation. The thirteen colonies could not continue to exist as thirteen separate nation entities. Most of them were too weak in both population and resources. It required the united action of the thirteen, with the assistance of France, then the most powerful rival of Great Britain, to achieve their independence. Unless the thirteen could be united on some basis, two confederations or nations on the North American continent were inevitable. The six colonies from Maryland to Georgia, inclusive, whose wealth mainly consisted of human beings in bondage, would form a confederation or nation which would secure property rights in their slaves and thus perpetuate slavery; and the other seven colonies, in some of which slavery existed in slight form, might or might not confederate or become a nation excluding slaves within their borders.

The statesmen of 1787 were philosophers and nation-builders, and taking into consideration their surroundings and the stubborn facts confronting them, they acted with great wisdom

and patriotism, and built up the foundations for the greatest and grandest republic yet seen in the world. Nonetheless the nation so builded had in its fundamental law the seed of rebellion or decay. With the march of modern progress and the advancement of civilization, no nation could long maintain peace within its borders while human beings within its laws had only the legal status of hogs and horses. The revolt of most of mankind against human slavery had been slow in coming, but by 1830, had come fast and furious throughout the civilized world. As early as 1462 the Papacy had denounced slavery as "a great crime" (*magnus scelus*) and in 1815 Pius VII demanded of the Congress of Vienna the suppression of the slave trade. In the same year Napoleon, during the 100 days return from Elba, abolished the slave trade by French vessels. The government of Buenos Aires abolished slavery for all born after January, 1813, and the Republic of Colombia did the same thing in 1821. The French Government, under the Restoration, June 1, 1819, abolished slavery in the French colonies, the Swedish government stopped the slave trade in 1813, and the Dutch in 1814. In 1798 the Congress of the United States forbade the importation of slaves into the United States after 1808. Denmark was the first European nation to abolish slavery. The royal decree was issued in 1792 to take effect in 1802. In 1833, Great Britain abolished slavery in its colonies and voted 20,000,000 pounds as compensation to the owners of the slaves. Many of the Spanish-American republics upon achieving their independence abolished slavery within their territories. In 1850, when California applied for admission to the Union as a free state, and Utah and New Mexico applied for organization into territories, most of the civilized nations of the world had either totally abolished slavery or taken steps for its early extinction. By this time the conscience of the civilized world, outside of the United States, Brazil and a few other obscure countries, had revolted against the further continuance or legal recognition of human slavery, and in the United States the cry of the Abolitionist was shrill, strident and far-reaching throughout the land.

At this juncture the State of Illinois appears upon the stage of national politics and from thence on furnished to the nation,

and to history, in the persons of her sons and statesmen two of American history's most brilliant and powerful characters from the year 1850 until the year 1865, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. The extension or restriction of slavery in the United States was the issue and Lincoln and Douglas were the leading characters who would discuss and settle for the nation that great issue—Douglas in the Senate of the United States, and Lincoln and Douglas upon the hustings of the great State of Illinois.

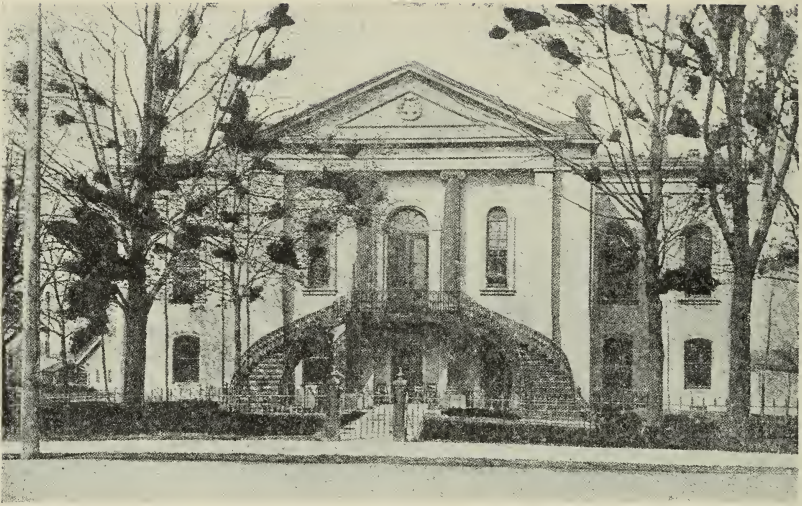
CHAPTER XL

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES ON SLAVERY WHEN DOUGLAS BECAME SENATOR IN 1847

When last we had to refer to Stephen A. Douglas as one of the men engaged in making the history of Illinois, we found him and his great compeer, Abraham Lincoln, in the Legislature of the State of Illinois. Both of them were there engaged in response to an almost unanimous popular demand in passing laws providing for a general system of internal public improvements, which involved the state to the extent of many millions of dollars and which eventually proved disastrous to the Illinois Commonwealth. All this occurred under the administration of Governor Duncan.

Soon thereafter we find Douglas and Lincoln, when not attending to their duties as members of the Legislature, both of them engaged in a large and growing law practice. Douglas conducted the litigation in the Supreme Court between McClermand and Field relating to the right of the governor to appoint a secretary of state and a representative of Illinois in the lower house of Congress. He was an eloquent, forceful and persuasive pleader in the courts. Soon thereafter we find him upon the Supreme bench of the state. In 1847 he was elected United States senator for six years. In 1853 he was again elected to the same honorable position.

While holding the position of United States senator in 1849 and 1850 a political question which not only concerned the people of the State of Illinois, but the people of the whole United States, arose for determination in the Congress of the United States. The war with Mexico had been concluded and in 1848 a treaty of peace had been signed between the Republic of



THE OLD SUPREME COURT BUILDING IN MOUNT VERNON

Mexico and the United States of America under which enormous territory, formerly a component part of the Mexican Republic, including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada and California were transferred and surrendered to the United States of America by the Mexican Republic.

Shortly after the signing of this treaty California applied for admission to the Union as a state and the territories of Mexico and Utah applied for organization into territories in 1849. At this juncture the people of the Northern states were determined to prevent the spread of the hated institution of slavery to any of the Western territory. The people of the Southern states seemed desirous to insist upon the right of the people of the Western territories to determine their status, if admitted as states, on the question of slavery. Douglas was then a senator of the United States. He and his Democratic friend and admirer, Gen. James Shields, represented Illinois in the United States Senate.

A bitter controversy arose on the question as to whether or not slavery should be excluded from or tolerated in these Western territories and Lincoln and Shields in the United States Senate and McClernand in the lower house, all Democrats, were called upon to act officially upon this momentous question.

Before discussing in detail the specific political questions presented to Douglas and his colleagues and their action thereon it will be necessary and appropriate to go back in history and ascertain the status of slavery under the constitution and laws of the United States of America.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary war against Great Britain negro slavery existed in all of the thirteen colonies, there being comparatively few, however, of these unfortunates in the Northern states. The negroes were illy adapted to the rigors of the Northern climate and were intensely ignorant and inefficient as laborers on small farms such as were cultivated in the Northern states. In the South large plantations were conducted where the staple crops were cotton, tobacco and rice. In the North slave labor was less profitable and negroes were not generally used except for domestic occupations. In the manufacturing industries they were found to be unintelligent and

inefficient. In the South, owing to the increase in large cotton and sugar plantations their labor was quite profitable and was regarded as an economic necessity.

In the Declaration of Independence, preceding the Revolutionary war, certain enunciations were made with reference to the rights of man and the equality of man under the law. Men engaged in a life and death struggle for liberty, it was generally understood, ought not deny to their fellow human beings equality under the law because of the color of his skin. The slave trade had been in existence for a number of years prior to the Revolutionary war and over 300,000 black men and women had been imported into the colonies. Before the Declaration of Independence the black population constituted one-fifth of the whole. The Continental Congress in 1774 took the first step towards the extinction of slavery. It recommended the non-importation of slaves thereafter into the thirteen colonies. Some years before the Revolution the colonies had manifested a desire to prohibit the importation of negro slaves, but they had been prevented from so doing by the greed of English merchants and had been prevented from stopping the slave trade by the avarice of the British sovereigns themselves, who were stockholders in the Royal African Company, then engaged in the slave trade in supplying negro slaves to the American colonies. To prevent legislation in the colonies against the slave trade a circular was addressed to the colonial governors, appointed by the Crown, warning them against presuming to countenance legislation against the slave trade.

When Thomas Jefferson drew up his first draft of the Declaration of Independence it contained this charge against the King of England: "He has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce and has waged cruel war against human nature itself violating its most sacred rights in the person of a distant people who had never offended him." This original draft was afterwards stricken out at the request of some of the Southern members of the convention and for the additional reason, as Jefferson stated, that "our Northern brethren felt a little tender under these censures, for, though their people had very few

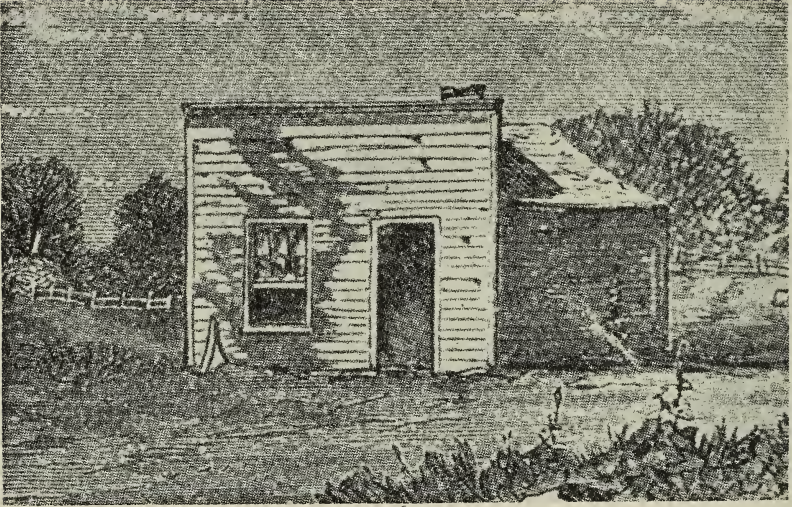
slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

Shortly thereafter laws were passed by all the states, except Georgia and South Carolina, either prohibiting the further importation of negroes or discouraging the traffic by the imposition of a heavy duty. The Northern states went further and passed acts for the abolition or the gradual extinction of slavery. Massachusetts became the first free state of the confederation. Vermont took like action and it was followed shortly thereafter by New Hampshire in 1783 and Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784.

At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution slavery had been either abolished or put in a process of extinction in all of the Northern states excepting New York and New Hampshire. The Southern states, however, took no legislative action, although many of their eminent men expressed themselves personally as antagonistic to slavery. Jefferson declared in 1774 that the "abolition of slavery is the great object of desire in the colonies," and again in 1787 he declared, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just and that His justice cannot sleep forever."

Washington in a letter to LaFayette in 1783 congratulated him on purchasing an estate in Cayenne with a view to emancipating the slaves on it, and said, "Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself in the minds of the people of this country."

Indeed, it is probable that even in the Southern states there would have been a gradual emancipation of the slaves but for the invention of the cotton gin. In 1793 this invention created an industrial revolution in the South and made negro slavery immensely profitable. Many in the South regarded slavery thereafter as an economic necessity. The capacity of the slave was by this invention increased one hundred fold. Within a few years the exportation of cotton mounted from a few thousand pounds to thirty-five million pounds. It made cotton the chief industry of the South. Thereafter there was a demand for more negro help and all thought of emancipation was forgotten.



THE FIRST SCHOOLHOUSE IN CHAMPAIGN

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, slavery existed pursuant to law in six Southern States and slavery had been abolished and rendered illegal in seven other states or colonies. Shortly thereafter Vermont was admitted to the Union as a free soil state. Kentucky and Tennessee soon applied for admission to the Union and as these territories before their admission to the Union were a component part of Virginia and North Carolina and were ceded by these states to the United States upon the understanding that slavery should not be prohibited within their borders, these territories, to-wit: Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted to the Union as slave states. Upon their admission to the Union there were eight free states and eight slave states, each entitled to two senators in the Senate of the United States, and thereafter for many years, the Southern states were able to prevent the admission of any new territory into the Union as a state unless equality was maintained on the question of slavery. That is, the Southern states had sufficient power, after they became equal in number to the free states, to prevent the admission of any territory as a free state unless at the same time another territory was admitted as a slave state.

About the admission of Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee to statehood, there was little or no conflict. However, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the United States had acquired a large domain of territory in the Northwest as a result of cessions from states which had laid claim thereto, and when Congress came to organize a government for this new territory, it was agreed that negro slavery should not be permitted therein, even the Southern members conceding that point. When Congress was organizing the Northwest Territory the constitutional convention sitting at Philadelphia was endeavoring to determine the question of what recognition should be given to the institution of slavery in the organic law of the Republic. Southern and Northern members both agreed that the slaves should not be accorded any political rights but the Southern members insisted that the slave should nevertheless be counted in determining the distribution of representatives in Congress. A compromise was finally adopted which gave the Southern states a substan-

tial advantage in the form of increased representation based on slavery.

The constitutional convention made another concession to the slaveholders, in that it deprived Congress of the power to interfere with the slave trade before the year 1808. A third concession was given to the slaveholding states, in that it gave slavery the stamp of a property right by requiring that persons "held to labor or service" in any one state escaping from their masters in any state, should upon demand be delivered up to the person from whom they escaped.

Under this concession, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 was passed, providing that any slaveholder might pursue his escaping slave into any state in the Union, and upon making proof of ownership, could reclaim and transport him to the state from which he fled.

With these provisions in the constitution, the Republic of the United States in 1789 entered upon the beginning of its career as a nation. It had at that time a population of about four million of which seven hundred thousand belonged to the class described in the constitution as persons "held to service or to labor." There were, however, not over fifty thousand of this class in the Northern states.

In 1790 Congress accepted from the State of North Carolina the cession of territory now embraced in Tennessee upon the express agreement that slavery should not be forbidden therein by Congress. In 1802 it accepted a cession embracing a large part of what is now Mississippi and Alabama from Georgia, under similar conditions.

In 1803 Louisiana was acquired from France by treaty. The Territory of Louisiana almost doubled the area of the republic and in it under French and Spanish rule slavery had existed. When the United States organized a territorial government for the southern portion of Louisiana it legalized slavery therein and in 1812 admitted this territory to the Union as a state with a constitution allowing slavery. The upper part of Louisiana was organized shortly thereafter as the Territory of Missouri and Congress authorized legalized slavery therein, and when the Territory of Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a

state in 1818, it had a constitution allowing slavery. This was permitted by Congress, however, only after an acrimonious and protracted debate. A compromise was agreed upon between the friends and foes of slavery upon the admission of Missouri as a state under which it was agreed that all of the territory of the Louisiana Purchase lying to the north of thirty-six degree thirty minutes, except Missouri, should be ever thereafter free soil territory.

In 1848 after the Mexican war, a large amount of territory was acquired by the treaty of peace from Mexico. The Southerners by that time had reached the conclusion that unless slavery was extended to the territories and new slave states organized therefrom, the South would in time be left in the minority and at the mercy of the North, which was already showing a disposition to encroach upon the rights of slaveholders in the South. The people of the Northern states, on the other hand, had come to the conclusion that slavery was a national evil and should be restricted and that the only effective way of restricting it was to prevent slavery in the territories, thereby insuring the erection of free states therein. Up to 1820 it was generally conceded that the plenary power of Congress to make rules and regulations for the government of the territories also included the power to define what should be considered private property within any territory. After the admission of Missouri the Southerners contended that Congress had no power to determine what should constitute private property in the territories belonging to the United States and asserted that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery therein and all slaves held as property.

The Southerners argued that the territories were the common possession of the people of all the states acquired by common sacrifices and common burdens and if the people of the Southern states were denied the right to emigrate into these territories with their slave property, it could be said that they were deprived of equal participation with their brethren of the North in the territorial benefits.

This is a fair statement of the controversy between the pro-slavery people of the South and the anti-slavery people of the

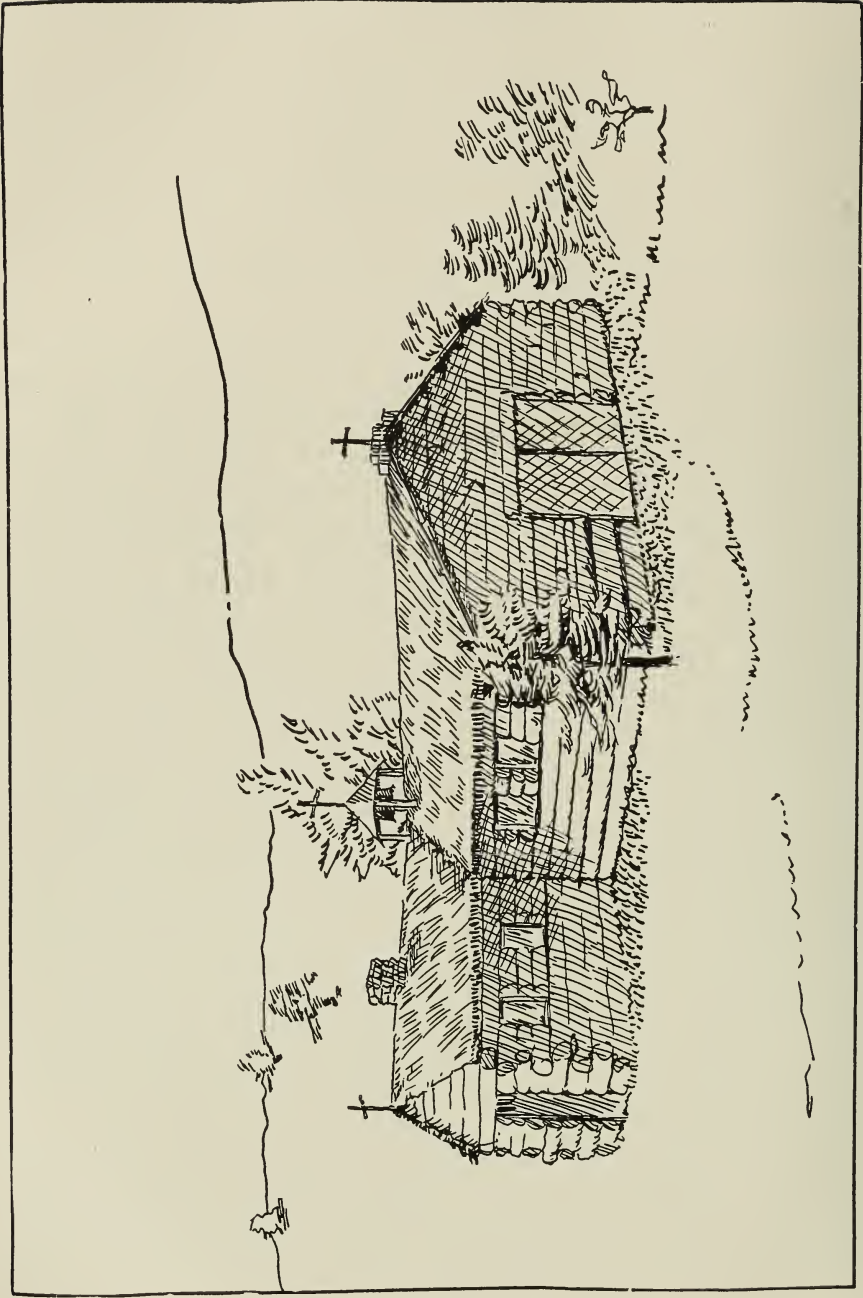
North when Douglas and Shields in the Senate of the United States, representing the State of Illinois, were called upon to speak, vote and act upon the admission of the Territory of California to statehood, and the application of the territories of Utah and New Mexico for organization into territories of the Union.

CHAPTER XLI

DOUGLAS, THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 AND THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA LAW

When Stephen A. Douglas first took his seat in the Senate of the United States from the State of Illinois in 1847; and began his participation in the national affairs of the United States, he was confronted with a conflict of several years' duration between the senators and representatives of the Southern states and those from the Northern states on the question of the extension of slavery into the territories of the nation. It developed for the first time prominently when the Territory of Missouri was pressing its application for admission into the Union as a state in 1819. The Southerners demanded that it be admitted as a state legally authorizing slavery within its borders. The Northerners were equally insistent that it must not be admitted unless it prohibited slavery. As a result Congress was unable to take action on admission of the territory to statehood until 1820, when the Territory of Maine applied for admission as a free-soil state. The Southerners opposed this as the Northerners opposed the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and this forced a compromise under which it was agreed that Maine would be admitted as a free-soil state and Missouri as a slave state, upon the expressed agreement in the acts of admission that in all the rest of the Louisiana territory acquired from France north of the north parallel thirty-six degree, thirty minutes, on or about the south line of the State of Missouri, slavery never should be permitted.

