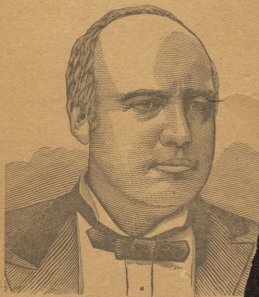


GREAT SPEECHES



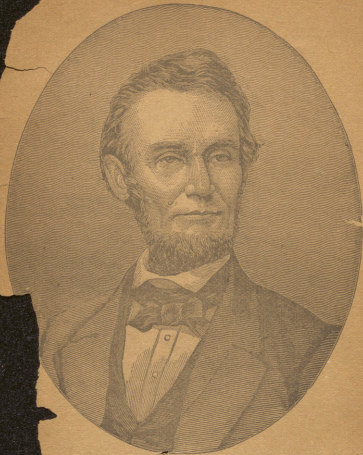
—OF—

Col. R. G. INGERSOLL.

CHICAGO
RHODES & McCURE Pub. Co.
1889.

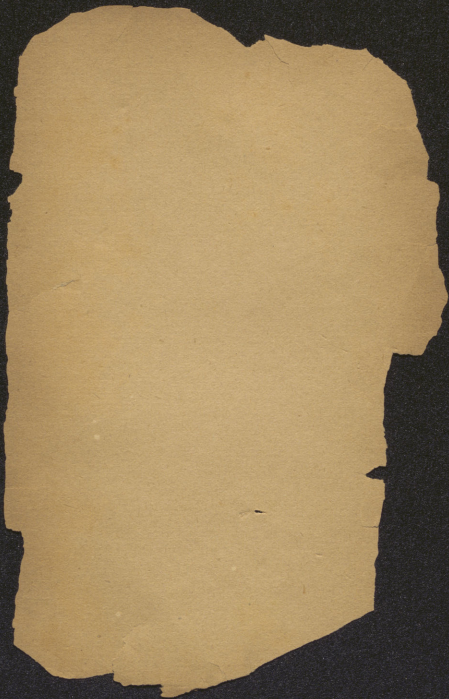


tered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1885, by the
RHODES & McCLURE PUB. CO.



A. Lincoln

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
THE 16TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



weary marches. We stand guard with them in the wild storm and under the quiet stars. We are with them in ravines running with blood—in the furrows of old fields. We are with them between contending hosts, unable to move, wild with thirst, the life ebbing slowly away among the withered leaves. We see them pierced by balls and torn with shells in the trenches of forts, and in the whirlwind of the charge, where men become iron with nerves of steel.

We are with them in the prisons of hatred and famine, but human speech can never tell what they endured.

We are at home when the news comes that they are dead. We see the maiden in the shadow of her sorrow. We see the silvered head of the old man bowed with the last of his life.

The past rises before us, and we see four millions of human beings governed by the lash—we see them bound hand and foot—we hear the strokes of cruel whips—we see the hounds tracking women through tangled swamps. We see babes sold from the breasts of mothers. Cruelty unspeakable! Outrage infinite!

Four million bodies in chains—four million souls in fetters. All the sacred relations of wife, mother, father and child, trampled beneath the brutal feet of might. And all this was done under our own beautiful banner of the free.

The past rises before us. We hear the roar and shriek of the bursting shell. The broken fetters fall. There heroes died. We look. Instead of slaves we see men and women and children. The wand of progress touches the auction-block, the slave-pen, and the whipping-post, and we see homes and firesides, and school-houses and books, and where all was want and crime, and cruelty and fear, we see the faces of the free.

These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land of the free.

made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or storm, each in the windowless palace of rest. Earth may run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for the soldiers living and dead—cheers for the living and tears for the dead.

MORE SOLID SHOT.

Now, my friends, I have given you a few reasons why I am a Republican. I have given you a few reasons why I am not a Democrat. Let me say another thing. The Democratic party opposed every movement of the army of the Republic, every one. Don't be fooled. Imagine the meanest resolution that you can think of—that is the resolution the Democratic party passed. Imagine the meanest thing you can think of—that is what they did; and I want you to recollect that the Democratic party did these devilish things when the fate of this nation was trembling in the balance of war. I want you to recollect another thing when they tell you about hard times, that the Democratic party made the hard times; that every dollar we owe to-day was made by the Southern and Northern Democracy.

When we commenced to put down the rebellion we had to borrow money, and the Democratic party went into the markets of the world and impaired the credit of the United States. They slandered, they lied, they maligned the credit of the United States, and to such an extent did they do this, that at one time during the war paper was only worth about 34 cents on the dollar. Gold went up to \$2.90. What did that mean? It meant that greenbacks were worth

34 cents on the dollar. What became of the other 66 cents? They were lied out of the greenbacks, they were calumniated out of the greenbacks, by the Democratic party of the North. Two-thirds of the debt, two-thirds of the burden now upon the shoulders of American industry, were placed there by the slanders of the Democratic party of the North, and the other third by the Democratic party of the South. And when you pay your taxes keep an account and charge two-thirds to the Northern Democracy and one-third to the Southern Democracy, and whenever you have to earn the money to pay the taxes, when you have to blister your hands to earn that money, pull off the blisters, and under each one, as the foundation, you will find a Democratic lie.

