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BY REV. JEREMIAH PORTER.

ITS FIRST RESIDENT PASTOR.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1859.

IN compliance with the kind invitation of the Chicago Historical Society, sent me by Mr. Barry, its honored Secretary, it affords me much pleasure to give, on this occasion, some of my early recollections of this wonderful City, that others may partake in my admiration and astonishment, as I contrast its infancy with its present commercial, political, and religious importance.

If the little incidents of the childhood of one whom the world admires, are repeated with delight by their friends, you will not wonder that it affords me peculiar joy to review the years spent in this place, when I was, by Divine Providence, to give a helping hand to the tottering infant; and now, after a quarter of a century, am building another infant church, in a part of the City which was then a distant and unbroken prairie.

THE CHICAGO OF 1833.

Had one fallen asleep on the main body of the Chicago River, in 1833, to awake, after a quarter of a century, in 1859, on the same river, he would be overwhelmingly convinced that, though he had slept, it was not in a sleepy hollow. That sleepy men had never, in any age, built a city, from a mere military and Indian trading-post, of one hundred thousand people; yet such he would find, had been done during that brief sleep.

In the cabin of a schooner, on my way to Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, in the autumn of 1831, I found a man on his way to Chicago, and heard from him that the United States Government was about to build a light-house there, and he was going to open a boarding-house, and believed it—Chicago—would become a fine place for business.

At Mackinac, I found Mr. A. Duncan Stewart, who was getting materials, and superintending the building of that light-house. At Sault Ste. Marie, from Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft, U. S. Indian agent, whose house was my happy home during my ministry there, I learned more about Chicago: that he had explored with Indians, in a bark canoe, the west coast of Lake Michigan;

had sailed in his frail bark up the Chicago River, and down the DesPlaines, and visited a remarkable mound on the prairie, some thirty miles south, called "Mount Joliet." He also informed me, in 1832, that Mr. John H. Kinzie, then sub-Indian agent, at Fort Winnebago, was about to lay out a town on the Chicago River, or had done so, and he believed it would be a flourishing one. The Black-Hawk war, and the cholera, in General Scott's army, at Chicago, in 1832, brought the place into notice. One of our companies at Fort Brady, was ordered to Chicago that year, Captain J. B. F. Russell's 5th Infantry.

In 1833, our troops at Sault Ste. Marie, were ordered to Fort Dearborn, (Chicago), to relieve those then there. Major John Fowle, commanding, who, with his lovely Christian wife, had been of my bible class at Fort Brady, invited me to accompany him to Fort Dearborn; as Mr. Schoolcraft, of my church, was already removed to Mackinac, and a majority of my church were going with his command, and a prosperous Baptist mission existed at the Sault, I was glad to accept the invitation of Major Fowle.

Passing up in a schooner, from the Sault, into Lake Michigan, we found but one solitary house on the shore, and that at Milwaukee. Solomon Juneau, of the American Fur Company, had his post there.

Arriving in Chicago in May, with Major Fowle and family, and command, I found the beginning of a town. Many families had fled from the surrounding country to Chicago, for military protection from the Indians, the previous year; some of these remained, and others had come in from the East. Including the two companies in the Fort, there were nearly three hundred people dwelling here.

Conceive, now, of Chicago, as it was in 1833, when the hand of man had hardly begun to form its streets; a wide, wet prairie, as far as eye could reach, on a muddy river winding south over a sand-bar to the Lake, with a few scattered dwellings. Sweep away, not only the iron blocks and marble palaces, but every brick store and dwelling, and all but three of the framed buildings, and the light-house; tear up every rod of the scores of miles of pavements of wood or stone, and substitute, in their place, the wild grass of the prairie! Obliterate our three or four score churches! Blot out our twelve public school-houses, now accommodating ten thousand scholars! Return to their homes, in New England, New York, and the Southern States, to their dwellings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to their native France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark! Bury in utter forgetfulness the princely fortunes which these various races have wrought from the

soil of this one township, and think of Chicago as a small military post at the mouth of the river!—Colonel J. B. Beaubien's trading-post of the American Fur Company, just outside of the Reservation; a dwelling, for the light-house keeper; with a single street, on the river, from the Fort to the Point, near where Lake Street bridge now is.

A log-cabin, west of that bridge, was the boarding-place of the merchants, until Mrs. Rufus Brown opened her log boarding-house, on LaSalle Street. The dwellings were then all of logs, and there were only three framed stores,—these had just been built for Newberry & Dole, Philo Carpenter, and P. F. W. Peck—Mr. John Wright had commenced the fourth store.

No place for Sabbath worship had been built on the west side of Lake Michigan. The only place for worship was a log school-house, over the bridge. On the north side of the river, opposite the Fort, was the Kinzie House; a third of the way to the Point was the dwelling of Colonel Richard J. Hamilton, and still further west, was the house of Dr. Harmon, and his brother, Deacon Harmon. Mrs. Hamilton was a Methodist and Deacon Harmon a Baptist.

Think of Chicago River as flowing between grassy banks, making a half-circle around Fort Dearborn, and flowing south a half-mile, and then crossing a bar before it could empty its sluggish waters into the lake.

Such was Chicago as I passed up that river, in the yawl of our schooner, in which we had lain at anchor from Sunday morn till Monday, because the lake was too rough to allow us to go ashore.

To complete its isolation from the world, you must blot out every railroad this side of Schenectady, New York, and, remember that the entire network of telegraph wires was an undeveloped thought in the mind of the painter, Prof. S. B. F. Morse; that the news of the death of a friend in New York, now flashed to us in an hour, could then hardly, by mail, be brought to us in ten or twelve days; that no newspaper was published nearer than Detroit, and it took a week for it to reach us by mail!

Pure water, by hydrants, gas and sewerage, with all their blessings, were undreamed of! Such was Chicago, when, with Major Fowle, we entered the river on the 13th of May, 1833.

Major Fowle was to superintend the building of a pier, from the river to the lake, after cutting a channel through the sand-bar. Major Fowle relieved Captain Seth Johnson, who, with his company, returned (on the schooner that brought us down) to Fort Brady. To Captain Johnson I had brought letters of introduction from Captain J. B. F. Russell, who had returned to Mack-

inac, from the Black-Hawk war. I learned that he had found at Chicago, a young man from Troy, New York, by name Philo Carpenter, who had commenced a Sabbath-school, and was sustaining religious meetings, with a few Christians, each Sunday. As I came with friends, I was sure I would find friends. At noon, I learned that Mr. Carpenter had gone to New York for goods; yet, to my great surprise, as the gentlemen came to dinner at the log-cabin, over the south branch, I found a face familiar to me while in college at Williamstown, and whom I parted with in the City of New York, five years before—it was John Wright, father of five of your present distinguished citizens. As he met me, he exclaimed, with wonder, “Why, Mr. Porter, where have you come from?” “I arrived with the troops, this morning.” “Indeed! in what capacity? As army surgeon?” “No, sir! as their minister: I have been preaching to them for a year and a-half at Fort Brady, and come here at their request; I have gathered a church among them.” “Well, I do rejoice, for yesterday was the darkest day I ever saw. Captain Johnson, who had aided in our meetings, was to leave us, and I was almost alone; I have been talking about, and writing for, a minister for months, in vain, and yesterday, as we prayed with the Christians about to leave, I was almost ready to despair, as I feared the troops coming in would all be utterly careless about religion. The fact that you and a little church were, at the hour of our meeting, riding at anchor within gun-shot of the Fort, is like the bursting out of the sun from behind the darkest clouds.” Until then, I was not fully decided as to my duty. There were three military posts, beside Fort Dearborn, west of Lake Michigan: Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien; Fort Winnebago, now Portage City; and Fort Howard, at Green Bay. Of these four, I had reached the most important; and, complying with the wishes of Major Fowle, I followed the advice of Mr. Wright, and Captain Johnson, and I remained here, and it was soon my privilege to organize the first church ever formed in Chicago. There had previously been no preaching in this place, except by Methodist circuit preachers, coming in from their mission on Fox River. Father Jesse Walker had monthly appointments in the log school-house; he had been associated with Peter Cartwright, on the frontier, for thirty years, and had found some Methodists at Chicago, Mrs. R. J. Hamilton being his chief friend and hostess. Colonel Hamilton had come up to Chicago from the South. North of Chicago, there was no church this side of Lake Superior, except the Stockbridge Indian mission of the A. B. C. F. missions, and an Episcopal Indian mission, at Green Bay, Rev. Cutting Marsh in the first, and Rev. Mr. Cadle

in the other. West, the nearest church was at Galena: and the first south-west was that at Princeton—the Hampshire Colony Congregational Church; Rev. Lucien Farman, its first pastor. East, the nearest church was at White Pigeon, Michigan. There were in all the States west of Lake Michigan, no points, except the military posts, and the Indian trading-posts, where ministers could be sustained. Though Father Walker's meetings had been encouraged by all professing Christians, his principal reliance was then on Mrs. Hamilton, and the venerable English Methodist, Mr. Mark Noble, who lived on the lake shore, in a log-house, south of Colonel J. B. Beaubien's dwelling, which was just outside the Fort. When I first called on Father Noble, and spoke of his residence in this new country, he said, impressively, "There is one lesson that Paul had learned, that I have not *quite yet*; it is this: 'I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.'" Mr. Noble sold his log-house to Mr. John Wright; there Mr. Wright took his family when they came in 1833, built, and there, some years after, died; there, too, his noble widow showed Christian hospitality, admired and loved for many years, a mother in Israel; and there, next to the Bishop's palace, now resides her only daughter, wife of Captain J. Dana Webster, and her admired family.

Temporary provision was at once made for preaching at the Fort; the carpenter shop was emptied, cleaned, and seated, and on the 19th of May, I preached my first sermon in this place; text, John, xv., 8: "Herein is my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples." On the 20th of May last, just one-quarter of a century from that first sermon in this City, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met in this City, and it was my privilege there to state this fact. The handful of corn sown twenty-five years ago, now shakes like Lebanon. After the services of that first Sabbath morning, Mr. Wright said to me, "My eyes filled with tears of joy several times to-day, as I saw the influence of the new command on this place, and contrasted this Sabbath with the last, when we were so despondent."

The Fort was so full there was no room in it for a minister's study, so I sought a place outside. Families had had no time to build houses since the panic of the Indian war, of the year before, and I could find no room in their log-houses; but in the unfinished second-story of the store of P. F. W. Peck, just built, I found a lodging-place and study. The building still stands, on the corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets—it and the lighthouse are the only buildings now standing to remind me of Chicago as I first saw it. But the men of that day—many of them

still remain. I found a boarding-house at Mr. Rufus Brown's, in a double log-house, on the alley, back of Mr. Peck's store, where the law offices of Woodbridge & Williams now are.

At that table, I daily met the principal business men of the infant Chicago—Messrs. John Wright, and his son, J. S. Wright, George W. Dole, Mr. Peck, Mr. Mulford, a jeweler, Philo Carpenter, John S. C. Hogan, postmaster, Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Brown, and John Bates, and the lady Bates afterwards married. Most of the members of my original church, except those in the army, were of this family, so that Mrs. Brown could, with much truth, say, "the church that is in my house." Within the Fort there were professing Christians—two officers, three wives of officers, three wives of soldiers, and ten soldiers, all these from my Fort Brady church. All these outside of the Fort, except Mrs. Charles Taylor, were born in New England; so were the army officers, Major Towle, and Major Wilcox, and educated in Congregational Churches, like myself, yet we organized a Presbyterian Church, and called it the "First Presbyterian Church of Chicago."

There was one Presbytery only, in Illinois; the Moderator, J. G. Bergen, resided at Springfield. We reported, by letter, to that Presbytery, but were never represented in it. The four elders of the early church, were all Congregationalists, except Mr. Carpenter, who had come from the church of Dr. Beman, of Troy, though born of Baptist parents. All these elders and their wives,—except Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter, who are here to-night—are now, we believe, before the throne of God, in heaven. Of these, the youngest—Brother Carpenter and myself—remain, and wonder at what God hath wrought. Many may have despised that day of small things, and believed that if a fox went up on our wall it would fall. This day shows that such were false prophets. Major D. L. Wilcox, Philo Carpenter, and John Wright were the first elders, and in 1834, Aaron Russell, of Boston, was added to their number.

THE HARBOR.

The report had gone through the land that, in addition to the light-house, a pier was to be built, making the Chicago River a harbor, and that a canal would be dug, connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; in that case, Illinois farmers would find an Eastern market, and corn would rise in price, from twelve cents and a-half to half a dollar. This the farmers of interior Illinois could not credit, but Eastern capitalists and farmers guessed it might be so. DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal had made the journey through New York easy, and a tide of population had begun to flow through it to the corn-bearing prairies of Illinois. Black-

Hawk was gone, and fears of Indian massacres were subsiding. Eastern emigration began at once to reach Chicago, so that a gentleman who had come from Washington to make his home here, was so bold as to wager that "in five years there would be five thousand inhabitants in this place." An army officer replied to this assertion, "*That cannot be, for there is no back country to sustain a city.*" But the most sanguine never dreamed of what we see to-day, in twenty-five years, one hundred thousand. The stream then setting toward our rich prairies, has made a back country that well supports the present wondrous City.

My own church, organized in June, 1833, received from that tide of people its due proportion, and other churches, afterwards formed, were strengthened from the same source. Our necessities and strength induced us at once to set about building a house of worship. The location chosen was, as the builder's (Mr. Joseph Meeker) wife said, "out on the prairie;" it was one and a-half blocks from South Water Street, on the alley, on Clark Street, in the rear of the present Sherman House. It cost us six hundred dollars. It was the first church ever built in Chicago, though the Baptists had a school-house built, in which we had preached for a time—for a few months—on alternate Sabbaths. It was my privilege to dedicate the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, on Saturday, the 4th day of January, 1834. My text was these words: "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, even thine altars, my King and my God." This house still stands, increased to four times its original size. It was removed to the rear of the lot on the corner of Clark and Washington Sts., and used until the brick church was built in front of it, on Washington St. The elements, on dedication day, were against us. The mild autumn was succeeded by intense cold. I had invited the Rev. N. C. Clark, of DuPage, who had come into the State during the summer, and the Rev. Mr. Humphrey, of Michigan, to aid in the dedication, but the intense cold—mercury 29 degrees below zero—prevented their coming, so I was only aided in the dedication services by Rev. Brother Allen B. Freeman, the Baptist minister, who had been laboring in Chicago, by my side, since August. Previous to the building of our church, we had preached, alternately, in a room on Franklin Street, near the old Post-Office, in a building put up by his society, of two-storys, the upper room for a classical school, and the lower for worship. Each of us visited the country once a month, the one remaining in town the Sabbath the other was gone. Our country parishes were Naperville, Blackstone's Grove, etc., some thirty miles distant. For two or three months, we preached in the house built

for his use. Previous to Brother Freeman's coming, his principal supporters—Dr. J. T. Temple, and others—had attended our church in the Fort and at the Point. After their room was ready for use, we alternated in preaching in it, until our house was dedicated. I proposed continuing in our house (being about twice as large as theirs), our united worship, alternately, as before, but his church chose to remain in their own house; so, with perfect cordiality, we divided, and had our separate congregations and Sabbath-schools; and, the first pleasant Sabbath after the dedication, more were present in my church than there had been while the two societies worshipped together. Religious interest seemed greatly increased in both churches. Just at this time, we received a beautiful Sunday-school library—a donation from Chas. Butler, Esq., and Arthur Bronson, of New York—containing about two hundred volumes. They had come to purchase town lots, and enrich us, and, as it afterwards proved, themselves. We soon commenced the monthly tract distribution. Our annual temperance meeting was held on the 20th of January, in our new church. The address was delivered by Dr. Clark, brother-in-law of Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard. Dr. Josiah Goodhue, who had come from Canada to reside in Chicago, was chosen vice-president. Five lawyers, five physicians, and six officers of the army, were members of the society, and its prospects were very promising.

A personal incident occurred, on the 7th of February, that can never be forgotten. Returning from our evening prayer meeting, by way of the Post-Office, in a very dark night, to avoid the deep mud of the street, I walked down the river on the ice; noticing, by the light of my lantern, what seemed very dark ice before me, I stepped boldly forward, and in a moment found myself in the river. Dr. Temple had sawed out ice there for summer use. I had stepped into it, and was swimming, with my hymn-book, lantern, and cloak. Had I gone under the ice, my swimming hat alone would have told the story of my disappearance in that cold river; but reaching soon the square-cut, solid ice, I had no trouble in throwing myself on it.

A fortnight later in that month, on my way to Blackstone's Grove, (now Hadley, Will County), to preach to my church there, then increased to twenty members, I lost my way, on the west side of the AuxPlaines, sixteen miles from town. Finding no road to lead me out, and darkness increasing, I could do nothing but tie my horse to a tree, and sit down beside it, in my saddle. A gentle rain was falling on the leaves above me. In the distance, barking wolves were heard. Like Paul in the Adriatic storm, "I wish for the day." It came at length, and my hungry

horse and myself turned eastward, with no road to guide us. A heavy rainstorm came on, in which I reached the river, and plunged into its swollen stream, the water reaching the middle of my saddle-pads. My strong horse took me safely across. I then rode six miles in the rain before finding a house, and almost as wet as if I had been a "day and a night in the deep." If the prince of the power of the air intended to prevent me keeping my appointment, or prevent a protracted meeting that had been appointed, he signally failed. The Lord kindly delivered me out of these dangers, and during the year after the consecration of the church, we enjoyed a precious revival of religion, and fifty-two persons were gathered into the church; among them were many who continue to this day. Of these were the large family of Deacon Samuel Brookes, now of Cleaverville. Mr. Brookes, a gardener or florist, from London, had reached Chicago in that year, coming by land from Buffalo, with his own wagons. He was eight weeks coming from Buffalo, through Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, to Chicago. Mrs. Brooks, an English Congregationalist, had heard at home of American revivals, and soon her hope of witnessing one was realized—one in which her husband and three young Englishmen of their family, and some six of their children, were brought into our church on profession of faith. In this revival I was aided by Rev. Ralph W. Gridley, who had come from Williamstown, Massachusetts, and had passed down to Ottawa, and was the pastor of that church. I had known him in college, and Deacon Wright's family had loved him as their pastor at home. His labors with us were greatly blessed. The Rev. William Kirby was then preaching to the church I had organized at Hadley, Will County, and, with Rev. I. W. Prentiss, aided in that work of grace.

ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL.

The first ever held in Northern Illinois. This was called by the Congregational Church at DuPage, called Fountaindale, and met on the 10th of June, 1834, about a year after the organization of my church at Chicago.

It met at Walker's Grove, now Plainfield. On assembling, there were present:

Rev. Jeremiah Porter, and Major DeLafayette Wilcox, U.S.A., from Chicago.

Rev. N. C. Clark, Deacon E. Clark, Mr. Henry Goodrich, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Dudley, from Fountaindale.

Rev. William Kirby, Deacon Reuben Beach, John Blackstone, Delegate, Union Church, Blackstone's Grove.

Rev. — Hazzard, Jesse A. Clark, Delegate, Ottawa.

Deacon James Mather, of Plainfield.

Rev. R. W. Gridley, Rev. Nahum Gould, passing to fields of labor from the East.

Nahum Gould was chosen Moderator. Jeremiah Porter was chosen Clerk.

The question on which the Council was called, was "Is it advisable to change our form of government, so as to make them uniformly Congregational?"

After a protracted and kind discussion, it was—

Resolved, unanimously, That this Convention deem it inexpedient to make any decision concerning the mode of church government, and each church in our bounds be left to make its own choice of form.

PRESBYTERY OF OTTAWA FORMED.

In November, 1834, the churches of Northern Illinois that had joined the Sangamon Presbytery, were set off by that body as a new one, and called it the Presbytery of Ottawa, as that was a central church. It embraced the three counties—Cook, LaSalle, and Putnam. In these counties were now eleven Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and eight ministers. Our church united with that Presbytery at that session. It pleased the President to appoint myself its first Delegate to the General Assembly, to meet, the following spring, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Never before had Northern Illinois been represented in that body.

AN INCIDENT OF THAT FIRST MEETING OF OTTAWA PRESBYTERY.

Colonel Benjamin F. Mooers, then of Ottawa, now of Green Bay, Wisconsin, long one of my parishioners, recently told me how he had often amused his friends by telling them of this fact of our attending that meeting of the Presbytery. Riding over the prairie with my dear brother, Rev. N. C. Clark, not far from Ottawa, seeing a prairie-wolf before our horses, and he understanding them as I did not, rode up to the wolf, screaming, and jumped from his horse. The alarmed wolf turned on his back, and lay confounded, till Brother Clark killed him with his riding-whip. We carried the trophy of victory directly to Colonel Mooers' door. He had often entertained his friends with this account of the early missionaries of Illinois, who could frighten wolves to death! But this honor all belonged to Mr. Clark, so far as I was concerned, yet this reminds me of another unmerited honor given me. Mr. Robt. Stuart, of Mackinac, (in whose house I first saw, in 1831, her who is now my wife), called my attention to an article in a Cincinnati Roman Catholic paper, occasioned by a published account, by myself, of a deep work of religious interest among the troops at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1832. In it the writer

says: "Here we see the grinning teeth, and bristling mane of this Presbyterian wolf, as he prickles up his predestinating ears." Can you wonder that wolves were afraid of such a missionary? Equally undeserved is the following, found in a monthly (Catholic), published in this City a few years since, which a friend was amused to find, after a glowing account of Catholic institutions here. It exclaims, with admiration, "And all this since the Rev. Jeremiah Porter prayed at midnight on his knees, in the streets of Chicago, before the little Catholic chapel, built in 1833, 'that nothing good should ever come out of it.'" Certainly, if I ever prayed at midnight before that chapel, or any of the Roman Catholic churches, since built in this City, it was that *no evil should come from them*. My heart's desire and prayer is, and always has been, that they who teach, and they who worship, in those churches would receive the *whole truth*, and be true followers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In the spring of 1835, on my way to visit my parents, in Massachusetts, for the first time in four and a-half years, I attended the General Assembly, and there first made the acquaintance of the Rev. Albert Barnes, whose trial commenced in that body then, and resulted two years after in the sundering of that body, and the forming of the Old and New School General Assemblies. On my way north, by stage, from Pittsburgh, I came to Erie, and thence to Buffalo, and Rochester; there I was married to Miss Eliza Chappel, who had left Chicago some weeks before, having left her school to recover her health. After a short visit to my native place, and Andover, and Boston, and New York, with my wife, and making efforts to secure a pastor for my Chicago church, thinking, on account of its rapid growth, it ought to have the best minister in the land, I returned to Chicago, without success in finding a minister. I applied first to Edward Humphrey, now Rev. Dr. Humphrey, of Kentucky,—an older brother of the present pastor of the same church—meeting him at my father's, but he had already plans that retained him in Kentucky. After returning to Chicago, I wrote to Rev. E. N. Kirk, of Albany, New York, showing our need, but he was not sufficiently impressed with the great importance of the infant City to accept our call.

Although not succeeding in getting a successor, I felt it my duty, in the fall of 1835, to accept a call from the Main Street Church, Peoria, tendered me by my friend, Moses Pettengill, and his brother-in-law, Dr. Enoch Cross, two of a session that, afterwards, while I was their pastor, had in their number *Joshua* and *Aaron*—Deacons Aaron Russell, following me from Chicago, and

Joshua Aiken being then at Peoria. Such a session—as Moses, and Aaron, and Joshua, and Enoch, and Jeremiah as Moderator—should have had great power in that City in laying the foundation of many generations. Moses remains to this day a pillar in the church in the same city.

My church, after the close of my labors of two and a-half years, had increased to one hundred and nine members, had accumulated wealth, with the prospect of much temporal prosperity. In view of this, it had, December 29th, 1834, passed the following resolution:

“That we will relieve the American Home Missionary from further contributions for support of our pastor, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, from the 1st of June last; and, while we deeply feel our obligations for past assistance, we esteem it our duty and privilege to raise for him a competent support; and, to return, in due time, to its treasury, more than we have received from it.”

Only one year from its organization did the church receive aid from that society, and a single member of that earliest congregation has left, by will, to it, ten thousand dollars—the late Flavel Mosely.

The church corresponded with Rev. Dr. Adams, of Syracuse, and others, in vain, for two and a-half years, before securing a pastor. Dr. Hall, of Auburn Theological Seminary, informed me that he had such a call, and that Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, receiving a like invitation, taking the letter to Judge Williams, of his church, said, “I’ve got a letter from some place out West, called Chickago, asking me to come their and preach. Can you tell me where it is?” Learning it was in a great swamp west of Lake Michigan, he concluded it was best to remain on the Connecticut. Dr. Deric Lansing, of Auburn, once visited the place, and rejoiced us by his eloquent sermons, but chose to remain in New York. At length, in 1838, the Rev. John Blatchford, father of E. W. Blatchford, now one of your most esteemed and successful Christian merchants, traveling from New York to Central Illinois, was providentially detained here, and was called, and became their happy and blessed pastor.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF CHICAGO.

In the first week of July, 1833, Dr. John T. Temple, and wife, and four children, arrived from Washington, D. C., with a contract from the Government to transport the mail from Chicago to Fort Howard, Green Bay. He was an intelligent physician, and a member of the Baptist Church. His wife was daughter of Rev. Dr. Stoughton, of Philadelphia, a distinguished minister of that church. They were happily disappointed to find regular religious

services at Chicago, as they had heard there were none of any denomination. Dr. Temple, supposing there was no minister at Chicago, had applied to the Baptist Missionary Society for one, and the week after his arrival, Dr. Temple informed me that a missionary had been commissioned for Chicago. Until his arrival, Dr. Temple and family attended our services in Fort Dearborn. Thinking it best that we should at once start out as separate churches, Dr. Temple started a subscription for a building, having the double purpose of school-house and place of worship. He started the subscription with one hundred dollars. In a few weeks it was built, on the corner lot on Franklin Street, near South Water Street. On the same the Dr. built his own dwelling. The building was two-storys, the upper for a school, and the lower for meetings. On the 18th of August, 1833, their minister arrived—the Rev. Allen B. Freeman, just from the Hamilton Theological Seminary, New York, having in the East a father and brothers Baptist ministers. He brought with him a young and devoted wife, ardently attached, like him, to their spiritual work. The first Sabbath after Mr. Freeman's arrival was my monthly appointment at Blackstone's Grove, twenty-eight miles south of town, and I was glad Brother Freeman could preach to my usual congregation at home in my absence. From the first we labored cordially together, he, as well as myself, preaching one Sabbath each month in the country. Our two congregations, uniting, heard the one remaining in town, until our own church was dedicated in the January following. So we helped each other, and labored cordially together, until it was written, "One was taken and the other left." His life in the ministry was, as we measure years, very brief; it was long, in view of the foundations laid here and in the surrounding country. At his death, in December, 1834, I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for a brother, in sympathy with his wife, and afflicted church.

By request of Mrs. Freeman, and the church, I preached his funeral sermon in our church, as it was twice as large as his, and all wished to honor the faithful pastor, who had so early finished his work. So large an audience for Christian worship had never been gathered in Chicago before. Four ministers took part in the services—Rev. J. W. Hallam, of the Episcopal Church; Rev. John Mitchell, of the Methodist; and Rev. Mr. Ambrose, of the Baptist, who was laboring with one of the churches that Brother Freeman had formed in the country. All wished to honor one whose work was so early and so well done. The sermon was soon published in Philadelphia, with extracts from Mr. Freeman's journals, and circulated widely, as a memorial of him. Among the facts in that obituary were these:

On the 19th of October, 1833, Mr. Freeman formed the First Baptist Church in Chicago, of eighteen members. The same month, he organized the church forty miles from town, of twelve members. Between his church in town and those in the country, he divided his time, until a brother minister, the Rev. Mr. Ambrose, came to take charge of the latter. At his death, his home church numbered *forty*. His last labors, which brought on his fatal sickness, were in connection with his forming a fifth church. It was at Long Grove, on the Fox River, fifty miles west of Chicago. He had greatly enjoyed looking up the scattered Christians that had come into the State during his short residence here, but this last proved a fatal labor; returning, his horse was taken sick about eighteen miles from town. For two nights, the merciful man watched with the suffering animal, and then, weighed down by his death, and over-exertion, walked home. He was soon seized with typhoid fever, and in ten days yielded up his spirit in death. Delightfully did he exemplify the power of faith in Christ to sustain one in leaving all that is dear to him on earth, and so fell asleep.