This solution, called the Missouri Compromise, had been respected and carried out by both parties until Kansas and Nebraska applied for admission in 1853. Bitterness had been developing between the pro-slavery states of the South and the



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LA SALLE COUNTY

The mission was founded March 22, 1836.
(Courtesy of W. T. Bedford.)

anti-slavery states of the North in reference to the annexation of the Republic of Texas in 1846. It was known that Texas, if annexed, would be a slave state, but the southern states were able to take advantage of the fever for territorial expansion and annex the tremendous territory of that young republic to the United States even though it involved the latter in a war with Mexico. There was very strong and bitter opposition in the North both to the annexation and to the war with Mexico. But the war fever which makes the people of nearly every race or nation at war declare "My country, right or wrong" prevailed and as the result of the war territory vast in extent and enormously rich, and adjoining the Southern states, became by treaty with Mexico a part of the territory of the United States. The acquisition of this immense territory, to the South, further excited the anti-slavery people of the North and rekindled the embers of the fire that had been banked, but not extinguished, by the Missouri Compromise.

After the conclusion of the peace with Mexico (or about 1849) California applied for admission as a state, and Oregon, Utah and New Mexico for organization as territories. Because of the fact that Oregon was north of the thirty-six degree thirty-minute parallel of latitude, no trouble arose in Congress over its organization as a free-soil territory. The votes of the Illinois delegation in Congress were cast for its organization as a free-soil territory because that delegation believed that they were morally bound to do so by virtue of the Missouri Compromise. The partisans of the North and the South, in the meantime, had become more obstinate and belligerent in their attitude towards each other; while they were considering the cases of California, Utah and New Mexico, all of whom were applying for admission as states or organization as territories. The Northerners announced that not another inch of American soil would be contaminated by the touch of slavery. The Southerners, believing that they were being pushed to the wall; and would lose their equality of representation in the Senate, and thus their power in the nation, announced defiantly, that if their claims were denied they would withdraw from the Union and defend their rights, if necessary, with the sword. The Illinois delega-

tion and many others in Congress from the North, by reason of these threats, became convinced that the South was seriously considering dissolution of the Union.

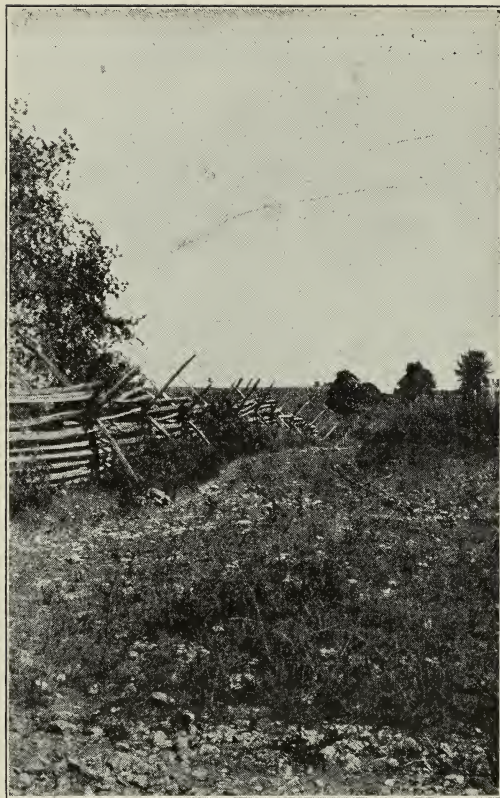
At this juncture Henry Clay, recently elected to the Senate, stood forth as peacemaker and savior of the Union. He had, however, been out of active political life, but in his retirement had retained the respect and admiration of the Whigs and conservative people of the country, who were convinced of his patriotism, and ready to accept his advice on important matters relating to the well-being of the nation. Clay consulted and advised with the extremists on both sides of the controversy, as well as with the moderates in both parties. As a result he devised a compromise bill which, in one piece of legislation, provided simultaneously, first for the admission of California to statehood as a free-soil state; secondly, the creation of the territories of Utah and New Mexico, without any reference to slavery, so as to permit the people of these two territories to determine the character of their government (called at the time "squatter sovereignty"); third, the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; fourth, the enactment of a more efficient fugitive slave law. Daniel Webster vigorously advocated the adoption of the measure suggested by Clay. President Taylor was favorable, although inclined to defer acting upon the matter until the people in the territories took action. California had already acted and declared itself decisively to be in favor of being a free-soil state.

Douglas and Gen. James Shields were then both sitting in the Senate of the United States from the State of Illinois. While the representatives in Congress from the South, on the one side, and those from the northern and eastern states on the other, were hurling invectives and threats against each other and threatening dissolution of the Union, Douglas declared: "There is a power in this nation greater than either the North or South—that will be able to speak the law of this nation and to execute the law as spoken. That power is the country known as the Great West, the Valley of the Mississippi, one and indivisible from the gulf to the Great Lakes, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. There, sir, is the hope of

this nation, the resting-place of the power that is not only to control, but to save the Union." No more prophetic words were ever spoken. Were it not for the leaders and men, statesmen, warriors and privates in the ranks that the Mississippi Valley sent to the White House, Congress and the battlefields of the great Civil war between 1861 and 1865, the nation might have been split in twain and deprived of what it now holds—the primacy among all the nations of the world.

The compromise bill of Clay, supported though it was by the President, Webster and many other leaders both in the Whig and Democratic parties, did not become a law as originally framed. It consolidated too many problems in one instrument. The pro-slavery people refused to vote for its anti-slavery provisions and the anti-slavery people voted against its pro-slavery sections. As it was a mosaic, its different pieces were badly battered and the whole plate broken. When the Clay bill was beaten, Douglas commended the patriotic course of Clay and Webster and declared: "The Union will not be put in peril; California will be admitted, governments for the territories must be established, and thus controversy will end, and I trust forever." He made this statement with the utmost confidence immediately after the defeat of the Clay bill, because he believed that he had found a solution of the slavery question which would appeal to the sense of fair play, the good judgment and the patriotism of the whole country. Part of his prophetic statement proved to be well founded. California was admitted and governments for the territories were established, but the slavery controversy did not end.

Let us consider, now, Douglas the man, his history, his surroundings and his career, when he made this important declaration. We find the name of Stephen A. Douglas rising above the political horizon under Governor Duncan's administration (1837 to 1841.) He was then in the Legislature of Illinois as a Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democrat, engaged with Abraham Lincoln in pushing forward the general system of internal public improvements demanded almost unanimously at that time by the people of Illinois. Both Douglas, aged twenty-three, and Lincoln, aged twenty-seven, were then young and



THE OLD RAIL FENCE

ambitious lawyers with a successful and growing practice. Douglas was soon found conducting important cases in the Supreme Court of Illinois, among them the McClernand-Field case and the case involving the right of six-month residents to vote. In 1841 he was selected as one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In 1843 he was elected Congressman and in 1848 United States Senator from the State of Illinois. His eloquence, tact and able mentality had won for him a career of almost unparalleled success in political life. When first elected to the United States Senate in 1847 he was a little over thirty years of age, and he held that exalted position until his death. During this period (1838 to 1847) his great political antagonist, Lincoln, was laboriously serving as a member of the lower House of the Illinois Legislature (1836 to 1842) and in the lower House of Congress (1846 to 1848.) The party of Jefferson and Jackson dominated the politics of Illinois from the time of its admission to the Union in 1818 until the election of Bissell as governor, a Republican but formerly a Democrat, in 1856. Even after that, in 1858, the doctrines of the Democratic party as promulgated by Douglas prevailed in Illinois, and he was elected a third time to the Senate in 1858. The dominance of his party in Illinois without doubt contributed largely to the rapid advancement of Douglas to his station in the councils of his state and nation, as did the weakness of Lincoln's party (the Whig) contribute to the tardiness of Lincoln's advancement in his political career. Douglas' native ability and force of character, however, did more to make him early in his career a national character.

In 1849-50 the bills for the admission of California to statehood and the formation of territories for Utah and New Mexico were pending before Congress, and it was then that Stephen A. Douglas, now a commanding force in the Senate and a magnetic leader in the Democratic party, made the optimistic and comforting statement that: "The Union will not be put in peril; California will be admitted; governments for the territories must be established, and thus the controversy will end, I trust forever." He believed he had found a solution of the whole exasperating and dangerous controversy. It was "popular sov-

ereignty" both for the territories as well as for the states to be admitted thereafter. He was on the ground in Washington where he could and did interview all the leaders of different parties and policies. After the defeat of the Clay compromise bill, he must have interviewed these different leaders, laid before them his "popular sovereignty" program, and convinced them of its logic and reasonableness. That he did so is shown by the action of Congress in 1850 and 1854. He argued to the men he approached along this line, the solution of the slavery question must come from "the laws of nature, of climate and production," recognized and ratified by the people of each territory and state and not by Congress. True democracy, he claimed, was to allow each community to determine and regulate its own local affairs in its own way. It must have been as a result of these interviews in and around Congress in Washington, and these arguments and the responses he received thereto, that he made his confident announcement.

Five separate and distinct bills framed by Douglas along the lines of the Clay bill were presented by him in the Senate and by Congressman McClernand, a Democratic congressman in the House. They were discussed seriatim and passed in both House and Senate. The Utah bill was taken up first and passed. Then came the New Mexico bill with the same result. The California admission bill was enacted and then came the fugitive slave bill and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia measure, all of which were enacted into laws in 1850. "The Compromise of 1850" had been accomplished and Douglas and Clay were hailed as the "saviors of the Union." The Illinois representatives in Congress all voted for the California and District slavery bills. "Long" John Wentworth, the Democratic congressman from the Chicago district, and Congressman Baker opposed the Utah, New Mexico and fugitive slave bills, but the rest of the delegation supported them. Douglas and Shields in the Senate voted for all of the bills, except the fugitive slave bill. Both were absent when this bill came to a vote. The Whig vote was divided, some favoring Clay's compromise and others favoring no action. Douglas' statements as to the passage of the bills proved accurate. His prediction that "the Union will

not be put in peril" was also true for the time being. That peril, however, was only postponed for eleven years.

The passage of these laws in 1850, however, effectually disposed of the Wilmot proviso which had given rise to so many bitter controversies since the Mexican war. Congressman Wilmot, in 1848, had attached to the bill providing for an appropriation to the President of \$2,000,000 to enable him to negotiate a peace with Mexico, which would provide for a cession to this country of a large amount of territory then owned by Mexico, a proviso that in the territory so acquired slavery should never be tolerated. Even the Whig party that had contended for this principle seemed satisfied to abandon the claims of the Wilmot proviso when the "Compromise of 1850" was crystallized into law.

After the passage of the laws covering California, Utah, New Mexico, the slave trade and fugitive slave laws, Douglas returned to Illinois and became in this state the acclaimed Democratic candidate for the Presidency. The Compromise of 1850 seemed to grow in favor for some time and Douglas grew in popular favor. Daniel Webster had opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war; but lent his powerful aid to the adoption of the compromise. He declared that slave labor would not be successful in New Mexico and that the anti-slavery people need have no fears over the extension of slavery to that territory. The laws of nature, he maintained, had decreed against slavery.

The Illinois Legislature, which in 1849 had favored the Wilmot proviso, repealed its resolution in 1851. The vote stood in the Senate twenty-two for repeal and two against. In the House the vote for repeal was forty-nine to eleven against. Party lines between the Whigs and Democrats were broken down and there seemed to be a "union of hearts" among the politicians in Illinois and the nation. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce for the Presidency in 1852 against Gen. Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate, and carried the election handsomely both in the State of Illinois and the nation.

The fourth of the laws passed as part of the Compromise of 1850, the fugitive slave law, soon began to give trouble to

the compromisers. It gave but little material aid to the slaveholders, as a very small fraction of the slave population had in the past been able to escape from bondage. On the other hand, the passage of this law gave great offense to the many thousands of people who revolted against the idea of the nation using its machinery to enforce human slavery, particularly in the states which prohibited this infamy. Rumbblings of discontent began to be heard in the North, not only from Whigs and Abolitionists, but from men who had been voting the Democratic ticket all their lives. "Long" John Wentworth, Democratic congressman and newspaper proprietor, and leader of that party in and around Chicago, was one of these. So was Lyman Trumbull and likewise Judge Sidney Breese. The Democrats of Illinois, however, presented Douglas' name to the National Democratic Convention of 1852 as their choice for the Presidency. For a few ballots he led the field, but was finally beaten by Pierce and took his defeat quite gracefully. After the Democratic triumph in 1852, Whiggery became anaemic and a break in the solidity of the Democratic party began to develop. The fraternization of the leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties on the subject of slavery, resulting in the Compromise of 1850, was not relished by many of the rank and file of both parties. The fugitive slave law was the main cause of dissatisfaction in the North, both among Whigs and many Democrats, although both parties had through their leaders agreed upon the Compromise of 1850.

Into this atmosphere of party disorganization came the application of Kansas and Nebraska to be opened up for settlement and organization as territories, in 1853. Both of these territories were north of the thirty-six degree thirty-minute line. To permit by act of Congress slavery to exist in these territories would violate the Missouri Compromise law of 1820. To make them free-soil territories was impossible by reason of the stubborn attitude of the representatives of the southern states. Douglas was at this time chairman of the Senate committee on territories, was the acknowledged father of the Compromise of 1850, was the universally-accepted leader of his party in Illinois, and frequently mentioned throughout the nation as a possible can-



MEXICAN WAR SOLDIER
(Courtesy Chicago Historical Society.)

didate for the Presidency. He was zealously advocating the building of a trans-continental railway from coast to coast and was desirous of having the lands to the west of Illinois, Missouri and Iowa thrown open to settlement and railroad development.

When the bills for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska were referred to his committee he again brought forward his plan of popular sovereignty as a solution of the whole problem and had the bills so drafted as to permit the people in each territory to decide for themselves the character of their government on the subject of slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, he contended, had been repealed by the Compromise of 1850; that the Utah and New Mexico laws had established practically by universal consent the principle of popular sovereignty, and had established a precedent to be followed in the organization of territories. Above all, he claimed and honestly believed that "people's sovereignty" was the foundation of real democracy; that the Revolutionary war was fought in assertion of that principle; that that principle was conceded to the states in the Federal Constitution, and that that principle should be conceded to the people in each territory applying for admission to the Union, as any state so admitted must have rights equal to the original thirteen states of the Union. From the standpoint of logic, law and constitutionality his argument was effective. The bills were reported to the House and Senate in such form as to establish the right of the people in each and both of these territories to decide for themselves whether they should have slavery or no slavery within their borders. In other words the bills as framed and passed, recognized and established in 1854 the doctrine of government tritely and forcefully expressed in popular vernacular as "squatter sovereignty."

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became law May 29, 1854. It proved to be not only a constitutional law of the United States framed under a compromise between the Whig and Democratic parties but a political bomb-shell which, when it fell among the people, exploded and killed the Whig party and seriously wounded the Democratic party. Hundreds of thousands, aye millions, of good men and women in both the old parties had

come to the conclusion that commercial traffic in human flesh and blood was a crime against both God and man and that any law which permitted its extension in the United States was a *lex infamis*, and, more than that, a *faex legis infamis*. Not only was it an infamous law, but one dragged out of the lowest dregs of infamy. In a desire to avert secession and prevent the dismemberment of the Union, Douglas and the other leaders of the Democratic and Whig parties in Congress had failed to appreciate and appraise at its proper strength the aversion to slavery which had taken hold of the people of the northern and eastern states. Douglas, in one of his speeches, declared that the Kansas-Nebraska act would be "as popular at the North as at the South, when its principles and provisions shall have been fully developed and become well understood." (Congressional Globe 33, Congress 1st Session, Appendix 338.) That he was right from a constitutional and legal standpoint and that his motives were inspired by the highest patriotism cannot be doubted, but he and his followers, who framed and voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, failed to place themselves on that high plane of morals and humanity which rises above all laws which set morality and humanity at defiance.

Those who regarded slavery as a crime against both God and man, and there were many thousands of these in both parties, began to take steps towards the organization of a new party. The former great leaders of the Whigs were superannuated and retired, and the new leaders were spineless and tolerant of slavery. The Democratic leaders, being intimidated by the slave-holders of the South, were giving way to the intolerable demands of their Democratic colleagues from the South. A new party was necessary to confront the "negro-hunters and enslavers of the South."

In advocating the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Douglas made a brilliant speech in which he courageously and fairly answered all arguments that had been made by those who opposed it and declared that the principle of popular sovereignty enunciated in the bill was "the principle upon which the Colonies separated from the Crown of Great Britain; the principle upon which the battles of the Revolution were fought,

and the principle upon which our republican system was founded." He returned to Illinois after the passage of the bill and with the same courage and ability defended the law even before hostile audiences, and at times succeeded in converting a hostile crowd to his views. The *Illinois State Register* and *Quincy Herald* promptly endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and several other Democratic papers followed suit. The *Chicago Democrat*, "Long" John Wentworth's paper, however, on March 11 declared that "the wall of compromises has been broken down . . ." "the wind has been sown" and "it may be that the sowers shall reap the whirlwind." The Legislature of Illinois was strongly Democratic in both houses and passed resolutions endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, but with the loss of some Democratic votes, among them those of James M. Campbell, B. C. Cook, N. B. Judd, Uri Osgood and John M. Palmer.

Many of the Germans of Illinois who had been voting the Democratic ticket broke out in open expressions of revolt, largely because the Clayton amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill denied to foreigners all political rights in the new territories. George Schneider, editor of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*; Edward Schlaeger, Francis Hoffman and Lieutenant-Governor Koerner were among the most prominent of these men. Douglas promptly and energetically traversed the state from city to city, explaining to the people his doctrine of popular sovereignty and his efforts to save the Union from the secession which was threatened by the southern states, and from this time forward the eyes of the whole nation were centered upon Douglas and the fight he was making, using the slogans of "People's Sovereignty" and "Save the Union."

Up to this time Douglas had been acting in harmony with the Democratic President and the Democratic party. Now, however, arose a situation which compelled Douglas, as an honest, conscientious man, to take issue with President Pierce and the great majority of the Democratic party. He had, by the year 1856, convinced the people of his own state of the patriotism and wisdom of his course in relation to the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska law, and was in a fair way to convince the great majority of the voters of the

nation to the same effect, when, in 1857, the people of Kansas applied for admission to statehood in the Union after a pro-slavery Legislature had adopted therein a constitution which was popularly called the Lecompton Constitution. This name had been given to it by reason of the fact that it was framed in a town in Kansas so named. It had not been fairly submitted to the people of Kansas for adoption or rejection by referendum vote and its framers refused the demand of the free-soil voters for an honest referendum. Douglas refused to favor or vote for the admission of Kansas to statehood bound by such a constitution, and thus broke with the President and the great majority of the Democratic party.

CHAPTER XLII

DOUGLAS BREAKS WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND PRESIDENT, AND OPPOSES THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION IN KANSAS

While Douglas was waging an apparently winning fight for "people's sovereignty" and against the cry for dissolution being made by the secessionists of the South and the rabid abolitionists of the North, in Illinois, and with strong hopes of success throughout the nation, in 1857 the people of Kansas applied for admission to the Union as a state and presented to Congress for consideration in connection with their application, a constitution adopted by a convention claiming to have been legally called and elected. This convention was almost composed of pro-slavery men. After the constitution was framed a strong fight in the convention was made for a provision requiring its submission to the people for a referendum vote thereon. This proposal was defeated by one vote. (Beveridge *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 528.) Another bitter struggle then occurred and the convention adopted a compromise measure by a majority of two votes. "By this compromise the single question of slavery or no-slavery was to be submitted to the people at an election to be held December 21, 1857; but on no other part of proposed constitution were the people to vote. One clause thus kept from popular consideration provided that the property rights of the few slaveholders then in Kansas should not be taken away by any further legislation of the new state." (Idem, same page.)