Recollect that the Democratic party did all the things of which I have told you, when the fate of our nation was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. Recollect they did these things when your husbands, your fathers, your brothers, your chivalric sons were fighting, bleeding, suffering upon the fields of the South, where shot and shell were crashing through their sacred flesh, where they were lying upon the field of battle, the blood slowly oozing from the pallid, mangled lips of death; when they were in the hospitals of pain, dreaming broken dreams of home, and seeing fever pictures of the ones they loved; when they were in the prison pens of the South, with no covering but the clouds, no bed except the frozen earth, no food except such as worms had refused to eat, and no friends except insanity and death. Recollect it. I have often said that I wished there were words of pure hatred out of which I might construct sentences like serpents, sentences like snakes, sentences that would writhe and hiss—I could then give my opinion of the Northern allies of the Southern rebels.

THREE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

There are three questions now submitted to the American people. The first is, Shall the people that saved this country rule it? Shall the men who saved the old flag hold it? Shall the men who saved the ship of State sail it? or shall the rebels walk her quarter-deck, give the orders and sink it. That is the question. Shall a solid South, a united South, united by assassination and murder, a South solidified by the shot-gun; shall a united South, with the aid of a divided North, shall they control this great and splendid country? Well, then the North must wake up. We are back where we were in 1861. This is simply a prolongation of the war. This is the war of the idea, the other was the war of the musket. The other was the war of cannon, this is the war of thought; and we have got to beat them in this war of thought, recollect that. The question is, Shall the men who endeavored to destroy this country rule it? Shall the men that said, This is not a nation, have charge of the nation?

The next question is, Shall we pay our debts? We had to borrow some money to pay for shot and shell to shoot the Democrats with. We found that we could get along with a few less Democrats, but not with any less country, and so we borrowed the money, and the question now is, will we pay it? And which party is the most apt to pay it, the Republican party, that made the debt—the party that said it was constitutional, or the party that said it was unconstitutional? Whenever a Democrat sees a greenback, the greenback says to the Democrat, "I am one of the fellows that whipped you." Whenever a Republican sees a greenback, the greenback says to him, "You and I put down the rebellion and saved the country." Now, my friends, you have heard a great deal about finances. Nearly every-

Robt. M. Douglas.

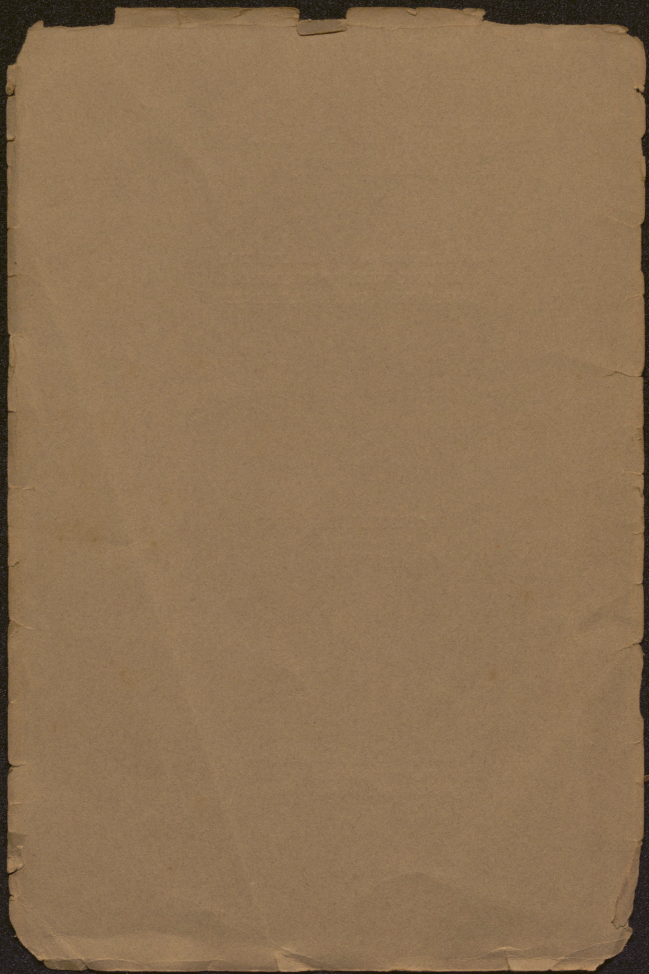
LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AS
LAWYERS

AN ADDRESS GIVEN BEFORE THE
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BY
ORRIN N. CARTER

A Member of the Supreme
Court of Illinois

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION, FOR THE YEAR 1910-1911



LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AS LAWYERS

BY ORRIN N. CARTER

History has been called the biography of great men. Biography is history in miniature. It brings us close to the men and things which we are studying. Personal reminiscences of a lawyer, however, are not usually attractive to the popular mind since his reputation is but for the day. It is not strange, therefore, that so little is generally known of Lincoln and Douglas as lawyers. Their careers as statesmen have so overshadowed everything that they did in the legal profession that few ever think of them in that connection. In recent years interest has been aroused in Lincoln as a lawyer, but it is difficult to find much information on that subject with reference to Douglas. It may surprise many lawyers to learn that Douglas served two years and more on the Supreme Bench of this State (Illinois), just before he was elected a Representative in Congress.