Rev. J. T. Mitchell, who had that year succeeded Father Walker in the Methodist Church, said to me, "I never saw the Christian and philosopher more happily exhibited in union, than in our deceased Brother, in that last sickness." It was my privilege to sit at his bedside, with Mrs. Freeman and the beloved Mrs. J. Wright, of my church—"It was quite on the verge of heaven." "Tell my father," said he to me, that night, "that I die with my harness on." His wife was calm, confiding, resigned to the Divine will, and he triumphant in the Lord, his rock.

Among the first baptisms in Chicago, by immersion, was the wife of Dr. J. T. Temple. The citizens gathered by the side of the river (then running south near a half mile), in front of what is now Michigan Avenue. Mrs. Temple came down to the beach in a stage-coach, (other candidates riding with her), the first that had ever been seen in Chicago. Brother Freeman pleasantly alluded to the baptism of the Treasurer of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, to whom Philip was sent, as he was prayerfully reading in his chariot, the 53d chapter of Isaiah. When Philip found true faith in Christ in this noble student of the word of God, and also, a desire to be baptized, when they came to a certain water, "He commanded the chariot to stand still, and they went down both of them into the water, and Philip baptized him." This first baptism in the waters of our noble lake was joyfully remembered.

The church, during Mr. Freeman's ministry, had been peculiarly

afflicted by deaths, as well as greatly strengthened by additions. Its only deacon—Mr. Harmon, brother of Dr. Harmon, still residing here—had died. Mr. Alden, a graduate of Brown University, who had come here as a classical teacher in Dr. Temple's school-house, died of the same fever as their pastor, in the same month, and Mrs. Ambrose, the wife of Rev. Mr. Ambrose. By death and removals to churches in the country, the Chicago Baptist Church was reduced to twenty members. But the two brothers, Dr. John T. and Peter Temple, and Mr. Abel Carpenter—brother of Philo, of my church—did not despair, though cast down, and soon secured the labors of the Rev. Isaac Taylor Hinton, of Richmond, Virginia, brother of the distinguished John Howard Hinton, of London. Mrs. Withe, an aunt of Mrs. J. T. Temple, had come to Dr. Temple's family, with her only daughter, from Philadelphia. They added much to the strength of the Baptist Church, of which they were members.

My friend, Mr. P. F. W. Peck, educated a Baptist, in Rhode Island, was naturally drawn towards Dr. Temple's family, and in affliction, on account of the death of his mother at home, sought sympathy among Christians, and Miss Wythe became his wife. Mr. Peck, and wife, and Madame Wythe are here this evening, with their sons. You know their magnificent home in Michigan Terrace. They survive to rejoice with us in the wonderful growth of our City, and in the prayers of the church of their birth, their education, and their choice. One of the daughters of Dr. Temple,—the wife of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. T. Hoyne—though a child at the time, is now here, and doubtless remembers her mother's baptism, and those infant days of our City. She was one of the earlier pupils of Miss Chappel.

RISE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CHICAGO.

It was about a year and a-half after my labors began in town, before the place was visited by an Episcopal clergyman. Mr. J. H. Kinzie, having returned from his Indian agency, at Port Winnebago, to look after the town he had laid out on his estate, had wished for Episcopal services. We had formed with them a very pleasant acquaintance. About the 10th of October, 1834, the Rev. Mr. Dyer, of the Episcopal Church, arrived in this town. Having passed a pleasant evening with him, and his Episcopal friends, I invited him to occupy my pulpit on the following Sabbath. He consented to do so, and on the 12th, so far as my knowledge goes, the first sermon preached in connection with the Episcopal services, was delivered in my church, near Lake Street. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Mrs. Helm, her sister-in-law, and Miss E. Chappel, distributed the prayer-books to the congrega-

tion. The sermon was excellent—in the morning from the words, (Matt. xviii: 3), “Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;” another in the afternoon, from Isaiah xl: 8, “The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever.” After the second service, Mr. Dyer administered the sacrament, the congregation remaining to witness the feast. Myself and many of my church partook of the emblems, with our Episcopal friends. Only four of that church communed on that occasion—three ladies, of Mr. Kinzie’s family, and one gentleman only. Including my church, about thirty received the sacrament from the hands of Rev. Mr. Dyer. Mr. Dyer and his friends came and heard me preach at an evening service the same day. It was my constant custom to preach three times each Sabbath.

There was then but one Episcopal rector in the State of Illinois. Mr. Dyer passed on, thinking to find his field in Peoria or Galena; he subsequently went to Fort Snelling, at St. Peter’s, as Chaplain, U. S. A.

The Rev. J. W. Hallam and wife, in company with E. K. Hubbard, and wife, now Mrs. Thomas Dyer, were on their way from Connecticut to Chicago. The following Sabbath, Mr. Hallam commenced his ministry in Chicago, preaching in the Baptist house of worship, Mr. Freeman being absent in the country, as usual, once a month. It was October 19, 1834. St. James’, the first Episcopal Church, was then in building near the dwelling of Mr. J. H. Kinzie, on the North Side. On the 3d of November, the same year, a third Episcopal minister reached Chicago, and on the evening of the Sabbath officiated very acceptably in my church. He was a young man of excellent spirit, then on his way to Galena. St. James’ Church was soon after consecrated, and Mr. Hallam had gathered a pleasant and increasing congregation and church when I left Chicago, about a year after his coming. Mr. and Mrs. E. K. Hubbard united with my congregation.

THE METHODIST SOCIETY.

A nucleus of this existed, before my arrival, in 1833. The house of Colonel Richard J. Hamilton, then Clerk of the County Court, was the home of the earlier preachers when in town, Mrs. Hamilton being a member and ornament of the church, and a friend to all, especially those having a Christian spirit; so I always found her. In the absence of Father Walker, it was my mournful privilege to visit and condole with her on the death of her brother, Hon. Mr. Buckner, member of Congress from Louisiana,

who, with his wife, and three servants, were suddenly cut off by cholera. With calm, Christian resignation she bore the terrible blow. After the death of this noble woman, Colonel Hamilton married a sister of Mr. Henry Hubbard, and with her united with the Presbyterian Church.

The first house of worship of the Methodists was a small framed building, erected near Colonel Hamilton's, on the North Side, and was used as a school-house by Mr. John Watkins, one of the earliest male teachers. His sympathies were with the Methodists. The immediate successor of Father Walker, and first Methodist minister residing in this City, was Rev. John T. Mitchell, a young man of strong mind, and devoted piety, a graduate (I think), of Illinois College, Jacksonville, which College had just begun to bring power from the mine of intellect in our State, and stamp it for useful circulation. One of its sons it soon after sent to the Second Presbyterian Church in this City, Rev. R. W. Patterson, who has now been its esteemed pastor for more than twenty years.

CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Colonel J. Baptiste Beaubien, post-trader of the American Fur Company, had his dwelling and store just south of Fort Dearborn, on the bank of the river; he and his family, and his nephew, Mark Beaubien and family, and Mr. Charles Taylor, were Catholics. These, with their dependents, made efforts, early after my going to Chicago, to build a chapel for their services. In August, 1833, a frame for a chapel was erected, a little distance south of Colonel Beaubien's; it was enclosed and used for worship in the autumn of that year. The same building now stands, in the rear of the Catholic Church on Madison Street, near Wabash Ave. It contrasts wonderfully now with the immense churches of brick and stone, which that Church has since erected in each quarter of the City. The first priest residing here was Father StCry, with whom I had some friendly interviews in my study, which I had built near my boarding-house, on the lot corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets, on which the Marine Bank now stands—a canal lot not in market then, but then valued at \$200, and now worth \$95,000. StCry presented me a little book, entitled a “Papist Represented and Misrepresented,” which I still retain as a memento of those infant days of our churches. When I was called to sympathize with Mrs. Hamilton, on the death of her brother, Mr. Buckner, I found the priest had preceded me in attempts to comfort the mourner.

St. James', the Episcopal Church, built by Mr. Kinzie and his friends, was the only one built for permanency; that only was of

brick, and was graced with a tower, the others framed. Saint James' still stands, a monument of the zeal and energy of youthful Chicago.

THE DWELLINGS AND BUSINESS PLACES OF 1833.

The stores were all on South Water Street, except Beaubien's trading-post on the bank, just south of the Fort, now Michigan Avenue. The first store west of the Reservation, was a log one of John Wright's, by a bridge over a slough, corner of State and South Water Streets. There Miss Chappel opened her school for children of the Fort and town, when Mr. Wright vacated it to take possession of his new framed store, in the autumn of 1833. One-story log groceries, provision, and liquor stores lined South Water Street to Newberry & Dole's forwarding and commission store—this was *the* large warehouse; south of that, on Water Street, was the dwelling (log), of Mr. John K. Boyer, who, with his family, from Pennsylvania, arrived in Chicago a few months after my coming. Mulford, a jeweler, had near that house a store. The second framed store of the town was that of P. F. W. Peck, (two-story), corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets; south of it was the drug-store of Philo Carpenter. All these had been built within the year, and after the war. Below Mr. Carpenter's was the log post-office, kept by Mr. J. S. C. Hogan, who had come to Chicago from Mackinac. Nearer the Point, was the Sauganash Hotel, kept by Mark Beaubien. Over the bridge, was the other tavern, kept by W. W. Wattles. There I took my first dinner in Chicago, and on that day met my friend Mr. Wright, to my great joy. On the same side of the river, on what is now the corner of Canal and Madison Streets, stood the neat log-cottage of Mr. Charles Taylor. Mrs. Taylor was sister of General Orlando B. Wilcox, born in Detroit, and then a lad sometimes in our Sunday-school. Mr. Graves was then building a two-story dwelling, near the corner of State and Lake Streets. If my memory is right, Dr. J. T. Temple put up next his two-story dwelling on Franklin Street, just across the corner from the Post-Office. Mr. Carpenter, at the same time, was building *way out on the prairie*, on LaSalle Street, two blocks from Lake Street. In that house, after his marriage, I found a pleasant boarding-place.

In 1833, the lawyers in Chicago were Colonel R. J. Hamilton and R. E. Heacock, the latter lived on his farm, on the south branch of the river, four miles from town. During that, or the year 1834, there came and settled in town, Alexander N. Fullerton, Grant Goodrich, Hans Crocker, and Thomas Wright, Colonel Owen, and Colonel Taylor.

The physicians in 1833, were Dr. Maxwell, Surgeon U. S. A.,

in the Fort, Dr. Harmon, Dr. J. T. Temple, and Dr. Wm. Clark, brother-in-law of Mr. G. S. Hubbard. In the following year, came a brother of Dr. Temple, Dr. Peter Temple; Dr. Josiah Goodhue, son of Dr. Goodhue, first President of the Berkshire County Medical College, Pittsfield, Mass.; Dr. Wm. B. Egan, from Ireland; and Dr. Kimberly, of Troy, New York.

BUSINESS MEN IN 1833.

Besides those whose houses and places I have mentioned, were conspicuous Mr. John H. Kinzie, Mr. G. S. Hubbard, George W. Snow, Joseph Meeker, and his uncle, Jeremiah Price, Mr. Pierson, Robert Kinzie, and Major Handy, who came with Dr. Temple, Mr. John Calhoun, who published the first newspaper (and only for a time) in this place, and has now just passed from time. The brothers Morrison, in 1834, began to lay the foundations of their great fortunes. George and Charles Chapman, Mr. Henry Hubbard, Mr. Haddock, Mr. Botsford, George Davis, Charles Cleaver, and the sons of the venerable Mark Noble, came in the infancy of Chicago. Mr. Wm. Jones, and brothers, and Dr. John Foster, who was drawn hither by the fact that a brother of his, killed by a soldier, at Green Bay, had purchased land in Chicago. Mr. Walter Newberry was here, investing in lands; Mr. J. Wright, Mr. P. Carpenter, and Mr. Clybourn had each pre-empted quarter-sections of land, on which the City is now built, and had I followed their advice, I should have done the same, and then could not have sung—

“No foot of land do I possess;
No cottage in the wilderness.”

Mr. Caton—now Judge Caton—was a young man, studying law, in whom we felt a great interest. Mr. Clybourn's quarter was on the North Branch, through which Clybourn Avenue, named for him, probably passes.

INDIAN COUNCIL.

By proclamation, the President of the United States of America, called a Council of the Indians who had lived in Illinois and the Territory of Michigan—now State of Wisconsin—to be held in Chicago, on the 10th of September, 1833. On that day, Indians began to pour in by thousands, traders by scores, and hangers-on by hundreds. The Governor of Michigan, G. B. Porter, and others, composed our Government Councilors. The house for the business of the Council was on a little elevation of land, a short distance from the dwellings of Colonel Hamilton, and Mr. Kinzie. The Council being assembled, Governor Porter protested that our Government was only seeking the highest good of the Indians, eloquently plead with them to sell all their land on

this side of the Mississippi. To which argument they replied, "We are satisfied as we now are, and have no wish to sell our land." This was the 17th of September. They were requested to think the matter over, and give their answer to-morrow, to which they coolly replied, "We shall dance to-morrow." This they did, emphatically, and to the great satisfaction of the crowd. Almost fifty painted savages on horseback, followed some thirty naked Indians through town, as these danced, and whooped, and shouted from the Fort down South Water Street. This was a "begging dance;" they stopped before each door, to receive bread, tobacco, or whiskey. Stopping under my window, in Mr. Peck's store, I gave what I had—crackers, ardently wishing I could give them the bread of life. They appeared in their naked grimaces like the very incarnation of evil. It was not till the 24th that they could be brought together again in Council. Then in great crowds they lay or sat around the Council-house, in every variety of Indian costume, from the most tawdry to almost absolute nakedness, or the filthy, ragged blanket, many mounted on horseback, furiously riding outside the prostrate crowd. Day after day they refused to treat on the terms proposed; but, urged by Indian agents, and traders, at length one chief after another yielded, until, on the 25th of the month, they all had signed the treaty to leave Illinois, and the territory above it, this side the Great River. It was thought a very liberal treaty on the part of our Government; for four millions of acres of land, they were to receive five millions west of the Mississippi River; were to be removed at the expense of the United States; schools to be established, and sustained; farmers and mechanics to be supported among them. For these and schools, \$1,000,000 was promised them, this to be paid in annuities. \$200,000 in specie was given them to pay their outstanding debts to Indian traders. Mr. Robert Stuart, of Mackinac, and one of the American Fur Company, being here with the Commissioners, secured \$20,000 for that Company. As I was riding with Mr. Stuart, after the treaty, over the level prairie on which your City is now built, and planning for the future good of its population, an athletic Indian tried his own swiftness of foot with our strong carriage-horses, and out-trotted them, to the amusement of Mr. Stuart and myself.

On the 3d of October, the first annuity to these Indians was begun to be paid. It was \$90,000 in goods. The payment continued day after day, until all had been given out, then followed the payment of \$56,000 in silver half-dollars. Traders had their shanties built on each side of South Water Street, and the scattered silver soon found its way to their money tills. Of the mer-

chants, my friend Peck, and the members of my church almost alone, withstood the temptation to trade on the Sabbath, as the payment, against our remonstrance, continued on that day. The money and goods were paid to heads of families, according to the number of each household. The portion of some heads of families was four hundred half-dollars, this was thrown into the corner of their dirty blankets, and carried off in triumph. The scene during the payment was full of excitement, occasionally of horror. Thousands of human beings—some sitting, some standing, others lying on the grass in all imaginable positions, some riding, some fighting, and one bleeding to death, the main artery of his arm being cut off, while his murderer stood a prisoner, struggling in the arms of a female avenger of blood, on that sacred day! Christians deplored that desecration of that Sabbath, yet could do little to prevent it. They did retire to the house of worship, and prayed for those who feared not God nor regarded man. In the afternoon of that day, while the specie payment was going on, and such appalling scenes were witnessed in our streets, I preached to the little circle that revered the Lord's day, from the words, "And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, and when he had said this he fell asleep." One of the many Indians that gazed upon our assembly, stood in the door and played his jew's-harp, not conscious that he was disturbing our worship. In the evening of that dark Sunday, the cry of the whining, drunken savage, intermingled with wild shouts, and whoops, and yells, were heard continually. Mr. Freeman's first services in his new house for worship were on Sunday after the payment. Many Indians looked in at the windows and doors, curious to know what was meant by such a gathering.

PROVIDENTIAL INTERFERENCE.

The traders had ordered quantities of whiskey, expecting a golden harvest at this payment. One had fifteen barrels on the way. Happily for the Indians, though they may not have thought so at the time, a strong south wind prevailed for sixteen days, while the Indians were here, so that not a single vessel could come up the lake; there was but little previously on hand, and the vessels freighted with the poison were anxiously-looked for. Temperance men, philanthropists, and Christians rejoiced that the fire-water did not come. In consequence of this Divine protection of the Indians, they went from the payment with a large sum of money. It was thought they took away \$30,000 in silver, which would have been wasted for whiskey, had not the strong wind kept it back. When the payment was over, a driving rain

sent the Indians to the AuxPlaines woods for shelter, and sobered by abstinence, and rich in their cash, they were wise enough to keep away from the town after the poison came, to the grief of the traders, and the joy of those who sought their highest good.

EARLIEST SCHOOLS.

A Mr. and Mrs. Forbes are said to have taught a school in the log school-house, in 1831—of it I know nothing more. Mr. John Watkins taught a school on the North Side, in a house near Col. Hamilton's; he taught in that neighborhood two or three years. Miss Eliza Chappel had been induced, by Robert Stuart, of Mackinac, to come to his family from Rochester, New York, in the summer of 1831, to teach his children. After two years, she came to Chicago, and was in the family of Major Wilcox, at the time of the payment and treaty, in 1833. Mr. Stuart, detained in September of that year, by the prevailing south wind, interested himself in starting a school for the children in the Fort and village. His friend, Miss Chappel, had wished to teach. Mr. Stuart met several officers who had children, and citizens, and proposed her as teacher, testifying to her great success at Mackinac. Much interest was awakened, a committee was appointed, and reported that sixty-seven dollars had been subscribed to sustain the school, and twenty-five scholars were promised who could pay tuition. Mr. Wright removing from his log-store, in the ravine, just outside the United States Reservation, to his frame store, the first was vacant, and used for the school. Associating with her, Miss Lucy Beach, who had just come in from Vermont with her parents, she took possession of the log-house, in which they lodged, and kept their school, the wife of Sergeant Adams, living near the bridge, cooking their meals, and bringing them to their cabin. This, if not the first school in Chicago, was the first on the South Side. Major Wilcox, Captain Baxby, and Dr. Maxwell were patrons. Dr. Maxwell had only an adopted daughter, and she was a mere child. The school prospered in this house, until it was transferred to the church in the following winter, as soon as it was finished; then Miss Chappel, and Miss Beach, and Miss Mary Barrows opened a boarding-house for scholars, on LaSalle Street, near Mr. Carpenter's dwelling, and received scholars from the country, from Blackstone's Grove, and DuPage. During the revival of that winter, many of the children of the school commenced a Christian life, and joined the First Church. A classical teacher, Mr. Grenville Temple Sproat, came the same year, and commenced his school, in Dr. Temple's room, on Franklin Street. He was a Baptist, and came, probably, at the Doctor's request. Another teacher for the same school came, and died the following

year, about the time of the death of Elder Freeman. Miss Chapel continued her school in the church, with her two assistants, until she was laid by on a bed of sickness in the winter of 1834-5.

SCHOOL SECTION SOLD.

Money was so abundant after the Indian payment, that it was thought advisable to sell our school lands—the 16th Section—which was in the heart of the business portion of Chicago; so, on the 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th of October, 1833, our school section was sold at public auction. At the same time, other sections in the county were sold, and while other pre-empted lands sold from \$3.00 to \$5.50 per acre, those who had pre-empted in the school sections of other townships bought theirs at \$1.25 per acre. There were one hundred and forty-four blocks in the school section of Chicago; all but four of these blocks were at that time sold on credit of one, two, and three years. These one hundred and forty blocks brought \$38,865, at 10 per cent interest. The four remaining blocks are now worth \$700,000, and that which was sold, estimated at this time, at \$7,000,000.

Alas, our short-sightedness! But our citizens were filled with joy at their enormous school-fund! Almost \$40,000 permanent fund, and yearly interest of \$4000! What teachers we could secure with such an annual sum! There was intense excitement at that land sale. A French trader, from Mackinac, called on Mr. Stuart, who had been detained for want of a schooner going north for a time, and then by sickness, replied to Mr. Stuart's question, "What's the news?" "Oh, the wind is very high, and town lots are very high; it is terrible, terrible!" Such was the general feeling, because the original, large town lots were selling from \$75 to \$300 per lot! Most who bought and held those school lands, and town lots, have realized fortunes from the same. As "there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous," so there was but a step between myself and a fortune. I was blind to the future of my own pecuniary interests. Dr. Heman Humphrey, lodging in the Adams House, near Rush Street Bridge, on a lot he had once owned and sold for \$600, which was then worth \$45,000, said he "had had a marvelous escape from wealth;" I, more: I had just drawn a few hundred dollars, which I had deposited in a Detroit bank, and instead of buying me a lot, I invested it in a small building for a study, as my unfinished loft in Mr. Peck's store would not be comfortable during winter. I built on a canal lot, not then in market, on the corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets, valued then at \$210, now worth \$95,000. I had previously neglected the advice of my elders, Messrs. Wright and Carpenter, to *pre-empt*, as they had done, each a quarter-sec-

tion, in the town plot adjoining theirs. Theirs have made them very rich, as you well know. Mr. J. S. Wright invested for me in a quarter-section of wild prairie, afterwards. Mr. R. Stuart's example may have influenced me; instead of buying town lots, he invested in pine-timber land in Michigan, with the Rev. Mr. Wm. M. Ferry, of Mackinac, Michigan. Mr. Ferry then laid the foundation of the fortune from which he endowed Ferry Hall, at Lake Forrest. After my study was built, on the corner where the Marine Bank now stands, seeing how fortunes were growing from the purchase of town lots, I bought, in the school section in Joliet, four lots for \$50 each; these, taxes having been paid on them for a quarter century, are now valueless. Mr. John S. Wright, then a lad of eighteen years, was the first to give an impetus to the high price of town lots. A corner lot on South Water and Dearborn Streets had been sold, in 1834, for \$500; before the year closed, Wright paid for the same, \$1500. Many were astonished at the audacity of the young man; yet prices continued to advance from that point till the reverses of 1837. Young Mr. Wright, then worth \$200,000, proposed resting from money-making, and travel in Europe, but was persuaded to remain at home. That Water-Street lot of Mr. Wright's is now worth \$100,000.

AUGUSTUS GARRETT AND WIFE.

Among my earlier acquaintances in Chicago was Mr. A. Garrett. He came to my study to introduce himself. He told me he had come to Chicago a bankrupt, after being a successful auctioneer in both Cincinnati and New Orleans. He had now come to the new City to recover his lost fortune. His wife he had left with her parents, on the Hudson River, because he had not means to support her, but hoped, in time, to bring her here. He spoke of her as a decided Christian, who, if he could support her here, would be a good member of my church. He accompanied me to our prayer-meeting, and I introduced him to the praying men, who aided him to get into the auction business. He was again successful. Soon his wife joined him, and I found Mrs. Eliza Garrett a valuable accession to our circle of noble women, all that Mr. Garrett had represented her. In the following two years, Mr. Garrett, in a time of deep religious interest, professed religion in the Methodist Church, and Mrs. Garrett, that theirs might not be a divided house, joined the same. After accumulating a handsome property, Mr. Garrett died, leaving his estate to his wife, as they were childless. Mrs. Garrett did not survive her husband many years; and dying, left, by will, her large estate chiefly to an institution for theological education, at Evanston,

which is known now as the Garrett Biblical Institute, so that Eliza Garrett and Barbara Heck are now twin luminaries in the M. E. Church in America. They have their names immortalized in connection with the Northwestern University. Mrs. Garrett was one of the galaxy of noble women who encouraged me in laying foundations in infant Chicago. They gave tone and character to society, to say nothing of the "honorable women not a few" now living, who were first and foremost with the beloved mothers that have gone up to receive their crown of glory. Few places have had their infancy formed under more pure-minded and self-sacrificing women than the wives of Major John Fowle, Major D. Wilcox, and Major John Green, in Fort Dearborn, who found kindred minds in Mrs. John Wright, Mrs. Colonel Hamilton, Mrs. Alexander Fullerton, Mrs. Rev. A. B. Freeman, Mrs. John T. Temple, Mrs. Harmon, and Mrs. Rufus Brown, "mine hostess."

BRICK BUILDINGS.

Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, and his cousin or nephew, Mr. Henry Hubbard, partners, erected a large two-story brick warehouse, on the corner of South Water and LaSalle Streets, just east of Mr. Carpenter's drug-store. This was in 1834. It rivalled all other business houses in size and durability. Mr. Dexter Graves, that year finished his boarding-house, on Dearborn Street; it was two-story, but not of brick.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Though no such organization as the Home of the Friendless existed in Chicago, in those early days, the spirit of Jonathan Burr existed in some hearts, and orphans were sought out and comforted. One instance, illustrating this feeling, is this: Mrs. Helm, sister of Mr. John H. Kinzie, daily walked from her brother's house, on the North Side, a-half mile, to minister food and change of garments to a sick and poor family of strangers, who, but for such kindness, would, may be, have soon followed their deceased mother; a younger sister of this family became the ward of Miss Chappel. We were at first a community of strangers, and tried to obey the command, "Love ye therefore the strangers;" and, in consequence, has not the Divine blessing, promised to those who consider the poor, rested on this growing city. And shall we not, in our present great prosperity, be followers of those whose faith, and patience, and charity then so abounded. Though there was not then, either here or in the Eastern States, a Y. M. C. A., there were those here who deeply felt for and earnestly prayed for the young men, anxiously asking, "Is the young man safe?" They felt if the young men here were saved from vice and sin, Chicago would be saved. As an evi-

dence of this feeling, and that it was not always fully appreciated, I give you, verbatim, a notice I found, on opening my study-door one morning, that had been nailed to it the previous night:

“NOTICE”

Is hereby given that a distracted prayer-meeting will be held at the Chicago Nunnery, to-morrow evening, at early candle-light, to pray for the conversion of the young men of this place, all of whom are invited to attend. By order of the LADY ABBESS.

Chicago, Jan'y 16, 1835. JEREMIAH PORTER, *Secretary*.

Prayers offered that winter were answered in the apparent conversion of young men and women, some of whom continue to this day honored and devout members of your various churches, and some, having finished their work on earth, have entered the rest of heaven. In answer to prayer, and crowning earnest labors, a great change in public sentiment was effected with regard to the vices of dram-drinking and gambling. Young and ardent men were hastening to inevitable ruin, unless arrested by a strong hand extended for their safety. A meeting was called by our best young men, to look the evil in the face, and meet it by prevention. It was held in the Methodist Chapel. The house was full. After discussion, resolutions were introduced, and passed, and immediately executed. Two gambling-nests were at once broken up, and two gamblers sent to jail. One man, who had lost \$500 in one of these houses, entered complaint against it, and secured its breaking up. On the previous Sabbath, it had been a scene of disgusting profaneness and drunkenness; on the following one, it was peaceful and inviting. The lovers of truth and godliness rejoiced greatly, feeling that God had sent deliverance in the time of our greatest need.