The constitutional convention which framed the document which preserved forever the rights of the slaveholders in the proposed state was elected under the following circumstances, As soon as the Kansas-Nebraska Law was passed in 1854, a horde of intending settlers which had camped on the western

borders of Missouri and Iowa, rushed into the new territory opened up for settlement by the Kansas-Nebraska Law, to locate homesteads and pre-emptions on the rich soil of this section of the country. Many of these were actuated solely by economical and not political motives. They yearned for the land with or without slavery. However, as soon as it was learned that the lands of Kansas and Nebraska were soon to be opened to settlement under "squatter sovereignty," the politicians of the nation, particularly those who felt intensely, pro or con, on the slavery question, became active in encouraging settlement in the new land by those who agreed with them on that question. Some abolitionists in the East organized a \$5,000,000 society to aid and equip settlers from that section. They equipped and forwarded long caravans of these settlers and armed them with rifles and other deadly weapons, as well as furnishing them with provisions and farming implements. A goodly company of young Southerners was organized by a young slavery enthusiast named Buford, who marched them from the Southland into Kansas. The greatest number of those who came from Kansas, however, came from Missouri, and most of these were ardent pro-slavery men. It is claimed, and with much show of truth, that some 5,000 men from Missouri crossed into Kansas a short time before the holding of the constitutional convention and voted at that election, and that many of them, soon after the election, returned to Missouri. Because of this belief the free-soil people of Kansas repudiated and denounced the constitutional convention "and all its works and pomps." They refused to vote on the question of "slave or free" submitted to popular vote by this repudiated constitutional convention and allowed it to be confirmed by those who voted for confirmation. Only two weeks later, however, they elected a Legislature which was strongly anti-slavery and thus assumed control of the law-making power of the state.

When these facts became known to Douglas, and the application for statehood with this constitution framed in this manner was presented to the Senate, he called on President Pierce and announced that his conscience and sense of duty to his country, and his own self-respect, would prevent him from voting for



CYRUS McCORMICK

Who perfected his first reaping machine in Virginia in 1831, and in 1847 moved his manufacturing and sales offices to Chicago.

and advocating the admission of Kansas to the Union, burdened with such a constitution framed under such circumstances of fraud and imposture. The President was then nearly sixty-eight years of age and had been aggravated and annoyed by the frequent and violent controversies over the slavery question. He wished to get rid of that troublesome question, and wanted it settled forever during his administration so that he could turn his attention to other domestic and foreign matters then awaiting solution. As the constitutional convention in Kansas had provided for the submission of that vexed question of free soil or slavery to popular vote, he deemed that was and should be the proper solution of the issue in Kansas. His cabinet agreed with him unanimously and he concluded that he would endorse the application of Kansas and the Lecompton Constitution and make it a party measure of his administration. The President and Douglas failed to agree upon this procedure and Douglas informed him he would oppose the President's program on the floor of the Senate. Just before the end of the interview the President rose from his seat and said: "Now, Douglas, I desire you to remember that no Democrat ever differed with an administration of his own choice without being crushed. Beware of the fate of Talmadge and Rives," two men whom Jackson had broken for party insurgency. To which Douglas answered: "Mr. President, I wish you to understand that General Jackson is dead." (Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 538.)

Shortly after this emphatic and belligerent interview with President Pierce, Douglas courageously imperiled his political life, when he arose in the Senate and assailed in eloquent and vigorous language the Lecompton Constitution. He was impelled thereto not only by the iniquity of the constitution itself; but also by the violence and corruption of its conception. In the bitterness of the conflict between the slavery and anti-slavery parties in Kansas, both parties had armed themselves with rifles and other deadly weapons. Formidable bodies of men so equipped met and exchanged shots with deadly effect. Defenseless men were often murdered in cold blood because of their political affiliations. As the result "Bleeding Kansas" became the shibboleth of the Free Soil party even though some of the

blood-letting was done by the free-soilers themselves. Douglas became convinced by reliable reports made to him by Democratic friends located in the midst of this turmoil, among them notably John Calhoun, the Democratic president of the constitutional convention, that the Lecompton Constitution was secured by a combination of violence, fraud and political corruption, and that the real voice of the people had not been heard. He believed that people's sovereignty had been outraged by the events that led up to the formation of the constitution, and as an honest advocate of popular sovereignty he refused to condone the robbery.

On December 9, 1857, the President's message to the Senate recommended the admittance of Kansas to the Union subject to the conditions of the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. On the same day, taking his political life in his hands, Douglas arose in the Senate and began his fight for political honesty and decency and the preservation of real people's sovereignty. Before an audience as great and as distinguished as ever greeted Daniel Webster, he assailed the constitution both as to its form at birth and as to the method of its conception. Under the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which he again lauded and proclaimed, the people had the irrevocable right to vote by referendum upon each and every clause of the constitution. They were denied that right. They were given the empty right to vote for "the constitution with slavery or the constitution without slavery," while the constitution itself had a clause therein recognizing the rights of slaveholders to own slaves and prohibiting forever the enactment of legislation interfering with such rights. He argued that Congress had no right to force a slave state constitution or a free-soil constitution upon the people of Kansas. They alone had the right to determine the character of their constitution at an honestly-conducted election. He finished one of the most able and eloquent speeches of his life with these brave and dramatic words: "Neither the frowns of power nor the influence of patronage will change my action or drive me from my principles. I prefer private life, preserving my own self-respect and manhood, to abject and servile submission to executive will." (Beveridge's *Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 543.)

At the time that Douglas made this manly and memorable speech in the Senate of the United States he well knew what would be the inevitable consequence—political ostracism by the President of the United States and all of the other great leaders of the party with which Douglas had affiliated all of his life and which had elevated him to a position of almost unquestioned leadership. At the time he made this statement of his position to the Senate he knew that his name was on the tongues of thousands of the most influential leaders of his party as “the candidate” of the party for the Presidency, and that that party was then dominant in the land. He knew, too, the peril of party recreancy and insubordination. He had been, as we have seen, warned by the President in person of what would follow. He knew that but few of the Democratic Senators and Congressmen would dare to risk their patronage and political lives by following him into his war with the Democratic administration. The course he was pursuing he knew could only give comfort to the Abolitionists, Whigs, Know-Nothings and other enemies of the Democratic party. Nothing but the noblest sense of righteousness and public duty and self-respect could have impelled him to take this perilous political course. It was one of the finest exhibitions of moral courage in the history of the United States. Up to this time, while still in the prime of life, he had had unparalleled success in all his undertakings. His rare combination of tact and talent enabled him to win in law, love and statesmanship. His eloquence and mental agility made him a successful lawyer at a bound. After a few years of practice he was elected to the Supreme Court of Illinois, subsequently elected to Congress, and then to the Senate of the United States when only thirty-three years of age. In 1857 he had just married his second wife, a young and beautiful woman who has often been described as “the reigning belle of Washington.” In the South he was the unquestioned leader of his party and outside of the South he was the acclaimed orator and leader of the same party.

In the midst of such unlimited success, in the hey-day of such prosperity, only the urge of a noble conscience and the

possession of the highest moral courage enabled him to take this momentous step.

Douglas' onslaught on the Lecompton Constitution resulted in killing the bill for the admission of Kansas as a slave state. It failed to pass both houses and for a time Kansas was left without statehood. The Senate and House being deadlocked, the matter was referred to a committee of conference between the two houses. Here a compromise was agreed upon and the bill was offered to the House by William H. English of Indiana. This bill, thereafter called the English Bill, provided that the Lecompton Constitution should be again submitted to the whole people of Kansas. If they ratified it the State of Kansas should be at once admitted to the Union. If they rejected it Kansas should not be admitted to statehood until her population entitled her to one representative in Congress. Fervent and insistent pleas were made to Douglas to accept and vote for the compromise. The President favored it. The outstanding majority of the Democratic members of Congress wanted it. Even Douglas' ardent friends at Springfield in and among the Illinois State Register office were anxious to have Douglas accept it. But Douglas answered "No! The English Bill is a trick and a fraud—sheer bribery in fact." Unless the people accepted the constitution, they were to be kept out of the Union until they became three times more numerous than they now were. In the State of Kansas, a population big enough to make it a slave state was big enough to make it a free state. (Beveridge's *Lincoln*, Vol. II., p. 561.)

The defeat of the Kansas bill, however, left Douglas outside the breastworks of the Democratic administration and compelled him to fight against enormous odds the greatest battle of his political life. In 1858 the election of members of the Legislature of Illinois was approached. The hold-over members of the Senate and the senators and representatives elected in November, 1858, would elect the United States senator who would succeed Douglas, whose term expired in 1859. After the Kansas bill was beaten in Congress, Douglas returned to Illinois to commence his campaign for reelection to the Senate. A few high-minded and courageous Democrats in both houses of Congress and

throughout the nation had followed Douglas and approved his course. Many Democrats in the northern states became his ardent supporters and advocates. In the southern states he at once lost caste and found but few and feeble defenders. Not only did northern Democrats who were independent of political patronage support him, but many free-soilers and Whigs began to praise his patriotism and his devotion to a high sense of public duty. Several Republican senators, such as Seward and Sumner, spoke in praise of his conduct, as did Horace Greeley and the *New York Tribune*. In Illinois, however, Douglas now found he had "the fight of his life." Word came from the Democratic administration at Washington that Douglas must be beaten. Every federal office-holder in Illinois was ordered to line up his friends against Douglas and those who refused were discharged.

With his usual courage and energy Douglas promptly commenced his campaign for reelection to the Senate.

CHAPTER XLIII

GOVERNOR MATTESON'S ADMINISTRATION—THE DECADE OF WONDROUS GROWTH

Joel A. Matteson was elected governor of the state on the Democratic ticket in 1852 and served efficiently in that position for four years, from 1853 until 1857. During that four years took place a tremendous development in the population, commerce, agriculture and manufacturing of the state. The population of Chicago nearly doubled during the four years, and its commerce increased four-fold. The population of the state was doubled and passed the million mark. Illinois became the fourth most populous state during this administration. It was also a period of intense railroad building. Railroad mileage during the quadrennial increased from about 400 miles to nearly 3,000 miles.

Before his election Matteson was a successful business man and contractor, and he was naturally favorable to railway and industrial expansion. The wealth of the state during his four years' incumbency nearly trebled, increasing from about \$138,000,000 in 1851 to \$350,000,000 in 1856. Under his administration an attempt was made to pass a prohibitory liquor law, then called the "Maine law." The law was passed by the Legislature in 1855, and was submitted to the people for a referendum vote, but was decisively beaten by popular vote.

The indebtedness of the state was reduced under Governor Matteson's administration from \$17,398,985 to \$12,843,144. During his administration, in 1855 was enacted a Free School law, which contained most of the essential requirements of our present Public School law. This law was found to be exceedingly effective in reducing, if not abolishing entirely, illiteracy in Illinois.



A. A. Mattison

GOVERNOR 1853-57

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

CHAPTER XLIV

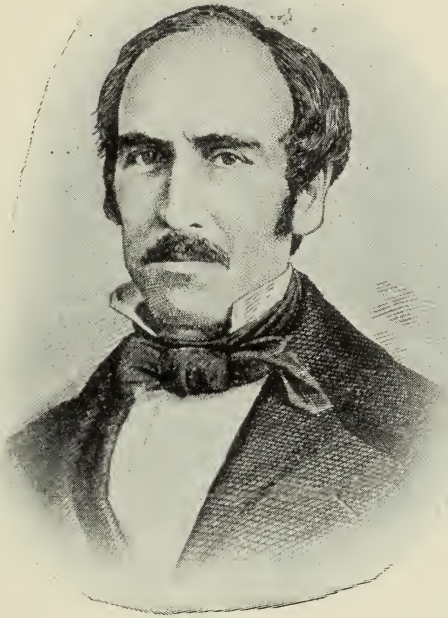
ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BISSELL

William H. Bissell, elected governor in 1856 over Col. William A. Richardson, the Democratic nominee, leader of the Illinois Democrats in Congress, and the friend and ardent supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, has the honor of being the first Republican governor ever elected in the State of Illinois. Before his nomination for governor he had been an ardent Jeffersonian Democrat and had represented his party as Congressman from the Alton district. Owing to the undisguised attempts of the southern Democrats between 1850 and 1854 to extend slavery into the territories of the North and the truculent threats of these same men to dismember the Union, Colonel Bissell severed his connection with the Democratic party and with Palmer, Trumbull and other former Democrats allied himself with the new-born Republican party.

While Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, carried the State of Illinois in 1856, Bissell, for the first time in history, carried the state by a plurality of about 5,000 and led his whole ticket. His courage in Congress when he baited Jefferson Davis and accepted a challenge from that gentleman which was only averted by the intervention of friends of both parties, made him exceedingly popular. His determined opposition to the extension of slavery brought to his support (notwithstanding he was a Catholic) even the nativists and the Know-Nothings, as well as many thousands of his old Democratic friends and admirers who agreed with his views and admired his courage. When seated in the governor's chair he found himself confronted with a Democratic Legislature opposed to Republican policies.

He was elected on a platform which pledged him against the extension of slavery and he determined to carry out that

pledge. The Republican party had been charged during the campaign as being tainted with Know-Nothingism and he decided upon a liberal policy towards his naturalized fellow-citizens. The redistricting of the state according to the population as required by the Constitution had been ignored by the Legislature



Wm. A. Bissell

GOVERNOR 1857-61

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

and he determined to remind it of its constitutional duty. On January 5, 1859, Governor Bissell sent a message to the Legislature, reviewing the state affairs and requesting a reapportionment of the legislative and congressional districts in accordance with the actual population of the state.

The Democrats were still in a majority in the Legislature, and without conferring with the Republican members, the Democrats drafted and presented a reapportionment bill, which the Republicans pronounced a gerrymander which was unfair to them. The Republican minority fought it savagely on the floor of the House and Senate and resorted to every conceivable filibustering device to prevent the passage of the bill. The Democrats, however, succeeded in passing this reapportionment bill in both houses notwithstanding the bitterness with which it was fought. When the bill reached the governor he held it for several days, during which he prepared a savage veto message. After Governor Bissell vetoed the bill the Democrats attempted to pass the bill over his veto, but the Republicans induced enough of their members to absent themselves from the sessions of both houses of the Legislature, so as to prevent a quorum. The Republican members persisted in this rather revolutionary course and the Democrats were unable to pass the bill over the governor's veto and it failed to become a law. The abstention of the Republicans from the legislative sittings forced the adjournment of the session without action on many appropriation bills and several hundred other bills pending before the Legislature.

Governor Bissell died in March, 1860, during his incumbency of the office of governor, and was succeeded in office by John Wood, the lieutenant-governor of the state. It was during Governor Bissell's term as governor of the state that the celebrated debates between Lincoln and Douglas took place, which gained for Douglas his reelection to the Senate and for Lincoln a place in the political life of the nation which entitled him and eventually secured for him election to the highest position in the gift of the nation—the Presidency of the United States.

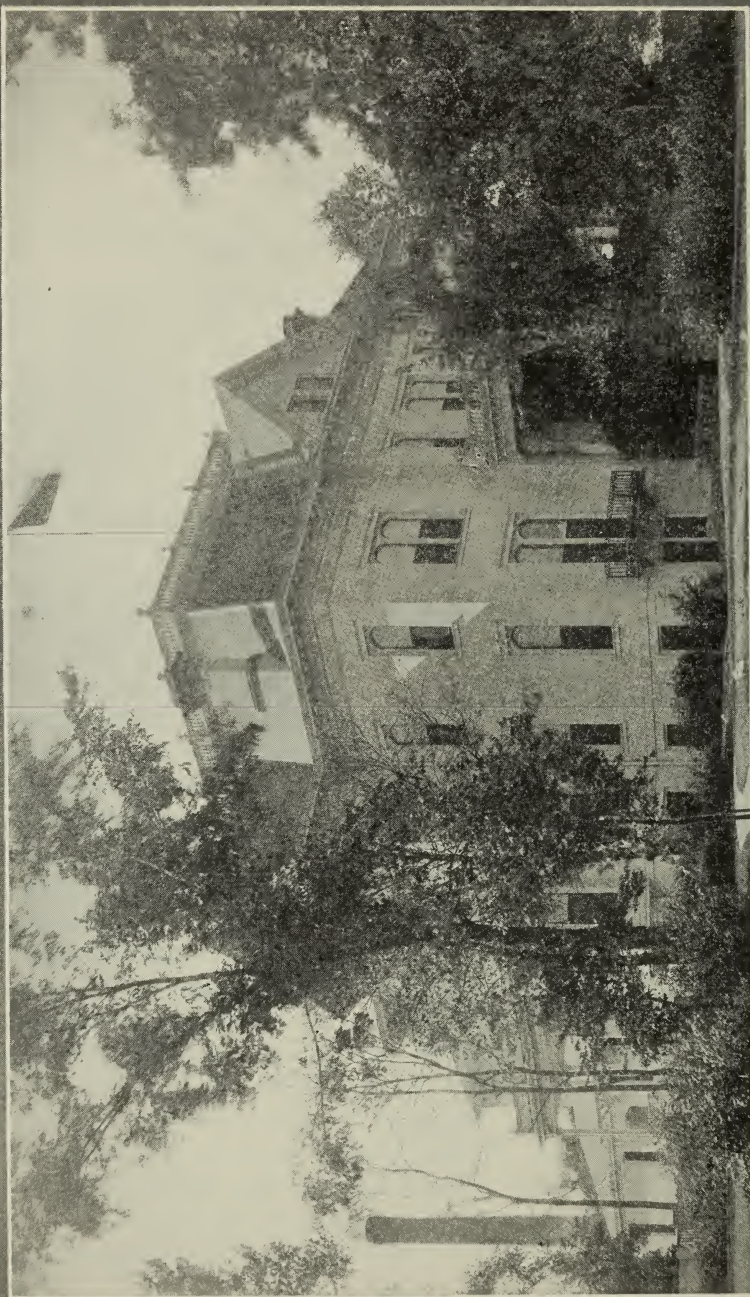
CHAPTER XLV

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ILLINOIS

The Kansas-Nebraska Act produced great disorganization in the Democratic ranks in the State of Illinois. Several of the Democratic papers openly repudiated the action of Senator Douglas and Congress in passing this law. The *Rock River Democrat* declared: "We forbear an expression of our deep indignation, and shall choke the utterance of our abhorrence of the men who have insanely given us as a Democratic party to the contempt of the world."

John Wentworth's paper—*The Chicago Democrat*, wrote editorially "Throughout the North . . . there is opposition to a great measure which has just been consummated, the responsibility of which the Democratic party of the nation will be compelled to bear." Wentworth and his paper, however, were not yet ready to abandon the Democratic party and afterwards declared that "we must beat the enemy handsomely; carry the State gloriously and thus continue the ascendancy of Democratic principles in our councils."

The Anti-Nebraska Democrats pleaded against the adoption by the Democratic convention of the new test of democracy to wit: endorsement of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but Douglas and his followers were able to keep the Democratic county conventions in line and have them endorse the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The younger Democratic leaders, such as Lyman Trumbull, John M. Palmer, Col. E. D. Taylor, John A. McClernand and Jehu Baker took much offense at Douglas' conduct in securing the passage of the act. Sidney Breese vigorously took the same position. There was a division also in the Whig ranks. The Whig assemblymen, James W. Singleton, William H. Christy and James M. Randolph had voted for the Nebraska resolutions



83-110-11

EXECUTIVE MANSION, SPRINGFIELD

(From *Illinois Blue Book.*)

and the *Illinois Journal*, the Whig organ, promptly read them out of the Whig party and classed them with abolitionists, and many of them left the Whig party to join the Douglas Democrats.

As early as March 28th, 1854 a mass meeting was held at Rockford, which passed a resolution that "The free states should blot out all former distinction by uniting themselves into one great Northern party." The *Illinois Journal* protested against the Whigs abandoning their party to join any new anti-slavery party. Later on conventions were held in LaSalle, Will, Putnam and other counties under the name of Republicans. A Republican state convention was called to meet in Springfield on the 4th and 5th of October, 1854, but the Whigs failed to attend the same. Some twenty-six anti-slavery men appeared in the convention but they were all so-called Abolitionists, and Abraham Lincoln failing to connect himself with that label; adroitly remained away from the meeting, although he made a vigorous anti-Nebraska speech at Springfield about the time that the convention was held. Although this convention was attended by so few; a number of men all of whom were radicals on the anti-slavery question, the convention adopted a platform. Lincoln, however, absented himself from the city in order not to be identified with that element. Later on he repudiated the use of his name by that gathering. The Democrats at the same time were at each others throats in different parts of the state.