THE CANAL.

A great impulse was given to the town's prosperity by the action of the Legislature of Illinois, in 1835, which passed the bill in both Houses for the Lake Michigan and Illinois Canal. When this long-desired fact was announced, an illumination of the town was at once determined on. The lights and joy were universal. The pealing of cannon declared the same. Hardly less enthusiastic was the joy when it was announced that the first Atlantic Cable had been laid. As a consequence, land rose to fabulous prices in town, and greatly increased in value throughout the State.

PUBLIC SCHOOL.

Mr. John S. Wright was so much interested in Miss Chappel's school that he built a school-house for it at his own expense.

Miss Chappel's school was, after the sale of the school lands, in part sustained by the school fund. This was the beginning of the Chicago public schools. By her request, a lady was sent from Rochester, New York, to aid Miss Chappel in the school—Miss Ruth Leavenworth, who became Miss Chappel's successor, and opened her school in the house built by Mr. Wright.

Miss Chappel became Mrs. Jeremiah Porter; Miss Beach became Mrs. Gooding; Miss M. Barrows became Mrs. Dudley; Miss Leavenworth is now Mrs. Dunkley; Miss Warren married Mr. Abel Carpenter, brother of Philo. The most sanguine hopes of the early friends of Chicago are satisfied; the infant has attained a noble manhood. How much does it owe to its Christian founders? They honored God; they loved the Sabbath-day; every benevolent institution of the present hour had its ardent and judicious friends in those early days, and there were many adversaries. Your flourishing churches, your unrivalled public schools, your growing college, or your incipient theological seminaries, your labors for the poor, the down-trodden and enslaved, your world-embracing benevolence, are an answer of the prayers of those who prayed early and confidently for your spiritual prosperity. Yet we dared not hope to live to see what we do this day. God hath done great things for us, and made us glad. But I must close. The time would fail me to tell of the wondrous love of God to this City; what He hath wrought in the fourth of a century! What will He do in the next quarter? Cherish, my Christian friends, in your heart of hearts, that charity that glowed in the breasts of your fathers and mothers of infant Chicago. Stand up still more earnestly in the defence of the principles of the Gospel of Christ Jesus our Lord. Take no steps back from the noble stand you have taken in behalf of the enslaved, and the cause of temperance. Let the heathen feel the power of your beneficence. Encourage your free schools, and keep them ever free, till every child is educated. Strengthen your colleges. Multiply your spiritual churches. Remember the poor with more and more kindness, until there shall be no more need of Homes of the Friendless, "till every man in every face shall meet a brother and a friend;" until it shall be said, calling the cities daughters, "Many daughters have done wisely, but thou hast excelled them all."

When invited to return to your City, after twenty-three years, by some of my early friends, who had remained here while I had preached the Gospel to other cities, and engage again in pioneer labors in a destitute portion of this City, and finding so large a population so far distant from any Protestant church, though

called to other inviting fields, I dared not refuse to come again to you, praying, "If Thy presence go not with me, send me not up thence." I came, "and now my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, in view of what he hath already done," and I hope yet to see greater things than these. May I be an humble instrument in uniting in closer bonds the Christian hearts in this City.

Never have I offered more fervently than now, the prayer that was among my first offered on this soil—the prayer of our divine Lord and Master, "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

NOTE.—For the words given as the text on page 59, read instead: Jeremiah, chap. i. verses 1-6.

EARLY HISTORY OF ILLINOIS,

BY WILLIAM H. BROWN.

A Lecture delivered before the Chicago Lyceum, December 8, 1840.

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HE who writes of times long past and records the transactions of those who have distinguished themselves upon the theatre of life; who speaks of men as they were, whether as benefactors of their race, or as instruments of wrath in the hands of an Almighty power; whose scrutiny is directed as well to the motives which prompted, as to the actions which affected, the happiness or the misery of communities, may exercise a freedom which is denied me on the present occasion. In one case, the actors have long since departed—the curtain of life has descended—and the present generation are interested, rather, in the results of measures adopted by men of other times, than in the individuals themselves. The generation in which they lived have *also* passed away—and with it, those who, from friendship or interest, were willing to trumpet undeserved praises, or palliate or conceal unblushing crime.

I propose to speak of recent events, and of measures, the results of which in some cases have not been fully developed, and of others, where there is that variety of opinion incident to all free governments, leading some honestly to approve, and some as honestly to condemn. The influences which inclined the mind to either side, have, doubtless, had an end; but the pride of opinion remains: and though partially, nay wholly, convinced of the unsoundness of their principles, mankind in general can not repress their indignant feelings when their opinions are reviewed, and their former course of conduct condemned.

In pursuing the course I have marked out for myself, it will be my object to speak of individuals as connected only with the measures they advocated, conscious that, whether I eulogize or condemn, I shall come in contact with those who were parties in the transactions of the past, and whose opinions of men and things have been influenced by that variety of passions which makes the whole of human nature.

At the formation of our State government, a very limited por-

tion of our territory was inhabited. Indeed, to a considerable part of it, the aboriginal title, that of possession, existed in its fullest extent. The farthest point to which the hardy and enterprising settler had pushed his conquest over a hitherto uncultivated country, was some sixty miles south of the present town of Springfield, our present seat of government, then embraced within the limits of the County of Bond. A large proportion of the citizens of Illinois consisted of emigrants from the States of Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia, who, opposed to Slavery, had sought an exemption from its evils by a removal to a free territory. They had principally settled in the counties of St. Clair and Madison, then by far the largest and most populous. The Salt-Springs, near the Ohio River, had drawn to the County of Gallatin a considerable population, causing it to stand number three in the rank of counties then formed. In the more southern counties, bordering upon the Ohio, and Mississippi, the population was made up of emigrants from the States before mentioned, and from Ohio, and Tennessee. At this time, the enterprise of the New Englanders, or Yankees, had not, to any extent, been directed to this fair portion of the country. It was rare to meet an individual who claimed a birthplace east of the mountains, and still more rare to find a family who had emigrated from the Eastern States. A few, however, there were, scattered probably in every county in the State, known and distinguished from their Western neighbors by their "Yankee notions and Yankee fixings."

Running parallel with the Mississippi River, from the mouth of the Kaskaskia to the present City of Alton, is a rich alluvial bottom, interspersed with woodland and prairie of most exceeding fertility, varying in width from two to seven miles. It was in this portion of the State, now known by the name of the "American Bottom," that the early French settlers from Canada located, forming, at the period of the adoption of the Constitution, near a-fourth part of the inhabitants of the State of Illinois. Their most northern village was Cahokia, a few miles south of St. Louis; Prairie du Pont, Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia, the extreme southern settlements. These hardy adventurers were the descendants of a more enterprising race, who, long previous, had emigrated to Canada, and encountered all the hardships and toils incident to the settlement of a new country, in a climate so inauspicious. Separated from the society and refinement of Europe, their fathers had retained the manners and customs of the fifteenth century, and those manners and customs, almost unimpaired, with the persons of the emigrating

Canadians, were transferred from the ice-bound shores of the St. Lawrence, to those of the almost ever-vegetating Mississippi. Averse to solitude, and existing only in society, the new-comers, unlike those of the present day who seek for the margin of large prairies, and extensive range, settled together in small, compact villages, in the centre of which, to their credit be it spoken, was the village church, as respectable an edifice as could be formed from the rude materials furnished by the country, and the ruder skill of a community where the arts and sciences were wholly unknown, and where agriculture was the only pursuit. They cultivated a common field, varying in its number of acres, according to the size of the village to which it was attached. That at Kaskaskia embraced 6,000 acres, with an exterior fence only. The allotments of each individual were distinctly marked by metes and bounds, and his possession was held sacred. By mutual regulations in their own exclusive day, and by legal ones after allotments were purchased by Americans, the inhabitants of the village, and owners of the field, were bound to keep the fences in good repair, expending labor thereon in proportion to the number of acres by them respectively owned. At a day named, the products of the field were to be entirely husbanded, and the great gate to be opened for the free ingress and egress of the cattle of the villagers. From a soil so very fertile, with the least degree of labor, ever so unskilfully bestowed, the original inhabitants of our State derived an abundant supply for all their wants. Their language had degenerated, and become so provincial, that a Parisian Frenchman could barely understand the leading ideas of their discourse. The little education they possessed by instruction at intervals from priests who officiated in their villages. It was, at best, very scanty, and I doubt if a moiety of the elders of the present generation can read, or a quarter of them write. Though they were some number of generations removed from their ancestors who broke off from the Grand Nation, they were essentially and entirely French. Disdaining to borrow care from to-morrow, they seized upon the enjoyment of the present, and, with light hearts and lighter heels, they danced through a life of comparative innocence, until, at mature old age, they slept with their fathers. Such were the inhabitants of the French villages when I became acquainted with them, twenty-two years since, and such, doubtless, were their fathers before them. The winter, with them as with us, was a season of gaiety. The carnival—for our villagers were universally Catholic—was a festival which did not fail to be strictly observed. Old and young engaged in its peculiar

duties, and the joyous party, and the giddy dance, followed in such quick succession, that almost the whole time was devoted to amusements. Dancing, of course, formed a conspicuous part, and as their manner of getting up their winter assemblies was entirely different from that practiced in our more refined community, it is worthy of narration, if not for its novelty, at least as illustrative of the simple manners of our early French inhabitants. It devolved upon the young ladies, in the early commencement of the season of festivity, to assemble themselves, and the young gentlemen of the village, in a social party. Plays of various kinds succeeded the introductory salutations of the company, and coffee and cakes formed their only refreshments. The hours passed unheeded away, while the tale of love, perhaps, was told, and listened to, and the forfeits declared, and redeemed. The company are about to separate, and yet the great object of the party is not accomplished. In the confusion of the moment, a young lady approaches a gentleman, and, after imprinting upon his lips a gentle kiss, proceeds to attach to the lapel of his coat, a little bouquet of tastefully-arranged artificial flowers. And to what office do you suppose the young gentleman attains by this simple operation? He is at once raised to regal dignity and power—a king as well *de jure* as *de facto*. The king-elect, as in duty bound, immediately proceeds to select his queen, delivering to her the aforesaid bouquet, the emblem of his power. The new queen crowns another king, and he selects his queen, as before, until four queens and kings, as odd as this may appear, reign in harmony in one small community. At a time designated, the king ball, attended by the whole village, from the old lady of eighty to the little miss of ten years, is opened, with some pomp and ceremony, by the four dignitaries and their partners, and its care and direction are confided wholly to them. At a proper interval in the dance, one of the reigning queens, as upon a former occasion, salutes a gentleman, and thus four kings and queens are again selected for the next regular ball—thus preserving, for the winter, a regular succession of reigning monarchs. If any one is curious to inquire into the privileges and immunities, appertaining to this kingly office, he will learn that, in addition to the honor conferred, the kings were permitted, jointly, to pay the whole expense of the entertainment, besides, individually, making such presents to his queen as her wants or his ability might demand or justify. Usually a dress was given, and it was a matter not uncommon, that the village belle, at the close of the carnival revels, found her wardrobe so replenished that she could safely trust it for the coming year. The character of the

king was not, however, compromised, if the present was less costly than the article indicated. A pair of shoes, stockings, gloves, or even a few yards of ribbon, were often given, and received in full quittance of queenly rights.

Another custom peculiar to these early settlers, was that of the charivari, which always took place when a widow or widower entered a second time into the estate matrimonial. Its conductors were usually the elders of the village, and the early part of the evening was the time selected by the populace to pay their respects to the newly-married couple. Armed and equipped with tin horns of all sizes and notes, and with every sort of kettle upon which a discordant noise could be made, the charivari party, after marching through the principal streets of the village, enlisting in their company the young and old, of all sizes and colors, drew up before the domicile of the happy pair. An old man, appointed for the purpose, sung, in recitative, a species of notice to the assemblage, that either the lady or gentleman had taken a second husband or wife, the chorus of which was sustained by the whoops and yells of those who had no instruments of music, by blasts long and loud upon the horns, accompanied by violent beating upon the tin pans, and kettles. Generally, a few such thrilling choruses would overcome the modesty of the fair one, and call out the happy pair to receive the congratulations of their friends. Upon such occasions, the serenading company was regaled with whiskey-punch, and the time fixed when the newly-married gentleman would give a ball, free, as upon other occasions, to the whole village. But woe to the stubborn bridegroom who faileth to comply with this custom! The luckless wight, whose bed is surrounded by all the pugnacious cats in the neighborhood, might woo with more hope of success, "Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," than he who sets at naught the charivari. Has he patience? So have they, excelling, if it might be, that of Job, intent upon enforcing a custom honored by time out-of-mind, and implicitly yielded to by generations long since departed. No week is passed without a trial of the bridegroom's patience, and a repetition of the concert, until, tired of the attention paid him, of being the subject of the remarks of all, the evening is selected, the dance opened, continued, and finished. I once lived in the neighborhood of a refractory bridegroom, who, I was told, had withstood these attacks for two years before I came to the village. The third was commenced by a vigorous prosecution of the siege. During the season, the onsets were furious, and the clamors deafening.

It passed, however, as had former years, without bringing him to terms. In year the fourth, he yielded, and the only remark was, that his party was the largest, best attended, and most sumptuous, of any in the recollection of the oldest inhabitants.

The soil, which was once exclusively their own, is now, in many cases, possessed by men, whose pursuits and feelings are wholly different from its original cultivators. The hospitable Virginian, the chivalrous and noble-spirited Kentuckian, and the prudent and industrious Yankee, have settled in their midst, and, to a great degree, rooted out those customs which for so many years had been sacredly observed: and the indigenous Frenchman finds himself imperceptibly undergoing a change, and approximating the manners and views of his new neighbors.

By an Act of Congress, at the session of 1817-18, the inhabitants of the then Territory of Illinois, were authorized to form a State government, if it should appear that there were 40,000 inhabitants in the bounds of the proposed State. In the summer of 1818, therefore, a census was taken, making the population a fraction over the required amount. The census was, at the time, deemed apocryphal, and, no doubt, the numbers were exaggerated. The true population might have been a little rising of 30,000. But so anxious were the inhabitants to emerge from a Territorial to a State government, that acts of the Marshal, and the Deputies, were countenanced approval, which illy comported with their official oaths. One plan, among others adopted, it was said, was to place the census-taker upon the largest thoroughfares, so that explorers of the country, and movers, whether to the State or elsewhere, might be counted, to swell the number of inhabitants. Thus, families were counted upon their entrance into the State, and again and again, as they passed through the different counties on their route, and, probably, before they had arrived at the place of their destination, or passed entirely through the State, a family of ten were made to figure, at least, sixty, in the Marshal's returns. The census having been completed, showing, upon paper, the required number, delegates to form a State Constitution were chosen, and assembled at Kaskaskia, the then seat of government, in the early part of August, and on the 26th of that month, affixed their names to the Constitution under which we now live. Of this Convention, I have only time to say, that, for the most part, it was composed of substantial farmers, men of limited education, but of sound judgment. The bar was represented but by three of its members: Mr. J. B. Thomas, Sr., the President; Mr. E. K. Kane, afterwards a Senator in Congress, and Mr. A.

F. Hubbard, subsequently Lieutenant-Governor, the two latter now deceased. To Mr. Kane must be awarded the merit of the arrangement and details of the proceedings of this Convention, and, doubtless, the composition, wherever original, of the instrument itself. The sixth article of the Constitution, declaring that Slavery, or involuntary servitude, should not, hereafter, be introduced into the State, was the subject of warm debate, and the only exciting topic during the session.

This audience is well aware, that by the ordinance of 1787, Slavery was excluded from the Territory out of which this State was formed. But long before the passage of this ordinance, Slavery had been introduced into Illinois by the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley, and did, of course, exist when the ordinance of 1787 became the organic law of the Northwest Territory. During the existence of the Illinois Territorial Government, a law had been passed by the Legislature, known as the Indenturing Law, by which a kind of quasi-slavery had been legalized. By this Act, a slave-holder, in Kentucky or elsewhere, could bring his slaves into the Territory, taking them, within a certain time, before the Clerk of the Circuit Court; here the slaves, by their own free will and accord, *as was presumed*, consented to serve their late masters 70, 80, or 90 years, taking special care to add such a number of years as would cover the life of the indented person. The children of the indentured servants were to be registered, upon their birth, in the County Clerk's office, and were called "registered servants," to be free, the males at thirty-three, and the females at twenty-seven years old, the descendants of the registered servants to be free at twenty-one and seventeen years old. Thus, it will be perceived, that the subject of Slavery, in all its varieties, as it then existed, was calculated to excite a deep interest when it was supposed that, by Acts of the Convention, it was to be upheld, or wholly swept away. Its advocates were anxious to insert into the Constitution a saving clause, by which their supposed rights would be confirmed, while the ultras of the opposite party were ready to overturn the whole fabric. The Convention took a middle course, leaving the right to the French slaves, and their descendants, to be adjudicated by the Courts of the country, and declaring that those who had been bound to service by indenture or contract, in conformity with the Territorial Law, without *fraud* or *collusion*, should be held to a specific performance of their contract, and also, that those who had been registered, should serve out the time appointed by law. The anti-slavery men were contented

with the saving clause contained in the words "without fraud or collusion," as they contended that in *all* cases of indentured servants, there was both the one and the other. To a great extent, they were, no doubt, correct, for cases were not uncommon, where the unfortunate servant, before going to the Clerk's office, was whipped into a proper state of mind, "*freely and voluntarily*" to enter into contract with his master. But, in all cases, it was well understood, that if this consent were not given, the slave would be immediately removed to a slave-holding State, to remain in bondage, in the hands of some one, perhaps, less kind than his present possessor.

Provision having been made in the Constitution for the election of State officers, elections were held soon after the adjournment of the Convention, when Shadrack Bond was elected Governor, and Pierre Menard, Lieutenant-Governor, without opposition. Governor Bond was a native of Maryland, and had removed with his parents, when quite young, into the then Indiana Territory. He was, to a considerable degree, destitute of the advantages of education, but, possessing a strong mind, and a popular address, was successful in the administration of the duties of his office. His State papers were usually attributed to his Secretary of State. As a politician, Governor Bond was decided, confining his appointments strictly to his friends, personal and political, but courteous and polite to his opponents. As an officer, he was generally popular and conscientious in the discharge of his duties; and, as a man, upright and honest. He died, lamented by all, in 1827. The Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Menard, was a French citizen of Kaskaskia, where he still resides. In politics, he was in opposition to Governor Bond, and it was somewhat remarkable that both should have been run on the same ticket. At the close of the Convention, it was determined that Colonel Menard should be run for that office, but he had been rendered ineligible by the 13th Sec. of the 3d Art. of the Constitution, which provides that the Governor, and Lieut.-Governor, shall be, at least, thirty years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States thirty years, and a resident of this State two years. To remove this difficulty—for Col. Menard had not been a citizen of the United States thirty years—the last section in the schedule was added, making any one eligible to the office of Lieut.-Governor, who was over thirty years of age, and who had resided within the limits of the State for two years next preceding his election.

Upon the approval by the National Legislature, of the new

Constitution, Governor Bond issued his proclamation, convening the Legislature on the first Monday of December. With few exceptions, the first Legislature was composed of the delegates of the late Convention. Mr. John Messenger, one of the makers of the late map of this State, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. The General Assembly immediately proceeded to form a code of laws adapted to the wants of the new State. Having adopted, for the most part, the Common Law of England, a system the most perfect ever yet devised, they drew largely upon the then existing statute laws of Kentucky, copying, almost verbatim, the general laws of that State. Mr. Kane, then Secretary of State, having been appointed Clerk to the Committee on the Judiciary, was the author and compiler of most of the general Acts of this Legislature. In the course of this session, an Act was passed, changing the seat of government from Kaskaskia, to the late Capital, Vandalia. That this measure was unwise, and inexpedient, has been demonstrated by the experience of late years. It grew out of that speculating spirit which was but latterly so rife in this community, and which sometimes overlooks the public, in the advancement of individual interests. Kaskaskia was the focus of influence, and, by the least exertion, it would have retained its superiority. Its principal citizens were, however, interested in commanding points north of it, and, should a change be made, it was confidently anticipated that those individual points would be chosen. Commissioners were appointed to select the future site, north of the base line, and east of the third principal meridian. In the summer of 1819, the 16th Sec. in T. 6, N. 1, E., was chosen by the Commissioners, a town laid out, and the name of Vandalia given to it. It may be here added, that the speculations of the Kaskaskia gentlemen were not realized, the selection being made from the lands of the Government. It is said that the three Commissioners cast lots for the honor of conferring a name upon the new town, and that the lot fell to one who had learned from history, that, while the Vandals were the most warlike, they were, also, the most civilized and refined of former nations. It therefore seemed right to him, that their memory should be perpetuated, and that the State would be honored, in calling its seat of government after the principal town of those renowned people. Vandalia was, at that time, north of any settlement. The nearest commencement of the cultivation of the soil, was at least twenty miles from the town. But such was the idea entertained of its future greatness, that lots sold at from \$300 to \$700. Subse-

quently, they were bought for one-tenth part of those sums. A plain two-story wooden building was erected for the accommodation of the Legislature, which was completed in season for the session of 1820-21. Mr. John McLean, afterwards a Senator in Congress, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The most important Act of this Legislature, was that of incorporating the Old State Bank of Illinois. It is necessary here to say, that the effects of overtrading, and the want of stable currency, which occasioned the bankruptcy of thousands at the East in 1816-17, were not experienced in the West until the commencement of 1820. In 1818, the State of Kentucky had at one session of the Legislature, incorporated a litter of fifty banks, whose paper flooded the country, giving a fictitious value to property, and inducing the most extravagant speculations. The fall of 1819 witnessed the explosion of these bubbles, leaving the country destitute of a circulating medium, and the people indebted to the Government for lands, under the credit system, and to each other, in sums far beyond their means to liquidate. The Legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee had adopted relief measures, as they were called, creating State Banks, issuing a fictitious currency, and postponing, by law, the collection of debts. This State unwisely followed their example, and created a State Bank, with a nominal capital of half a million, authorizing but \$300,000 to be issued, without one cent of specie capital, pledging the faith and revenues of the State for the redemption of its bills. The principal bank was located at the seat of government, with branches at Edwardsville, Shawneetown, Edwards County, and Brownsville. Sums not exceeding \$100 were to be loaned upon personal security, larger amounts were to be secured by mortgage upon unincumbered real estate, payable one tenth part annually, with interest. It was also provided in this law, that if the plaintiff in execution should fail to endorse on that writ, that the paper of the State Bank of Illinois would be received in payment, the defendant should have the right to replevy or postpone the collection of the debt for three years. The policy of this measure was very much doubted by the better-informed portion of the Legislature, and its passage through the Houses met with much opposition. In the Senate, the fate of the bill was for a long time a matter of doubt. It passed that body by a very small majority. It was returned by the Council of Revision with their objections, the most important of which was its unconstitutionality, but it was again passed by the requisite majority. Some few days after, a Senator introduced a resolution,

requiring our delegation in Congress to make the necessary efforts with the Treasury Department to secure the receipt of the new money in the land-offices of this State. After some debate, the question upon this resolution was demanded. Col. Menard, the presiding officer of the Senate, who had, through all its stages, manifested the most bitter hostility to the establishment of the bank, had listened to the debate with evident symptoms of uneasiness, and, having no faith himself in this proposed currency, and thinking, with some propriety, that the Senate evinced no wisdom in asking for what no man in his senses would grant, rose to put the question. "Gentlemen," said he, in his broken English, "I put the question—suppose I must—I bet you fifty dollar Congree no make him Land-Office money." The resolution was, however, carried, and the worthy Lieut.-Governor would have won his money, had any Senator ventured to have accepted his proposition.

With all possible speed, the State prepared to loan her credit (for it was nothing more,) to her citizens, in the sum of \$300,000, and Murray, Draper & Fairman furnished as finely-engraved bills as now generally meet the eye, in denominations of \$1, \$3, \$5, \$10, and \$20, bearing an interest of two per cent. The branches were put into operation, each having a President, Cashier, and Board of Directors; and the money was speedily loaned. Upon its first appearance, it was at a discount of thirty-three per cent; it soon fell in value to fifty cents on the dollar, then forty, thirty, and even as low as twenty-five cents. During the years 1823, 1824, and a part of 1825, its nominal value was thirty cents, and, as silver change was wholly banished from circulation, and the Legislature, by a severe statute, had prevented the issuing of shimplasters, the people would have experienced no little inconvenience for change, had not the plan of tearing these bills been adopted. If you had a demand of twenty-five cents to liquidate, it would, of course, require a full State paper dollar. To pay fifty cents, you divided a \$3 bill, giving your creditor one-half, right hand or left, and putting the other half in your pocket. The half of a \$5 bill would pay seventy-five cents, and a whole, \$1.50. So, it will be perceived, that we had no fractional parts of a dollar. Yet we managed without difficulty, with this species of currency. In the fall of 1825, the paper rose to forty cents, and, from that time, gradually, until, by an Act of the Legislature of 1831, the Governor was authorized to make a loan of \$100,000, for the purpose of withdrawing the remaining portion of this currency from circulation. The State, in this effort to relieve the citizens,

lost at least one-third of the sum issued, without effecting the purpose proposed. Industry and economy produced more relief, in the three succeeding years, than could have been expected from ten such banks. The general Government, too, by its wise and liberal policy in permitting its debtors to relinquish quarter-sections upon which \$80 had been paid, and to apply that sum to another tract, encouraged effort, and secured confidence.

At this session, the first measures in relation to our Canal were proposed. A bill passed the Senate, making an appropriation to defray the expense of an examination of the country, and to ascertain if the work was practicable. The bill was, however, lost in the House of Representatives.

In August, 1822, a general election for State officers was held. The candidates for Governor were the Hon. Jos. Philips, the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court; Thos. C. Browne, then and now an Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court; Ed. Coles, then Register of the Land-Office at Edwardsville, and Gen. J. B. Moore, then and now a citizen of the County of Monroe. As there were no political principles involved in this election, it turned wholly on individual preferences. Messrs. Philips and Browne were well known to the entire community, as well from their long residence as the important offices which they held. Gen. Moore, too, was an old resident, and stood deservedly high with the electors. Mr. Coles was little known beyond his own and a few adjoining counties. In 1819, he had emigrated from Virginia, a decided advocate of the immediate emancipation of the African race. He was not merely a preacher of the doctrine, but a doer of the word. He brought to the country with him, his own slaves, inherited from his father, and not only set them free, but provided for, and deeded to them, comfortable farms, with stock, and utensils for husbandry. Among those who professed to understand the politics of this country, it was supposed the contest would be between Messrs. Philips and Browne. Contrary to the expectation of all, Mr. Coles received the largest number of votes, and was consequently elected Governor. The election, between the three largest on the list of candidates, was a close one. Mr. Coles received 2,810; Judge Philips, 2,760; Judge Browne, 2,534, and Gen. Moore, 735.