James H. Woodworth, a free soil Democrat, and former mayor of Chicago, was nominated for Congress on the anti-Kansas-Nebraska ticket and was elected.

In the Alton district there was also trouble for the Democrats. Lyman Trumbull came out in bold defiance of Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act was nominated for Congress and won out as against Philip B. Fouke, a Nebraska Democrat.

In the Springfield district Democrats nominated Thomas L. Harris, a supporter of Douglas as against Richard Yates. Yates was supported by the anti-Nebraska forces, both Whigs and Democrats, and Harris won over Yates by a very narrow majority.

I have a letter in my possession given to me by Former Governor Richard Yates, the younger, written by Abraham

Lincoln, giving advice in that campaign to Richard Yates, the father of the younger Governor Yates, as to how to manage the campaign, particularly with reference to the "Know nothing" element in the district, on the back of which Governor Yates endorsed the statement, that he had failed to follow Lincoln's advice and lost his election by only 200 votes. He alleged also in this endorsement that he was beaten because of a false affidavit charging him with having been seen in a "Know nothing" lodge. Strange to say, the nativistic prejudice at that time was against the English and Germans living in Illinois.

The election held in November, 1854 in the State of Illinois resulted in a Democratic defeat. Members of the Legislature then elected, showed a majority of anti-Nebraskites. The Congressional elections also went against them; as they only were able to elect four of the nine members of Congress.

Another blow was given to the Democratic party in 1854 when Shields' reelection to the Senate was at issue. Lyman Trumbull, an anti-Nebraska Democrat, was placed in nomination and was elected by the Legislature over Shields. The Know Nothing party made its appearance during this campaign and it is claimed that one of the reasons for Shields' defeat was that he professed the Roman Catholic religion. The influence of this element in Illinois politics, however, did not last very long. Religious fanaticism did not seem to flourish for any length of time on the prairies of Illinois. Shortly thereafter, William H. Bissell in 1856, though a Roman Catholic, was nominated for governor on the Republican ticket, and triumphantly elected to that office.

In 1856, as another evidence of the weakening power of the Democratic party in the Northern part of the state, John Wentworth in his paper declared, "The North is all split to pieces upon matters of minor moment compared with the great question at issue. Now we think the North should unite as well as the South. If slavery can unite the South, certainly freedom should unite the North."

In that portion of the state there was a perfection of local organizations under the name of "Republicans" during that year, and they were quite successful in some of their local elec-

tions. In the summer of that year Douglas took the platform and appealed to his followers to rally for Democracy and to beware of Know Nothingism and Maine-lawism lurking behind the Republican party.

In 1856 the Republicans had carried elections in the neighboring states of Michigan and Wisconsin and many Whigs, Democrats and Know Nothings expressed their willingness to unite under the name of the Republican party. Wentworth, William H. Bissell, Gustave Koerner, Lyman Trumbull and many other anti-Nebraska Democrats had not yet formally seceded from the party, but had made up their mind that if the Democratic party in its convention, made a test of Democracy the support of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, they would quit their former affiliations and join the new party.

The Democratic convention met on the first of July, 1856, and rallying behind Douglas, adopted an aggressive Nebraska platform as a test of party loyalty and nominated for governor, Colonel Richardson, the Democratic congressman in the House, who had ably assisted Douglas in procuring the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. This act of the Democratic convention drove John M. Palmer, William H. Bissell, Gustave Koerner, Lyman Trumbull and hundreds of other anti-Nebraska Democrats out of the party.

From that time on, they enthusiastically supported the Republican party which was born in Illinois in the month of July, 1856, after the adjournment of the Democratic convention, at which William H. Bissell, a former prominent Democrat but a bitter opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, was nominated for governor and triumphantly elected in the following November over Richardson, the Douglas Democratic candidate.

National conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties were held that year. The Republican party met at Philadelphia and nominated John C. Fremont for President and William L. Dayton as the anti-slavery candidates. Prior to that time on June 2nd, the Democrats had placed in nomination for President, James Buchanan on a "squatter sovereignty" platform. This was the first year that a candidate labeled "Republican" was placed in nomination at a national convention for

election as President of the United States. At this election Trumbull, Koerner, Bissell, John Wentworth and John M. Palmer voted for and advocated the election of a Republican ticket, all of them having been former Democrats. They appeared on the stump in this election with Lincoln, Owen Lovejoy and Richard Yates, former Whigs, all of them being now labeled "Republicans."

Thus came into being in the year 1856 in the State of Illinois the Republican party, which ever since that time, with two quadrennial exceptions, has controlled and dominated politics of the State of Illinois.

The result of the presidential election in that year in the State of Illinois was still favorable to the Democratic party. Buchanan received the electoral vote of Illinois, but Colonel Richardson, the Democratic candidate for governor, went down before Bissell and his associates. Bissell developed remarkable strength. He was found to be popular to an extraordinary degree, both with his former Democratic associates and with the Whigs, who had helped him to a seat in Congress in 1852. Strange to say, he was also popular with the foreign voters and with the nativists in spite of the fact that he was of the Roman Catholic faith.

Upon assuming office as governor, however, he found himself confronted by a Democratic Legislature. He succeeded, however, by pointing out the injustice of the existing electoral districts to bring about a re-districting of the state in accordance with the population shown by the census of 1855.

CHAPTER XLVI

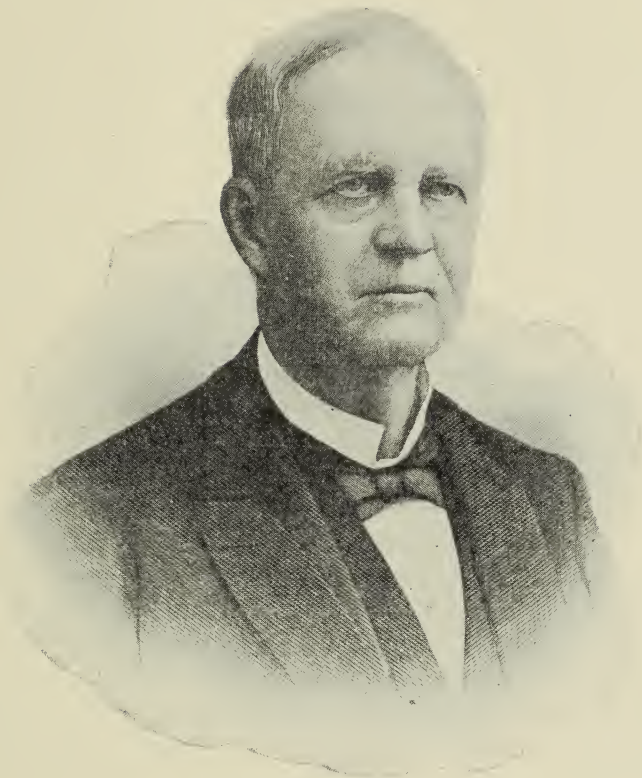
DOUGLAS OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN FOR REELECTION TO THE SENATE

Early in the year 1858, Douglas returned to Illinois to open his campaign for reelection to the United States Senate. He found that the enmity and hostility of the Democratic administration had preceded him. The postmaster at Chicago, who had been appointed at the request of Douglas, had been removed and his place given to a man who was a bitter enemy of Douglas, the removed postmaster having lost his position on charges of defalcation. The new postmaster, Cook, and the United States marshals in Illinois managed the war of the administration Democrats against Douglas, and all of the Federal office-holders in the state were massed in one solid league against him. Douglas soon found that he had to fight not only the Republican and Free Soil parties, but all the Democratic office-holders in the state. Conferences between the Republican managers and the Democratic office-holding league were frequent and friendly. On June 9, 1858, the administration Democrats held their state convention at Springfield. Douglas was roundly denounced in its resolutions and his defeat demanded. He and his followers were called rebels and enemies of Democracy, and the President lauded as able and patriotic. This convention also placed in nomination for state offices men who were in opposition to those nominated in the Douglas Democratic convention.

Never did a man in Illinois face a more formidable array of bitter enemies and conspirators against his success than did Stephen A. Douglas in that campaign. By his high-minded insistence upon fair play by his party in Kansas, and by his courageous attack upon trickery which had been practiced by the pro-slavery element of his party in framing the weasel-worded

Lecompton Constitution and refusing to submit it to popular referendum, he had brought upon himself and his candidacy the bitter hostility of the Democratic President and all his appointees in Illinois. That his motives in so doing were actuated by the purest patriotism and disregard of selfish aims cannot be seriously questioned. He had nothing to gain and everything to lose politically by doing things that would enable Kansas to come into the Union as a free-soil state. Notwithstanding the words of praise that were given him by Greeley and Seward, Douglas had plenty of experience in the working of party politics and knew from that practical experience that no party in politics would accept an insurrectionist from the opposite party and give him its leadership. It might reward him with verbal nosegays, or give him some subordinate job because of services rendered, but nothing more. His own party had already placed him in the highest position, short of the presidency, and at the time of his break there was no man in the Democratic party who was so likely as Douglas to be nominated and elected to succeed the Democratic incumbent of the position. His only motive could have been, and was, to preserve his own self-respect and sense of justice and fair play and establish a record of honesty and consistency in public life. Above all he was actuated by the patriotic desire to avert the dissolution of the Union threatened by the fanatical slaveholders of the South and the frenzied abolitionists of the North. Those of the North could not bring it about, because they were in a small minority in that section; while the extremists of the South were backed by the almost unanimous views of that part of the United States. His motto midst this tumult of treasonable threats was: *Fiat justitia, ruat coelum.*

When Lincoln's partner, Herndon, went from Springfield to New York to remonstrate with Horace Greeley because of his praise of Douglas and the course he was pursuing in the Kansas case, the great Republican editor hotly answered: "Douglas is a brave man. Forget the past and sustain the righteous." Before leaving Washington for Illinois, Douglas was informed that Lincoln had been nominated for the Senate by the Republican convention at Springfield, June 16, 1858. Speaking to



LYMAN TRUMBULL

his friend, John W. Forney, Douglas said: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party—full of wit, facts, dates—and the best stump-speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West. He is as honest as he is shrewd, and if I beat him my victory will be hardly won." He thus realized the seriousness of the contest even before he found on his return to Illinois the bitter opposition he was to encounter in his own party. He had scarcely arrived in the state when he discovered that James Ward, special United States agent of the post office department and superintendent of mails, postmasters and route agents in Illinois, had been removed by the President because he would not desert Douglas in his fight; and Dr. Charles Lieb had been appointed in his place. Lieb promptly wired the secretary of state of Illinois that he had been appointed. Traveling on railroad passes, Lieb traversed the state, industriously threatening removals of Democratic office-holders and giving promises of appointments, and doing everything in his power to win votes away from Douglas. He also acted as a liaison officer between the so-called "regular" Democrats and the Republican leaders and brought about co-ordination between them to ruin Douglas. Commenting on this situation, the *New York Times* of July 13, 1858, declared: "Mr. Douglas has tremendous odds against him. If he shall succeed in detaching from the administration Democrats enough to elect him, it will be the most brilliant triumph of his life." His entry into Chicago was a great triumph. So large was the crowd assembled to meet him that he hardly could find room for his carriage to move towards the hotel where he made his first speech July 9, 1858.

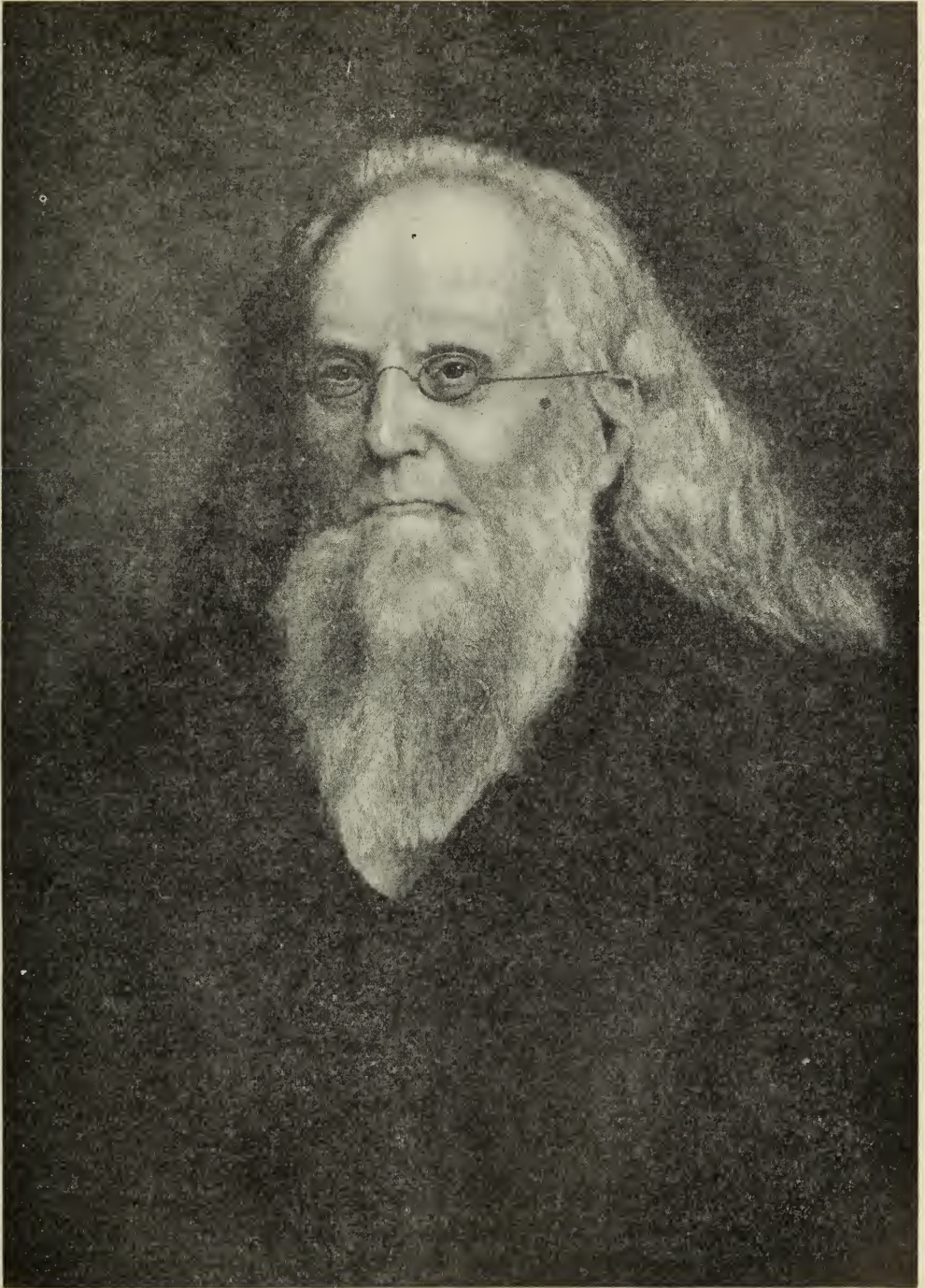
In this, the opening speech of this most remarkable campaign, he first thanked his audience for their endorsement of his course in relation to the Lecompton Constitution and the situation in Kansas as evidenced by their turning out in such tremendous numbers to greet him. He claimed that their presence in such huge numbers evidenced their "devotion to the great principle of self-government to which my life for many years past, and in the whole future will be devoted." He declared that he had fought the Lecompton Constitution because it vio-

lated that principle and with the assistance of others in Congress had forced the resubmission of that instrument to the people of Kansas to be voted on by them in the following August. In the Senate he had fought for the principle of popular self-government against opposition from the North and more recently against opposition from the South. He had fought the Lecompton Constitution because that document did not provide for the submission of the whole instrument to the popular vote of the people. "I deny," he declared, "the right of Congress to enforce upon a people a code of laws they are unwilling to receive." He then complimented Lincoln, who was present in the hotel and within hearing, saying that he had known him for about a quarter of a century and knew him to be a kind, amiable and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent, and that the issue between Lincoln and himself was not in personalities but in principles. He then attacked Lincoln's assertion that "the nation could not endure half-slave and half-free." That assertion, Douglas declared, meant uniformity of local laws and domestic institutions of all the states. This would invite ceaseless conflict until slavery was established in all the states or abolished in all of them, a war of sections, a war of the North against the South, or the free states against the slave states, a war of extermination until one or the other of the combatants should be subdued. Such uniformity was neither possible nor wise. The builders of the Constitution foresaw that what policies, laws and legislation would suit one state might not suit another and for this reason they wisely provided in that instrument that each state should be sovereign in its domestic affairs, and that the Federal Government should exercise only such specific powers as were given it, and that these were general and national in their character. Uniformity of legislation in politics, in religion, in industry and in social relations is the parent of despotism the world over. How could such uniformity be had in the United States? he asked. Only by merging the rights and sovereignty of the states into one consolidated empire, and giving Congress the unlimited power to enact all police regulations and domestic laws for the whole republic whether they were suitable or unsuitable to local

conditions and whether they were beneficial or injurious to certain localities. Variety in local regulations and domestic institutions was essential to liberty. The sovereignty of the states in local matters and police regulations must be maintained if freedom is to be preserved.

Douglas next criticized Lincoln for his attack upon the Supreme Court of the United States. That court had recently decided the celebrated Dred Scott case, holding by a majority of seven to two that a negro slave residing in free-soil territory for some time, was not emancipated and did not become thereby a citizen of the United States, and dismissed his case because he was not a "citizen of the United States" and therefore the court had no jurisdiction. The logic and merits of this notable decision will be more fully discussed hereafter. It suffices now to call attention to the fact that the decision had been but recently rendered and that Lincoln, among others, had been attacking the same. In discussing Lincoln's attack upon the Dred Scott decision, Douglas declared that under the American Constitution and system of government, it was the duty of the court to expound and interpret the Constitution and construe the laws and when the decision of a case was enunciated, all citizens must yield to it. Upon that principle, he declared, all our rights, our liberty and our property depend. No appeal lies from a decision of a Supreme Court to a "noisy town meeting, or to a Republican caucus sitting in the country." He concluded this part of his speech by insisting that the people should and must "maintain the Constitution, obey the laws and uphold the courts."

He next contended that the framers of the Constitution never for a moment intended to place the black man on the same plane as a white man; that when that great document was being devised and while its adoption was being considered with great deliberation by the states, that hundreds of thousands of black men were held in bondage in most of the states; that the white men who discussed and framed the provisions of that instrument intended it to apply to white men alone and not to negroes in chains or orientals. Members of inferior races, he contended, ought to have all the rights they could use "consistent with the safety of society," and that each state must decide



By Courtesy of The Northwestern University School of Law.

Leahy, Rufus

First reporter of Illinois Supreme Court. Judge of Supreme Court, profound jurist and no one did more to perfect the judicial system of Illinois.

for itself the nature and extent of these rights. Illinois, he said, had decided that negroes should be neither slaves nor voters. Maine gave negroes the right to vote. Neither state has the right to complain of the other. Virginia has the same right to protect slavery that Illinois has to banish it from her borders. "I do not concede that the states must all be free or must all be slave. I do not acknowledge that the negro must have civil and political rights everywhere or nowhere, or that California must give the Chinese the same privileges that Illinois might grant them. The issues between Mr. Lincoln and myself as candidates for the United States are direct and irreconcilable. He goes for uniformity in our domestic institutions, for a war of sections until one or the other is subdued. I go for the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—the right of the people to decide for themselves."

The following night, July 10, Abraham Lincoln addressed an enormous audience at the same place, the Tremont Hotel, Chicago. After thanking Douglas for procuring him a convenient and comfortable seat on the preceding night and for his reference to him, Lincoln, as kind, amiable and intelligent, he proceeded to discuss Douglas' pregnant reference to popular sovereignty. "What is popular sovereignty? Why it is the sovereignty of the people. But the Dred Scott decision said that if a man took slaves to a territory, the people could not keep them out. When they made a state constitution they could exclude slavery, but during the preceding territorial government slaves could be taken in. They would be there when the territory became a state. Thus they would have to tolerate slavery." There was nothing new, said Lincoln, in the statement that the people could form a state constitution. That had always been so. Nobody, certainly no Republican, opposed that. "Douglas thinks he has invented that idea. Douglas will soon claim that he is the inventor of the idea that people should govern themselves." After quoting that clause of the Declaration of Independence on the equality of man, Lincoln said: "There is the origin of popular sovereignty." Lincoln then denied that Douglas deserved the credit of beating the Lecompton Constitution. "He did right in fighting it," he said, "but

all the Republicans in the nation opposed it." He agreed with Douglas that the defeat of the Lecompton Constitution was a good thing and then asked: "Who defeated it?" The audience answered: "Judge Douglas!" Lincoln went on to show that Douglas only controlled three Democratic votes against that constitution in the Senate and only twenty Democratic votes in the House, while the Republicans gave twenty votes in the Senate and ninety in the House. He claimed that the Republican party and not Douglas and his Democratic followers were entitled to claim the honor of beating the Lecompton Constitution. He then asked again his audience: "Now, who was it that did the work?" Again the response was: "Douglas!" Lincoln then contended that Douglas should not be supported against him, Lincoln, simply because he opposed the Lecompton Constitution, but the crowd in front of him interrupted him with cries of "Who killed the bill? Douglas!" until Lincoln almost lost his temper.