The session of the Legislature, which followed this election, will long be remembered by those who then took an interest in public affairs. It was characterized by the most extraordinary legislative proceedings, and marked with the bitterest spirit of party animosity. Gov. Coles, in his opening message, decidedly

condemned the Act of the previous session, establishing the State Bank, and called upon the Legislature to make a rigid examination into the proceedings of that institution, and urged the restoration, if possible, of a sound currency. He warmly advocated the immediate commencement of a system of internal improvement. Speaking of our Canal, he said: "Nature has bountifully provided Illinois with two channels of communication between the waters of the Mississippi and those of the great lakes, neither of which requires much labor to make navigable. The Illinois River, which falls directly into the great Father of Waters, and from its uniform depth of water, and general current, affords the best navigation of all its tributaries, approaches within a few miles of Lake Michigan, and, as the intervening surface is unusually level, and the earth of a light and friable texture, a canal could be excavated at a small expense." Of the means which the State then possessed to prosecute this work, he observed, that "the salines granted to this State by the General Government, are more productive than those granted to any other State, and the 3,000,000 acres of land granted to the soldiers of the late war as military bounties, though they may, for a certain time, impede the settlement and prosperity of the State, from the circumstance of their being chiefly owned in large quantities by non-resident proprietors, will have the same immediate effect of increasing the revenue from taxable lands. As these two sources of revenue are more than fall to the lot of other new States, there seems to be a great propriety of appropriating them to the great work of internal improvement, leaving the ordinary expenditures of the civil administration of the State to be met, as in other States, by ordinary taxation." He concludes this branch of the subject by the recommending the formation of a fund, to be appropriated exclusively to works of internal improvement, consisting of the revenue received into the treasury, from the taxes on the Military Bounty Lands, from the salines, and from fines, and forfeitures. In strict accordance with his views on the subject of Slavery, he called the attention of the Legislature to the evils then existing, arguing its illegality, from the terms of the deed of cession of Virginia to the United States, and the ordinance of 1787, and earnestly recommended, that just and equitable provision should be made for its abrogation in the State.

This message, though correct, in the main, in all its views, was most unfortunate in the effect produced, in both branches of the Legislature. The relief men, or advocates of a new currency,

were directly attacked, their favorite institution assailed, and their previous measures condemned. The friends of Slavery, always constituting a large minority in the early Legislatures, were indignant at the temerity of the Governor for approaching a subject then, as now, held to be exempted from discussion. A union of those two sections was consummated, and the Governor found a large majority in both Houses in opposition to most of his views, and all of his appointments.

Upon the subject of internal improvement, the Governor and Legislature harmonized, and on the first day of the session, Mr. Field, now Secretary of State, introduced into the House of Representatives, the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Internal Improvements be instructed to enquire into the practicability of making a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, and that they report to this House the propriety of adopting measures preparatory to the execution of that work. *Resolved*, That said Committee enquire into the expediency of authorizing the Governor of this State, to employ one or more practical engineers to examine the portage between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; and also, for them to ascertain the probable sum it would take to excavate a canal connecting the same; and also, that said Committee report to this House, a bill making appropriations sufficient for this State to carry into execution the above resolutions." The resolutions were committed to a committee of the whole, and from them originated a bill "to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State," which, early in the month of January, passed the House of Representatives, with but six votes in the negative. In the Senate, this bill met with the most violent opposition, and it was somewhat singular, that, as it had for its object improvement of the western side of this State, it should have been so warmly advocated by eastern, and opposed by western Senators. Judge Smith, who then represented the County of Madison, in the Senate, was the leader of the friends of this measure, and Governor Kinney, of those in opposition. During the progress of the Canal bill in the Senate, Mr. Kinney, professing to be a decided advocate of the system of Internal Improvement, introduced a bill to drain certain lakes, which he alleged was of greater importance than the Canal measure, inasmuch, by this improvement, not only much good land would be reclaimed, but the health of the country materially benefited. His object, as supposed, was to enlist Senators in local works, and to apply, to this purpose, the slender means of the State.

This, and the Canal bill, were both referred to the committee of the whole, on the same day. Upon its consideration, each member seemed anxious to add, not only to the number of lakes to be drained, but to the amount to be appropriated for the object. Amendment after amendment was made; and adopted, when one member moved an additional section, proposing to drain Lake Michigan, which was also carried by a large majority, and the sum of \$94,000 was appropriated to carry the provisions of the bill into effect. "Fortunately for the country lying southwest of the lake," says the Editor of the State paper of that day, "its inundation was prevented by a motion to read the bill, in committee of the whole, on the 4th day of July, which prevailed, by nine votes in the affirmative, and six in the negative." On a subsequent day, the Canal bill passed the Senate, Messrs. Beaird, Grammer, and Kinney, only, voting in the negative. This Act constituted five individuals a Board of Commissioners, to consider, advise, and adopt such measures as might be requisite, to effect the communication, by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan, authorizing them to employ an engineer, and others, to make the necessary survey, levels, etc., to determine the route of the Canal, and to make the necessary estimates of the work; all which was to be reported to the next session of the Legislature. The sum of \$600 was appropriated to carry the provisions of the bill into execution.

The next engrossing subject, was a resolution, authorizing the electors to vote, at the subsequent general election, for, or against, a Convention to amend the Constitution. This resolution was in pursuance of the 7th Article of our Constitution, which provides that, whenever two-thirds of the General Assembly shall think it necessary to alter or amend that instrument, "they shall recommend to the electors, at the next election of members to the General Assembly, to vote for, or against, a Convention, and if it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the State, voting for representatives, have voted for a Convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next session, call a Convention, for the purpose of revising, altering, or amending this Constitution." The progress of this resolution enlisted the feelings of all men, and produced an excitement which has no parallel in the history of our State. The friends of Slavery were impressed with the belief, that the time was now come when, by an effort, a change in our domestic institutions might be produced, and they exerted every nerve to effect their purpose. Their oppo-

nents were alarmed at the prospect of the success of the measure, which, an untoward combination of circumstances rendered more than probable. They looked forward to a desperate struggle, in the settlement of the question, at the polls, which should call out the worst feelings of our natures, and array, in opposition, men, who, otherwise, would remain united. They foresaw, during the pendency of the question, all immigration into the State would cease—that all enterprize would be checked—and that the more substantial citizens, instead of extending their improvements, would be shaping their arrangements so as to leave the State, in the event of the success of the Convention-party; that all in favor of the Convention-resolution were really anxious to introduce Slavery, if, indeed, it was practicable, is not asserted; but, unquestionably, a large majority of the party were influenced alone by this consideration. Some of its advocates avowed their object to be the abolishing of the Council of Revision, and others, to provide for an annual meeting of the Legislature, and others, still, the removal of the seat of Government.

In the Senate, there was obtained, without much difficulty, a Constitutional majority of two-thirds, but it was otherwise in the House of Representatives. The first vote, in the latter body, was twenty-two to fourteen, leaving a Constitutional majority of two votes. Immediately, the action of the Legislature was so directed as to AFFECT these two votes. Local measures, in which no interest was taken, except by those immediately concerned, if proposed by one of the fourteen, were voted down. Mobs paraded, at nights, before the houses of the minority, saluting them with groans and hisses; and instructions were gotten up at Vandalia, and sent, for signatures, into the counties of the anti-Conventionists. These efforts were not without success—and two members were induced to come over to the dominate party. Having now all things arranged, and sure of success, the resolutions were again called up; and upon this vote, Mr. Hansen, a representative from Pike County, who had, before, voted with the Conventionists, now voted against the resolution, and it was, a second time, defeated. Great was the excitement upon Mr. Hansen's defection—and the majority determined that, at all hazards, they would carry their point—and they resorted to this expedient to effect their object. At the commencement of the session, Mr. Hansen's seat had been contested by a Mr. Shaw. The papers and documents had been referred to the Committee on Elections, who reported in

favor of Hansen, in which report the House had concurred. Hansen was, therefore, permitted to retain his seat unquestioned, from the first days of the session to near the close of it, a period of some ten weeks. Mr. Shaw, after his unsuccessful contest, had returned to his home. A special messenger was sent to request his attendance at the seat of Government. Upon his arrival, a motion was made to reconsider the former vote of the House, declaring Hansen re-elected. This was carried by a vote of twenty-two to thirteen. Mr. Shaw was then declared, by resolution, to be a member of the House, and Mr. Hansen, consequently, excluded. The House, as thus constituted, concurred with the Senate, and the resolution, by the aid of Mr. Shaw's vote, was declared, by the Speaker, to be adopted.

Immediately after the session, presses were secured upon either side, and the great question underwent the closest scrutiny, and the most particular investigation. Facts were collected and embodied, showing that the interests, as well as the happiness, of the people, required them to sustain their free institutions. For a time the Conventionists seemed to carry with them the people, as they had, before, the Legislature. But as light was poured in upon the question, and the newspapers and tracts, everywhere industriously circulated, produced their legitimate effect, it was soon perceived that a great change in public opinion had taken place. At a later period, that party entertained but faint hopes of success—and at the polls they were defeated by an overwhelming majority of voters—and thus, was forever put to rest the question of Slavery, as to its existence in Illinois.

In conclusion, I shall briefly advert to a few topics, which could not well be connected with the preceding remarks. And, first, the administration of justice. Though there was an efficient organization of the courts, yet, from the extent of the territory and the sparseness of the population, justice did not always overtake the evil-doer. The spring terms of the courts were often interrupted, and sometimes, wholly prevented by high waters cutting off all communication with the different portions of the State—for, with the exception of the United States road leading from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, I am not aware that a stream was bridged over which the roads of the country ran. Swimming creeks was so much of a matter of course and necessity, that horses were selected with a view to this object—and an animal that took the water fearlessly and swam so high as not to immerse his rider, was held in great esteem. The want of sufficient jails, or, in

most counties, of *any* jails, was a great evil. If an offender was taken, and his guilt ever so apparent, unless the Court was near at hand, he was sure to escape. For the first ten years of the State government, I do not recollect of but one jail that would hold a criminal, and that one was at Belleville, in the county of St. Clair. In 1825, a man was condemned for murder in the county of Sangamon. Attending the Court of that county, I arrived at Springfield the day before his execution; with one of the members of the Bar, I went to visit him. He was confined in a pen of logs, perhaps ten feet square, and as many high, without a roof. In one corner was the wretched criminal, chained to the logs, with a temporary roof, constructed of clap-boards, over his head, sufficient only to protect him from the rays of the sun and damps of the night. The difficulty and expense of detaining culprits until the regular session of Court, gave rise, in the early days of the territorial government, to the companies of "Regulators," which were organized in almost every county, and existed at the formation of our State government, and for a few years afterward. The "Regulators" were generally composed of the more enterprising and respectable class of the inhabitants. The captain acted as commander and judge. Their vigilance and energies were directed principally against horse-thieves and passers of counterfeit money, with which the country abounded. Upon a successful foray, the company, with the delinquent, retired to the woods, when a court was duly opened, the prisoner examined, and the witnesses sworn. Perhaps few escaped by the technicalities of the law, and but very few were punished who did not richly deserve it. A majority of voices acquitted or condemned, and fixed the quantum of punishment. From thirty to one hundred stripes upon the bare back, was the common sentence, with an admonition from the presiding officer that should the offender be found within their limits after a given time, he would again be taken up and repunished. A word to the wise, in this case, was always sufficient. As soon as necessary arrangements could be made, if the offender was a resident, he transferred his person and effects to a country of larger liberty, and where the police were less vigilant and attentive. Though acting without law, and, indeed, directly in defiance of it, this system of jurisprudence was approved and sustained by public opinion, and was, unquestionably, productive of much good.

In a country so new and so recently settled, it could not be expected that any considerable effort should have been made in the cause of education. Common schools were generally found

in neighborhoods large enough to sustain them. They were, however, but very common schools, in which even the first rudiments were but imperfectly taught. In that day, and at later periods, a bitter hostility was manifested to colleges and seminaries of learning. No effort was made for their establishment until a day subsequent to the time I have embraced in this lecture.

In regard to morals and religion, it may be said, that either there has been, since the commencement of our State government, a progression from bad to worse; or that our early inhabitants were far superior to those who are usually the pioneers of future population. The caning, dirking, and shooting, now so common in new settlements, were almost unknown in this State. In the religious community, the Methodists clearly took the lead. They were early on the ground, and the good they have done, has been seen and realized. The Baptists, in their various sects, as they still exist at the South, were second in their efforts to do good. To the Rev. Mr. Peck, of this church, this State is more indebted than to any other one religious teacher. At an early day he put into operation, in almost every settlement, the machinery of Sunday-schools and Bible Societies, and for years sustained it by his own untiring and unaided exertions. At the formation of the government, I am not aware that there was, within our limits, a minister of the Episcopal or Presbyterian order. A few churches of the latter persuasion had been formed in the country adjacent to the Ohio River, which were occasionally visited by ministers from Kentucky. It was not until the summer of 1819, that the first Presbyterian Missionary came among us. The Covenanters of the old Scotch church had made a settlement, formed a church, and had a regular officiating minister in 1817. At the Convention, this sect presented their petition praying that an article might be inserted in our State Constitution, recognizing Jehovah as God, and the Bible as a revelation of His will to mankind. As their desired object was not effected, they refused thereafter to perform the duties of citizens, except in the payment of taxes, as voters, militia-men, or jurors.

The political divisions, as they then existed, I can only attribute to the question of Slavery. It is readily perceived that those who emigrated from slave-States to avoid its evils, would unite, in their new homes, in opposition to it. Others there were, who, tempted by the rich virgin soil of Illinois, and the future prospects of the State, which were then seen in the perspective, had removed here, if not in favor of Slavery, at least with no

objection to it. A union of this class, with a large floating population in the vicinity of the salt-works, engaged in the manufacture of salt, and the native French citizens, who were generally slave-holders, formed a party equal, if not superior, to their opponents. The anti-slavery men rallied around Governor Edwards, then Territorial Governor, and the others supported and sustained Governor Bond. That there was no difference in principle in these two gentlemen, I infer from the fact that they both held slaves to the day of their death. Their influence, however, was exerted in favor of their respective parties—probably more from necessity than from choice. At the first election, when Governor Bond ran without opposition, the parties were rallied upon the choice for Representative for Congress, Mr. Cook running as an Edwards man, and Mr. John McLean in opposition. The contest was a severe one, and the result elected McLean by less than one hundred votes, to the portion of the session then unexpired when the State came into the Union. The next year the contest for the same office was renewed between the same candidates, when Mr. Cook was elected by several hundred majority. Two years subsequent, Mr. Kane, the official adviser and political friend of Governor Bond, took the field in opposition to Mr. Cook, and was almost distanced. Later still, the array of parties upon the Convention question, with few exceptions upon both sides, discovered the same political divisions. To the same principle of anti-slavery, I attribute the election of Governor Coles. While the majority of the old parties divided upon the other candidates, the ultra anti-slavery men, without concert or consultation, naturally united in the support of this gentleman, and secured his election, as we have seen, by a few votes, as unexpectedly to themselves as to the friends of the other candidates. I have spoken of Governor Bond. Let me say of Governor Edwards—for he, too, has passed “that bourne from which no traveler returns”—that he was a man possessed of talents of a very high order, justly ranking him among the first in the Senate, during the second term of Mr. Monroe’s administration. While Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, he was appointed Governor of the Illinois Territory, when formed, and continued in that office until superseded by the formation of the State Constitution. He was a bold, rather than a prudent, politician—unwavering and untiring in the pursuit of his object. From an intimate acquaintance, I can say, that in the main, his views were honest, and that he desired the best interests of the people. His personal appearance (for he was a gentleman of the

old school) was remarkably prepossessing, his manners polished, and his address attractive. In private life he was an enterprising citizen, an honest man, and kind and attentive to the poor and deserving. He fell a victim to his philanthropy, in efforts to lessen the evils of that dreadful scourge, the cholera. Attentive to those under his influence, he took the disease himself, and suddenly and unexpectedly closed a life of enterprise and usefulness in the summer of 1835.

May I trespass a few moments longer upon your attention to pay a tribute of respect to one of my earliest and best friends—I allude to Daniel P. Cook, from whom this county was named.

Mr. Cook, who, for seven years, ably represented this State in Congress, was a native of Kentucky, and departed this life in 1827. For nearly the whole of his brilliant Congressional career, his friends more hoped for than expected a continuance of his useful life, owing to the feeble state of his health. His death was, doubtless, accelerated by his laborious public duties, during the last session he occupied a seat in Congress. As Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, his feeble constitution gave way under the discharge of his high responsibilities, and he returned to his constituents to find an early grave. He had not the advantages of classical acquirements; all that he derived from schools were the simple rudiments of an English education. But possessing a mind of no common order, etherial and elastic, it relied upon itself, forming its own combination of principles, and rendering its possession far superior to those who only used the knowledge of others. Generous to a fault, he often gave judiciously, preferring to be imposed upon himself than suffer the needy to leave without aid.

His popularity was solid and substantial, won by merit, and secured by an entire devotion to the interests of his constituents. As a statesman, he stood deservedly high—there were but few of his contemporaries that ranked before him. He was among the few speakers, whose talents could command a full House of members and spectators.—This evidence was frequently given, when great national questions were before the House of Representatives, in the debate of which he was expected to participate. Illinois has been honored by him—she has cause to be proud of her representation—for he was of her own growth; a distinguished and able man of his own making.

I have thus traced a few of the principal events of our early history. Connected, as I have been with these events, and with the State of my adoption, from my early life, I look back

with interest upon these years "numbered with the flood." Comparing our present situation with the past, I am filled with astonishment at the rapidity of our march of improvement. It has certainly surprised the expectations of the most sanguine of our early inhabitants. Speaking for myself, and those with whom I was conversant, the twenty-second year of our State government finds us at a point, which we could not reasonably have hoped to have attained in our fortieth year. What is in reserve for us, we know not. Judging, however, from the past, with the blessing of kind Providence, the time is not far distant when our own Illinois will stand first in the ranks of the American Confederacy, in point of number, wealth, and influence. The materials of greatness are in our midst; it depends upon the men of this generation, whether these materials shall be used, and the vast resources of our State developed. The light cloud,* which now partially obscures our political sun, and casts a shade upon our future prospects, with our united efforts, may be easily dissipated, as the light mists from our own clear lake before the genial breeze of summer. Let there, hereafter, be unity of purpose, and union of effort. Let party names be obliterated, and party feuds be forgotten, and let the rivalry be, who can do the most for the future prosperity of Illinois.

EARLY SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

BY ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D.D.

An Address read before the Chicago Historical Society, Tuesday, October 19, 1880

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

At the risk of failing to contribute anything, not embraced in the documents and volumes already in the possession of this Association, I have ventured to promise a paper, on the Early Society of Southern Illinois. I now proceed to present to you some of my own recollections, and the results of some reading and inquiry in regard to this subject. Two valuable papers, recently read here, pertaining to the French population in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, and the early political, and other public men of this State, have satisfactorily covered a part of the territory, which I might have traversed; and yet, I shall be pardoned, if I take a somewhat wide range, in treating of Society, as it was in the older section of this State, from forty to fifty or sixty years ago. And I trust, I shall be excused, if I refer somewhat frequently, to my own recollection of facts, running back to 1821 or 1822, my father having removed into this State, near the close of the year 1821. The period which I shall contemplate in the statements of this paper, may be considered as beginning with the year 1815, and extending forward fifteen or twenty years, although I shall have occasion to refer to social conditions, some of which are traceable to the first settlements of the Illinois Territory, and some of which still have many living illustrations in the southern portion of our yet comparatively new State.

The territory, which was chiefly occupied by the people of this State, down to the year 1830, if not longer, lies south of a line running east and west across the State, and touching the northern boundary of Sangamon County.

The counties organized before 1820, were comparatively few, being, I think, in all only eighteen. Of these, the most populous in 1820, were St. Clair, formed in 1794, Randolph, next in age,

Madison, organized in 1812, Gallatin, same age, Bond, organized in 1817, and Franklin and Union Counties formed in 1818. These may perhaps be regarded as the mother counties of the State, in respect to the earlier population. But another list of counties, either set off from the older ones, or organized on more northern territory, came into the sisterhood, and embraced a good proportion of our people, before the close of the year 1825. Among these may be named Fayette, Clinton, Greene, Marion, Montgomery, Pike, Sangamon, and Schuyler. But the Society of which I am to speak took its shaping before the year 1825, and was mainly located in the counties organized before 1820. The entire white population of the State in 1800, was a fraction over 2,000; in 1810, upwards of 12,000; in 1820, more than 55,000; in 1830, 161,000.

The earlier population of Southern Illinois (leaving altogether out of view the aborigines of the country), consisted almost entirely of French, Pennsylvania Dutch, and native Americans. For there were very few Irish, Scotch, or German people, in the State, until the more recent wave of immigration from Great Britain and the continent of Europe began to roll in upon us. The French, who were of the Canadian type, were partly mixed with Indian blood, and resembled very closely their descendants of to-day. They occupied the portions of Randolph and St. Clair Counties, in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia and the American Bottom, and extended north of the line of Madison County, between the Mississippi River and the east bluff. Many of them may still be found in that region. They have always been distinguished for their simple and primitive modes of life, dress, and manners, their illiteracy, their indifference to all kinds of improvement, and their unquestioning adherence to the customs and religion of their fathers. After the interesting accounts, which we have had in former papers, of the origin and history of the French Colony at Kaskaskia, I need not further speak of this peculiar class of the first settlers in Illinois.

Of the earlier population, there was one small colony of Germans, and there were some settlements of those Germans, usually called Pennsylvania Dutch. They were an industrious, though not enterprising people, usually farmers of moderate means, who lived comfortably, and kept their associations mainly among themselves. The chief elements of the population were Americans, who emigrated, within the first quarter of the present century, from the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, with a small infusion of families from New

Jersey, New York, and the New England States. The great majority of the earlier inhabitants were from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. The immigrants from Pennsylvania, New York, and the New England States, have increased in relative proportions, after 1820, onward to the present time. The sectional feeling among the people, before 1825 or 1830, was, in many cases, intense, especially on the part of the natives of the Southern States, toward the emigrants from New York and New England. The term "Yankee," was, in many communities, one of reproach, and the unfortunate person who bore it, was watched with suspicion, and deemed hardly fit for association with those who thought themselves in some sort the rightful proprietors of the country. These prejudices were, however, less inveterate in the villages, where the people were from many different States, than in the rural districts, where the South-western element prevailed. And the New Englanders and New Yorkers, being generally enterprising, were usually settled in the thriving towns, and engaged in mechanical or mercantile pursuits. The families in the country, were generally of Southern origin, many of them having come originally from Virginia and the Carolinas to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, and thence to Illinois. These immigrants from the South and South-west, were generally influenced to move into the territory, afterwards the State, of Illinois, by two considerations—the first was, a desire to find a still newer country; for many of them were adventurers who had always lived in frontier regions; and, secondly, most of these people, being comparatively poor, and uncomfortable in communities where they had no real estate, and were compelled to labor alongside of slaves, were attracted by the prospect of becoming owners of fertile lands, and of escaping from the humiliation of being reckoned among the "white trash" of the slave-holding States. There were, however, a considerable number of what were deemed the better classes, who came to this State, either directly, from the South-west, or indirectly, through the State of Ohio. We see, at this point, the working of the ordinance of 1787, which caused a sifting of immigrants to Illinois, as well as other North-western States, both from the Southern and Middle States; from the Southern States, by keeping back those who owned slaves and defended the institution of Slavery, and from the Middle States, by introducing only those settlers who desired to improve their fortunes in a country where Slavery was forever forbidden by law. We shall have occasion to refer to this complexion of our early population in another connection.

We come now to notice the pursuits and modes of life that characterized the early inhabitants of Southern Illinois. I have already intimated, that there were two general classes of the first immigrants to our State, the one consisting of floating people, who always live in frontier settlements, and the other, which was much the larger, composed of those who came to be permanent residents.

As to pursuits, these two classes were widely different, but as to manners and style of living, they often resembled each other very closely. The floating class were mainly from the mountainous regions of the South-west, and depended chiefly upon hunting and fishing, for the means of living for themselves and their families. And, of course, as the country became more densely settled, they emigrated again to other frontier regions, further west. There was, however, a considerable proportion of the more stable population, who, at an early day, like the genuine frontiers-men, devoted themselves, a great part of the time, to the hunting of wild game, bee-hunting, trapping, and fishing. There were many inducements to this kind of life, when the country was very new. For deer, bears, turkeys, grouse or prairie chickens, and other fowl, were abundant in the woods and prairies, and, at first, even elk and buffaloes were numerous, and bees were found in all the forests. Bears were depended upon, by many in the less settled regions, for salt meat, instead of pork, until these animals, in a few years, disappeared from the country. Sometimes, a hunting company, of a few men, would kill as many as forty bears in a single expedition. This was especially true in the extreme southern part of the State. Deer and bees continued very plentiful for many years, a single gunner often killing eight or ten deer in a day, and a little band of skilful bee-hunters, going into an uninhabited section of woods, and finding, in a few days, in the autumn, bee-trees enough to supply their families with honey for the following year. Some amusing anecdotes were told of the early bee-hunters. I myself was acquainted with an illiterate minister, of a peculiar faith, of whom it was reported and believed, that after preaching on a certain Sabbath, he gave notice that he would preach there again the next Sunday, if it should not be a good bee-day; intimating, that if the weather on the next Sunday should be favorable for bee-hunting, he would be otherwise occupied, and could not preach. Fishing, and some kinds of hunting, are still, more or less profitable in many sections of the State; but wild bees, and the larger wild animals, have so far disappeared, that very few

persons make the pursuit of them anything like a regular occupation. From the earliest settlement of the country, however, onward to 1830 or '35, there were many men, who did nothing else but hunt and fish, and many others, who cultivated a few acres of ground, for raising corn and potatoes, and after their products were secured in the fall, joined the regular hunters until the next spring. It was, therefore, very common to find the walls of the cabins of the early settlers hung around with the skins of animals, which were, afterwards, either dressed for family wear, or taken to the distant markets to be sold for furs. But the great majority of the people were industrious, plain farmers, small merchants, and unenterprising manufacturers, some of whom divided their time between two or three different occupations, such as cooperage, tanning, and shoemaking.

The farmers, at first, took possession of lands and made improvements, without any title to the places which they occupied, and were hence called "squatters." Afterwards, the pre-emption of lands by the first actual settlers upon them was provided for by law, which gave the occupants a prior claim over others, and enabled them to procure small farms, on easy terms, when the lands came into market. Later, all purchasers could obtain lands at Congress price, *i. e.*, one dollar and a-quarter per acre.

Villages were founded at this early day, by single owners of eligible tracts of land on principal roads, which were divided up into lots and sold, as is now done by owners on our railroads and elsewhere. Serious difficulties frequently occurred between "squatters" on lands, who made no efforts to buy, when the lands came into market, and actual purchasers, who were obliged to resort to legal measures to gain possession of their property. The squatters, in such cases, almost invariably had the sympathies of their neighbors, and could not be dispossessed by the purchasers, without risk of incurring personal violence, unless, after paying well for the poor improvements that had been made.

The fences were made of rails, split from the trunks of trees, and laid up, in what was called the "worm" or "Virginia" style, *i. e.*, in alternating diagonal panels. For many years, such a thing as a straight board fence was seldom seen in Southern Illinois.

Houses, especially in the country, were usually built of logs, either hewn or unhewn, notched together at the corners, the crevices between the logs being filled with clay-mortar, which was, more or less, smoothed off by the hands, or by a paddle or a trowel, and sometimes covered on the outside with lime-mortar.

In many cases, the projecting ends of the logs were left at the corners, in their original ragged condition. The roofs were often composed of split boards, held together by halves of split poles laid upon them.

Many houses had no second stories, but the attics were formed by clap-boards laid upon rough joists, and were sometimes high enough to be occupied by beds for the younger members of the family. These attics were reached by ladders, from the inside or the outside of the house. The doors were frequently constructed of rough boards, nailed or pinned together, and hung on rude wooden hinges. The windows, if there were any, were often either left entirely open, or closed with white or printed paper, instead of glass, and saturated with oil, so as to admit a portion of the light from without.

The floors were usually made of slab-like portions of trees, hewn on one side, and laid together on sills, without any nails or pins to fasten them down. These floors, after a while, became quite smooth from use, being hardly ever covered with carpets.