He was more fortunate in discussing his house-divided-against-itself theory. While on this theme the audience cried: "Good! Good!" Douglas had drawn wrong inferences from his language on this matter. Lincoln had stated merely on that subject what would happen, and not what he, Lincoln, thought ought to happen. In that speech of his which Douglas so strongly criticized, he did not say that he wished slavery to be put in course of ultimate extinction. "I do say so now, however!" he stated. He then admitted, as Douglas charged, that the speech in which he used the words "a home divided against itself must fall" was carefully prepared by him. "I am not a master of language," he said. "I have not a fine education, but what I said will not bear any such construction as Douglas puts upon it. At least I knew what I meant," said Lincoln. "Of course the Government had endured eighty-two years half slave and half free, but it had lasted so long because the public believed that slavery would finally die out." ("Good!" and applause.)

Lincoln then stated that he had always hated slavery but had kept quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. "I always believed," he said, "that

everybody was against it and that it was in course of ultimate extinction. So thought the framers of the Constitution when they excluded slavery from new territory, where it had not already gone, and when they put a period to the African slave trade. People of the free states had no right to meddle with slavery in the slave states and ought not to want to do it." He had said that a hundred times. Douglas' charge that he wanted to interfere with that institution where it existed, was unwarranted. If he ever had said anything from which such an inference could be drawn, "I now correct it."

Lincoln then declared that he did not advocate "general consolidation of all the local institutions of the various states." He was for the principle of local self-government, but Douglas misapplied it. Each state could do as it liked with all local matters "that interfere with the right of no other state" and the general Government could do nothing that did not "concern the whole." But a "vast portion of the American people" did not regard it as a trifling matter to be regulated under the police power, but believed it to be "a vast moral evil." Nonetheless, under the United States Constitution in the state where it exists "we have no right to interfere with it." Lincoln then took up and discussed the Dred Scott decision and said: "I do not resist it. . . . All I am doing is refusing to obey it as a political rule. If I were in Congress I would vote to prohibit slavery in a new territory in spite of the Dred Scott decision. I submit to it as far as it concerns Dred Scott, but we mean to reverse it peaceably. We mean to do what we can to have the court hereafter decide the other way." The Dred Scott decision was contrary to former decisions of the same court, was based upon falsehood, and was a "new wonder of the world." Douglas had approved the course of General Jackson when the latter declared that the Supreme Court could not lay down a rule to govern a coordinate branch of the Government. So "what has now become of his tirade about resistance to the Supreme Court?"

In Douglas' speech delivered on the night preceding, he, Douglas, had denounced the Republican leaders in Illinois for entering into a conspiracy with the administration Democrats to beat him as an unholy alliance and unworthy of men claiming to be actuated only by high principles. Answering this

charge, Lincoln denied that he or his friends had entered into any such conspiracy and warned his Republican friends not to be weaned from their loyalty to free-soil Republican principles because of their commendation of Douglas' course in fighting the Lecompton Constitution. Answering Douglas' argument that the United States Constitution was drawn by white men for white men and that they never intended that the black man should be placed on an equality with white men politically and otherwise, Lincoln declared that no one wanted to deny that the Government was made for white men in the form that Douglas put it, but Douglas "was again drawing inferences that are not warranted." He said he never favored social equality between the blacks and whites, and read from a speech he had made a year before in which he had stated his position to that effect. Lincoln then quoted from one of Douglas' speeches in which while demanding the submission of the Lecompton Constitution to popular vote he had said: "I don't care if slavery is voted up or down." He rang the changes on these words over and over again without giving the context and argued that the Republicans should not vote for a man who did not care for free soil in Kansas.

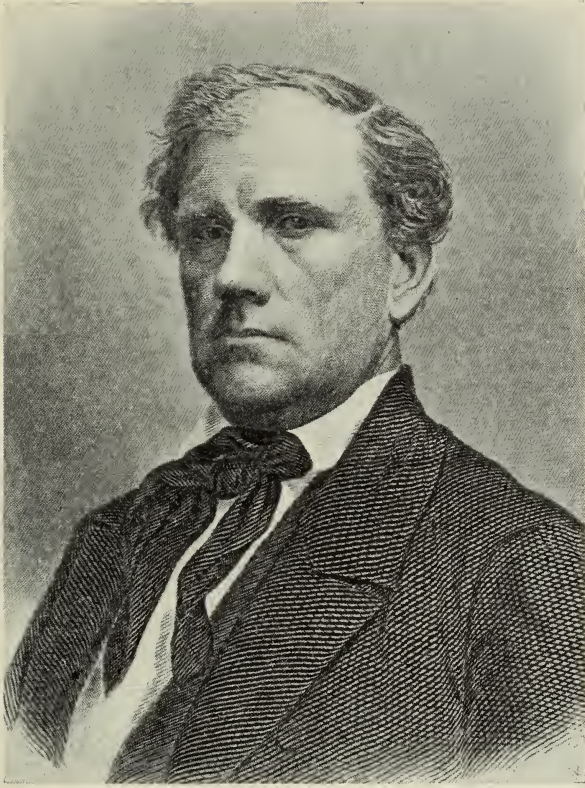
In closing his address, Lincoln said: "Let the principle that all men were created equal be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature. Let us turn this Government back into the channel in which the framers of the Constitution originally placed it. Douglas proposes, not intentionally, working in the traces that tend to make this one universal slave nation. As such I resist him."

The foregoing pages contain a condensed, but, I believe, a fair summary of the opening speeches of these two great men in the memorable campaign of 1858 for election in Illinois to the United States Senate, and known in history as the Lincoln-Douglas campaign. I have summarized their addresses so that the reader may be able to understand the issues made in the campaign by the able and eloquent men who were appealing to the people of Illinois for their verdict. The issues made in these speeches were not hastily drawn. While Douglas spoke

ex tempore, he had, on the floor of the United States Senate, been presenting them to that body and the nation in an able, eloquent and elaborate form for several months before he addressed his Chicago audience. Lincoln had been reading, digesting and analyzing Douglas' speeches in the Senate for at least two years with great care. He had watched and noted also Douglas' courageous stand on the Lecompton Constitution which placed himself outside the trenches of his own party, and was thoroughly prepared to meet Douglas upon the new situation, as well as his acts and utterances when he was in harmony with his party. The issues made in these opening addresses were the issues presented in all of their subsequent speeches with more or less elaboration, variety of language and development of theme. For a time thereafter they conducted their campaigns and delivered their subsequent speeches from different platforms and on different days.

In one respect, however, Lincoln departed from the method of his first speech. It will be noted in the foregoing summaries of their speeches that Lincoln assumed a defensive attitude. Most of his speech was devoted to answering charges made by Douglas against him. Judd, the Republican chairman of the state, noticed this, and wrote to Senator Trumbull, July 16, 1858: "Lincoln has commenced gallantly. The only trouble will be (as I told him) he will allow Douglas to put him on the defensive." (Trumbull Mss.)

Douglas made his next speech at Bloomington, where he developed one new point which he had forgotten or overlooked at Chicago. It was a point that he had advanced many times during the preceding ten years. The point that he formulated in his Bloomington speech was that slavery could not exist in any locality where the people did not want it. It was the creature of municipal law and police regulations were essential for its existence and protection. Even with police protection it could not be forced upon an unwilling people. "Look at Kansas. Under the laws of the 'bogus' Legislature slavery was well guarded, but it had been decreasing there all the time." He argued: "Let the principle of popular sovereignty be fairly carried out and slavery shall never exist one day, or one hour,



JOHN WENTWORTH

Resident of Chicago 1836 to 1888. Editor and congressman, dominating force in politics.

in any territory, against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people." That was the practical result, he said, no matter "how the Dred Scott decision may have settled the abstract question." At Bloomington Douglas concluded his speech by telling his hearers to vote for Lincoln if they thought he could do more to promote the Union and advance the prosperity and honor of Illinois than he, Douglas, could. Lincoln had been given a seat on the platform where Douglas spoke, and when called upon declined to speak because "the meeting was called by the friends of Judge Douglas and it would be improper for me to address it. He promised, however, soon to visit them and make a speech.

Before the campaign had proceeded much further, Lincoln, admonished by his partner, Herndon, and probably by Judd, the chairman of the Republican State Committee, became less defensive and more aggressive in his addresses. He took the offensive in the Dred Scott decision and boldly charged that that decision was the result of a conspiracy between the judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan and Douglas. He cited neither direct nor hearsay evidence of this bold charge, but based it upon groupings and dates of the parties charged, from which he argued ingeniously, but not convincingly, that such a conspiracy existed and that these eminent judges and public officials were the conspirators.

At first Douglas treated the charge with contempt, declaring that if Mr. Lincoln "deems *me* a conspirator of that kind, all I have to say is that *I* do not think so badly of the President of the United States and the Supreme Court of the United States." Upon its repetition thereafter he denounced it as an infamous falsehood. While the campaign was in progress the office-holding Democrats and their relatives and subordinates were working vigorously against Douglas and in harmony with the Republican organization. The general manager of the office-holders' brigade, Post Office Inspector Lieb, although repudiated by Senator Trumbull, reported to him: "I am in correspondence with a number of gentlemen who are now openly with us, men who, like myself, will fight him (Douglas) to the bitter end." With the administration Democrats

fighting him on one side and the Republicans assailing him on the other, the conservative, well-informed New York papers could see no hope for Douglas. The *New York Herald* of July 27, 1858, declared: "Had he (Douglas) sustained the President upon that (the Kansas) issue, it would have placed him foremost in the front rank of his party for the presidential succession." Greeley, in the *New York Tribune* of July 12, 1858, asserted that since Douglas had made popular sovereignty his battle cry, "he cannot fail to be beaten." Neither disheartened nor discouraged, Douglas assumed the offensive and forced the fighting. Through the chairman of his state campaign committee he made up a schedule of speeches he intended to make throughout the state and published it. This schedule covered a great part of the state and included every day for many weeks ahead. Lincoln's campaign manager thereupon made up a schedule for Lincoln, covering the same territory, the same day and place in which Douglas was to speak, and in other cases the day following. Senator Trumbull, the Democratic colleague of Douglas in the Senate, now entered the state and began his assault upon his fellow-senator, and the Republican press in the East gave more notice to Trumbull than to Lincoln, as Douglas in his latest speeches was attacking Trumbull more vigorously than he was Lincoln. Douglas was taking the initiative and waging offensive war against both. Lincoln's adherents opposed the defensive attitude of Lincoln and insisted that he be more vigorous and challenge Douglas to a joint debate. This was first suggested by Horace Greeley. This was forcibly seconded by the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. "Let Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln agree to canvass the state together in the usual western style." Lincoln went to Chicago and consulted with his newspaper friends and managers, and finally, one week after Douglas' Springfield speech heretofore mentioned, through Mr. Judd, his campaign committee chairman, he presented Douglas with a letter asking him: "Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time and address the same audiences in the present canvass?" Before answering same, Douglas said to a confidential friend: "Between you and me, I do not feel that I want to go into this debate. The whole country knows me and

has me measured. Lincoln, as regards myself, is comparatively unknown, and if he gets the best of this debate—and he is the ablest man the Republicans have got—I shall lose everything. Should I win I shall gain but little.”

Douglas soon answered. He pointed out that arrangements had already been made and published for his meetings, at which he and the Democratic candidates for state offices were to speak. Still he would take responsibility so far as he could to accommodate Mr. Lincoln. So let a place in each congressional district, except the two in which he and Lincoln had already spoken, be agreed upon between them. Douglas suggested the following places as most convenient: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton and Jonesboro. These suggestions made by Douglas were agreed to by Lincoln shortly afterward, and the hours and division of time at each place of speaking were arranged between them.

Thus was initiated the celebrated campaign of joint debates between Abraham Lincoln, the Republican leader, and Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic champion, which has gone down in history as the most important and interesting oratorical duel in American history.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS JOINT DEBATE

Before discussing the incidents, issues and surroundings of the celebrated intellectual duel, let us consider the past history of the two remarkable contestants.

More biographies, treatises and other literature of a historical character have been written about and in reference to Abraham Lincoln than any other man in American history, and hardly a year passes but some new *Life of Lincoln* or brochure upon his character and career appears. I have been told by a well-informed bibliophile that Napoleon Bonaparte is the only name in history that exceeds that of Lincoln in the number of books that have been written about him. To incorporate in this work even a brief biography of Lincoln worthy of this great man is unnecessary. To my readers who may desire a more intimate acquaintance with the details of his birth, early life, manhood struggles, disappointments, triumphs and martyr's death, I recommend the splendid, painstaking, brilliantly-written and impartial biography of *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, written by Senator Albert J. Beveridge, and published in 1928. It is a matter of widespread regret that this brilliant biographer of Lincoln died in the midst of his labors on this great book and that his untimely death has deprived the world of the fruit which his brilliant brain would have garnered during the last and most glorious years of Lincoln's life and the more glorious but tragic hours of his death.

A few but brief references to Lincoln's life before he participated in the remarkable debate with Douglas are necessary, however, to a full understanding of some of the features of that contest. He was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky, of humble and obscure parentage. His mother was of strong character and unusual industry. His father was an

ignorant, shiftless man, classed by the Southerners as among the "poor white trash." He gave his son no education and from early boyhood Abraham was constantly engaged in the most heart-breaking manual labor incident to a penniless pioneer life. His entire schooling, stolen from hours of manual labor, did not exceed six months. Between hours of labor or at night he taught himself to read and then devoured every book he could lay his hands upon. He once worked three days to pay for the damage to a book he had borrowed and left out in the rain. He hired himself out as a farm hand and a deck hand on a flat-boat. About the time he became of age his father had located with his family at or near Salem, a little town on the bank of the Sangamon River, near Springfield. Here he helped his father clear timber land for a farm, and split rails to fence it. Next he became clerk in a general country store which sold dry goods, wet goods and hardware, and established a reputation as a good story-teller and an excellent boxer and wrestler. He never quite overcame the manners, habits, language and methods of living of those early rough-and-ready days. He was, however, an incessant reader, and early in life manifested an ambition to rise above his humble and coarse surroundings. At that time he indulged in the dubious humor of lampooning his associates with anonymous doggerel, which habit afterwards landed him into an ugly controversy with Gen. James Shields, which was by no means creditable to him.

About 1830 Lincoln volunteered in the Black Hawk war and was elected captain of a company the following year. In 1834 he was elected to the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature as a Whig from Sangamon County and was reelected in 1836 and became a member of the "Long Nine" from that county. As a member of that vigilant and efficient coterie he helped to locate the capital of the state at Springfield. When twenty-eight he moved to Springfield, which he had helped to make the capital, and was again elected to the Legislature. In 1845 he was elected to Congress as a Whig and served one term in that body. During that term he made a speech supporting a resolution he offered, which denounced the Mexican war as unjust and unconstitutional, afterwards called the "spot" speech, which greatly

weakened him in public estimation and probably caused his temporary retirement from public office. After the expiration of his two-year term in Congress, he resumed his law practice, which was laborious but not very remunerative. He remained in political retirement until the agitation over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill became violent in 1854. In that year he reentered politics when there was a split in the Democratic party over the reelection of Senator James Shields to the United States Senate, to become a candidate for that office. During all of his life he had been affiliated with the Whig party up to 1856. In 1852, when he was a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Shields, he was still a Whig, having refused to join the Republican party, and to support its presidential candidate. In 1854, owing to the split in the Democratic party between the Douglas Democrats and the Administration Democrats, Lincoln hoped to be elected to the Senate to succeed Shields, but while the Democrats were divided, largely owing to Know-Nothing voters in that party who refused to vote for Shields because he was Irish born and a Roman Catholic in religion, they would not vote for a Whig and held out until Trumbull, a Democratic enemy of Douglas, received enough votes to elect him.

After his defeat for the Senate in 1854, Lincoln again retired to private life and resumed the practice of the law until May 29, 1856. By that time he had become convinced that the Whig party was in a dying condition and that the only hope of success against the Democratic party lay in the ranks of the newly-formed Republican party, born in 1852, strong and rapidly developing in 1856 by the accession to its ranks of abolitionists, Whigs, Know-Nothings and Prohibitionists and all other elements dissatisfied with the Democratic party.

In 1855 a bitter campaign was being waged in Illinois over the question of prohibition and the enactment of the "Maine Law" against the sale of intoxicating liquor. Lincoln never opened his mouth upon the question. In the same year violent Know-Nothing riots against Catholics were convulsing the country. Lincoln never uttered a word in condemnation or commendation thereof. He was a private citizen in private life, practicing law, and though fond of public speaking was shrewd

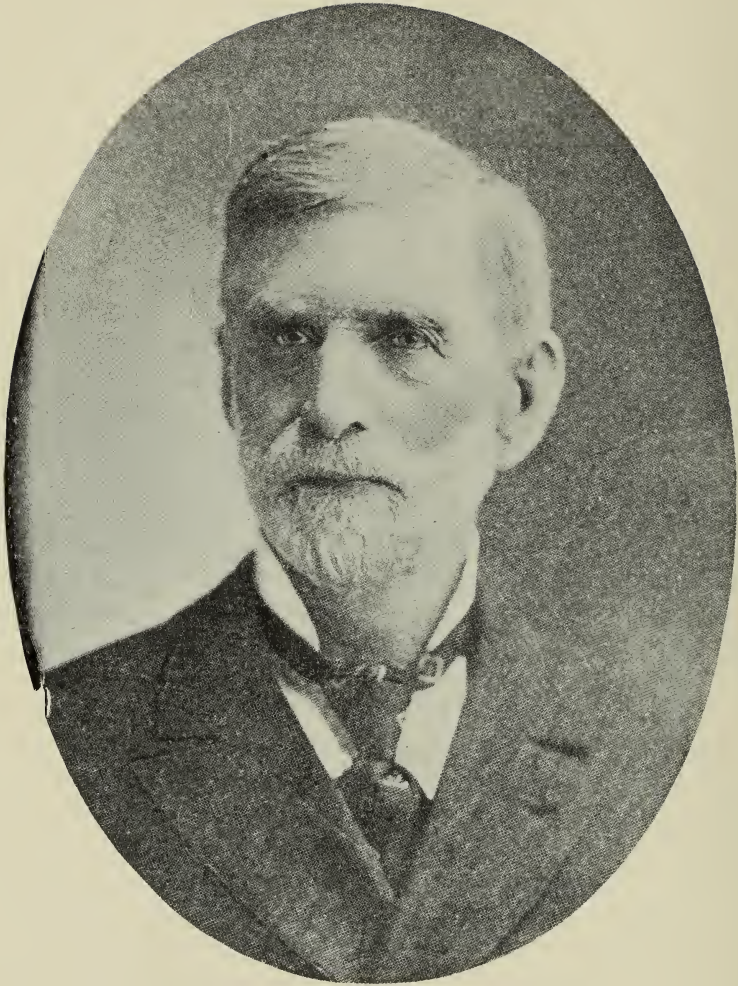
and cautious not to make any public statement upon any question until he sounded public sentiment thereon, and determined for himself that public sentiment would be behind him in any statement he might make. In 1856, however, the hour arrived when Lincoln reached the conclusion that it would be safe and propitious for him to take the platform, reenter politics and discuss the vital issue of the day. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had reopened the question of slavery, supposed to have been settled by the Compromise of 1850, agreed to by both great political parties. Blood was flowing freely in Kansas. As that territory was opened for settlement armed mobs of slavery men and free-soilers were killing each other and destroying each other's property. "Bleeding Kansas" and "the border ruffians" were the subjects on nearly every tongue. The Lecompton Constitution was framed and passed by the pro-slavery men in Kansas and repudiated and scoffed at by the free-soilers. Senator Sumner had been assaulted in the United States Senate by Brooks, a pro-slavery congressman from South Carolina, because in a free-soil speech he had insulted his relative, Senator Butler, and the State of South Carolina. Condemnation of the assault had been universal throughout the Northern states.

This was the situation when Abraham Lincoln, on May 29, 1856, arose to address a convention of anti-Douglas Democrats, Whigs, Know-Nothings and Republicans who had not as yet assumed the name of Republicans. Although he expected to be called upon, he had not prepared, as he usually did, a written speech. There was no stenographer present, and because of that it has historically been referred to as Lincoln's "lost speech." It was the speech, however, that "found" the man behind whom the new Republican party could mass all the heterogeneous elements which now rushed to the standards of that party. The man had struck the note and voiced the principle upon which they all could agree—opposition to the further extension of slavery within the United States and its territories. Lincoln, in this great "lost speech," did not advocate the abolition of slavery, yet he satisfied the Abolitionists in that convention and throughout the nation. He did not advocate nor defend Know-Nothingness, yet he satisfied the Know-Nothings. He did not

advocate or oppose prohibition, and yet he satisfied the Prohibitionists and the liberals opposed to slavery. Above all, he did not have a kind word for any element of the Democratic party, even the free-soil element, and yet he satisfied Trumbull, Palmer, Bissell and a number of other old-line Democrats because he struck the dominant keynote of opposition to the further extension of slavery to which they were opposed, in deadly earnest.

He had, he said in the famous speech, become impressed with the wrongs done to the free-state men in Kansas, but "we must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot." The ballot was a better weapon than the rifle. Public opinion must be enunciated promptly and emphatically. Unless a halt was called to what was taking place in Kansas "blood will flow and brother's hand will be raised against brother." A great principle was involved—that of the extension of slavery. The Missouri Compromise must be restored and thus Kansas will be free. "Let our practical work here be limited to that one object." Lincoln then said that they might differ on other matters, but they should all act on one common ground, that slavery must be kept out of Kansas. Revolutions, he declared, did not go backward. Jefferson had written "all men were created equal." Douglas had injected the adjective "white" before the noun "men." Lincoln went on to denounce the assault on Senator Sumner in Washington by a Southern congressman. Said he: "The fearless Sumner was beaten into insensibility and is now slowly dying, while senators claiming to be gentlemen and Christians stood by countenancing the act." Even Douglas saw it all and was within helping distance, yet did nothing to stop it. At the very time Sumner was being murdered, the City of Lawrence was being destroyed for the crime of Freedom. Slavery had been made legal in Kansas, the same way that a gang of Missouri horse-thieves could come into Illinois and declare horse stealing was legal in our state.

He then declared that the Anti-Nebraska men (the name which the members of this convention called themselves instead of Republicans) did not intend to interfere with slavery in the slave states. Even the Republicans did not propose that. "Our platform says just the contrary. That position is required by



PAUL SELBY

Editor, one of founders of Republican party in Illinois.

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

the necessities of our Union. The South must have a reasonable and efficient fugitive slave law." "No," cried someone in the convention. "I say yes," answered Lincoln, "it is a part of the bargain, but I go no further." (Cheers.) "The fathers of the republic," said Lincoln, "agreed to slavery where it existed and to a fugitive slave law. That contract must be kept. But they were against extending slavery. It is wise and right to do just as they did." "Our troubles," he said, "are all due to this man Douglas." He was more guilty than the Joneses and String-fellows—the violent leaders of the pro-slavery crowd. It was folly, said Lincoln, to use force against violence, as so many wished to do, at least now. The Government and, as yet, a majority of the people, are still against us. He advised his hearers not to insist upon extreme measures. Moderation would make converts to their cause. The violence of the other side would cause desertions from the Democratic ranks. Slavery was wrong and although we were forced to temporize with it "as sure as God reigns and school children read, that foul, black lie can never be consecrated into God's hallowed truth."

"We see the fruits of the repeal of the sacred Missouri Compromise," he dramatically exclaimed, "in the dying bed of Sumner; the ruins of the Free State hotel; in the smoking embers of the *Herald of Freedom*; in the free-state governor of Kansas chained to a stake on freedom's soil like a horse-thief, for the cause of freedom. Nevertheless, retaliation in kind is not the way to victory. Let the legions of slavery use bullets; let us wait until November and fire ballots at them in return. It was by this means that Illinois was made free and will ever remain free.

"Those who deny freedom to others," he declared, "deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it. If this thing (slavery in the territories) is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress it upon Illinois." "The time must come," said Lincoln, "when only local law instead of the Constitution can shield a slave-holder."

Lincoln then took up the subject of disunion, threatened by the extremists both of the North and the South, and denounced the idea in unmeasured terms. He denied that the new party

with which he was then affiliated favored sectionalism or that it would endanger the integrity of the nation. Loyalty to the Constitution and the Flag of the Union was vital, no matter what might happen. Even if Kansas should come in as a slave state, on the one hand, or the Missouri Compromise should be restored, on the other hand, in either case "we will say to the southern disunionists: 'We wont go out of the Union and you shant!'" Elect the gallant Bissell your governor, who bravely defended the honor of his nation both on the battle-fields of Mexico and in the halls of Congress and defied in the latter place the Hotspur of the South (Jefferson Davis.) His election would have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids in Kansas."

He concluded his able and remarkable speech by counseling his hearers to make a calm and reasonable appeal to public opinion. In all probability, he continued, such an appeal would make a resort to force unnecessary. "Our moderation, then, will stand us in good stead when, if ever, we must make an appeal to battle and the God of Hosts."

This was the substance and general trend of this remarkable oration of Lincoln. It is essential for the reader to know the trend of that speech and the time and circumstances of its delivery to understand how it was that this somewhat obscure and hitherto unsuccessful politician was able to mount from political obscurity and ili success in the Whig party into such a position of prominence as to suddenly become the candidate of the Republican party two years after making this speech, and a national figure throughout the land. This speech, made May 29, 1856, to a collection of heterogenous elements which had not as yet summoned up sufficient courage to call itself "Republican," raised the unsuccessful local leader of the Whig party in Illinois within two years into the foremost place in the young, vigorous and valiant Republican party in 1858; and made him its candidate for the United States Senate against the ablest and most successful Democrat in the nation. It did more. The elaboration and further development of the utterances and arguments of this speech, when reiterated in the joint debate between him and Senator Douglas, made him first the

candidate of the Republican party for President, and secondly elevated that hitherto unsuccessful local Whig leader to the highest position in the nation, the Presidency of the American Republic.

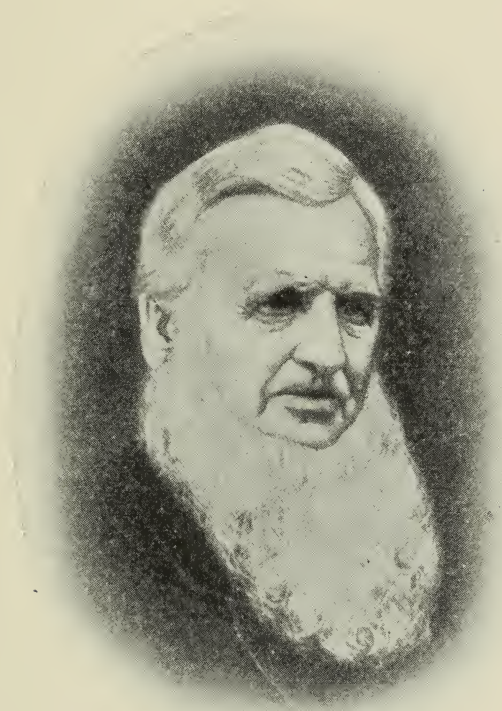
Let us now take up and consider for a time the man who was to contest with Lincoln the race for the United States Senate, his character, antecedents and surroundings. Stephen A. Douglas was a son of Vermont, born at Brandon in that state, April 23, 1813. He was the son of a doctor who died within a few months after Stephen's birth, leaving his widow and child in destitute circumstances. For a short time, at the age of fifteen, he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker, but his mother having again married, he was able to secure a good education at an excellent academy, and began the study of the law at Canandaigua, New York. In 1833, when twenty years of age, he left the latter city to seek a career in the West. He soon appeared at Jacksonville, Illinois, without friends or money, and there secured a position as clerk and school-teacher during the winter months. In 1834 he was admitted to the Illinois bar. Thenceforward his advancement in his profession and in public affairs, was extraordinary and without precedent even in the young West where opportunities for advancement were many. He was small in body, but great and powerful in brain, and possessed a charming personality, which attributes earned for him the sobriquet of the "Little Giant," which clung to him until his death.

In about a year after his arrival at Jacksonville, he became prosecuting attorney. Within two years he was elected to the Legislature, where he became a colleague of his great competitor, Abraham Lincoln. In 1837, when only twenty-four years of age, he was appointed United States Registrar of Public Lands by President Pierce. He then moved to Springfield, and in 1838, when only twenty-five years of age, became Democratic candidate for Congress in this strong Whig district and was beaten by only five votes. In 1841 he was appointed judge of the Illinois Supreme Court, but evidently that dignified but somnolent place had no charms for his ambition and energetic spirit. He resigned his position on the bench in 1843 and was

elected to Congress when thirty years of age. He was again elected to Congress two years afterwards and was made Chairman of the Committee on Territories, a position that brought him into great prominence. In 1845 he was elected to the United States Senate and occupied that eminent position uninterruptedly until his death, June 3, 1861. In the Senate his tremendous intellectual force, his suavity, his genius for the despatch of business and his extraordinary eloquence soon placed him in the leadership of his party. Due to his Scottish-inherited sagacity for business, he had acquired a respectable competence for that day, and shortly before the great debate with Lincoln had happily married a second time and secured for a wife a beautiful, young and accomplished woman, who before her marriage to Douglas was conceded to be the "Belle of Washington society."

Thus up to the year 1858, when the Lincoln-Douglas debates were held, the career of Douglas in business affairs, love, law and statesmanship had been one of uninterrupted and extraordinary success. As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories he had charge of the Kansas-Nebraska bills, and before that, in 1850, the bills for the admission of California, Oregon, Utah and Mexico. He had while in that position ably seconded Henry Clay in advancing the Compromise of 1850, and in harmony with the Democratic administration had managed and put through the Senate all of the bills relating to these territories, until he broke with Buchanan on the subject of the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas.

The methods used by the pro-slavery party in Kansas and Missouri in securing the formulation and alleged popular endorsement of that dubious and much-discussed document, were so violent and corrupt in his opinion that he courageously refused to follow the leadership of the Democratic President and the Democratic party in Congress. This course brought down on him the bitter hostility of the President, nearly all of the important men his own party, and the solid opposition of all the Federal office-holders and their friends and retainers in the State of Illinois, when he sought reelection to the United States Senate against Lincoln in 1858.



John Wood

GOVERNOR 1860-61

(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

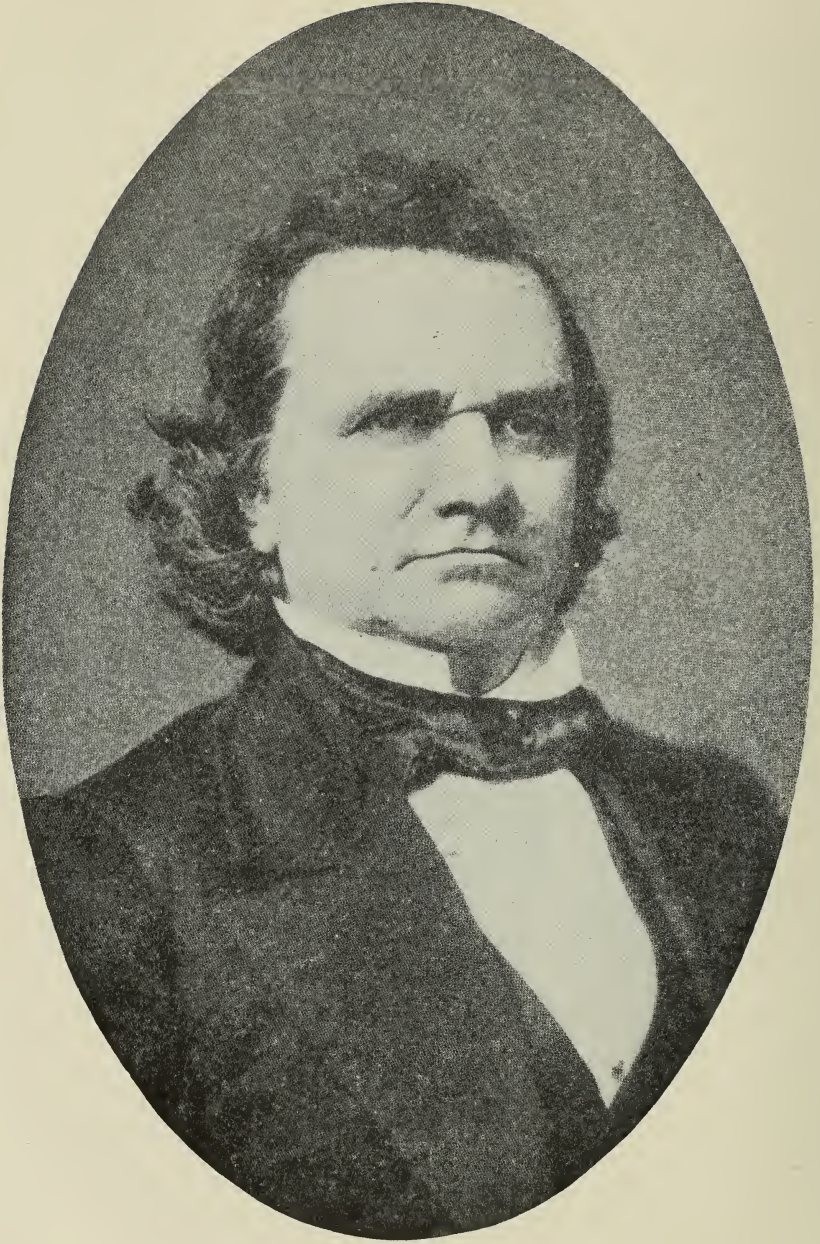
As we have seen heretofore, Douglas returned to Illinois to open his campaign for reelection, had made a great speech at Chicago advocating popular sovereignty, as a solution of the slavery controversy in connection with the organization of new territories, and had made another such speech at Bloomington. He had then gone to Springfield and had arranged and published a schedule of Democratic meetings throughout the state. At this juncture Lincoln, following the advice of his closest and most valued political counsellors, Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune*; Judd, the chairman of his campaign, and probably Senator Trumbull, challenged Douglas to joint debate as heretofore mentioned and the schedule of joint meetings in seven different cities, was agreed upon.

To give in detail a full, fair summary of all these fourteen addresses and detailed discussions of each of them, would be beyond the compass of this history and involve useless reiteration of both the arguments of the speakers and discussions thereon. The points made and arguments advanced were repeated with more or less elaboration in all these speeches. By most writers the Freeport speeches have been deemed the most vital and important, both intrinsically and in their influence and results.

The first of the joint debates was set for August 21, 1858, at the City of Ottawa. Douglas, however, kept to the schedule of the Democratic meetings which he had arranged before accepting Lincoln's challenge. With characteristic courage and vim, he had taken the offensive in his Chicago and Bloomington speeches, and he determined to keep the Republicans and their allies, the Buchanan Democrats, on the defensive during the campaign. Lincoln and his managers, however, resolved to checkmate his plan and immediately arranged a schedule of meetings for Lincoln at every place where Douglas spoke, on the evening of the same day or on the day following the Douglas speeches. Douglas in all these speeches assailed Lincoln's assertion that "a house divided against itself cannot stand—that the nation half slave and half free could not endure." He pointed out that the fathers had framed the structure half slave and half free and that it had endured up to the present time; and claimed that with the doctrine of popular sovereignty applied to the new territories that it could and would endure. He boldly charged as unholy the alliance between the Republican and Buchanan Democratic parties, and charged that it was instigated

and fostered by the Republicans to destroy the Democratic party in Illinois and to overthrow the right of the people to select their own form of Republican government. Lincoln kept following him assiduously from city to city answering all of his arguments and often attending his meetings to keep informed of his methods and speeches and noting the effect upon the audiences. The prodigious amount of work done by Douglas in this campaign is evidenced by the fact that he made fifty-nine set speeches of from one to two hours in length in fifty-seven different counties; made seventeen responses from twenty to forty minutes each to serenades; and made thirty-seven replies to addresses of welcome and congratulation. He traveled 5,227 miles in the state on highways and by rail and covered the whole western border of the state by steamboats.

The first joint debate was held at Ottawa August 21. Douglas had the opening and close, and with characteristic vim took the offensive. He charged Lincoln with being a party to deal with Senator Trumbull, a Democrat, in 1854 to dissolve the Whig party, and split the Democratic party under which Trumbull was to succeed Shields, the Democratic United States Senator, and Lincoln was to succeed Douglas in the Senate. He then read a platform which he said was adopted by the Republican party state convention in 1854. This platform pledged the Republican party to a repeal of the fugitive slave law, to the prevention of the admission of slave states to the Union, and to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and to prevent the acquisition of more territory unless slavery was forever barred therein. Douglas then asked Lincoln seven questions, based upon the declarations made in this platform. The tenor of all of these questions was as to how Lincoln stood with reference to these platform declarations today. Did Lincoln today favor a repeal of the fugitive slave law? Would he today vote against the admission of slave states into the Union? Did he now favor the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? Did he now oppose the acquisition of any more territory by the United States unless slavery was forever excluded therefrom? He meant nothing disrespectful to Lincoln, he said, in asking these questions. He and Lincoln were long mutual acquaintances. "I was a school-teacher at Winchester and he was a



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

flourishing store-keeper (all grocery men then sold wet goods) in Salem. We both went to the Legislature. He could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse-race or a fist-fight was the praise of everyone that was present." Douglas then went on to tell how Lincoln had dropped out of sight after he left the Legislature "until he turned up as a member of Congress. In Congress he distinguished himself by opposing the Mexican war and when he came back to his constituents he found that their indignation followed him everywhere and he was compelled to retire to private life and was forgotten. He now emerges to help make the abolition platform." Douglas then assailed Lincoln's "house-divided" speech in his usual vigorous style.

In his reply, Lincoln first denied that he and Senator Trumbull had made any deal. He then declared that he had nothing to do with the Republican platform which Douglas had read. "True, Lovejoy, who is here upon the stand, tried to get me into it and I would not go in. I went away from Springfield when the convention was in session." The remarkable and laughable thing about the matter was that both Douglas and Lincoln believed that the platform read by Douglas and repudiated by Lincoln was the platform adopted by the Abolition Convention attended by thirty-six men, held at Springfield in 1854. After the Ottawa meeting both Douglas and Lincoln discovered that the platform read by Douglas was one adopted in Kane County, and not at Springfield, and by a Republican County Committee and not by a State Committee. Lincoln, in the belief that Douglas was reading (as Douglas believed he was reading) the abolition platform adopted by Lovejoy and his twenty-five associates at Springfield after listening to Lincoln's speech at Springfield before the adoption of the platform, repudiated any connection with the platform, but he did not that day answer the seven questions based upon the declarations made in that platform, and Douglas in his closing speech gleefully pointed out his failure so to do and charged that Lincoln was afraid to answer them.

Lincoln then took up that part of Douglas' speech charging him with being an Abolitionist and favoring equality between the black and white races. He quoted from his own speech made at Peoria, in 1854, in which he clearly stated his position on that subject. He was, he said, as much for white supremacy as was Douglas, whenever the necessity of choice arose. "There is a physical difference between the races, which in my judgment will probably prevent them from living together on terms of perfect equality." But the negro was entitled to the natural rights stated in the Declaration of Independence. "He is not my equal in many respects. But in the right to eat the bread, without anyone's leave, which his own hands have earned, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas." He then said that Douglas was mistaken about his (Lincoln's) having been a grocery-keeper. He never kept a grocery anywhere. It was true that he, Lincoln, did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house up at the head of a hollow. (Great laughter.)