It was rare to find, in these primitive cabins, more than two rooms, except where the houses consisted of two parts, divided by a covered but open passage-way between them. In very many cabins there was but a single apartment, which served the manifold purposes of parlor, dining-room, kitchen, and bed-rooms, for a large family.

Of course, there were, here and there, houses of frame, and in the villages many respectable residences of wood and brick. But the earlier settlers, in the rural districts, for the most part, occupied such cabins as I have described.

The kindly feelings of neighbors toward one another, were habitually shown in what were called house-raising, which brought together as many men, as could work to good advantage, who usually put up the walls of a log-house in a single day, which was frequently occupied by the family the same night. A similar interchange of friendly offices was customary in log-rollings, corn-huskings, etc., the latter of which were commonly held in turn, through a whole neighborhood, on successive evenings, and were always followed by a well-prepared and abundant supper.

The personal property of the citizens ordinarily consisted of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, domestic fowls, wagons, often constructed entirely of wood, and extremely noisy when in motion, a few farming implements, and the plainest kind of household furniture, embracing tables made of boards, often put together

with wooden pins, tin and pewter table-ware, and two or three cooking utensils.

Many of the farmers raised large numbers of cattle, hogs, and horses, which, in Southern Illinois, it was necessary to feed only during the winter months. And for feeding the stock, provision was made by the abundant crops of corn that were easily produced on the farms, and by hay obtained from the prairie grass, which was cut and cured in the summer or fall. Sheep were not kept in large numbers, because of the wolves, which destroyed them if they were not closely watched in the daytime, and protected under cover at night.

There were no such inducements in the first quarter of the century, as there have been since, for multiplying stock and making butter and cheese for the markets, for the reason that there were no good markets accessible until after 1820 to 1825. The villages were generally very small, numbering not more than from 20 or 30 to 100 or 200 people, and the roads to St. Louis, which was the largest town within reach, were so nearly impassable, that but little traffic with that place was attempted. No steam-boat ever visited St. Louis before 1817, and, consequently, the commerce of that town was carried on overland with *Sante Fé*, or by flat-boats with New Orleans, both of which were tedious, expensive, and comparatively unprofitable. Goods of domestic manufacture were first imported into Illinois in 1818, from which fact it will readily be seen that prior to that time there could have been but small sales for the productions of the country, and very little money among the people.

It is true that, after the close of the war with England in 1814, there was for a few years a considerably-increased prosperity, even among the people of the frontier settlements; but after the wretched banking policy that followed the war had brought about its natural fruits in 1819-21, there was hardly such a thing as money to be found in Illinois. Many a family lived a whole year without the possession or use of fifty dollars in cash. Personal property, therefore, during many years, consisted almost exclusively of the products of the farm and of articles manufactured by the citizens at their own homes. The farms, in those days, were worked chiefly by the use of oxen, horses being employed mainly for riding, and for ploughing after the corn came up in the spring. Even wagons and carts were generally drawn by oxen, not only for the hauling of corn, hay, wood, rails, etc., but for church-going and traveling. The productions of the farms were very few, such as a little fall or spring wheat, oats, Indian corn, cotton,

flax, in some cases castor-beans, and as to fruits, scarcely anything but apples and some peaches. But wild plums and grapes, of good quality, were produced in large quantities in the timbered districts, especially at the edges of the prairies. There was no machinery used on the farms before 1835 or 1840. There were no corn-planters, no reaping or threshing machines, or fanning-mills. Corn was planted by hand, wheat, oats, and grass were cut with sickles or scythes by hand, cotton was gathered and picked by hand, flax was broken and scutched by hand, cotton and wool were carded into rolls by hand, and spinning and weaving were done by hand. Grain was trodden out by horses or beaten out with flails, and winnowed by the breezes or with sheets used like so many great fans. The only articles employed by the farmers that could properly be called machines, were flax-breaks, hackles, looms, hand-mills, and possibly an occasional cider-mill. There were, however, at intervals of ten or twenty miles, water-mills and horse-mills for grinding corn, wheat, rye, and barley; and from the earliest settlement of the country there were not wanting distilleries for the manufacture of whiskey, to minister to the cravings of the thirsty people, who claimed that they could not keep warm in winter or cool in summer, or perform their hard work without fainting, unless they could be assisted by the free use of the "good creature." But there were no breweries to be found, unless among the few Germans.

The clothing of the people, especially in the first settlement of the country, consisted almost wholly of materials prepared by the several families for themselves. The most frequent exception to this remark was found in the leather used for shoes, which was often tanned and dressed by some one man in a neighborhood, who gave a part of his time to a small tannery, of which he was the proprietor. But many were at once tanners, shoe-makers, and farmers; and their wives and daughters manufactured the flax and cotton, raised by them, into garments for the family. For during the first quarter of the century, cotton as well as flax was produced on many farms, and spinning-wheels were manufactured in almost every neighborhood for the use of the families, which were purchased from the makers by an exchange of various productions from the farms around. As lately as eleven or twelve years ago, I found, on visiting Bond County, an old wheel-wright still devoted to his former work, making spinning-wheels, both large and small, not to sell as curiosities, but to supply an actual demand from families that yet preferred to manufacture their own clothes as in former times. Not only were the materials and the

cloth prepared, but the dyeing was done in the family; the bark of trees, especially of the butter-nut, and indigo raised on the farm, being used for this purpose. And then the mother made up the clothing for the household. In many cases, deer-skins were dressed by the men, and made into hunting-shirts, pantaloons, and moccasins by the women, all in the same family. The hunting-shirts were frequently ornamented with a fringe on the lower edge of the cape and at the bottom of the garment, which presented a not unpleasing appearance. Shoes were often confined, except in cold weather, to the adult females; the men and children going barefoot in spring, summer, and fall, unless they had occasion to appear in a public assembly. I have many a time seen even young women carry their shoes in their hands until they came near to church, and then put them on before coming to the door and entering. The men's hats for the summer were commonly made of wheat straw, rudely platted and sewed together by the women. Winter hats, usually of wool, were, of necessity, purchased from a manufacturer, who could almost always be found in some village not far distant. The clothes of the women, like those of the men, were almost entirely of home manufacture, except in the older villages. Their bonnets were occasionally purchased from the stores, but more commonly they were of the simple Virginia style, made of domestic materials, and kept in place either by pasteboard or wooden ribs.

From the villages, however, the use of imported materials for women's wear, gradually, extended into the country, and young ladies especially, before 1825, began to appear in calicoes or richer goods imported from the distant markets. But for many years, most of the men continued to wear only home-made clothing, except in case of marriage or travel into older sections of the country. I remember well an old gentleman, an officer in the church, who used to appear on special occasions in a broad-cloth coat, which he had purchased forty years before at his first marriage. This was one of the few cloth coats to be seen in the community during its earlier history. Of course, the like condition of things did not exist in the villages after they grew in population to the number of one or two hundred. But even in the smaller villages, families were accustomed to live in very simple style, until commercial intercourse with the older communities of the land was made easy by the opening of roads and the increase of other facilities of travel and exchange.

The food of the people was of the simplest kind, though usually abundant. For a long time, wheat-bread was a rarity in the rural

districts, corn-bread or mush being the staple, meal being often prepared, in the early fall, by grating the green corn on rude graters made of tin, perforated by driving a nail through it in numerous places, and fastened to a smooth board. The meats were venison, squirrels, rabbits, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quails, domestic fowls, beef, pork and bacon, which were cooked in a skillet or frying-pan in cool weather, at the same fire around which the waiting family were sitting. Coffee and imported tea were for years hard to be obtained, and, instead of them, teas were often made from garden herbs, spice-wood, sassafras-roots, or other shrubs, taken from the thickets. Milk and butter were, of course, at hand, and were freely used; and vegetables and fruits, such as potatoes, turnips, and apples were seldom wanting. In many families, table-cloths were spread on the tables only on special occasions. But, in spite of their plain living, the people were generally happy and contented, except in those cases, not very infrequent, where families newly come into the country were, for a time, scarcely able to command the necessaries of life; and, in such cases, there were almost always kind neighbors, who cheerfully and delicately sent the articles of food that were most needed.

At the risk of seeming tedious, I have thought it well to go a little into these details, which may be in themselves uninteresting, that it may be seen how primitive was the daily life of our early citizens, among whom there were, of course, here and there, notable exceptions. But before referring to the more strictly social and the broader general characteristics of the first settlers in our State, let me allude for a moment to their peculiar circumstances during most of the years from 1800 to 1820. They were not only scattered occupants of homes in a wilderness, but they were exposed to incursions from the Indians, of whom there were in the State, as late as 1814, not less, probably, than 30,000 or 40,000, and a large number down to 1820 or 1825. The early settlers were several times attacked by these savages, and therefore found it necessary to be prepared to repel their assaults. Hence, the men usually carried their guns with them when they went from home, and the practice of military drill was maintained with regularity as late as 1830 or 1835. It is not strange that in such a condition of things there was a feeling of bitter hostility toward the Indians, and that a somewhat warlike spirit was kept alive; at least till 1820 or 1825, or even later; and this spirit was greatly quickened and strengthened by events connected with the War of 1812-'14. The tendency of all this was to make the

citizens more resolute in the assertion and defence of what they deemed their individual rights than they might otherwise have been; while, on the other hand, they were compelled to regard all their neighbors, far and near, as bound together by the ties of a common interest for self-protection in the presence of common dangers.

We are now prepared to notice, in the next place, the characteristic hospitality of our people in the early years of the State. The families from the Southern States gave character to the social habits of the people, and Southern communities have always been noted for their hospitality. Anything savoring of narrowness or meanness in this direction was frowned upon among our early citizens. It was not uncommon for entire strangers to find entertainment in families for a night, or even for whole weeks, without charge. Hence traveling through the new settlements was usually attended with but little expense, for charges when made were hardly more than merely nominal. If, however, a wayfaring man was suspected of being a speculator, he was not so kindly treated, though never misused, unless guilty of reprehensible conduct. From 1820, or earlier, to 1830, the country was traversed by clock-pedlers, who sometimes resorted to ingenious devices to induce families to purchase their clocks. They were accustomed to set up their clocks in houses, and leave them there, with the request that they should be kept running until they should call for them, which was often two or three or four weeks afterward. On the return of the pedler, the family having become accustomed to the use of the timepiece, felt hardly willing to spare it, and could be induced to pay a high price for it rather than let it go. Hence, it frequently occurred that a note was given for \$25 or \$30, payable two or three or even six months after date, for a clock the original cost of which was probably less than \$10. But it should be said that those wooden-clocks were exceedingly durable, some of them lasting twenty or thirty years. The pedler himself seldom called for the collection of his notes, but commonly sent some one else for the purpose, who never knew anything about any partial promises made by the original seller, and did not fail to enforce payment at the time specified in the paper. It is not strange that these clock-pedlers became extremely unpopular, and that, being generally from New England, they contributed largely to the prejudice of the people against Yankees. But another and more potent cause of this prejudice consisted in the different habits of the Eastern people from those of the South and West in regard to what was deemed the cardinal

virtue of hospitality. It was, unfortunately, true that some New-England families, scattered here and there through the country, created the impression of penuriousness and heartlessness in their treatment of neighbors and strangers, while in fact they were upright and benevolent in heart and conduct, but were more reserved than their neighbors in respect to the free and open-handed reception of all comers on whatever occasion.

An illustration of this came to my knowledge in the county where many of my early years were spent. A neighbor happened one day at the house of an old gentleman, called a "Yankee," just as the family were sitting down to dinner. The old gentleman said to the neighbor that he would be glad to ask him to partake with them, but they had not made preparation for more than the members of their own household. A little while after this, the "Yankee" called at the house of the neighbor, and although it was not nearly dinner-time, he was urged beyond measure to remain and dine with him. The old gentleman took the hint, and apologized for his own apparent discourtesy. This incident was noised abroad all over the county, to the disparagement of the "Yankees." But the gentleman who was so severely censured for his want of hospitality was in after years acknowledged to be deserving of the highest regard, both as a good and kind neighbor and a trustworthy citizen. By degrees, the Eastern people became more frank and open in their manners, and the Western people somewhat more reserved in their intercourse with comparative strangers. The influx of miscellaneous immigration into any community, on the one hand gradually wears out the extreme hospitality that may have abounded at first, and, on the other hand, moderates the excessive reserve that may have been maintained on the part of those who have come from long and thickly-settled districts of the country.

The social habits of the early inhabitants of our State were in some respects peculiar. It is not strange that, in settlements where there was little general culture among the people, there should have been but few tokens of what we regard as refinement of manners. It would be deemed extreme rudeness in our cities for gentlemen to appear in the presence of ladies or at table without coat, vest, or cravat, whereas nothing was more common in the early society of the West. And yet, under all this roughness of exterior, there was a native politeness and considerateness of others of every class, that would put to shame the unreasonable exclusiveness of many aristocratic ladies and gentlemen of our refined social circles. Especially was this manifested in the

real though unrefined courtesy of gentlemen and ladies towards each other. It is true there was a freedom of manners in the relations of men and women that would be deemed among us unsuitable, if not intolerable; but with all this disregard of what are established conventionalities in cultivated society, there was nothing apparent that argued the absence of true refinement of feeling; and any intentional breach of what was deemed social propriety was as severely censured as in the most elevated circles of our older communities. Of course, there might have been found here and there a neighborhood where the plainest rules of decorum were often violated without much rebuke. But the mass of the people observed assiduously a set of conventionalities that were based on true ideas of social fitness and that enforced the laws of social morality with inexorable authority.

After what has been said, it will be inferred that there was but little of ceremony among the early settlers of the West. Even marriages were celebrated in the simplest manner, a justice of the peace frequently performing the ceremony in the fewest words in the presence of the friends and neighbors of the parties united. Funerals were almost always attended by large numbers of the acquaintances of the deceased; and religious services were seldom omitted on such occasions, although in many cases no minister could be obtained to officiate, and, of course, the services were conducted by laymen. The cemeteries, which were usually near places of public worship, were commonly enclosed with palings, but overgrown with weeds and grass; and the graves were, except in a few cases, marked only by wooden boards or stakes, without names or letters to indicate the humble occupants. It has thus occurred that the burial-places of many persons of considerable distinction have been lost beyond recovery, after the removal of their friends from the neighborhood in which they died. But it ought to be said that, notwithstanding such tokens of neglect, it would be difficult to find more of social sympathy and genuine kindness to the afflicted in any communities than was habitually manifested among the early settlers of Southern Illinois; and, I may add, that the occasions for such sympathetic attentions were greatly multiplied by the prevailing sickness and frequent deaths that occurred among the first settlers of the country.

The moral character and principles of the people in those days, differed widely, of course, in different communities. In some villages and neighborhoods, where education and religion were more advanced than in other places, the moral ideas of

individuals, and of society in general, were not far behind those of the present time. In the portions of the country where the writer spent most of the years of his childhood and youth, it was exceptional to meet with a profane swearer, a drunkard, or a notoriously false or dishonest man; and breaches of social purity were seldom known. Occasional examples of such vices appeared, but they were frowned upon by all respectable citizens. These were communities in which strong religious influences prevailed, and where, as it now seems to me, vices and crimes of every kind were even more rare than they are at this day in the most elevated and refined communities of the land. This I attribute to the fact that society in Southern Illinois was, in large measure, locally assorted into classes for many years after the first settlement of the country. While there were quite a number of such neighborhoods as I have spoken of, there were others, perhaps equally numerous, in which there were no churches, and intemperance, Sabbath breaking, dishonesty, and profanity abounded; and here and there a settlement might have been found, in which fidelity to the marriage-vow and social purity were sadly disregarded. In almost every county, there were settlements that embraced emigrants of the lower class from the Southern States, who were notorious for fighting, drinking, swearing, and dissolute conduct. But the worst of these families, at an early day, moved further west, having for generations lived on the outskirts of civilization. Many of the same class are now residing in Southern Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, some of them having fled from justice, and more, from the growth of a moral sentiment in general society, which they could not endure.

I have now in mind one community, that might have been styled a nest of immoralities, which was entered, we may say invaded, by a zealous minister of the Presbyterian Church, now living. After a year or two of his faithful and telling labors, a large number of the people were converted, and the whole neighborhood was revolutionized, becoming, in the main, as free from prevailing vices as it had before been distinguished for social and civil offences. In other places, like reformations were wrought through the instrumentality of Christian evangelists, temperance workers, and Sabbath-Schools, before the years 1830-35. It has been a common impression, that the illiterate and imperfect ministrations of the early preachers in Illinois could not have produced much effect upon the morals of the citizens. But this is a great mistake. Wherever there were churches, or preaching stations, in those times, the moral conduct of the people was

sensibly improved, showing clearly that the religion of the early settlers was something better than mere fanaticism. Even among the French Catholics of Kaskaskia, and the American Bottom, as Gov. Reynolds tells us, honesty and chastity were distinguishing virtues; and the same was true, as many living witnesses can attest, where the least-educated preachers of Protestant denominations gathered churches, and inculcated the teachings of the New Testament. The moral sentiments of the people, in the early years of our State, were conflicting, very much as they are now. On the subject of temperance, the progress was in the wrong direction until after the year 1825. Intoxicating liquors were freely used, not only in families, but in the harvest-fields, and at house-raising, and corn-huskings. And it must be admitted, that the nearest approaches to drunkenness were witnessed on some of these occasions.

When the doctrine of total abstinence was first broached in Bond County, where a temperance society was founded in 1826 or '28, it was earnestly opposed by many of the most exemplary Christians. And, for many years, the endeavors of such noble men as John M. Peck, of Rock-Spring, to advance the temperance reformation on the principle of total abstinence, were vigorously resisted, even by some of their fellow-ministers. But when this doctrine was once accepted by the leading men in the churches, a surprising change was wrought almost in a year. throughout the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, and those of the Baptist denomination, that favored an educated ministry. Within a very short period, the ordinary use of intoxicating drinks disappeared from almost all Christian families, and was banished from the social and neighborhood gatherings almost as widely, as the people professed to be governed by conscience and the rules of moral obligation.

Of course, liquors were still sold in all the villages, and were extensively used among certain classes of society; but they were no longer an everywhere present temptation to the young, as they had been in former years.

There were not then, as now, many large towns, and there were few foreigners, and no great cities, to withstand the growth of temperance principles, as in these days, when so large a pecuniary interest is enlisted on the side of intemperance, and of the appliances by which it is still supported, and holds its leading place among the great destroyers of social and public peace. Hence it may be justly said that there was probably less drinking in this State, in proportion to the population, in 1835, than there is to-day.

In regard to the rights of man, the sentiments of the early settlers were greatly divided, as they have been ever since, at least down to the close of the late rebellion. As already intimated, the immigrants from the New England and Middle States, and from Ohio, and the Scotch and Scotch-Irish families from the South, were generally opposed to Slavery, on principle. But the most influential families from the Southern States, and many of the poorer immigrants from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, were hostile to anti-Slavery doctrines, although some of them were averse to the introduction of Slavery into this State.

The politicians, being mostly Southern, were very zealous for the Convention, proposed to be called in 1824, for the formation of a new Constitution, providing for the normal existence of Slavery in Illinois. Hence two-thirds of the Legislature, by which this measure was brought forward and submitted to the people, were induced to vote for it, notwithstanding the perpetual exclusion of Slavery from this Territory by the ordinance of 1787. But, fortunately, the final decision of this momentous question was to be made by the people, who, by a decisive vote, placed the final veto of the State upon this artfully devised scheme, which, had it been successful, might have hastened our terrible war, and have determined the issues against the cause of liberty and the unity of the nation.

The names of the men who figured most conspicuously, in this great struggle between the forces of freedom and slavery, deserve to be specially mentioned in this connection. The leading advocates of a Convention for the introduction of Slavery were, Governor Bond, A. P. Field, Kane, McLean, Joseph A. Beard, Judge Phillips, Robison, T. W. Smith, Kenney, West, R. M. Young, and Gov. Reynolds. The leaders on the Anti-Slavery side were, Gov. Coles, Daniel P. Cook, Samuel D. Lockwood, Rev. J. M. Peck, Thos. Lippincott, Judge Pope, Gov. Edwards, David Blackwell, the late Wm. H. Brown, of our City, then of Vandalia, Hooper Warren, George Forquar, George Churchill, Henry Eddy, and others.

The two-thirds vote of the Legislature, for the calling of a Convention, was obtained by excluding a member of the House who had been previously admitted, but was found to be opposed to Slavery, and was therefore unseated to make room for a Pro-Slavery man, who had, at first, contested the seat of his competitor, and been rejected; an act not unlike some events in legislative bodies of more recent date. The canvas was conducted with unprecedented zeal on both sides.

Three weekly papers were enlisted against the Convention, one at Shawneetown, one at Edwardsville, and the third at Vandalia, where our former fellow-citizen, Wm. H. Brown, then resided, and performed efficient service for the Anti-Slavery cause. Two papers were conducted by Convention men, one at Edwardsville, and the other at Kaskaskia.

The conflict was both political and moral. The hard times had something to do with it, for it was observed that many emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky passed through Illinois and settled in Missouri, because they could not retain their slaves in this State. This fact was urged by the advocates of Slavery, as a reason for introducing the institution into Illinois. Besides, the immigrants from the South felt that the exclusion of Slavery from the State, implied a reflection upon the communities in which they had been born and educated; and this feeling grew bitter, when it appeared that the hated "Yankees" were almost universally against the institution. On the other hand, the moral sentiment of the Christian people was, for the most part, Anti-Slavery. Many churches combined together to resist the political movement for the establishment of Slavery.

Under the lead of the Rev. Dr. Peck, an Anti-Slavery organization was founded in St. Clair County, with which fourteen other societies in as many different counties became affiliated; and these societies exerted a powerful influence against the proposed Convention.

Many ministers preached against the movement. And Dr. Peck, who was at that time, an agent of the American Bible Society, in Illinois, took advantage of his extended travel and acquaintance for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery documents and principles, and thus probably exerted a more powerful influence than any other five men, against the Pro-Slavery project.

The controversy raged with intense passion on both sides, until the vote was taken in 1824, and it was found that the party of freedom had a majority of about 1800 in the State, which settled the general character of this mighty Commonwealth, and threw its immense weight into the scale of liberty and progress, for all coming time.

It is worthy of mention here, that when the question was under consideration in regard to the northern boundary of our State, which at first ran as far south as the northern point of Indiana, Judge Pope earnestly advocated the removal of the line northward, so as to include the site of Chicago in Illinois, and this on the ground that a great city would one day grow up here, and it

was exceedingly desirable that this large northern population should be made to counterbalance the southern and more Pro-Slavery portion of the State, in case of a general conflict between the Northern and Southern States. How wise this policy and forecast of Judge Pope's really was, appeared most conspicuously in the history of our State, in its relations to the late rebellion, in which, but for the northern tiers of counties, Illinois might have been carried out of the Union, and with it Kentucky and Missouri.

Returning for a moment to the early strife between Anti-Slavery and pro-slavery parties in this State, it may be added that for years after the Convention question was settled, and before the later Abolition excitement arose, there were many bitter controversies, especially in St. Clair, Madison, and Bond Counties, over the cases of fugitive slaves, who were even then, aided by humane families, in their efforts to elude the grasp of their pursuing masters; so inevitable was it, that the moral sense of many good men and women would rebel against the requirements of the Fugitive-Slave Laws, which were deemed contrary to the laws of God. In Bond County, neighborhoods were divided into fiercely contending parties in relation to this question, long before Wm. Lloyd Garrison was heard of. On the one side, were the old supporters of Slavery, and on the other side, the enemies of oppression, and the conscientious defenders of man's natural rights. Before leaving this subject, I venture to make record, I believe for the first time, of an amusing incident that was related to me by the Rev. Dr. Peck, not long before his death.

During the conflict, before the vote on the proposed Convention in 1824, Dr. Peck fell in company with a young lawyer just from Kentucky, in the village of Carmi. The lawyer finding that he had traveled extensively in the State, though not aware of his calling, asked him what he thought as to the prospects of the vote on the proposed Convention. Dr. Peck replied that he believed the majority would be against the Convention. The lawyer, in a very pretentious and overbearing manner, demanded on what ground he based his opinion. He answered that the moral sentiment of the people was opposed to Slavery, and he did not believe they would consent to have the State cursed by its introduction. The lawyer proceeded, in a very positive style, to recite arguments, that have often been repeated since, in defence of the right of every citizen to carry his property wherever he chose in the common territory of the United States. Dr. Peck, perceiving that his friend was not very well posted in

law, retorted upon him by professing to quote from Justinian, Coke, and Blackstone, the most overwhelming declarations against the doctrines advanced by the lawyer, manufacturing his quotations as he went. The lawyer was utterly confounded, and confessed that he had not fully studied those authorities in relation to this question. A few months later, Dr. Peck, one day stepped into a lawyer's office in Edwardsville, where he found his Carmi friend, and was introduced to him as the Rev. Mr. Peck. The young lawyer seemed astonished, for he had not before heard his name, and asked him if he had not previously seen him at Carmi, a few months since. Mr. Peck said very likely he had. The young lawyer then stepped out, when the lawyers in the office burst out in a loud laugh, and apologized to Dr. Peck, telling him that their friend, who had just left, had informed them of having fallen in at Carmi, with the most astonishing lawyer he had ever encountered in his life—a man who had every authority in ancient and modern law at his tongue's end, and was perfectly at home on every legal question that could be suggested.

Passing now from morals to education, I must travel more rapidly, if the remaining ground is to be traversed within reasonable limits. It is inevitable in every new country that the educational advantages will be comparatively few and very insufficient. But it is difficult for those who have spent their lives in communities, where public schools have been long in operation, to imagine the low state of mental culture, and the absence of means for the instruction of the young and of the people at large, where there have never been any legal provisions for the establishment and support of educational institutions.

During the early history of Illinois, schools were almost unknown in some neighborhoods, and in the most favored districts they were kept up solely by subscription, and only in the winter season, each subscriber agreeing to pay for one or more scholar, or stipulating to pay for his children *pro rata* for the number of days they should be in attendance. The teacher usually drew up articles of agreement, which stipulated that the school should commence when a specified number of scholars should be subscribed, at the rate of \$2, \$2.50, or \$3 per scholar for the quarter. In these written articles he bound himself to teach spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, as far as the double rule of three. Occasionally a teacher would venture to include English grammar. But in the earlier years of my youth, I knew of no teacher who attempted to give instruction in grammar

or geography. And such branches as history, natural philosophy, or astronomy, were not thought of. Many parents were unwilling that their children should study arithmetic, contending that it was quite unnecessary for farmers. And what was the use of grammar to a person who could talk so as to be understood by everybody? I studied English grammar, and all the latter rules of arithmetic, when about twelve years old, without the aid of a teacher, and geography at a later age, after I had begun to prepare for college.

The mode of conducting schools was peculiar. All the pupils studied their lessons, by spelling or reading aloud simultaneously, while the teacher usually heard each scholar recite alone; although, in the opening of the school, a chapter of the Bible was read by the older scholars by verses, in turn, and at the close in the evening, the whole school, except the beginners, stood up and spelled words in turn, as given out by the master.

I have heard the practice of reading in school defended, as necessary to prepare the scholars for studying in the midst of noise and confusion, for example, in a saw-mill, or where they might be surrounded by persons engaged in conversation. For a long time I had not been in what was called a loud or noisy school, until I went into one conducted on this method, among the Arabs in Jerusalem, some thirteen years ago. The practice there, seemed quite fitting. It is singular that it obtained for so many years in the pioneer communities of the West.

After these statements, it will not be surprising that many teachers were quite illiterate, one I remember, pronouncing "panegyric," "paneguric," and Niagara, Niagāra. The only persons of respectable education in the villages, were physicians, lawyers, ministers, and teachers. And the ministers were often unable to read the Bible without making gross blunders. Many of the anti-mission Baptist ministers could not speak three sentences together, without violating the most familiar rules of grammar. Even the most popular politicians were in some cases scarcely able to read intelligibly. One Lieut.-Governor was taught to read by his wife.

In those times, it was customary for candidates for office to circulate handbills before election, by way of presenting their respective claims, or exposing the shortcomings of their opponents. For not many newspapers were in circulation, and the number of people who read the papers was very small. Hence the great majority, were dependant for their political information on the handbills and stump-speeches of the candidates.

It was a notorious fact that one politician used always to write and print the first person singular, with a small dotted *i*. On one occasion, so it was said, Gov. Reynolds rallied him about the use of the dotted "i," to which he cleverly responded that Reynolds had used up all the large I's, and only the small ones were left for him.

It is related, as has, I think, been mentioned here before, that when the capitol of the State was about to be moved from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, a Committee of the Legislature was appointed to report upon a name for the new capitol, and that a waggish man, of considerable knowledge, whom the Committee consulted, advised them to borrow a name from an extinct tribe of Indians, who, as he told them, were called Vandals. Accordingly they recommended the name Vandalia, which the Legislature adopted.

It was stated by my teacher in geography, in the preparatory department of Illinois College, as a proof of the value of geographical knowledge, that a distinguished representative to Congress, from Southern Illinois, set out for Washington by a wrong route, which took him across the Okaw river, entirely out of the proper course, and that the stream being high at the time, he came near losing life in attempting to ford it on horseback.

In those days, it was rare to find more than five to ten books in one family. But those few books, it should be said, were very thoroughly read, and others were borrowed from neighbors, by persons fond of reading. Among the school-books most used were Webster's spelling book, the English reader, and Pike's or Dabold's arithmetic.

In the year 1829, the lands, donated by the State for school purposes, began to be sold, and the avails used for the establishment of public schools. But the taxation of the citizens for the support of schools was earnestly opposed for a long time, even by comparatively intelligent people, on the grounds, (1.) that many citizens had already paid for the schooling of their own children, and it was unjust to tax them solely for the benefit of other families; and (2.) that there were men of property who had no children, and therefore ought not to pay for the instruction of other people's children. It was difficult to convince such objectors, that every citizen was so much interested in the general welfare of society and the State, which popular education was designed and adapted to promote, as to warrant the taxing of his property for this purpose.

It was amusing to persons of education to listen to the pretentious but erroneous use of language, that was sometimes

indulged in by men who were ambitious of being thought more learned than their neighbors.

One gentleman, in speaking of a young man who had gone from his neighborhood to a college lately opened further north, remarked that he could not judge how well the young man might succeed as a speaker, but there could be no doubt that he would make a "superficial" scholar. *

It was remarkable that the people of all our early communities were extremely sensitive in regard to any slighting remarks that might be made by the more intelligent citizens, respecting the ignorance of their neighbors, or of western society in general. It was deemed an unpardonable sin to publish anything derogatory to the character of the people in point of intelligence; and for an imprudence of this kind, some of the early missionaries were severely denounced as proud and self-sufficient pretenders, who regarded their neighbors as no better than heathen. It was very common to hear men speak of their settlement, as one of uncommon intelligence, even in the most benighted districts.

I may as well refer here as anywhere, to the ignorant prejudice of many, in regard to the proposed construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This question was earnestly discussed at an early day, and the opening of the canal was opposed on two grounds, (1.) because it would be the means of flooding the State with Yankees, who would be introduced by thousands, through this line of communication; and (2.) because there was danger that by the pressure of the lake, when once the canal was dug, the channel would be enlarged more and more, so as at last to sweep away the State.

But in spite of the prejudices and illiteracy of many of our early citizens, they were by no means an unthinking people, their minds were stimulated by the necessity of invention imposed upon them by their peculiar circumstances; by the political discussions in which they became interested from one election to another; by the moral questions that were debated among them; and, above all, by the religious discourses to which they often listened, and the controversies between the adherents of different sects, in which almost everybody sympathized with one party or another. It was surprising to find men and women of little or no reading, ready to defend their opinions on almost every subject, with plausible, and sometimes exceedingly forcible, reasons. Women, especially, were even more accustomed then than now to discuss grave questions which required thought and provoked earnest reflection. Often a woman of unpromising appear-

ance and manners would prove more than a match for a well-educated man in a religious dispute. In one sense the people were intelligent, while they had little of such knowledge as readers usually derive from books. Their intelligence consisted mainly in the results of reflection, and conversations one with another, and in varied information derived from their ancestors by tradition. In respect to knowledge of human nature and judgments upon the characters of men, they were far in advance of many who were learned in literature, science, art, and history; and, accordingly, many men of inferior education in those days competed successfully with rivals who had enjoyed the best early advantages. This was often witnessed in the political conflicts of the times, and in the ministerial, legal, and medical professions.

The literature of our Commonwealth, it will have been already inferred, was very limited, and, for the most part, deficient in polish, until the higher institutions of learning began to be planted, of which the earliest were McKendree College, at Lebanon (Methodist); Rock Spring Seminary, and Shurtleff College, Alton (Baptist); Illinois College (Presbyterian and Congregational). But, as has been intimated, there were five or six weekly newspapers established before 1825, and several men of respectable attainments became known as authors. Among these, the earliest was Morris Birbeck, who explored the country and wrote sketches of it in 1815 to 1817 or 1818. His articles were published in the journals of the times. Next was Dr. Lewis P. Beck, of St. Louis, who wrote a gazetteer of Missouri and Illinois, which was published in 1823; in 1819 or 1820, James Hall, of Shawneetown, afterward of Vandalia; the late Judge Sidney Breeze, of Carlisle; Prof. John Russell, of Bluffdale, Greene County, and the Rev. John M. Peck, of Rock Spring, St. Clair County, came into the State. All these men were soon known in the literary departments, Judge Hall as the editor of a newspaper and of the *Western Monthly Magazine*; Judge Breeze, as the editor of different journals; Professor Russell, as a fine classical scholar and a writer, some of whose articles have been republished and widely circulated in Europe; and Dr. Peck, as the author of the "Emigrants' Guide," the "Gazetteer of Illinois," and other works of note. Of these writers, Judge Hall was, perhaps, the most accomplished in general literature, and Dr. Peck was by far the most telling and widely influential. He was not a classical scholar; but he was a man of keen observation, a careful reader, a bold and independent thinker, amazingly industrious and enterprising, and a pioneer in the advocacy of liberty, temperance, education, Sunday-schools,

and evangelical Christianity. Our State probably owes more to him than to any other one man.

It remained that I should add a few paragraphs in regard to the religious characteristics of the early citizens of Illinois. Soon after the first settlement of the country by white people, churches were organized in connection with the Roman Catholic, the Methodist, the Baptist, and the Presbyterian denominations; and, before 1825, the Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Cumberland Presbyterians established themselves in several counties. A little later, the Campbellites, or Disciples, and the Universalists, began to be known in several communities. But before 1830, few, if any, Unitarian, and no Congregational churches, were organized; and families of other faiths that are now strongly represented in the State were seldom heard of. The Methodists and Baptists were prosperous in nearly all the counties, and the Presbyterians formed influential societies in many parts of the country, but especially in St. Clair, Madison, Bond, and Fayette counties. The ministers, in those early days, of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, were generally illiterate, the Presbyterian Church alone among the Protestant sects requiring that its ministers should be classically educated. The Cumberland Presbyterians agreed with the Methodists and Baptists in admitting men to the sacred office who were very deficient in point of general learning. Of course, the Lutherans and Episcopalians of a later time maintained an educated ministry. I remember hearing a preacher of respectable natural talents discuss in one of his sermons the importance of "and" as a copulative conjunction, while many of his hearers evidently set him down as a man of great learning. A minister in one of our Southern counties was said to have preached for months from a few leaves of an old Bible which he had gotten hold of. Some person afterward gave him a whole Bible. One minister, who was fond of controversy, being unable to read correctly, requested the writer to read his proof-texts for him, and followed the reading with his comments and arguments, which proved a somewhat tedious process to both parties. Another minister preached on one occasion from the text in Revelation respecting the man "who had a pair of *balances* in his hand," and read it, "the man who had a pair of '*bellowses*' in his hand," with which he said the wicked would finally be blown into perdition. Of course, such grotesque exhibitions in the pulpit have long since disappeared, and the religious denominations that once most violently opposed "college-bred" ministers are now the zealous friends of education, excepting

the few remaining churches of what are styled the "iron-side" or "hard-shell" Baptists.

In regard to calls to the ministry, the most singular fancies used to be sometimes put forward. In one case, as was reported to me at the time by creditable witnesses, a minister stated to his congregation that he knew he was called to the ministry, from the fact that on a certain occasion he dreamed that he had swallowed a wagon, and the tongue projected out of his mouth, which he took as an indication that he was to use his tongue in preaching the Gospel. This story, in substance, was published a few years ago in *Harper's Magazine*.

The style of preaching on the part of uneducated ministers was remarkable. Their voices were raised to the highest pitch, and often a monotonous sing-song was kept up from the beginning to the end of the discourse. But many of these pioneer preachers were men of sound sense, and were very effective speakers. Some of them were at times highly eloquent, and nearly all of them commanded the respect and confidence of the people as men of earnest and exemplary piety. The few educated ministers were all missionaries; for many years not a settled pastor of this class was known in Illinois, for a long time after the first churches were organized. The quiet manner of the educated preachers exposed them to the ridicule of many illiterate people, who could not believe that a speaker was in earnest unless he declaimed before his hearers in the most violent manner. Gradually, however, a great change took place in respect to this whole subject. In public and social worship, singing was a powerful auxiliary in all the early religious assemblies, as it is now. But the character of the music and hymns was often ludicrous. Most of the tunes were in the minor key, and many of the hymns were extremely repetitious, and had a singular refrain at the close of each verse, and sometimes after each line. Thus the words, "Glory, Hallelujah," or some like interjection, would occur twenty or thirty times in one singing. The music of those days, with only a few exceptions, now only lingers in the memories of a few elderly persons. Teachers of music came in and changed the tastes of the people. But for many years, only what were called square or patent notes were used in the tune-books. In camp-meetings and other devotional gatherings, it was customary for all the Christian people to pray audibly together, in the loudest tones possible. Sometimes the noise of a whole congregation thus screaming at the top of their voices was heard at the distance of three or four miles. I remember once a friend of mine and a man of some

intelligence, said to me at a camp-meeting while some were singing, others exhorting, and others praying aloud, "I suppose this seems to you like confusion, but to me it seems the height of order."

Frequently, in times of revival, not only at camp-meetings, but in churches and at weekly prayer meetings, many persons would be seized with paroxysms of jerking, and women would spring up and dance, till at last they would fall exhausted and seem to be in a sort of swoon for several minutes. This bodily exercise, which occurred among Presbyterians as well as Methodists and Baptists, was usually attributed to the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, and to express a doubt of its supernatural origin was deemed a mark of infidelity, or at least of singular depravity, as the writer sometimes found to his cost. Sudden thoughts or impressions in the minds of persons at such times were regarded as the work of the spirit, and hence men and women were exercised to do the most absurd things; on some occasions, to get married, which it was a sin for either party to resist. This last extravagance, however, though it frequently occurred in Tennessee, never, so far as I know, took place in Illinois. In the examination of persons for admission as members of churches, strange experiences were sometimes related. The writer once heard a woman state as an evidence of her conversion, that she dreamed she was going up a steep hill, and became very tired and thirsty, and that when she reached the top of the hill, a man presented her with a cup of water, which she drank, and she thought it was the best water she had ever tasted. On awaking, she concluded the man who gave her the water was Jesus Christ, and that she had received from Him the water of life. She was at once voted into the church by the brethren and sisters present. This, however, was an unusual case. Church members were then as exemplary as they are now, and this notwithstanding the fact that many churches had no preaching for months together, and depended largely for their public religious privileges upon prayer meetings, class-meetings, and the exhortations of laymen, or the reading of sermons by laymen on the Sabbath. It was stated by Dr. Peck, in his "Gazetteer, or Emigrants' Guide," that the number of church members, as early as 1835, was equal to one-seventh or one-eighth of the citizens, a proportion about as large as that in the older States at the same time. Before 1825, but few congregations owned houses of worship, their public services being held in barns or private residences. This condition of things, and the small size of the church edifices after they were more generally erected,

afforded a good reason for the institution and continuance of camp-meetings, which were annually held by almost all denominations, and which drew together the people of a wide district of the surrounding country, and were a means of greatly extending religious influences where there were no churches.

This is, perhaps, as fit a place as any other for a reference to the eccentric but celebrated Lorenzo Dow, whom it was my fortune to see and hear at a camp-meeting in the year 1826 or 1827. He regarded it as his personal duty to preach the Gospel, as far as possible, to every creature; and, hence, he traveled in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America, preaching everywhere as he went. He made his appointment to be in the southern part of Montgomery Co., on the Sunday when I heard him, seven years before, which he fulfilled to the letter. His sermon was a rambling talk, but abounded in happy hits and impressive anecdotes. After the close of the service, he retired to a tent to take dinner, when several young men, attracted by curiosity, came in. He asked them if they had come to see him. They replied that they had. "Well, then," he said, "you've seen me, so you can go." In those days, the name of Lorenzo Dow was known throughout the entire United States. He published several peculiar works, which may still be found in many families.

Between 1825 and 1830, a number of churches in Southern Illinois were aroused to earnest interest in the education of their young men for the Gospel ministry. This was especially true in Bond County, where the writer resided. In that county, one single country church, beginning with about the year 1828, have raised up fifteen or sixteen ministers, nearly all of whom took a full collegiate and theological course of preparation. As has been intimated already, there were no settled pastors in the earlier history of the State. But from 1830 onward, a great change in this respect took place in most of the older denominations; and, as in New England, the school and the settled pastor began to be twin institutions of the religious communities.

I ought not to dismiss our general subject without the mention of several names that deserve honor in the history of the moral and religious development of society in Fayette, Bond, Montgomery, and Madison counties, within the circle of my own acquaintance. In Fayette County were such men as David Blackwell, Joseph T. Eccles, and W. H. Brown, at a later period a citizen of Chicago. Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Brown have been referred to as active in opposition to the introduction of Slavery into the State. Mr. Eccles was associated with the other two

gentlemen in efforts to promote the social and moral welfare of the people in many directions, and he and Mr. Brown were pillars in the Presbyterian Church of Vandalia. In Montgomery County, at Hillsborough, the county-seat, John Tillson, Jr., was a leading friend and patron of religious and educational institutions from 1820 to 1844, when he removed to Quincy. Among the other prominent men of the county were Thomas Sturtevant, of Hillsborough, and the Swards, who were energetic farmers residing north of Hillsborough. Madison County, as I have already said, was the home of many useful and distinguished men, such as Benjamin Godfrey, of Alton, the founder of Monticello Female Seminary; Thomas Lippincott, Winthrop S. Gilman, Dr. B. F. Edwards, and Cyrus Edwards, Rev. John Barber, Patten McKee, Hail Mason, and Joseph Gillespie, who recently read an interesting paper before this Society. Rev. Mr. Lippincott was for many years the editor of a weekly paper at Edwardsville, and exerted a wide influence as the friend of education, temperance, liberty, and religion.

In Bond County, where my knowledge of the citizens was more intimate and special, among the earlier men of character and influence were the Waits, the Blanchards, Drs. Perrine, Foster, afterwards of this City, and Newhall, later of Galena, John Russell, a pure-minded politician of the Whig party, the Donnels, Hugh McReynolds, the Laughlins, and the Stewarts, and the McCords, Dixons, Davises, and Douglasses. Some of them were men of not much culture or education, but they were men of thought and principle, and were uniformly found on the right side of every social and moral question. I venture to name particularly Robert McCord, Sr., from Tennessee, who was for many years a sort of lay-pastor in his church, and whose religious efforts were signally successful. He would now be called illiterate. Certainly he was not scientific, for he long resisted the doctrine that the earth revolves on its axis once in twenty-four hours, on the ground that if this were so, we should all fall off it, and go nobody knows where. But in spite of his early prejudices, he favored education, and was a champion of good morals, and especially of human liberty. To many such pioneers in our State, unknown to fame, we owe the right decision of the vital questions that were so earnestly debated, and were determined when Illinois, now the great giant of the West, was in its childhood. To no one, however, are we so much indebted, as to Dr. Peck, of St. Clair County, the Baptist minister, of whose wonderful efficiency in the advocacy of every good cause, I have already repeatedly spoken.

A great improvement has been wrought in the condition and habits of the people of Southern Illinois since 1829, when the school funds began to be used for the furtherance of popular education. Three causes have united in hastening this comprehensive result: public schools, railroads, and the influx of enlightened and cultivated Eastern emigrants. The germs of progress were already present in the early population itself, which embraced many excellent families, and thousands of enterprising men from all sections of the Union. But social advancement must have been slow for half a century, at least, without the three quickening elements to which I have referred. As it *is*, there are still portions of Southern Illinois in which few tokens of social progress have appeared, down to the present hour. There are places where the traveler may see the old style of houses and living, and encounter the same prejudices against Northern people, that were so rife almost everywhere before 1825. But the limits of such neighborhoods are growing narrower year by year, as education and thrift advance; and the infusion of immigrants from the Northern States continually leavens the most backward settlements, and tends to make our whole people homogeneous, and conscious of social, moral, and religious unity.

Our State has advanced from a population of about 55,000 in 1820, to more than 3,000,000 in 1880. Our system of public schools is hardly surpassed in any State of the Union. Our colleges and professional schools are, perhaps, too numerous. Our humane institutions are ample. Our churches are equal to the wants of the population, except in a few communities. Our State Government is well administered. The wealth and general culture of our people are unsurpassed by those of any other State so lately organized. Our villages and smaller cities compare well with those of the older Commonwealths of New York and Pennsylvania, while our great City is already fourth in the Union in the point of population and commerce, and bids fair, at no very distant day, to equal the first in everything, save the items of wealth and the heavier foreign trade. In this wonderful development of our State, the Northern portion has clearly taken the lead. But the Southern portion is following on with increasing life and energy; and it remains to be seen, whether ours is not to be, ere many decades have elapsed, the most powerful and influential Commonwealth among the great sisterhood of States that are to constitute ours by far the grandest NATION under the sun.

REMINISCENCES
OF
THE ILLINOIS - BAR FORTY YEARS AGO:

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AS ORATORS AND LAWYERS.

BY HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

Read before "The Bar Association of the State of Illinois," Springfield, January 7, 1881.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN:

WHEN Sir Walter Scott published "Waverly, or 'tis sixty years ago," he gave a more accurate and vivid picture of the social life of the period described than is to be found in any history. I wish I had some of Sir Walter's genius, so that I could reproduce to-day the Bar of Illinois as it existed forty or fifty years ago. I wish, with some of his graphic power, I could call up a picture of the United States Circuit Court, and the Supreme Court of Illinois, and the lawyers then practising before them, as they were in 1839, and on during the following years. If we could, in fancy, enter the United States Circuit Court-Room in this City, in June, 1839, we should be impressed with the majestic figure, imposing presence, and dignified bearing of the presiding judge, John McLean, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His person and face were often compared to Washington's—whom he is said to have strikingly resembled.

Nathaniel Pope, the District Judge, was shorter and stouter in person, more blunt and sturdy in manner, and not so familiar with the law-books, the cases, and literature of the law, but of a most clear, vigorous, and logical mind. If we enter their Court, then held, if I am not mistaken, in one of the churches in this City, we should find Ferris Foreman, then United States District Attorney, prosecuting the case of 'The United States *v.* Gratiot,' then a historic name in Missouri and the North-West, in a case arising under a lease, by the Government, of a portion of the lead mines of Galena. We should hear the late Judge Breese making a very learned argument for the defence. If we lingered

until the next case was called, we should hear the sharp, clear, ringing voice of Stephen T. Logan, opening his case. If we remained until the trial ended, we should concur in the remark, that this small, red-haired man, inferior in person, but with an eye whose keenness indicated his sharp and incisive intellect, this little man, take him all in all, was then the best *nisi-prius* lawyer in the State, and it would be difficult to find his superior anywhere.

Among the leading practitioners in this Court, held in Springfield, for the first time in June, 1839, were Logan, Lincoln, Baker, Trumbull, Butterfield & Collins, Spring & Goodrich, Cowles & Krum, Davis, Harden, Browning, and Archy Williams. At the June Term, 1840, I am proud to find my own humble name on the record among these great lawyers and advocates. The June Term, 1840, was held amidst the turmoil and excitement of the 'Hard-Cider' and 'Log-Cabin' campaign, that resulted in the election of General Harrison. In all the Presidential elections, which have occurred within my recollection, I have never known any to compare with that. Log-cabins for political meetings, with the traditionary gourd, for cider-drinking, hanging on one side of the door, and the coon-skins nailed to the logs on the other, sprang up like magic, not only on the frontier, but in all the cities and towns, and in every village and hamlet.

A great Whig Convention was held in this City during Court, and the people came in throngs from every part of the State. Chicago sent a large delegation, at the head of which were John H. Kinzie, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Geo. W. Dole, and others, and, as the representatives of the commercial capital of the State, they brought with them a full-rigged ship on wheels. It was the first full-rigged ship that many of the natives of the interior of Illinois had ever seen, and it was, of course, a great curiosity. The delegation were supplied with tents and provisions; with plenty of good cider, and camped out at night upon the prairies. Their camp-fires illuminated the groves, and they made the air vocal with their campaign songs, all the way from Lake Michigan to the Illinois and Sangamon. The excitement of patriotism, of music, and cider, and eloquent speeches, and stirring ballads, spread over the whole country. A good singer of campaign-songs was as much in demand as a good stump speaker.

VanBuren, the Democratic candidate, was literally sung out of power. "Van, Van" was the worst "used up man" that ever ran for the Presidency. I voted for VanBuren, but being at

Court, I attended the great Mass Meeting at Springfield, and heard, for the first time, stump-speeches from Lincoln, Harden, Baker, and others, but the palm of eloquence was conceded to a young Chicago lawyer, S. Lisle Smith. There was a charm, a fascination, in his speaking, a beauty of language and expression, a poetry of sentiment and of imagery, which, in its way, surpassed everything I have ever heard. His voice was music, and his action studied and graceful. I have heard Webster, and Choate, and Crittenden, and Bates, of Missouri; they were all greatly his superiors in power, and vigor, and in their various departments of excellence, but for an after-dinner speech, a short eulogy, or a commemorative address, or upon any occasion when the speech was a part of the pageant, I never heard the equal of Lisle Smith. His verbal memory was marvellous. I went with him to church, one Sunday, to hear the Rev. Dr. Blatchford. On returning to his house to dine, he stepped into an adjoining room, and directly I heard what seemed the voice of Dr. Blatchford, going over the morning services; the prayer, the reading of a chapter in the Bible, the hymn, the text, and a part of the sermon—not varying, so far as I could detect, a single word from what I had heard in church. Smith had heard all this once only, and repeated it verbatim. But, surely, he must have been more attentive than hearers usually are in these days.

THE CASE OF JO. SMITH, THE MORMON PROPHET.

In December, 1842, Governor Ford, on the application of the executive of Missouri, issued a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith, the Apostle of Mormonism, then residing at Nauvoo, in this State, as a fugitive from justice. He was charged with having instigated the attempt, by some Mormons, to assassinate Governor Boggs, of Missouri. Mr. Butterfield, in behalf of Smith, sued out, from Judge Pope, a writ of *habeas corpus*, and Smith was brought before the United States District Court. On the hearing, it clearly appeared that he had not been in Missouri, nor out of Illinois, within the time in which the crime had been committed, and if he had any connection with the offence, the acts were done in Illinois. Was he, then, a fugitive from justice? It was pretty clear, that if allowed to be taken into Missouri, means would have been found to condemn and execute him. The Attorney-General of Illinois, Mr. Lamborn, appeared to sustain the warrant: Mr. Butterfield, aided by B. F. Edwards, appeared for Smith, and moved for his discharge. The Prophet (so called) was attended by his twelve Apostles, and a large number of his followers, and the case attracted great

interest. The Court-Room was thronged with prominent members of the bar, and public men. Judge Pope was a gallant gentleman of the old school, and loved nothing better than to be in the midst of youth and beauty. Seats were crowded on the Judge's platform, on both sides, and behind the Judge, and an array of brilliant and beautiful ladies almost encircled the Court. Mr. Butterfield, dressed *à la Webster*, in blue dress-coat and metal buttons, with buff vest, rose with dignity, and amidst the most profound silence. Pausing, and running his eyes admiringly from the central figure of Judge Pope, along the rows of lovely women on each side of him, he said:

"May it please the Court,

"I appear before you to-day under circumstances most novel and peculiar. I am to address the 'Pope' (bowing to the Judge) surrounded by angels, (bowing still lower to the ladies), in the presence of the holy Apostles, in behalf of the Prophet of the Lord."

Among the most lovely and attractive of these "angels," were the daughters of Judge Pope, a daughter of Mr. Butterfield, Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Dunlap, afterwards Mrs. Gen. Jno. A. McClernard, and others, some of whom still live, and the tradition of their youthful beauty is verified by their lovely daughters and grandchildren.

But the chief actors in that drama, on the issue of which, hung not only the life of Smith the Prophet, but of his followers, and, perhaps, the peace of two States, the *dramatis personæ* have all, or nearly all, passed away. The genial and learned Judge, the prisoner, and his able counsellor, so full of wit and humor, the eloquent Attorney-General, the Governors of both States, the Marshal and Clerk, and nearly all of the distinguished lawyers and public men, Lincoln, Logan, Judge Breese, Baker, and others, who laughed and joked so merrily over the happy allusions of Mr. Butterfield, have passed away: and we old lawyers may well repeat the sad words,

"When I remember all
The friends so linked together
I've seen around me fall
Like leaves in wintry weather,
I feel like one, who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled,
Whose garlands dead
And all but he departed."

To a contemporary of those early members of the Bar, the roll of Attorneys admitted in those days brings up sad and pleasant

memories. On that roll, in 1836, you find the name of Thomas Drummond, now a venerable Judge of the Northern District of our State; David Davis, late Judge, and now Senator; Archy Williams, and Anthony Thornton. In 1837, I find the names of Abraham Lincoln, William A. Richardson, Lyman Trumbull, Mahlon D. Ogden, Joseph Gillespie, and in 1838, Justin Butterfield, James A. McDougall, Hugh T. Dickey, Schuyler Strong, John J. Hardin, Ebenezer Peck, J. Young Scammon, and others and from that time on the names became more numerous.

In those early days it was my habit, and that, also, of those practising in the United States Court, to come to Springfield twice each year, to attend the semi-annual terms of the Court held in June and December. We made our trips in Frink & Walker's coaches, and I have known the December trip to take five days and nights, dragging drearily through the mud and sleet, and there was an amount of discomfort, vexation, and annoyance, about it, sufficient to exhaust the patience of the most amiable. I think I have noticed that some of my impulsive brethren of the Chicago Bar, have become less profane, since the rail-cars have been substituted for stage-coaches. But the June journey was as agreeable as the December trip was repulsive. A four-in-hand, with splendid horses, the best of Troy coaches, good company, the exhilaration of great speed, over an elastic road, much of it a turf of grass, often crushing under our wheels the most beautiful wild flowers, every grove fragrant with blossoms, framed in the richest green, our roads not fenced in by narrow lanes, but with freedom to choose our route; here and there a picturesque log-cabin, covered with vines; the boys and girls on their way to the log-schools, and the lusty farmer digging his fortune out of the rich earth. Everything fresh and new, full of young life and enthusiasm, these June trips to Springfield would, I think, compare favorably even with those we make to-day in a luxurious Pullman car. But there were exceptions to these enjoyments; sometimes a torrent of rain would, in a few hours, so swell the streams, that the log-bridges, and banks, would be entirely submerged, and a stream, which, a few hours before, was nearly dry, became a foaming torrent. Fording, at such times, was never agreeable, and sometimes a little dangerous.