With reference to the Mexican war, he said, he was an old-time Whig and when the Democrats tried to get him to vote that the war had been righteously commenced by the President, he refused to do it; but when it came to vote for monies to prosecute it, or for land warrants to pay the soldiers, he voted just as Judge Douglas voted. He then answered Judge Douglas' attacks upon his "house divided" statements. In his "house divided" argument, he had no thought or aim to bring about a war between the slave states and the free states. He, Lincoln, had charged a conspiracy between the Democratic Presidents, Pierce and Buchanan, the judges of the Supreme Court and the Democratic leaders, including Douglas, to declare the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, in the decision of the Dred Scott case; and if the evidence of that conspiracy presented by him, Lincoln, proved the existence of that conspiracy "does his (Douglas') broad answer, denying all knowledge, information and belief, disturb that fact? It only shows that he (Douglas) was used by the conspirators, and was not a leader of them." "I do not say that I know such a conspiracy to exist, but I believe it." Lincoln then called attention to the fact that the admin-

istration paper published in Washington had violently attacked Douglas for opposing the Lecompton Constitution, and called him a renegade, a deserter and a traitor; and that Douglas, in answering the paper's attack upon him had quoted an editorial in which the editor asserted that state laws prohibiting slavery were unconstitutional, and that Douglas in criticising the editorial had declared that such a doctrine was a fatal blow to the sovereignty of the states. Lincoln contended that Douglas in making this charge against the official organ of the Democratic administration at Washington was inferentially making the same charge against the Democratic administration, that he, Lincoln, had made against Douglas. This charge of Lincoln against Douglas was very cleverly and adroitly made, because at the time the administration Democrats in Illinois were bitterly assailing Douglas, and the quoting of Douglas' attack upon the administration would be likely to widen the breach between the two Democratic factions and intensify the antagonism between them.

Lincoln then took up the threats of Secession and resort to the sword made by many southerners, and said there was no danger to be apprehended of such a war. He claimed that Douglas by his course of action was preparing the people for complete nationalization of slavery and for another Dred Scott decision that would make it legal in all the states of the Union. Lincoln did not consume the full time allotted to him in this speech and finished fifteen minutes before his time was up.

The crowd at Ottawa, present at these addresses, was overwhelmingly Republican, and largely and emphatically Abolitionist. When Douglas arose to commence his speech of rejoinder, he had much difficulty in getting a hearing; and when Douglas commented upon the fact that Codding and many other abolitionists were present when Lincoln delivered his speech at Springfield on the day of the abolitionists held their convention in that city, and that Codding at the end of Lincoln's speech asked the audience to adjourn to the Senate chamber to hold their convention, the crowd became unruly. The chairman of the Republican committee and Lincoln himself felt called upon to rebuke them.

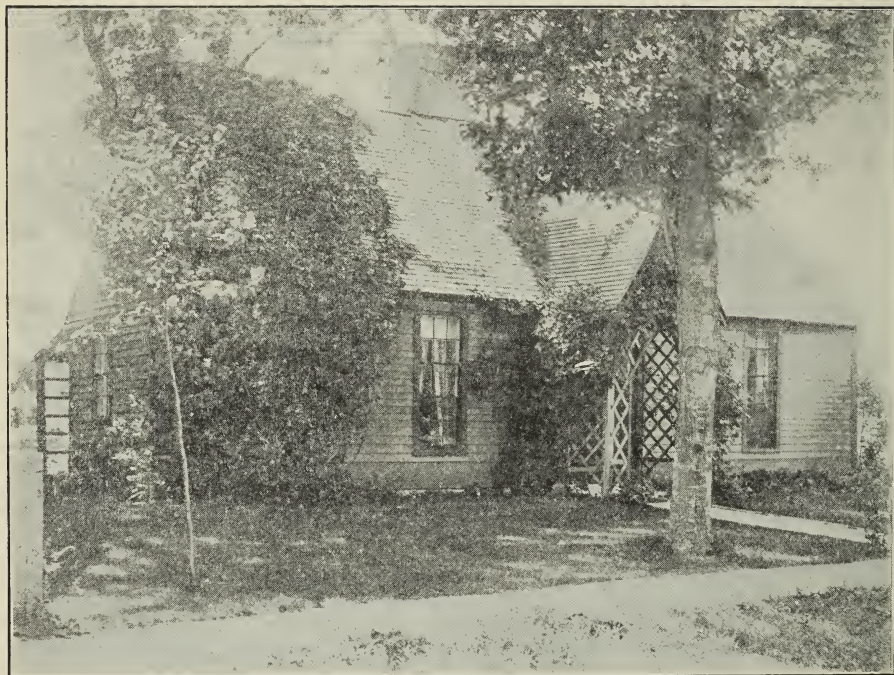
Douglas then charged that the set of resolutions that he had read in his opening speech expressed Lincoln's sentiments. This had been charged in the press against Lincoln, again and again, and he, Lincoln, had never denied the charge. Lincoln's denial that he had acted upon the committee that framed the resolutions was a miserable quibble, to avoid the main issue, declared Douglas. "He eludes the main question. I asked him was he for the repeal of the fugitive slave law. He answered: 'I was not on the committee that framed the resolution.' I asked him if elected to the Senate would he vote against the admission of a slave state? He answers: 'I was not on that committee.' I asked him would he vote to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia? He gives no answer. I asked him would he vote against acquiring territory unless slavery were excluded from it? He gives no answer. These are vital and important questions relating to the issues of the day. He gives no excuse for not answering these questions, and sat down before his time was up."

Lincoln had charged corruption and conspiracy against him, Douglas, the Supreme Court of the nation, and two Presidents of the United States. This was a terrible charge. How does Lincoln evade responsibility for making such a terrible accusation? By declaring that Douglas had not denied it. He admits that he does not *know* that it was true, but that he *believed* it to be true. Because he, Douglas, had not denied it, Lincoln was ready to charge it to be a fact. In order that Lincoln would have no excuse for repeating hereafter that terrible charge, he, Douglas, would now denounce it "in all its bearings as an infamous lie." ("Three cheers for Douglas," came from the crowd.) "I know it to be false," said Douglas, "and nobody else knows it to be true. . . . I will say that it is a lie, and let him prove it to be true. . . . Mr. Lincoln has not character enough for integrity and truth, merely on his own *ipse dixit*, to arraign President Buchanan, President Pierce and nine judges of the Supreme Court, not one of whom would be complimented to be put on an equal plane with him."

After explaining his reasons for voting against the Chase amendment, the Kansas-Nebraska Law, because, as he claimed, the Chase amendment was a redundancy and offered by Chase not in good faith but as a political trick, Douglas next took up Lincoln's house-divided doctrine, which he, Douglas, claimed would inevitably bring about the dissolution of the Union, but had to stop, in the middle of his argument because he had reached the limit of his time.

Six days elapsed between the debate at Ottawa and the next meeting between the debaters, which took place at Freeport. It will be noted that Lincoln did not categorically answer at Ottawa the questions put to him by Douglas. He contented himself at Ottawa with denying that he participated in the framing, or being bound by the platform or set of resolutions read by Lincoln. His failure to answer directly the questions asked him by Douglas had been noted and commented upon even by some of his friends. Within the six days which elapsed between the Ottawa and Freeport meetings, however, he carefully and deliberately prepared written answers to Douglas' interrogations, and as we will soon see read his answers with much impressiveness at Freeport. Lincoln had also made up his mind during the same six-day interval to prepare and propound certain counter questions which he would ask Douglas to answer.

Of these questions, so prepared by Lincoln, the most pregnant and by far the most important, was the second: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" On the way to the Freeport meeting Lincoln met Joseph Medill, his friend and supporter and the editor of the ablest Republican paper published in Chicago; and submitted these questions to him for his consideration and advice. Medill advised against the second question, claiming that it would let Douglas get out of the tight place he was in on the slavery question. The Republican state chairman, Norman B. Judd, and, it is said, Elihu B. Washburne, the Republican candidate for Congress in the Freeport district, also advised Lincoln not to propound this question. But Lincoln was obdurate and insisted that the question should



BIRTHPLACE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
(Courtesy Illinois State Historical Library.)

be asked. Lincoln, as well as thousands of others, knew what answer Douglas would make to this question. Douglas had over and over again stated that as a practical matter slavery could not exist in any territory where the local laws and police regulations were unfriendly to the system.

At this time, however, the fire-eating southerners were loudly proclaiming that local laws and regulations in any state or territory were powerless to deprive the slaveholder of his property or property rights. Lincoln knew that if Douglas answered this question as he had frequently answered it before, that it would further embitter the administration Democrats in Illinois against him and still further imperil his chances of reelection to the Senate and thus improve Lincoln's chances of election. That this was the way in which Lincoln viewed the matter is shown conclusively by Lincoln's letter to his friend, Henry Asbury, written on the very day that he closed with Douglas the arrangement for the debates, July 31, 1858. This letter Senator Beveridge quotes in his *Life of Lincoln*, Vol. II, p. 657. In it he writes to Asbury: "I think you labor under a mistake when you say no one cares how he answers. This implies that it is equal with him whether he is injured here or at the South. He cares nothing for the South; he knows he is already dead there. He only leans Southward more to keep the Buchanan party from growing in Illinois. You will have hard work to get him directly to the point, whether a territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say that it has no such power—He will instantly take the ground that slavery cannot actually exist in the territories unless the people desire it and so give it protection by territorial legislation. If this offends the South he will let it offend them, as at all events he intends to hold on to his chances in Illinois. . . . Yours Very Truly, A. Lincoln."

It has been contended by some writers of history that Lincoln, in framing this question to Douglas and in his consideration of the answer that Douglas would make thereto, had in mind the effect of Douglas' answer to the question on the presidential campaign of 1860 rather than its effect upon the senatorial

contest between him and Douglas in 1858. They intimate that he, Lincoln, was consciously and deliberately gunning for bigger game for himself, to wit, the Presidency in 1861, rather than the senatorship in 1859. As I read this letter of Lincoln's it shows conclusively that Lincoln was looking to the effect of the question and answer in the senatorial campaign, and not in any future campaign. He believed that Douglas was "dead" in the South and therefore unavailable as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency; and the Democratic party in Illinois was divided into two camps, one of which was backing Douglas enthusiastically for reelection to the Senate; and the other of which, comprising all of the Democrat officers of the state, was bitterly opposing his reelection. He believed that the putting of this question to Douglas and the answer he would give, would further tear open the wounds in the party in the State of Illinois, lose Douglas many old-time Democratic votes, and thus secure his, Lincoln's, election to the Senate. That Lincoln at the time he wrote the letter had even remote aspirations for the Presidency, I do not believe. He had, we must remember, up to 1858 a rather unsuccessful political career. He was about four years older than Douglas when they both first appeared in political life in the lower house of the Illinois Legislature, in 1834-36. He had been thrice reelected to that rather unimportant place, but was defeated twice when a candidate for Speaker of the House. In 1846 he was elected to Congress and made a speech in that body on the Mexican war (dubbed the "Spot" speech) which rendered him unpopular thereafter in his own district. He sought no reelection to Congress and since 1849 had been in private life, having been defeated as a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Gen. James Shields only two years before his present campaign against Douglas. Before the joint debates between him and Douglas he was politically a *novus homo* outside of the State of Illinois. That he had any aspirations for the Presidency at the time he wrote the letter to Asbury, July 31, 1858, I do not believe. When he wrote this letter he was gunning for the game in sight of his gun and not for game that neither he nor anyone else could see at that time.



GRAVE OF NANCY HANKS LINCOLN, MOTHER OF ABRAHAM
LINCOLN, SPENCER COUNTY, INDIANA

At the Freeport meeting, Lincoln had the opening and close. In his opening he made answer to the questions Douglas had asked him at Ottawa in writing. He was exceedingly cautious and careful in so doing. He would read Douglas' questions first and then read his answers prepared with great care and deliberation since the Ottawa meetings. In all of them but one (the sixth) he answered he was not "pledged" to any course, and then made further answer. As to the question about the fugitive slave law, he answered that under the Constitution the southern states are entitled to a fugitive slave law. The existing law had some defects, but why talk about it? No one was urging its amendment or repeal. As to the question about the admission of more slave states, Lincoln said he would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question; he would be "exceedingly glad" if none were ever brought into the Union; but if slavery were kept out of a territory until it applied for statehood, then if the people of that territory should "do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, I see no alternative . . . but to admit them into the Union." As to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he would be exceedingly glad to see it abolished there, but within these conditions: First, the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be pursuant to a vote of a majority of the qualified voters of the District; and third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. This was Lincoln's formula for the abolition of slavery in the District when he was in Congress ten years before this date. It is evidence of the care and caution which he always displayed in making any announcement of his views on public questions and of the tenacity with which he held to his position when he believed he was right and made such an announcement.

With reference to the question of Douglas as to his, Lincoln's, position on the abolition of the slave trade between different states, he was equally cautious and conservative. "I am pledged to nothing about it," he declared. "It is a subject to which I have not given mature consideration." Even if he believed that Congress had the constitutional power to abolish it, he would still not favor its exercise "unless upon sane conservative prin-

ciples akin to what I have said in relation to its abolition in the District of Columbia." He then declared he was for the exclusion of slavery from all the territories. It was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit it in them. In reference to new territory "I am not generally opposed to the honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would not oppose such acquisition accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves."

Having answered all of Douglas' questions to him, he now asked Douglas his four counter questions.

(1) Would Douglas vote to admit Kansas, if its people would adopt a state constitution before they were as numerous as required by the English bill?

(2) The Question with reference to the right of the people in a territory to exclude slavery before admission to statehood, heretofore quoted verbatim.

(3) If the Supreme Court should decree that the states themselves could not exclude slavery, would Douglas acquiesce in such a decision as a rule of political action?

(4) Would Douglas favor acquisition of new territory regardless of how it would affect the nation on the slavery question?

After propounding these questions to Douglas, Lincoln proceeded with much cleverness to expose the mistake which Douglas had made in his Ottawa speech in quoting a platform or set of resolutions as made by Republicans or Abolitionists in Springfield in 1854; when, in fact, the platform which he read was adopted by a county convention (not a state convention) held in Kane County. He pointed out that Douglas, a United States senator for twelve years, "of world-wide renown," had made a charge which "the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false." His exposure of Douglas' mistake was greeted with roars of cheers and laughter. Douglas was the man who had charged Trumbull and Lincoln with falsehood. Could Douglas find in anything that Trumbull or Lincoln had said "a justification at all compared with what we have in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity?"

Lincoln then reverted to his favorite and oft-repeated charge that the Democrats in Congress, including Douglas, had voted against the Chase amendment to leave room for the Dred Scott decision. Douglas had denounced him, Lincoln, because Lincoln had upon his own *ipse dixit* charged a conspiracy against two Presidents, the Supreme Court and a majority of Congress, and had dwelt upon the enormity of such a charge. Lincoln declared that he had made this charge not upon his own *ipse dixit*, but had marshalled or "arrayed the evidence to prove it." He then asserted that Douglas had made the same charge against the Democratic administration for supporting the Lecompton Constitution, and while on this topic his time expired and he stopped.

Douglas then addressed the audience. He was glad, he said, that Lincoln had decided to answer his, Douglas', question. He had not done so at Ottawa, although he had ample time to do so. The questions put by him to Lincoln were based upon the Republican platform. The questions put to him, Douglas, by Lincoln had never received the sanction of the party "with which I am acting." They are asked simply to satisfy Lincoln's curiosity. But he would answer them. What would he do about admitting Kansas with insufficient population? Why, as Congress seems to believe that Kansas has sufficient population for admission as a slave state, "I answer as she (Kansas) has population enough to constitute a slave state, she has people enough for a free state." (Cheers.) Why did not Lincoln say what *he* would do about Kansas with insufficient population? Trumbull, Lincoln's ardent supporter, had voted against admitting Oregon during the whole of the last session of Congress because it had insufficient population. Was Lincoln fighting his supporter on that issue? Next, Douglas took up Lincoln's celebrated second question and made his equally celebrated reply. "I answer emphatically as Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion a people in a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. (Great applause.) Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again . . . he has no excuse for pre-

tending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question, whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. These police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst . . . Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill."

Lincoln, in getting this answer from Douglas, succeeded in accomplishing what he desired. He had again reopened the wounds in the ranks of the divided Democrats which Douglas had been endeavoring to heal. The administration Democrats were again incited to war against Douglas. As to Lincoln's third question, if the Supreme Court should decide that a state could not exclude slavery within its own limits, would Douglas submit to the decisions? Douglas declared that he was amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. Lincoln knew, he said, that there was only one man in America claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for one moment pretended such a thing—the editor of the *Washington Union*. When that man in his paper made that assertion, he, Douglas, had promptly denounced it in the Senate, while Lincoln's friends, Trumbull and Seward and the whole "Black Republican" side of the Senate sat silent. Senator Toombs had at the same time and place declared "that there was not one man, woman or child south of the Potomac, in any slave state, who did not repudiate any such pretention." "Lincoln might just as well have asked me if he, Lincoln, stole a horse, would I sanction it?" It was unthinkable! He, Lincoln, discredits the Supreme Court by imputing that it would violate the constitution of the United States. "I tell Mr. Lincoln such a thing is impossible. It would

be an act of moral treason for the Court to render any such decision, and there is no man on that bench who would descend to such an infamy. Douglas then took up Lincoln's last question and said it was "ingeniously and cunningly put." Would Lincoln oppose the acquisition of new territory under any circumstances? The "Black Republican creed" made that pledge; did Lincoln stand by that pledge? "Lincoln don't answer that question, but, Yankee fashion, he asks me the same question in a different form. But I won't dodge. I answer that when it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the slavery question; and when we have acquired it I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. Douglas then made his oft-repeated and vigorous argument in favor of territorial expansion for the further development of the nation. He then turned to Lincoln and asked him facetiously if he had any more questions to ask him. "As soon as he is able to hold council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth and Fred Douglass (all well-known abolitionists and the last a negro) he will frame and ask other questions."

Here an episode took place showing how quick mentally Douglas was while on his feet. In his speech he used the words "Black Republican," which were greeted by abolition cries in the crowd of "White! white!" Whereupon Douglas exclaimed: "I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech . . . I saw a carriage—a magnificent one—drive up and take up a position on the outside of the crowd. A beautiful young lady was sitting on the box seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside and the owner of the carriage acted as driver." (Cries of "right; what have you to say against it?") Douglas again stated: "I saw this in your own town." "What of it?" To which Douglas retorted: "All I have to say is this; that if you 'Black Republicans' think that the negroes ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so."



HOTEL WHERE LINCOLN STOPPED IN URBANA

Douglas then took up the subject of the resolutions that he had read at Ottawa the week before, and about which he had asked Lincoln certain questions. He explained fully how he had gotten possession of the resolutions and how he was informed and believed that they were adopted by the Republican-Abolition Convention which was held in Springfield on the same day that Lincoln had made a speech in that city. He pointed out that *at Ottawa both Lincoln and himself believed that the resolutions Douglas read were the ones adopted at Springfield that day* and that Lincoln's only disclaimer of responsibility made at Ottawa was that he, Lincoln, did not attend the convention after his speech, did not participate in drawing the resolutions, and left Springfield before the resolutions were adopted. Since the Ottawa meeting, Douglas argued, Lincoln had found out that the resolutions in question were not adopted, as both he and Douglas believed, at Springfield, but at a Republican convention held in another city of the state. He says nothing about his own ignorance of the subject at Ottawa, but because I was also ignorant on the subject at Ottawa, he charges me with forgery. Lincoln claims the resolutions were not adopted on the "right spot." Lincoln and his political friends are great on "spots." When in Congress Lincoln declared the Mexican war to be unjust because American blood was not shed on American soil "in the right spot." Now he cannot answer the questions I asked him in Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted on the "right spot." Douglas then declared that these very resolutions were adopted in nearly all the northern counties and congressional districts that gave Republican majorities at the elections of that year. He then argued that Lincoln, in declining to state whether or not he ratified or stood by these resolutions wherever they were adopted, was quibbling and evading the real issue. Douglas then read the resolutions adopted by the Rockford Republican Convention (Freeport District) which nominated Washburne in 1854 which was almost identical with the resolution he, Douglas, read at Ottawa, and said: "When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the state

until I nail the responsibility of it upon the Black Republican party throughout the state."

Here Thomas J. Turner, Speaker of the House when Trumbull was elected to the United States Senate over Lincoln, interrupted Douglas and declared that he, Turner, had drawn the Rockford resolutions. Then cried Douglas he, Turner, would not deny that they were the Republican creed. Mr. Turner: "They are our creed exactly." Mr. Douglas: "And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them." ("Good, good," and laughter.)