FORDING SALT CREEK.

I recall a ludicrous incident on our way to Springfield, I think, in June, 1842. We had a coach, crowded with passengers, most of us lawyers, on our way to the United States Court. In passing from Peoria to Springfield, we attempted to ford one of

these streams, which had been lately raised, so that its banks were nearly a-quarter of a mile apart. When we had driven half across, the horses left the track, got into a bad slough, and were stalled. All efforts to extricate the coach failed, and, at length, the driver gave up the attempt in despair; said he must take off the horses, and go to the next station for help: those who chose, might mount a horse and ride ashore; or, if they preferred, might wade ashore, or stay in the coach until he returned, or wait until another coach, which was behind, should come up; we might wait for it, provided we were not carried down the stream by the current. Some decided to try their fortunes on a stage-horse; others stripped off trousers, boots, and stockings, and taking their coat-tails under their arms, started to wade ashore. Old Dr. Maxwell was of our party, a very stout gentleman, with short legs, and weighing near three hundred pounds. The Doctor sat by the window of the coach, grimly watching the various groups, and turning his eyes now to the equestrians, and now to those buffeting the current on foot, and envying some of the long-legged gentlemen who were struggling towards the shore. Seeing the Doctor unusually grave, a friend called to him:

"What is the matter, Doctor? Why don't you come on?"

"I don't like the aspect," said he. "The diagnosis is threatening. My legs are too short to wade, and there is not a horse in the team that can carry my weight through this current. Sink or swim; survive or perish; I shall stick by the ship."

"Well," replied an irreverent and saucy young lawyer, "if you are washed away, and cast ashore, by the current, I should like to have the opinion of Judge Dickey (not the present Chief-Justice) whether you would not be *flotsam* and *jetsam*, and belong, medicines and all, to the sovereign people of Illinois?"

Fortunately, our driver soon returned and rescued our genial Doctor.

I must not omit to mention the old-fashioned, generous hospitality of Springfield—hospitality, proverbial to this day throughout the State. Among others, I recall, with a sad pleasure, the dinners, and evening parties, given by Mrs. Lincoln. In her modest and simple home, everything orderly and refined, there was always, on the part of both host and hostess, a cordial and hearty Western welcome, which put every guest perfectly at ease. Mrs. Lincoln's table was famed for the excellence of many rare Kentucky dishes, and in season, it was loaded with venison, wild turkeys, prairie chickens, quail, and other game, which was then abundant. Yet it was her genial manners, and ever-kind wel-

come, and Mr. Lincoln's wit and humor, anecdote, and unrivalled conversation, which formed the chief attraction. We read much of "merrie England," but I doubt if there was ever anything more "merrie" than Springfield in those days. As, to-day, I walk your streets, and visit the capitol, and your court-rooms, as I enter the old home of Lincoln, for the first time since 1860, memories of the past come thronging back; I see his tall form, his merry laugh breaks upon my ear; I seem to hear the voices of Douglas, of Baker, of Harden, and of Logan!

"How are we startled in the winds low tones
By voices that are gone."

Nor, in recalling the past, must I forget the hospitable home of Judge Treat, who, to-day, as then, in his ample library, may well say:

"That place that does contain,
My books, the best companions, is to me
A glorious court, where hourly I converse
With the old sages and philosophers."

TRIAL OF OWEN LOVEJOY FOR HARBORING RUNAWAY SLAVES.

I have spoken of Mr. Butterfield; the firm name of Butterfield & Collins, partners, was in those early days always associated. Mr. Collins, was a good lawyer, a man of perseverance, pluck, and resolution, and as combative as an English bull-dog. He was an early, and most violent and extreme Abolitionist; a contemporary with Dr. Charles V. Dyer, the Lovejoys, Ichabod Coddington, Eastman, Freer, Farnsworth, and other pioneer Abolitionists in Northern Illinois. I wish I could re-produce a full report of the case of *The People v. Owen Lovejoy*.

At the May term, 1842, of the Bureau County Circuit Court, Richard M. Young presiding, Norman H. Purple, Prosecuting-Attorney, *pro tem.*, the Grand Jury returned a "true bill" against Owen Lovejoy (then lately a preacher of the Gospel), for that "a certain negro girl named Agnes, then and there being a fugitive slave, he, the said Lovejoy, knowing her to be such, did harbor, feed, secrete, and clothe," contrary to the statute, etc.,—and the Grand Jurors did further present "that the said Lovejoy, a certain fugitive slave called *Nance*, did harbor, feed, and aid," contrary to the statute, etc. At the October term, 1842, the Hon. John Dean Caton, a Justice of the Supreme Court, presiding, the case came up for trial, on a plea of *not guilty*. Judge Purple, and B. F. Fridley, States' Attorney, for the people, and James H. Collins, and Lovejoy in person, for the defence. The trial lasted nearly a week, and Lovejoy and Collins fought the case with a

vigor and boldness almost without a parallel. The prosecution was urged by the enemies of Lovejoy with an energy and vindictiveness with which Purple and Fridley could have had little sympathy. When the case was called for trial, a strong pro-slavery man, one of those by whom the indictment had been procured, said to the States' Attorney:

"Fridley, we want you to be sure and convict this preacher, and send him to prison."

"Prison! Lovejoy to Prison!" replied Fridley, "your persecution will be a damned sight more likely to send him to Congress."

Fridley was right—Lovejoy was very soon after elected to the State Legislature, and then to Congress, where, as you all know, he was soon heard from by the whole country. The prosecution was ably conducted, and Messrs. Collins and Lovejoy not only availed themselves of every technical ground of defence, but denounced, vehemently, the laws under which the indictment was drawn, as unconstitutional and void; justifying every act charged as criminal. A full report of the trial would have considerable historic interest. The counsel engaged were equal to the important legal and constitutional questions discussed. Judge Purple, for logical ability and wide culture, for a clear, concise style, condensing the strong points of his case into the fewest words, had rarely an equal. Fridley, for quaint humor, for drollery and apt illustration, expressed in familiar, plain, colloquial, sometimes vulgar language, but with a clear, strong common sense, was a very effective prosecutor. Collins was indefatigable, dogmatic, never giving up, and if the Court decided one point against him, he was ready with another, and if that was overruled, still others.

Lovejoy always suggested to me a Roundhead of the days of Cromwell. He was thoroughly in earnest, almost if not quite fanatical in his politics. His courage was unflinching, and he would have died for his principles. He had a blunt, masculine eloquence rarely equalled, and on the slavery question, as a stump-speaker, it would be difficult to name his superior. Collins and Lovejoy, after a week's conflict, won their cause. Lovejoy himself made a masterly argument, and Mr. Collins' closing speech extended through two days. They extorted a verdict from a hostile jury. It is very doubtful, however, if they could have succeeded with all their efforts, but for the accidental disclosure by the alleged owner, on his cross-examination, of a fact unknown to the defence. He said he was taking the slave girl *Nance* from Kentucky to Missouri through Illinois. He was

ignorant that by voluntarily bringing his supposed chattel from a slave to a free-State, she became free. Messrs. Collins and Lovejoy saw the importance of this fact—indeed, the turning point in the case. Lovejoy quoted with great effect the lines of Cowper, now so familiar:

“*Slaves* cannot breathe in England, if their lungs
Receive our air, that *moment* they are free—
They *touch* our country and their shackles fall!”

“And,” said he, “if this is the glory of England, is it not equally true of Illinois, her soil consecrated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, and her own Constitution?”

Mr. Collins, in his summing up, read the great and eloquent opinion of Lord Mansfield in the *Somerset* case, an opinion which Cowper so beautifully paraphrased in his poem.

Judge Caton’s charge, which will be found in the *Western Citizen*, of October 26th, 1843, was very fair. He laid down the law distinctly, that “if a man voluntarily brings his slave into a free-state, the slave becomes free.”

In February, 1859, at the Capitol in Washington, speaking of the acts which led to this trial, there is one of the boldest and most effective bursts of eloquence from Lovejoy to be found in all the literature of anti-slavery discussion. He had been taunted and reproached on the floor of Congress, and stigmatized as one who, in aiding slaves to escape, had violated the laws and constitution of his country. He had been denounced as a “nigger-stealer,” threatened by the slave-holders, and they attempted to intimidate and silence him. They little knew the man, and his reply silenced them, and extorted the admiration of friend and foe. He closed one of the most radical and impassioned anti-slavery speeches ever made in Congress, by unflinchingly declaring: * “I do assist fugitive slaves. Proclaim it, then, upon the house-tops; write it on every leaf that trembles in the forest; make it blaze from the sun at high noon, and shine forth in the milder radiance of every star that bedecks the firmament of God; let it echo through all the arches of heaven, and reverberate and bellow along all the deep gorges of hell, where slave-catchers will be very likely to hear it. Owen Lovejoy lives at Princeton, Illinois, three-quarters of a mile east of the village; and he aids every fugitive that comes to his door and asks it. Thou invisible demon of Slavery, dost thou think to cross my humble threshold, and forbid me to give bread to the hungry and shelter to the houseless? *I bid you defiance in the name of God!*”

* *Congressional Globe*, February 21, 1859, p. 199.

I heard Lovejoy declare, that after the death of his brother, he went to the graveyard at Alton, and kneeling upon the sod which covered the remains of that brother, he there, before God, swore eternal war and vengeance upon slavery. He kept his vow.

He was a man of powerful physique, intense feeling and great magnetism as a speaker, and he now went forth like Peter the Hermit, with a heart of fire, and a tongue of lightning, preaching his crusade against Slavery.

In the log school-houses, in the meeting-house, and places of worship, and in the open air, he preached and lectured against slavery with a vehemence and passionate energy which carried the people with him. The martyrdom of his brother was a sufficient excuse for his violence, and the name of Lovejoy, the martyr, like the name of Rob Roy or Douglas in Scotch history, became a name to "conjure" with; and he scattered broadcast seed, the fruit of which was apparent in the great anti-slavery triumph of 1860. Some idea of his dramatic power may be obtained from a sermon, preached at Princeton in January, 1842, on the death of his brother. After describing his murder by a cruel mob, because he would not surrender the freedom of the press, he declared, solemnly, that for himself, "come life or death, I will devote the residue of my life to the anti-slavery cause." "The slave-holders and their sympathizers," said he, "have murdered my brother, and if another victim is needed, I am ready."

His aged and widowed mother was present in the church. Pausing and turning to her, he said:

"Mother, you have given one son, your elder, to liberty, are you willing to give another?"

And the heroic mother replied:

"Yes, my son,—you can not die in a better cause!"

He lived to see slavery die, amid the flames of war which itself had kindled.

When I heard him speak of his brother's martyrdom, I recalled the words applied by an English poet to the reformer Wyckliffe, illustrating how much Wyckliffe's persecution had aided to spread his principles. Wyckliffe's body, you will remember, was burned and his ashes thrown into the Avon, and the poet-prophet says of the incident:

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wyckliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be."

The death of Elijah P. Lovejoy, on the banks of the Mississippi,

his lonely grave on the bluffs of Alton, were among the influences, and not the least, which have caused that mighty river and all its vast tributaries, on the East and on the West, to flow "unvexed to the sea." No longer "vexed" with slavery, the Mississippi flows on exultingly from the land of ice to the land of the sun, and all the way through soil which the blood of Lovejoy helped to make free. A monument to the Lovejoys on the summit of Pilot Knob, or some other rocky crag on the banks of that river, should tell and commemorate their story.

GENERAL SHIELDS AND THE SHOT THAT KILLED BREESE.

All the old members of the bar will recall with pleasant recollections, a gallant and genial Irishman, James Shields, of Tyrone County, Ireland. He was, however, more distinguished as a politician and soldier, than as a lawyer and judge. In 1848, he was elected to the United States Senate, succeeding and defeating for re-election Senator Breese.

At the battle of Cerro Gordo, in the war against Mexico, he was shot through the lungs, the ball passing out at his back. His nomination over a man so distinguished as Judge Breese was a surprise to many, and was the reward for his gallantry and wound. His political enemies said his recovery was marvellous, and that his wound was miraculously cured, so that no scar could be seen where the bullet entered and passed out of his body. All of which was untrue. The morning after the nomination, Mr. Butterfield, who was as violent a Whig as General Shields was a Democrat, met one of the Judges in the Supreme Court-room, who expressed his astonishment at the result, but, added the Judge, "It was the war and that Mexican bullet that did the business." "Yes," answered Mr. Butterfield, dryly, "and what an extraordinary, what a wonderful shot that was! The ball went clean through Shields without hurting him, or even leaving a scar, and killed Breese a thousand miles away!"

"OYER" AND "TERMINER."

It was on one of the Northern Circuits, held by Judge Jesse B. Thomas, that Mr. Butterfield, irritated by the delay of the Judge in deciding a case, which he had argued some time before, came in one morning and said with great gravity, "I believe, if your Honor please, this Court is called the 'Oyer and Terminer.' I think it ought to be called the 'Oyer SANS Terminer,'" and sat down. The next morning, when Counsel were called for motions, Mr. Butterfield called up a pending motion for new trial in an important case. "The motion is over-ruled," said Judge Thomas,

abruptly. "Yesterday, you declared this Court ought to be called *Oyer sans Terminer*, so," continued the Judge, "as I had made up my mind in this case, I thought I would decide it *promptly*." Mr. Butterfield seemed for a moment a little disconcerted, but directly added, "May it please your Honor, yesterday, this Court was a Court of *Oyer sans Terminer*; to-day your Honor has reversed the order, — it is now *Terminer sans Oyer*. But I believe I should prefer the injustice of interminable delay rather than the swift and inevitable blunders your Honor is sure to make by guessing without hearing argument."

VALUATION AND APPRAISAL LAWS, AND MY FIRST \$500 FEE.

Few, if any, decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have been so influential upon State legislation, and I think I may add, upon public morals, as the judgments of that Court, declaring the laws enacted by the State Legislature, known as valuation and stay laws, void. In 1841, the people were heavily in debt, and the State had ceased to pay the interest upon her bonds, having incurred great responsibilities by a reckless system of internal improvements. It was a period of great business depression and depreciation of property. Under these circumstances, demagogues sought to debauch the public morals and stain the public faith, by advocating the repudiation of the State liabilities, and the indefinite postponement of the legal enforcement of private contracts.

To this end, the Legislature, in February, 1841, enacted laws, giving the right of redemption in all cases of land to be sold under mortgages and deeds of trust, whether such sales should be made under decrees in equity or at law, and providing that before any judicial sale, the property should be appraised, and unless two-thirds of its appraised value should be bid, it should not be sold. Practically, these laws suspended for the time being the collection of debts. The levying of a moderate tax to aid in paying the interest on the State debt, the passage of the Canal bill of 1842-3, and the decision of the Supreme Court holding all these stay-laws, so far as they applied to existing contracts, void, all contributed very much to the growth and prosperity of our State, and to the high credit which Illinois has ever since enjoyed. I did what I could to oppose all schemes of repudiation, and I opposed the stay-laws both in the Legislature and in the Courts. I believed them to be unconstitutional, and took measures to bring that question before the Federal Courts.

In December, 1841, I filed a bill in the United States Circuit

Court, for Arthur Bronson, of New York, against my friend, John H. Kinzie, upon a mortgage given to secure money loaned, praying for a strict foreclosure, or a sale to the highest bidder for cash, and without regard to the redemption, appraisal, and stay-laws. At the hearing, Judges Pope and McLean being divided in opinion, certified the questions arising upon the validity of these laws to the Supreme Court of the United States for decision. At the January term, 1843, the case of *Bronson v. Kinzie* was argued, and will be found reported in the 1st of Howard, 311. In preparing the argument, I found a volume giving in full, with many pamphlets, the controversy in Kentucky between the Old and the New court parties. The Judges of the Old court in Kentucky held that the stay-laws of that State were void. Thereupon, the Legislature legislated the Judges out of office, and created a new court, made on purpose to sustain the stay-laws, which, as a matter of course, they did. This created great excitement in that State, and at one time threatened anarchy. The volume I refer to, was a magazine of the ablest arguments against this class of legislation, and was as applicable to Illinois as Kentucky. From this volume I drew largely in the preparation of my argument. I was then young and ambitious in my profession, and you will sympathize with my gratification, when Chief-Justice Taney announced the decision of the Court sustaining my position, and holding these laws unconstitutional and void, on the ground that they impaired the obligation of contracts.

In the case of *McCracken v. Hayward*, (2 Howard, 608), I raised the same questions on a sale under an execution upon a judgment at law, and the decision in *Bronson v. Kinzie* was re-affirmed.

I hope I shall be pardoned for relating the, to me, pleasing incident, of receiving, in the *Bronson* case, my first \$500 fee. I had spent much time in preparing the argument, and I did my best, and being on the right side, gained my cause. It was the day of small fees, and my charges were moderate and modest. I think I charged only \$150, beside expenses. A few days after the case was decided, I received from Bronson the amount of my bill, as made out, and a check for \$500, in addition, with a letter much more complimentary than my argument deserved: also a few copies of the argument and opinion of the Court, bound in crushed Levant Morocco, with all the beautiful ornamentation, which a Bedford, or a Mathews, could have desired.

I was a poor young lawyer then, but I valued the books quite

as much as the check. The proceeds of the check were, as is usual with us lawyers, quickly spent, but I kept one of the books, until, with all my other books and papers, it went up in the great fire of 1871. There were a few copies of the argument printed, and distributed to some of my friends, and if any one possessing a copy, should happen to see this egotistical digression, and send it to me, I shall not regret indulging in the weakness of mentioning the incident.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

When forty years ago the Bar used to meet here, at the capitol, in the Supreme and United States Courts, and ride the circuit in our different sections of the State, Lincoln and Douglas did not occupy a position of such over-shadowing importance as they do to-day. They did not beat us in our cases, when law and justice were with us, and we did not realize that they were so greatly our superiors. But these two men have passed into history, and justly, as our great representative men. These are the two most prominent figures, not only in the history of Illinois, but of the Mississippi Valley, and their prominence, certainly that of Mr. Lincoln, will be increased as time passes on. I will, therefore, endeavor to give such rough and imperfect outlines of them as lawyers, and advocates, and public speakers, as I can. We, who knew them personally, who tried causes with them and against them, ought, I think, to aid those who shall come after us, to understand them, and to determine what manner of men they were. In the first place, no two men could be found more unlike, physically and intellectually, in manners, and in appearance, than they.

Lincoln was a very tall, spare man, six feet four inches in height – and would be instantly recognized as belonging to that type of tall, large-boned men, produced in the Northern part of the Mississippi Valley, and exhibiting its peculiar characteristics in the most marked degree in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois.

In any Court-Room in the United States, he would have been instantly picked out as a Western man. His stature, figure, dress, manner, voice, and accent, indicated that he was of the North-West.

In manner, he was always cordial and frank, and, although not without dignity, he made every person feel quite at his ease. I think the first impression a stranger would get of him, whether in conversation, or by hearing him speak, was, that this is a kind, frank, sincere, genuine man; of transparent truthfulness and integrity: and before Lincoln had uttered many words, he would

be impressed with his clear good sense, his remarkably simple, homely, but expressive Saxon language, and next, by his wonderful wit and humor. Lincoln was more familiar with the Bible than any other book in the language, and this was apparent, both from his style and illustrations, so often taken from that Book. He verified the maxim, that it is better to know, thoroughly, a few good books than to read many.

Douglas was little more than five feet high, with a strong, broad chest, and strongly marked features: his manners, also, were cordial, frank, and hearty. The poorest and humblest found him friendly. He was, in his earlier years, hale-fellow well-met with the rudest and poorest man in the Court-Room.

Those of you who practised law with him, or tried causes before him, when on the bench, will remember that it was not unusual to see him come off the bench, or leave his chair at the bar, and take a seat on the knee of a friend, and with one arm thrown familiarly around his friend's neck, have a friendly talk, or a legal or political consultation. Such familiarity would have shocked our English cousins, and disgusted our Boston brothers, and it has, I think, disappeared. In contrast with this familiarity of Douglas, I remember an anecdote, illustrating Col. Benton's ideas of his own personal dignity. A distinguished member of Congress, who was a great admirer of Benton, one day approached, and slapped him, familiarly and rudely, on the shoulder. The Senator haughtily drew himself up, and said, "That is a familiarity, Sir, I never permit my friends, much less a comparative stranger. Sir, it must not be repeated."

Lincoln and Douglas were, as we know, both self-educated, and each the builder of his own fortune. Each became, very early, the recognized leader of the political party to which he belonged. Douglas was bold, unflinching, impetuous, denunciatory, and determined. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities which create personal popularity, and he was the idol of his friends. Both Lincoln and Douglas were strong jury-lawyers. Lincoln, on the whole, was the strongest jury-lawyer we ever had in Illinois. Both were distinguished for their ability in seizing, and bringing out, distinctly and clearly, the real points in a case. Both were very happy in the examination of witnesses; I think Lincoln the stronger of the two, in cross-examination. He could compel a witness to tell the truth when he meant to lie. He could make a jury laugh, and, generally, weep, at his pleasure. Lincoln on the right side, and especially when injustice or fraud were to be exposed, was the strongest advocate. On the wrong

side, or on the defence, where the accused was really guilty, the client, with Douglas for his advocate, would be more fortunate than with Lincoln.

Lincoln studied his cases thoroughly and exhaustively.—Douglas had a wonderful faculty of extracting from his associates, from experts, and others, by conversation, all they knew of a subject he was to discuss, and then making it so thoroughly his, that all seemed to have originated with himself. He so perfectly assimilated the ideas and knowledge of others, that all seemed to be his own, and all that went into his mind came out improved.

The ablest argument I ever heard him make, was in the case of *Daniel Brainard v. The Canal Trustees*, argued at Ottawa, June, 1850, reported in 12 Ill. Reports, 488. The question involved the extent of the right of pre-emption by settlers upon Canal lands, within the City of Chicago. The Judges were Treat, Trumbull, and Caton. Judges Treat and Trumbull concurred in deciding the case against Douglas, Judge Caton dissenting. He made, in this case, one of the ablest arguments I ever heard at any Bar.

In 1841, Mr. Douglas, being then not quite twenty-eight years old, was elected one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. He was not a profound lawyer, but with his clear common sense and incisive mind, after a case was well argued, he always knew how to decide it. He held the position of Judge for about two years, and was then, after a very active canvass, elected to Congress by a small majority, over O. H. Browning. From this time, until his death, in the early Summer of 1861, he remained in Congress, serving in the House until 1846, when he was elected to the Senate, of which he continued a member to the time of his death. His ablest speech in the House was made on the 7th of January, 1844, on a bill to refund to General Jackson the fine imposed upon him by Judge Hall, during the defence of New Orleans. In this masterly argument, he took the then bold and novel ground that the fine was imposed in violation of law. It is a curious fact, that, in this speech, Douglas claimed for General Jackson many of the war-powers exercised by President Lincoln, and his generals, during the rebellion, and for which the President was so bitterly denounced by his political opponents. This speech gave him a national reputation. After the death of the hero of New Orleans, a pamphlet copy of the speech was found among his papers, with an endorsement in Jackson's handwriting, and signed by him, in these words: "*This speech constitutes my defence. I lay it aside as an inheritance for my grandchildren.*"

Mr. Lincoln remained in active practice at the bar until his nomination for the Presidency in 1860. His reputation as a lawyer and advocate was rising higher and higher. He had a large practice on the circuit all over the central part of this State, and he was employed in most of the important cases in the Federal and Supreme Courts. He went on special retainers all over Illinois, and occasionally to St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Indiana. His law arguments addressed to the Judges, were always clear, vigorous, and logical: seeking to convince rather by the application of principle, than by the citation of authorities and cases. On the whole, I always thought him relatively stronger before a jury than with the Court. He was a quick and accurate reader of character, and understood, almost intuitively, the jury, witnesses, parties, and judges, and how best to address, convince, and influence them. He had a power of conciliating and impressing every one in his favor. A stranger coming into court, not knowing him, or anything about his case, listening to Lincoln a few moments, would find himself involuntarily on his side, and wishing him success. His manner was so candid, so direct, the spectator was impressed that he was seeking only truth and justice. He excelled all I ever heard in the statement of his case. However complicated, he would disentangle it, and present the turning point in a way so simple and clear that all could understand. Indeed, his statement often rendered argument unnecessary, and often the Court would stop him and say, "If that is the case, we will hear the other side." He had, in the highest possible degree, the art of persuasion and the power of conviction. His illustrations were often quaint and homely, but always clear and apt, and generally conclusive. He never misstated evidence, but stated clearly, and met fairly and squarely his opponent's case. His wit and humor, and inexhaustible stores of anecdote, always to the point, added immensely to his power as a jury-advocate. Time will not permit me to linger over particular trials. I will only refer to two or three.

The great patent case of *McCormick v. Manny*, reported in 6 McLean, Rep. 539, was argued at Cincinnati in 1855. He, with Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards his Secretary of War, and George Harding, of Philadelphia, were for Manny. McCormick was represented by William H. Seward, Reverdy Johnson, Edward N. Dickinson, and Arnold and Larned, as the local solicitors. It has been often said that Mr. Stanton did not, on this trial, treat his associate with proper professional courtesy, and that Mr. Lincoln's argument was crowded out. He went to Cin-

cinnati fully prepared, and I believe with the expectation of making an argument, but made none. Those who knew him, and especially his great natural skill in mechanics, will need no assurance that, however able the arguments of Messrs. Stanton and Harding, his would have fully equalled them. If the story is true, that Stanton somewhat rudely crowded Mr. Lincoln's argument out, their subsequent history furnishes another illustration of his magnanimity, and disregard of personal considerations when he selected Stanton as one of his cabinet.

The last case Mr. Lincoln ever tried, was that of *Jones v. Johnson*, tried in April and May, 1860, in the United States Circuit Court, at Chicago. The case involved the title to land of very great value, the *accretion* on the shores of Lake Michigan. During the trial, Judge Drummond, and all the counsel on both sides, including Mr. Lincoln, dined together at my house. Douglas and Lincoln were at the time both candidates for the nomination for President. There were active and ardent political friends of each at the table, and when the sentiment was proposed, "May Illinois furnish the next President," it was, as you may imagine, drank with enthusiasm by the friends of both Lincoln and Douglas.

THE CASE OF THE NEGRO GIRL NANCE.

One of the most interesting and important cases which Mr. Lincoln ever argued in the Supreme Court, and one, the study of which, I believe, in part prepared the way for his anti-slavery measures, was the case of *Bailey v. Cromwell*, argued and decided at the December term, 1841, and an imperfect report of which will be found in 3d Scammon's Rep., p. 71.

A negro girl named *Nance*, alleged to have been held as an indentured servant, or slave, had been sold by Cromwell to Bailey, and promissory note given in payment. Suit was brought in the Tazewell Circuit Court upon the note, and judgment recovered for the amount. The case was taken to the Supreme Court, and was presented by Mr. Lincoln on one side, and Judge Logan on the other, and Mr. Lincoln made an elaborate argument in favor of reversing the judgment. He maintained, among other positions, that the girl was free by virtue of the ordinance of 1787, as well as by the Constitution of the State prohibiting slavery; he insisted that as the record showed the consideration of the note to have been the sale of a human being, in a free-State, the note was void; that a human being could not, in a free-State, be the subject of sale. The Court opinion, by Judge Breese, reversed the judgment. The argument of Mr. Lincoln, a very

brief statement of which is given in the report, was most interesting. The question of slavery under the ordinance, and the Constitution, as well as under the law of Nations, was very carefully considered. This was probably the first time that he gave to these grave questions so full and elaborate an investigation. He was then thirty-two years of age, and it is not improbable that the study of this case deepened and developed the anti-slavery convictions of his just and generous mind.