Douglas then took up the alliance between Senator Trumbull and Lincoln in this campaign and charged that when Trumbull (a former Democrat) was elected over Lincoln to succeed Senator Shields two years before, much bitterness had developed between them and that this ill feeling had been patched up by Trumbull and his friends, agreeing with Lincoln and his friends to elect Lincoln this time to the Senate. "Lincoln could be silenced in no other way." Douglas then read the Republican resolutions offered by Lovejoy to the Legislature the day before Trumbull was elected. These resolutions contained the same propositions which were in the Aurora resolutions read by Douglas in Ottawa. He then declared with a triumphant gesture that every man in the Legislature but two, who had voted for the Lovejoy resolutions, voted next day for Lincoln for United States senator. Turning to Speaker Turner, who was on the platform near him, who had voted for the Lovejoy resolution and also for Lincoln, he asked him: "Did you violate your pledge in voting for Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform (the Lovejoy resolution) before you cast your vote for him?" At this juncture Lincoln called to Turner: "Don't answer, Turner. You have no right to answer." Turner obeyed and did not answer Douglas' question. Douglas then criticised the answers that Lincoln had made to his questions because of their vagueness and qualifications. Although Lincoln believed that the admission of other slave states might dissolve the Union, yet he would state that he would vote against bringing another slave state into the Union. "Is that fair dealing?" he asked.

“Show me that it is my duty to do a particular act in order to save the Union and I will do it, if the Constitution does not prohibit it. Lincoln says that ‘this Union cannot continue to endure with slave states in it’ and yet he will not state what he would do about admitting more of them.” He then took up Lincoln’s charge that he, Douglas, had assailed the organ of the administration in Washington as corrupt and said: “Suppose I did, when it was true? Does that justify Lincoln in charging two Presidents of the United States, the judges of the Supreme Court and other with corruption, when it was false? Lincoln’s charge was historically false!” Before, during and after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, Buchanan was in London, England, acting as minister to Great Britain, so it was impossible for him to have been in Lincoln’s “imaginary conspiracy.” The Dred Scott case was not even on the docket of the Supreme Court when the law was passed. The high character of President Pierce as a man of honor and integrity was enough to vindicate him from such a foul charge. “As to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie whenever and wherever made and by whomsoever made. . . . I brand it as it deserves.”

Douglas then discussed Lincoln’s tactics in endeavoring to divide the Democratic vote. Why, he asked, was the attempt being made to show that he, Douglas, was still at war with President Buchanan. “When I differed with the President, I spoke out so all of you could hear me.” He would do it again if it were necessary. The question between him and the President had “passed away” when the President in his message to Congress stated that hereafter all state constitutions ought to be submitted to the people. “I know Mr. Lincoln’s object; he wants to divide the Democrats, in order that he may defeat me and get into the Senate.” Here Douglas was told that his time had expired and he ceased speaking.

When Lincoln arose to make his rejoinder, he was greeted with great cheers. Adverting to Douglas’ statement that the crowd had interrupted him, Douglas, with vulgarity and blackguardism, Lincoln said that *he*, Lincoln, had used no vulgarity or blackguardism when the crowd was listening. He then declared that the Republican resolutions of 1854, which Douglas



UNDER BIG ELM TREE, URBANA (EAST OF BIG FOUR SHOPS)
LINCOLN MADE FAMOUS SPEECH

had cited, were local and did not bind the party throughout the state. "We at last met together in 1856 from all parts of the state, and we agreed upon a common platform" so all the Republicans of the state were bound "as a party to that platform." "If Douglas could find one member of the Legislature that voted for him in 1855 who will tell him anything inconsistent from what I say now I will retire from the race and give him no more trouble." He, Lincoln, had made no secret pledges and would say or do nothing in Washington that he did not avow and declare on the stump. "I'll tell you what he, Douglas, is afraid of. He is afraid we will all pull together." He said he had answered Douglas' questions fully and fairly. The admission of a single slave state would not "permanently establish this as a universal slave nation." Douglas' charge against the editor of the *Washington Union* were really charges against the Democratic President, Lincoln contended. "At that time," said Lincoln, "Douglas had an eye further north than he has today, but now he is looking toward the South. His hope is to make 'the great Black Republican party' the tail to his new kite." But now he was crawling back to his old camp and would soon be found in full fellowship with those with whom he now pretended to be at variance.

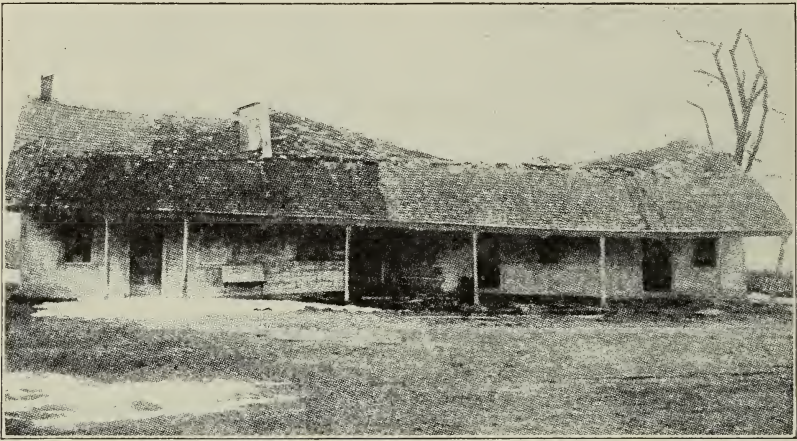
The foregoing rather full summary of the speeches made by Lincoln and Douglas in the cities of Ottawa and Freeport during this campaign, memorable in American history, has been given so that the reader may be fairly informed of the great issues involved and get some insight into the methods and characteristics of the two great debaters. It is not within the scope of this history nor the opportunities of the writer to follow in the same detail the other joint debates in which these great men participated. In the subsequent debates the same points were made and the same arguments brought by the orators with more or less elaboration and dissertation.

In Galesburg, October 7, however, Lincoln presented one new and powerful issue which he had overlooked or but faintly referred to at Ottawa and Freeport. That issue was that slavery was fundamentally wrong. To use his own language, slavery was "a moral, social and political evil." With due regard to

Constitutional limitations he demanded "a policy that looked to the prevention of it as a wrong," and looked forward to a time "when as a wrong it may come to an end." He then declared that "Douglas discards the idea that there is anything wrong in slavery." To him there was no difference between slavery and liberty. If Douglas believed there was any difference, he could not declare, as he had done, that he "don't care whether slavery is voted up or down." This was the great vital moral issue of the campaign and as presented by Lincoln at Galesburg and elsewhere towards the end of the joint debates would have won for him decisively in Illinois or in any northern state in the latter half of the nineteenth century. On this great moral issue, Douglas was placed in a most disadvantageous position. His shibboleth of "Let the people rule," his doctrine of popular sovereignty, while they were popular and appealing to all men favoring a republican form of government, were not a complete answer to Lincoln's claim that slavery was "morally wrong" and that "a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong" must prevail. He could not and did not answer that "the people could do no wrong" because the people of the southern states had been doing "wrong" in maintaining and fostering slavery for over a century. He wisely refrained from claiming that the people of a state or county were always omniscient, immaculate and incapable of injustice or misrule.

This great moral thrust of Lincoln pierced the shield of Douglas and wounded him, but still left him fighting and victorious in the struggle for the senatorial toga. Every school-child in America knows the electoral result of that contest. Enough Douglas Democrats were elected to the Legislature to give Douglas, with the hold-over Democrats in the State Senate, a large majority over Lincoln when the Legislature selected the successor in the United States Senate. The vote in the Legislature was: Douglas 54; Lincoln 41. At that time senators were not elected by popular vote. The law providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote was passed in Illinois for the first time during my administration as governor and at my special instance and request.

This extraordinary series of debates between these two remarkable men attracted the attention of every state in the Union and made Illinois a pivotal state in the destinies of the nation from that time to the present. From 1818, when Illinois was admitted to statehood, down to 1858, it had cast its presidential vote regularly for Democratic Presidents. At this election it first gave substantial evidence that Illinois was prepared to quit the Democratic ranks because of the policy of that party



OLD KELLY TAVERN, ST. JOSEPH, ONE OF LINCOLN'S STOPPING PLACES

in regard to slavery. The debates between Lincoln and Douglas clearly disclosed to the voters of Illinois and the other northern states that the Democratic party was willing to aid the slaveholding states in permitting the spread of slavery into the northern territory. They were further convinced that the Buchanan or administration Democrats, along with all of the Democrats in the slave states, were attempting by foul means and unfair and corrupt elections to place Kansas and Nebraska into the Union as slave states. They became satisfied that Douglas and his followers would not tolerate corrupt measures, or debauchery and violence at the polls in getting a vote favorable to slavery in their territories, but that even Douglas and

the Douglas Democrats were willing to have slavery installed in these northern territories, if the voters in these territories desired it. To tolerate slavery in the states where the Constitution of the United States authorized and secured it, was one thing. To permit its extension into other territory of the United States, was another thing. The people of Illinois and the other northern states were waking up to the fact, that human slavery was a great moral wrong or crime and that its further spread into northern territories must be stopped at all hazards. If the slave-holding states of the South had been content to rest upon their constitutional rights to own and sell slaves within their own borders; and refrained from endeavoring to spread slavery into the northern territories and states, the Democratic party might and probably would have retained its supremacy in the nation for many years or decades. Its tenets, framed by Thomas Jefferson, and sustained and carried out by every Democratic national administration, were strongly favorable to states rights in all police and social legislation and were popular with the rank and file of the common people. Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy was uniformly triumphant in Illinois down to the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska law. The method of the passage of the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas revolted Douglas and a great mass of the Democrats of Illinois. Douglas protested to Buchanan and voted and spoke in the Senate against the administration policies in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska bill; and brought down upon his head in the senatorial campaign the hatred and bitter opposition of all the Federal appointees in Illinois and the enmity of all the slave-holding states. His high-mindedness and courage in so doing gained him universal respect and admiration in the North; but lost him forever any prospect of being nominated for the Presidency of the United States by a united Democratic party. The Democrats of the South were wedded to the infamous "institution" and had the mistaken hardness to scheme for its introduction and spread into the North. Their course in so doing brought to the ranks of the new-born Republican party, which Lincoln had but recently joined, not only the old Whigs, Free-Soilers and Know-Nothings, but thousands of

old-line Democrats in the northern states who refused to be a party to the extension of slavery in the North.

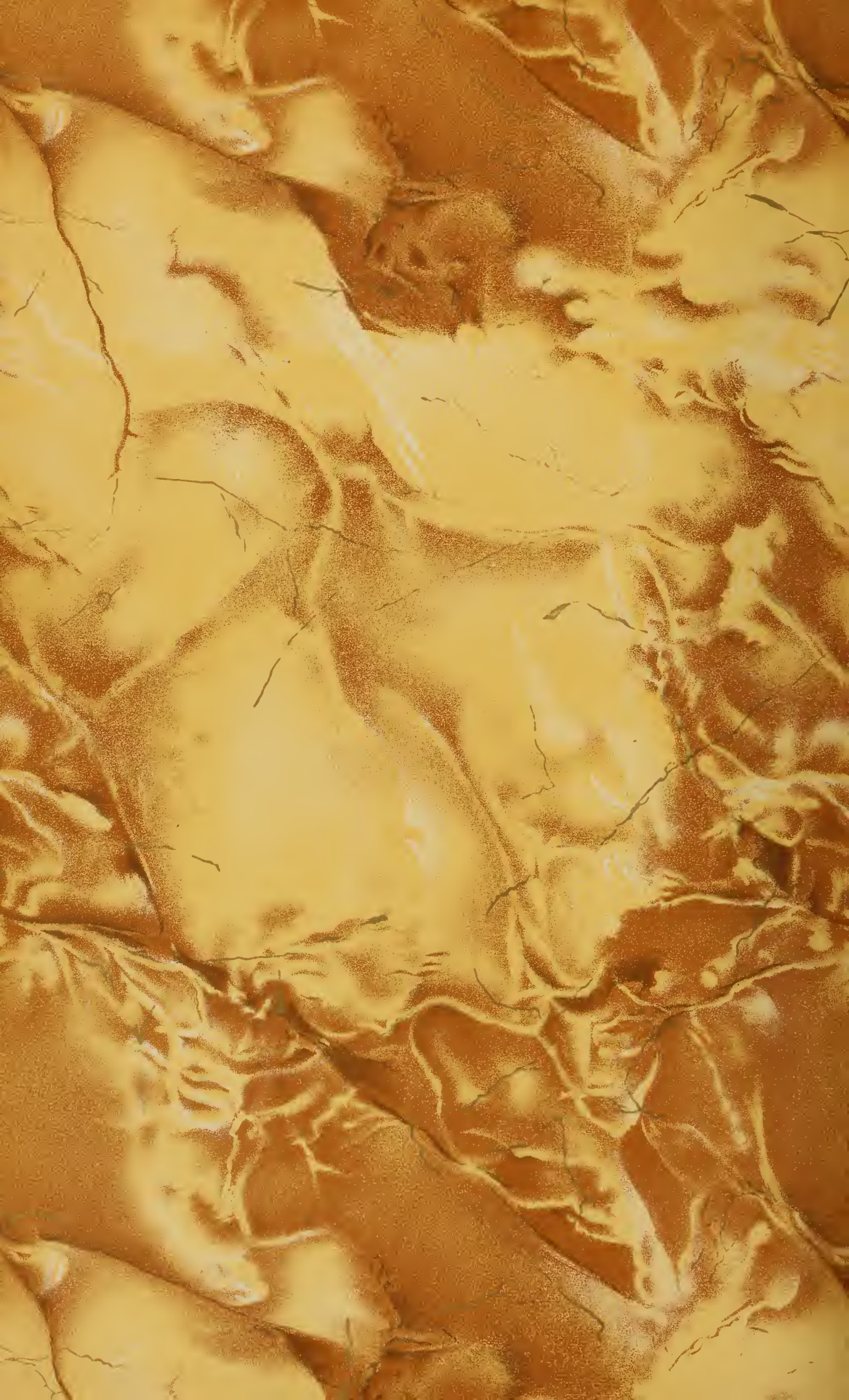
In view of the fact that the influence of the whole Democratic administration was thrown against him, and the further fact that on the great moral issue of the campaign—the prevention of the extension of slavery—he was on the wrong side of that issue, the wonder is that Douglas succeeded against such obstacles in winning the election and retaining his position in the United States Senate. His personal magnetism, his winning ways, as well as his eloquence and courage in the presentation of his cause, enabled him to win over the keen, logical arguments of his great high-minded competitor and overcome the superior moral position held by his rival.

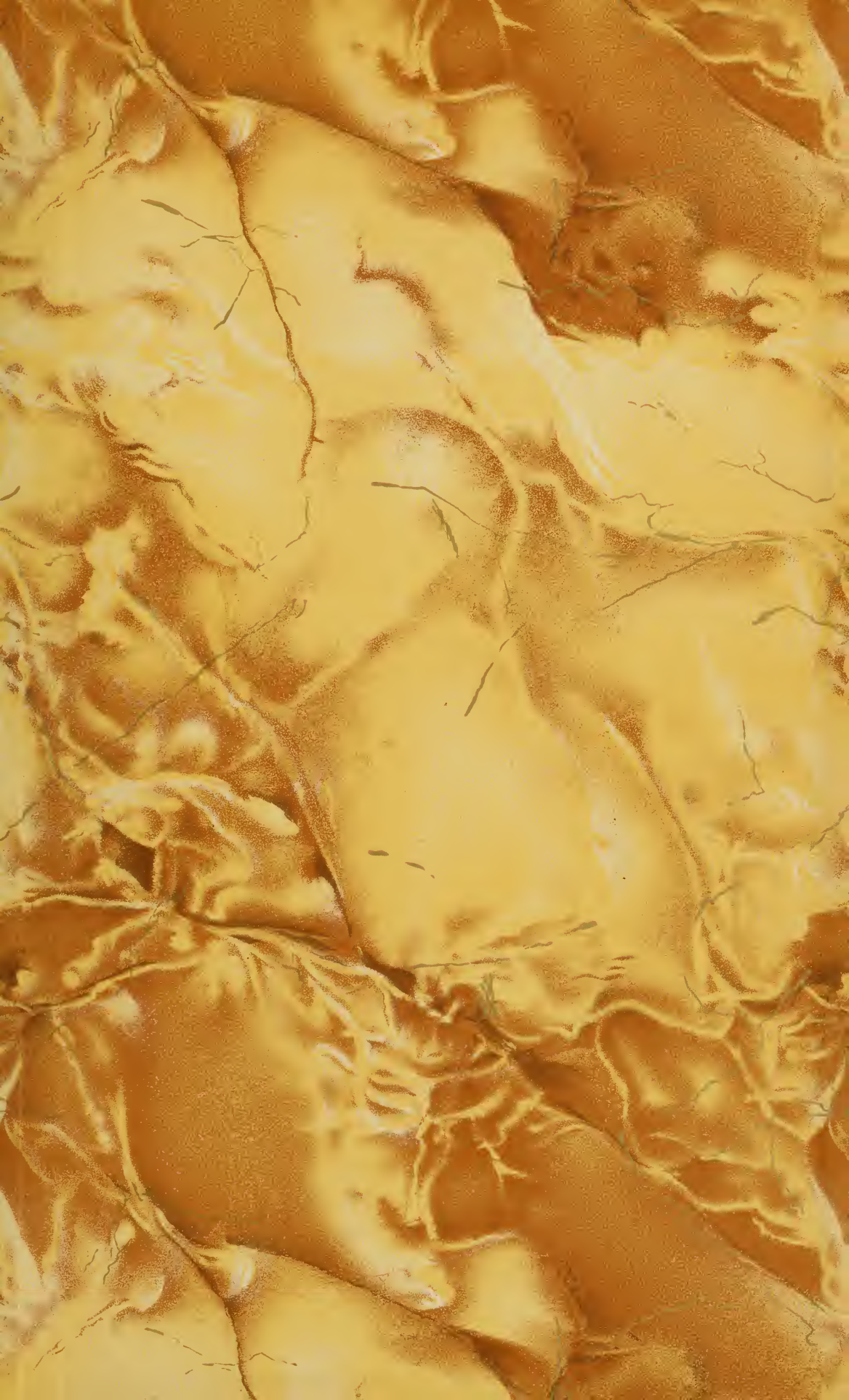
It was a defeat, however, in which both, strange to say, won a victory. Douglas won his seat in the Senate, but Lincoln won a world-wide reputation as the peerless champion of the deliverance of the human race from the bondage that had disgraced the whole world from the beginning of time. Lincoln's exposure of man's inhumanity towards his fellow man in the black skin, was heard around the world. It sounded the death-knell of human slavery in the near future and placed him in such a position that his election to the Presidency of the United States was almost certain. The care and caution he displayed in keeping all his arguments within the limits of a constitution which enthroned and preserved slavery in the slave states; and with which he demonstrated that within the limits of that same constitution it could be prevented entering new states and territories, gained for him the reputation not only of being a foe to human slavery, but that of a shrewd constitutional lawyer, who could if placed in executive position carry out a plan *within the constitution* which would at once stop the spread of slavery and ultimately bring about its abolition without confiscation or injury to property rights, or without imperiling in any way the perpetuity of the Union.

Lincoln was no wild-eyed impractical radical in his presentation of his views on slavery. He repeatedly stated in public that under the United States Constitution slaveholders had property rights in their slaves, and that slaveholders were entitled

to a fugitive slave law. He cautiously kept apart from the Abolitionists and often asserted that black men were not and should not be the equal of white men, socially or politically. His aim was to stop the *spread* of slavery immediately and abolish it eventually within the Constitution and without confiscation. His caution and conservatism eventually made him the leader of his party and placed him in the Presidential chair.

While Seward of New York and Chase of Ohio were preaching that there was "an irrepressible conflict" on hand which meant war and a "higher law" above the Constitution, which meant treason, Lincoln refused to become emotional and constantly advised compliance with the laws and the Constitution. Both Lincoln and Douglas were thoroughly honest men. Both were patriots. Douglas feared dissolution of the Union unless some compromise were made between the North and South on the slavery question. Lincoln did not. Douglas rightly foresaw rebellion. Lincoln believed it inconceivable. When rebellion came, however, both confronted it, side by side, Lincoln in the White House, Douglas in the Senate. Douglas died in the midst of the conflict, but sustained his great Republican adversary loyally to the end. What Lincoln did thereafter belongs to another chapter.





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