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE.

I now propose to speak for a few moments of what I regard as the greatest debate which has occurred in this country, the Lincoln and Douglas debate, of 1858.

The two most prominent men in Illinois, at that time, were Douglas and Lincoln. Each was in the full maturity of his powers, Douglas being forty-five, and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had for years been trained on the stump, in the lower house of Congress, and in the Senate, to meet in debate, the ablest speakers in the State and Nation. For years, he had been accustomed, on the floor of the Capitol, to encounter the leaders of the old Whig and Free-Soil parties. Among them were Seward, and Fessenden, and Crittenden, and Chase, and Trumbull, and Hale, and Sumner, and others, equally eminent, and his enthusiastic friends insisted, that never, either in single conflict, or when receiving the assault of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His style was bold, vigorous, and aggressive, and at times, defiant. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, terrible in denunciation, and handled with skill, all the weapons of debate. His iron will, restless energy, united with great personal magnetism, made him very popular; and with these qualities, he had indomitable physical and moral courage, and his almost uniform success, had given him perfect confidence in himself.

Lincoln was, also, a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully, year after year, at the Bar, and on the stump, with the ablest men of Illinois, including Lamborn, Logan, John Calhoun, and others, and had often met Douglas himself—a conflict with whom he always rather courted than shunned. Indeed, these two great orators had often tested each others power, and whenever they did meet, it was, indeed, “Greek meeting Greek,” and the “tug of war” came, for each put forth his utmost strength.

In a speech of Mr. Lincoln in 1856, he made the following

beautiful, eloquent, and generous allusion to Douglas. He said: "Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then, he, a trifle younger than I. Even then, we were both ambitious, I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a failure. With him, it has been a splendid success. His name fills the Nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay far higher eminence, and that he did reach it, in such a way that "the oppressed" did share with him in the elevation.

Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole Nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign, and the American people paused to watch its progress, and hung, with intense interest, upon every movement of the champions. Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time, sincerely believed he was right. Douglas' ardor, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I *know* that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery, with the most profound conviction that, on success, hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas; he had the best side of the question, and the best temper. He was always good humored, always had an apt story for illustration, while Douglas, sometimes, when hard pressed, was irritable.

Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate, *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes, when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause, which he could always do, by his happy illustrations and amusing stories, he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. "I do not seek applause," said he, "nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them."

It was often observed during this canvass, that, while Douglas was sometimes greeted with the loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed, the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be

heard, all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

Douglas, by means of a favorable apportionment, succeeded in securing a majority of the Legislature, but a majority of the vote was with Lincoln. These debates made Douglas Senator, and Lincoln President. There was something magnetic, something almost heroic, in the gallantry with which Douglas threw himself into this canvass, and dealt his blows right and left, against the Republican party on one side, and Buchanan's administration, which sought his defeat, on the other. The Federal patronage was used, by the unscrupulous Slidell, against Douglas—but in vain; a few were seduced, but the mass of the Democratic party, with honorable fidelity, stood by him. This canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph, in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party, led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the administration, with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics. If we look into English struggles on the hustings for its parallel, we shall find something with which to compare it, in the late triumph of Mr. Gladstone. If we seek its counterpart in military history, we must look into some of the earlier campaigns of Napoleon, or that in which Grant captured Vicksburg.

Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers, exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and two years later, secured his nomination, and election, to the Presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that, widely as they had differed, and keen as had been their rivalry, just as soon as the life of the Republic was menaced by treason, they joined hands to shield and save the country they loved.

It would be a most attractive theme to follow Mr. Lincoln, step by step, from the time of this contest; to enumerate, one after another, his measures, until he led the loyal people of America in triumph, to the complete overthrow of slavery, and the restoration of the Union. From the time when he left this City, the political horizon, black with rebellion and treason, the thunder-cloud just ready to burst—on,—and on,—through those long, dreary years of war and danger, down to his triumph and his death; what a drama, what a spectacle for the admiration of men, and angels! From the argument of the case of the negro girl *Nance*, to the debate with Douglas, the final overthrow of

slavery, and his own tragic death, his life has all the dramatic unities, and the awful ending of the old Greek tragedies.

I know of nothing in all history more pathetic, than the scene when Mr. Lincoln bade good-bye to his old friends and neighbors here, in Springfield, when he mounted the cars at yonder railway station, to be borne away to the Capitol, to struggle with what seemed unconquerable difficulties and dangers, to struggle,—to triumph—and—to die. Conscious of these difficulties, with a sadness which seemed like a presentiment, but with a deep religious trust, which, in spite of what infidels have said, or may say, was wholly characteristic, as he said fare-well, he asked your prayers to Almighty God for himself and his country. And, as he grasped the hard hand of many an old friend and client, he heard the response, “God bless and keep you, and God save you from all traitors.” Well was it said, happily was it written on one of those mottoes on your State-house, at his funeral:

“He left us, borne up by our prayers,
He returns embalmed in our tears.”

I have detained you already too long. Let me, in concluding these fragmentary recollections of some members of the early Bar, let me congratulate you that thus far, the good name of our noble profession has been unstained. Fidelity to every trust, integrity and intelligence in the discharge of every duty, has characterized its members, whether at the Bar, or upon the Bench. No breach of faith, no judicial or professional corruption, no embezzlement stains our records. And, as we review the past, we may be justly proud of what the Bar has achieved. It has administered justice, preserved order, and maintained the supremacy of the law. It has done more: it has been the guardian, under law, of all our liberties; it has furnished the teachers of all parties, and led the advance in all true civilization and progress. Run your eye over the roll of the great men of our State; Presidents, Senators, Governors, members of Congress, members of Cabinets, Ministers abroad, and soldiers, and take from the record the lawyers, and how few would be left! Hitherto, in our history, the trained intellect of the Bar has led, and vindicated its right to lead, by results. Some call the Bar an aristocracy; it will be happy for the republic, if there shall be, in the future, as in the past, such an aristocracy of intellect, honor, and culture, made up largely from the members of the Bar. Happy is that country, where talents, intelligence, and high character, rather than money, control political affairs, and make and execute the laws.

Wealth acquired, or inherited, is to be protected, but money, as a means of political power, is necessarily corrupt, and is to-day the most dangerous enemy to our institutions. It has been well said, "An aristocracy of mere money is essentially the coarsest and rudest, the most vulgar, and demoralizing of all aristocracies."

The accumulation of vast fortunes by individuals and corporations, seems to be greater than at any time since the days of Roman corruption. If the day should ever come, when money shall control the legislation and politics of the country, we shall deserve, and may expect, the fate of Rome. But let us cherish faith in the destiny of the Republic.

Some of us have seen Illinois grow from infancy to be the third or fourth State of the Union. But it is not her material prosperity of which we should be chiefly proud. She has something better. That was a bright page in her history, when, in her early days, she banished slavery from her borders. She may be justly proud of the intellectual conflict, when her prairies echoed to the great arguments of Lincoln and Douglas, and still more proud when Lincoln proclaimed liberty throughout the land. That was a proud day for her when her great soldier, after clearing the West of every hostile flag, was called to the command of the armies of the East, and on the banks of the Potomac and the James, and at Appomatox closed the war in triumph.

Illinois, in the future, as in the past, will hold the Union together. She will seek the markets of the world, across the great lakes, and through the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico to the sea; but never through foreign territory. No foreign flag or custom-house must ever intervene in any direction between her and salt-water. All that has been accomplished in the past, should inspire us with a still higher ambition. If in arms, in eloquence, in jurisprudence, in statesmanship, Illinois can compare favorably with her proudest sisters, the time is not remote, we hope, when she will emulate and rival their success in arts and literature.

OBITUARY.

DAVID McKEE,

One of the early pioneers of Chicago, died April 9, 1881, near Aurora, Kane Co., at his own residence. Mr. McKee died at the ripe age of four-score years. During his long life he had enjoyed uninterrupted good health, and old age was the cause of his death.

Mr. McKee was well known to the early settlers of Chicago. With the solitary exception, perhaps, of Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, he was the oldest living settler of early Chicago. He was born in Loudon County, Virginia, Dec. 2, 1800. His parents emigrated to this country from Scotland, and after living some time in Virginia moved to Pennsylvania, and thence to Ohio. At the age of 13, young David was put at the trade of blacksmithing in Cincinnati. In 1821 he went to New Orleans, which was then comparatively a small place. He saw little there to encourage him to remain. The swamps were full of malaria and alligators, and the people were far from thrifty. After a short stay, he returned to Cincinnati, and soon after he got an appointment from the Government to go to Chicago, and do the blacksmithing for the Indian tribes under the treaty stipulations. His business was to attend to the wants of the untutored savage, to repair his rifle, mend his tomahawk, and otherwise prepare him for emergencies.

There was not much to be seen when young McKee came to Chicago. Fort Dearborn was the only white man's residence of any importance. There were some log-cabins on the banks of the river, and there lived the four original white men,—John Craft, agent of the American Fur Company; John Kinzie and his family; Alexander Wolcott; and one other old resident, whose name McKee could not remember, in late years. These were the only white men not wearing uniforms.

In 1826, McKee was appointed mail-carrier, and used to carry the mail once a month to Fort Wayne and back. Indians were as thick as grasshoppers all along the line of his route, but he journeyed on his old pack-horse from place to place, and was never molested by them. It took two weeks to go to Fort Wayne and back. One could not take a train at 5:15 p.m. and get there

at midnight. The stopping-places for refreshments were at the will of the traveler, and were generally in some leafy grove. The refreshments were such as the traveler chose to take with him.

In June, 1827, McKee was married to Miss Scott, the ceremony being performed by John Kinzie, J. P. McKee was a constable at the time, and was Justice Kinzie's right-hand man. In 1829, he became a parent, and his son Stephen was the first white child born to a citizen of Chicago. One or two births may have occurred in the garrison, but none had been known to take place among the citizens. Gurdon S. Hubbard, Jr., was, according to Mr. McKee, born in Danville.

According to Mr. McKee, in an interview with a TRIBUNE reporter in 1875, the first bridge built across the river was at the foot of Dearborn Street. The first frame house—in contradistinction to a log-cabin—was built on the South Side. It was a warehouse built by Newberry & Dole, on the south-east corner of South Water and Dearborn Streets, and the proprietors were very fond of boasting of it when speaking of it elsewhere.

During the interview referred to, Mr. McKee called to mind his recollections of seeing the bones of the victims of the massacre of Fort Dearborn, in 1812. The massacre occurred near the pine clump in the neighborhood of the University Building, and there the bones lay for twenty years. In 1832, Capt. Bradley, then commanding at Fort Dearborn, ordered the bones to be gathered up and interred, as they were, in the wood close by. Eight or ten years ago, some workmen, while digging a sewer in the vicinity, came across this burying-ground, and supposed at first they had encountered an Indian cemetery, until the history of the affair was published subsequently.

Mr. McKee left this city in 1832. He had acquired some little property in Chicago, consisting of four lots, 80 feet front by 140 deep, near where the Northwestern Depot now stands. He sold the land for \$800, which was then regarded as an enormous sum. With the proceeds of the sale he purchased a farm in Dupage County, where he lived until 1874, when he moved to Aurora.

Stephen McKee, his son, spoken of above as the first white child born in Chicago, is now in Nebraska, getting on in years, and with a family of his own. The first vote polled by him was in 1825. A copy of the poll-list* with his name in it is now in the possession of Hon. John Wentworth, of Chicago. J. W.

Chicago Tribune, April 13, 1881.

*See Wentworth's "Early Chicago," No. 7, p. 16, Fergus' Hist. Publ'ons.

The First Murder-Trial in Iroquois County

FOR

The First Murder in Cook County.

The Sixth Judicial Circuit of Illinois was created out of the Fifth, of which Richard M. Young was then Judge, at the Legislative session of 1834-35. It was composed of the counties of Peoria, Putnam, Iroquois, then just organized, Cook, Jo Daviess, and Rock Island.

Thomas Ford, who had been prosecuting-attorney in the Fifth Circuit, was appointed Judge, and James Grant, then a young adventurer, in his twenty-second year, from North Carolina, was, through the influence of Richard J. Hamilton, John H. Kinzie, and Gurdon S. Hubbard, prosecuting-attorney.

In the month of May, 1836, a man was found dead on the prairie, near the road side, between what was then called Lawton's Ford, on the Desplaines, and Elijah Wentworth's Buckhorn Tavern, seventeen or eighteen miles west of south-west from Chicago, on the traveled trail—you could hardly call it a road—to Ottawa.

A knife wound on the body showed that the man had been murdered. Stephen Forbes, the Sheriff of Cook County, lived on the west side of the Desplaines at Lawton's Ford, and between his house and Wentworth's, a distance of about six miles, there was no dwelling.

The prosecuting-attorney, who, as well as Forbes, knew every foot of the prairie in this distance, aided Forbes in hunting up the history of this homicide. In a few days the circumstances, as thus discovered, led to the arrest of a man calling himself Joseph F. Morris or Norris, and he was indicted by the grand jury at the June Term of the Court, and the feeling in the then sparse population of Cook County was so strong against him that Mor-

ris, on advice of his counsel, changed the venue to what was regarded as the wilderness of Illinois, Iroquois County. This man had been traced, by the prosecuting-attorney, from Ottawa to Chicago, and hence he preferred Iroquois County as the place of his trial.

From the *Watseka Times*,* January 4, 1879:

The Circuit Court of Iroquois County was organized on the 28th day of September, 1835. Here is the *placita*:

"Be it remembered, that a Circuit Court for the County of Iroquois, Illinois, begun and held at the house of Richard Montgomery, in said county, on the 4th Monday of September, 1835.

Present. The Honorable Stephen T. Logan, Judge of the First Judicial Circuit, presiding by exchange with the Honorable Thomas Ford, Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit.

JAMES GRANT, State's-Attorney.

HUGH NEWELL, Clerk, *pro tem*.

S. M. DUNN, Sheriff."

The house of Richard Montgomery was a hewed log-house used as a tavern on the south side of the river at Bunkum (properly Montgomery.) It was at the second Term of this Court that the first trial for murder was held in this county. A man had

* A proof of the following was sent to Hon. James Grant, who returned it with the additions made, and the following letter:

Mr. Robert Fergus, 244-8 Illinois St., Chicago, Ill. *Dear Sir*:—I have yours of the 27th. I wish you to send to me the ten publications named in your historical list. I enclose you three dollars. I also send you a narrative of some circumstances, connected with the trial of Morris:—I had no difficulty in convicting him; but was astonished at the ability manifested by Henry Moore, who was at the Court on other business, and was appointed to defend Morris. He relied upon the insufficiency of circumstantial evidence; made the usual argument in such cases, but with much more than the usual ability. This was the second, and last, homicide that I prosecuted for murder, during the period of my State's-attorneyship, from January, 1835, to January, 1837. The first was at Jo Daviess County, Spring Circuit, of the same year, when one Goodwin was prosecuted for killing his friend or foe, a brother miner, in a fight by agreement. This trial secured me the friendship of Benjamin Mills, one of the most brilliant of Illinois' orators of that day; and the trial of Morris, the friendship and esteem of Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of the ablest lawyers and judges that I have known in the history of Illinois, now in his eightieth year, having survived all his compeers of the early days of Illinois. I regarded myself as a boy in his presence, and feel so now, though I shall be sixty-seven on the 12th of December next.

Your Obedient Servant,

JAMES GRANT.

Davenport, Iowa, Nov. 2d, 1879.

been killed in the "Oak Woods," south-west of Chicago. The accused was the last one seen with him before the murder, and had been apprehended and arraigned before the Court in Cook County, from which he had taken a change of venue to Iroquois.

The trial came on at the May Term of the Court on the 16th, 17th, and 18th days of May, 1836. Present,

Hon. THOMAS FORD, Judge.

HUGH NEWELL, Clerk.

S. M. DUNN, Sheriff.

JAMES GRANT, State's-Attorney.

On the first day, as the record shows, State's-attorney filed in Court the record of proceedings and papers in the case on change of venue, and the Sheriff of Cook County returned his writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and brought the body of the said Joseph F. Morris, *alias* Joseph F. Norris, into Court. The accused was asked if he had been served with a copy of the indictment, a list of the jurors and witnesses, and if he had any counsel, and answered that he knew not if he had had the documents named, and the counsel employed by him was not present nor expected. The State's attorney then made oath that the accused had been served with the necessary papers above enumerated at the October Term of the Cook County Circuit Court.

Henry Moore, Esq., a counsellor of the Court, was then appointed counsel for the prisoner, and the case continued till the next day.

On the 17th, the prisoner's counsel asked for a continuance, but was refused; thereupon the defendant being arraigned, and having been furnished with a copy of the indictment and a list of the jurors and witnesses previous to his arraignment, pleaded *Not Guilty*, and for trial put himself upon the country. Thereupon came a jury of twelve good and lawful men, to wit: Benjamin Fry, Jacob A. Whiteman, Samuel Rush, Alexander Wilson, James Frame, Jacob Wagner, Westly Spitler, William A. Cole, William John, Ira Lindsey, and Isaac Fry, who were duly sworn, etc., etc.

The testimony of the people was introduced, and the cause continued until the next day.

The evidence for the State, which was in no way contradicted by the defendant, showed, that the murdered man was a comparative stranger to the then village of Chicago, where he had stopped long enough to be identified, and to have had and shown to more than one person a peculiar pocket-knife, which was easily recognized and identified. This stranger had left Chicago in the morning, was seen at the Forbes Tavern, and was seen in company and in conversation with Morris on the road

between Forbes' and Wentworth's, near which, on the next day, his dead body was found. Morris was also seen at the Forbes Tavern late in the day on his way to Chicago, which he reached the same night, and where he stayed until he was arrested.

Whether he was seen to exhibit the dead man's knife, or whether the prosecuting-attorney had him arrested on suspicion and the knife was found upon him, is not remembered; but it was found upon him; it was identified by more than one witness; the death-wound corresponded in size with the knife, and the prisoner's excuse that he had traded for the knife, or that he was the owner of it, and that it was not the dead man's knife, was his sole defence. His presence with the deceased near the fatal spot could not be gainsaid. The confession of the prisoner, while denying his part in the homicide, that he knew who the murderer was, satisfied the small portion of dissentents from a verdict of guilty on circumstantial evidence, that he was the stranger's murderer.

Neither Ford, the judge, nor Grant, the prosecutor, nor the jury who tried him, would solicit the Governor for his pardon.

On the 18th. "This day came the people by James Grant, state's-attorney, and the Sheriff of Cook County again produced the defendant in Court attended by Henry Moore, Esq., his counsel, and after hearing the testimony in behalf of the defendant, and the arguments of counsel for the people and defendant, the jury retired to consider of their verdict at about half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, and after continuing with the officer in charge of them until about half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, returned into Court and stated that they had not agreed upon their verdict, and by order of the Court, they were provided with proper refreshment, and again retired to consider of their verdict, and about fifteen minutes after seven o'clock in the afternoon the jury came into Court and returned the following verdict, to wit: We, the jurors, find the defendant *Guilty* in manner and form as he is charged in the indictment."

On the 19th, a motion for a new trial being overruled, the Court passed sentence as follows:

"It is ordered and adjudged by the Court that the said defendant be taken hence by the Sheriff of Iroquois County, and confined and safely kept by said Sheriff at some convenient place in said county (there being no jail), until Friday, the tenth day of June next, on which day the said defendant shall be taken by said Sheriff to some convenient place in said county and then and there, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and

three o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, by the said Sheriff, hanged by the neck until he shall be dead."

The criminal is described, by those who saw him, as a large, fine-looking fellow. Throughout his trial, and after, he protested his innocence, saying that he was not guilty of the crime, but that he knew who was guilty. He refused to give any names, however, intimating that he was pledged to secrecy. It is evident from the record that the jury did not readily agree, and his bearing may have created some doubt, but it is said there could be no reasonable doubt of his guilt.

He was ironed and confined in one of the houses near by until the day of his execution, which took place at the appointed time.

Morris was taken to a blacksmith, to have irons riveted on him, and while it was being done, he picked up some kind of a missile and threw it into the crowd at the door of the shop, and it struck Mr. Edward Mulford, the jeweler, on the face.

His guards were Sheriff Dunn and George Courtright, (the latter now of Watseka.) With the utmost diligence he came near escaping. He managed to weaken his fetters, and, when left alone for a short time, broke them off, and would have escaped had he not moved too soon. The noise he made recalled the guard, and he was secured.

A large crowd of people came from long distances to witness the execution. The day was one of rain and storm. The place selected was a walnut tree just across the bridge, north, at Bunkum, and the rope was attached to a limb about 30 or 40 feet from the ground. The criminal walked part way, smoking his cigar with great fortitude; when mounted on the box in the wagon which served for a scaffold he made a short speech, in which he justified his past life, saying he had stolen from the rich and given to the poor, etc.

When the Sheriff adjusted the noose, he said "That rope would hang a steamboat." When life was extinct, the body was taken down and buried at a point a little south-east of Bunkum. It was afterward taken up for anatomical purposes, and it is said that one of the resurrectionists died from the effects of his exposure during the operation.

I am much indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Micajah Stanley for the matters herein related not shown by the records, and I hereby return my thanks.

B. F. SHANKLAND.

From the proceedings of "The First Old-Settlers Re-Union" of Iroquois County, at Dunning's Grove, Iroquois, Ill., August 13th, 14th, and 15th, 1879.

The exercises of the day (Thursday) were concluded by an entertaining sketch, by the President, (Amos O. Whiteman), relative to the arrest, trial, conviction, and hanging." * * *

MR. WHITEMAN said "I have been requested to give the historical facts in regard to the stump of the tree on which Thomasson was hanged, and also the log that was part of the jail in which he was confined, and the man that gave them renown. He very much regretted it, for this reason,—his inability to do justice under the circumstances. He was not an inhabitant of this county at the time of the event to which your minds will be directed in reference to these relics. He was, however, in possession of some of the facts, and they were simply these: Some time in the forepart of 1836, a gentleman by the name of Charles Lagree, who was a journeyman blacksmith in a shop in Chicago; he worked there about six months, and at the expiration of that time made a settlement with his employer and shortly after started on his way to Joliet. It so happened that on the settlement there was exceeding the sum of fifty dollars due from his employer to him; it was paid over and he started on his journey. During the first day's travel, it appears, along the way an individual was seen traveling the same road on horseback. Sometimes he was seen riding along in company with this man who was on foot—generally supposed to be in conversation with him. Persons having met the two, the one on horseback and the other on foot, heard conversation taking place between these two men. It next appeared in the early part of the day they were first noticed together and were noticed continually. Sometimes this man would be in advance of the footman and alternately the footman would be in advance of the other. Late in the afternoon, as he was traveling in a southwesterly direction, a teamster discovered the two traveling together. Afterward, they were seen together again after the teamster met them. The teamster gave it as his opinion afterward and before the arrest was made, that he apprehended something serious would take place between these two travelers, and he made the announcement on the day they were seen on the journey. Not far from the village known as Plainfield,—no doubt a number of you are acquainted with it—not a great way from that place there was a house of entertainment, kept by a farmer. In a northeasterly direction from that public-house, on an elevated plot of land, late in the evening, two individuals were discovered, the one on foot, the other on horseback. That being nothing new on the highway in the vicinity of a public-house, no notice was taken of it. On the following morning, there was a strange-looking object on the elevated spot, from a

quarter to a half-mile from this house of entertainment, that called the attention of the settlers to that place; so much so, that they dispatched a person to examine what the appearance might be. On arriving at the spot, the body of a man was found dead; afterward ascertained to be the body of this man Charles Lagree, this blacksmith that left Chicago.

The country was alarmed; and soon the public were in pursuit, and the individual that was recognized as the one on horseback, in company with this man, was arrested on suspicion; he was brought before the proper authorities at Chicago, and committed to jail. At the proper sitting of the court and grand jury for Cook County, he was indicted for murder; his counsel, Henry Moore, advised him to take a change of venue, and the venue was awarded to Iroquois County, (the nearest seat of justice,) in the month of May. I am not able to state the day, but in May, 1836, Thomas Ford, one of the Judges of the Circuit Court, was assigned to the duties of holding court for Iroquois County. On the opposite bank of the river, the court convened at the house of Richard Montgomery. The prisoner did not give his name correctly, but it was ascertained to be Joseph Thomasson, and so was tried and convicted of murder. I am told by persons who were on the jury that tried him, that the conviction was entirely upon circumstantial evidence. This man Lagree, while in Chicago, had picked up a Barlow knife and carried it into the shop, and some of the boys, in a joking way, asked if it was a pretty good article; that knife he kept for the purpose of trimming horses' feet. When he started out of the shop to leave Chicago he went out without the knife, and one of the journeymen, in a joking way, asked him if he was going to take that knife along or leave it, and he put the knife in his pocket and went off. That knife was found on Joseph Thomasson after he was arrested. This man that had employed Lagree indentified the knife; at the time of the trial they had collected perhaps thirty old knives, and this knife was kept out, and this gentleman was called to identify the knife; he looked over them, and said it was not there. Again they mixed them up, and he said it was not there. The third time, they put in the knife, this same knife that was taken from Thomasson; he looked them over, and the first clap he made he picked it up. They mixed up the knives again, and did not put the knife in again, and he said, "You must put the knife in if you want me to find it." They put the knife in again, and he picked the knife up as before. Another strong circumstance was, Thomasson had a pound weight tied up in a piece of shirting, and the broken skull of Lagree and the weight exactly corresponded.

Uncle John Fry with eleven other men tried him. Judge Grant was prosecuting-attorney. The trial lasted through the whole of the day, and the jury went out late in the day. Some time after, they returned with their verdict; it was brought into court; the court had not yet adjourned; they brought in, without a dissenting voice, "guilty." That night, Thomasson was sentenced by Judge Ford; on the following June, on the tenth day, he was to be hanged by the head until he was dead, *dead*, DEAD. There was a walnut tree, perhaps two feet in diameter, that stood on the bank of the river, on the other side. S. M. Dunn, who was the sheriff of this County at that time, proceeded to make the arrangements for carrying out the sentence of this man Thomasson. About ten feet west of this tree he has described, ordered a post planted in the ground about two feet deep and eight or nine in height; on the top of that post was a scantling, four by four, put across and fastened to the side of the tree; the prisoner was placed in a lumber-wagon and driven under it. John Bean was the teamster; two brothers of his were called up there to constitute a guard. He thinks there was twenty-four men selected to constitute a guard; the guard was in attendance from the time of the sentence of the prisoner until his execution. He was executed on the tenth day of June, 1836; and he was guarded twenty-two days. It would not be out of the way to say a little about Bunkum. It is said this log was a portion of the jail in which he was confined; he was in a room fourteen feet square. * * *

The prisoner was manacled by having a chain to his ankles and a link between them about the size of a log-chain, fastened to a staple, about five inches in length and three-quarters of an inch thick, and that was driven into a log in the side of the building; he was thus confined until the day of his execution.

He had been bound to a man, in the State of Ohio, by the name of Wood; he said he had stolen a clevis from this man Wood, but he never acknowledged the killing of Lagree. This foster-father of his promised him, prior to his execution, that he would either bury him or see that he was decently buried. He was taken to the public land, near the residence of James Hoagland, and there interred in the usual way; this was in June, 1836. Afterward, they took what they could find as the last memory of this man Thomasson, and were taken possession of by a physician by the name of Harwood. The last time he saw Dr. Harwood, fifteen years ago, he was in possession of the bones of this prisoner. These, ladies and gentlemen, are the fragments of the facts as they have been handed to me, in substance.

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