It is entirely appropriate to consider the training, experience, and legal ability of these two men. Possibly no other two men in our history, both reaching such eminence in national affairs, were so closely associated in many things as were Douglas and Lincoln. They came to Illinois at about the same time; one from Kentucky by way of Indiana in 1830, and the other from Vermont by way of New York and Ohio in 1833. The younger, Douglas, was admitted to the bar in 1834 and began practicing law in Jacksonville, Morgan County; while Lincoln was licensed in 1836 and began practicing the next year in the adjoining county of Sangamon. They served in the same legislature. They were thrown together in the

practice of the law for several years and Lincoln was frequently before the Supreme Court while Douglas was a member of that tribunal. They were rivals for the hand of the same lady. They were the principals in the greatest public debate which this country has ever known,—a debate that marks an epoch in our history. They contested with each other for a seat in the United States Senate, and finally they were opposing candidates for the highest office in the gift of the people.

Until the history-making debate of 1858 Lincoln was little known outside of his State, while Douglas was then the most prominent man in either House of Congress. As Lincoln said in that debate, he was of world-wide renown. His great reputation undoubtedly fixed the attention of the nation on that extraordinary intellectual contest. At the opening of the debate Lincoln was known and seen largely in the reflected light of his great rival. This debate, however, made his candidacy for the presidency possible, and his own fame now has almost completely eclipsed that of Douglas. The ordinary reader of history knows little of Douglas, except in association with Lincoln as the latter's opponent in this great forensic contest and as the leading candidate against him for president. Considering the prominence and brilliancy of Douglas during his life his place in history seems now almost pathetic. These two men are most frequently compared, not so much because of their respective characters or ability, as from the fact that Lincoln was on the winning and Douglas on the losing side of a great national struggle. While we all believe that Lincoln was morally on the right side of the slavery question, it was most fortunate for his reputation and for the country that the time was then ripe for the settlement of that problem. Douglas found himself with the receding tide, Lincoln with the incoming. Without detracting in the slightest from the great ability and ever growing and

well deserved reputation of Lincoln, a study of the lives of these two men strongly emphasizes the truth of the old adage that "Nothing succeeds like success."

Both of these men were above reproach in private life; both were of extraordinary ability, although each was very different from the other. Lincoln was six feet four inches in height, weighed about 183 pounds, was well built in proportion and one of the strongest men physically of his time. Douglas was a trifle over five feet four; in his young manhood he weighed about 100 pounds, but later in life about 140. Lincoln said when he first met Douglas in 1834 that he (Douglas) was "the least man I have ever seen." That statement doubtless was meant as a compliment, for Douglas was then known, even though only twenty-one years of age, as very much of a man in public affairs. Douglas had a very large head for the size of his body. Lincoln's head was not large as compared with his size. Douglas was very popular, a "hale fellow, well met," with everyone with whom he associated. Doubtless in early life he was the more polished,—as that term is ordinarily used,—of the two men. The statements, however, so often heard that Lincoln was awkward and ill at ease in society are largely exaggerations. Those best qualified to judge state that he was at home on all occasions, whether in the society of men or women and that he was always the center of interest in any gathering.

They were both self-made men, succeeding largely through their own unaided exertions. Douglas had a slightly better opportunity for education, having gone practically through a high school course, while Lincoln's schooling was not more than a year all told, and that taken at odd times. The practice of the legal profession in their time was quite different from what it is now. There were but few libraries of any size, either public or private, in the State. In Springfield there were not over

two or three libraries of fifty volumes; in Chicago probably not more than a half dozen of one hundred volumes. The *Revised Statutes of Illinois*, the *Illinois Form Book* and a few elementary treatises constituted the usual library of a lawyer in the smaller towns. Common sense, the gift of speech, an aptitude for politics, and regular attendance upon the courts in the circuit were the chief requisites of success at the bar when Lincoln and Douglas began the practice of law.

Douglas was born in Vermont, the son of a physician. His father having died when he was an infant, his mother married again when Douglas was seventeen years of age, and took him with her to her new home in New York State. When he was twenty he decided to try his fortunes in the West and without any definite location in view he remained for a time in Cleveland, Ohio. Late in 1833, after a serious illness he was advised to try another climate, and by way of Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis he finally landed at Winchester, the county seat of Scott County, Illinois, with almost no money. On the day of his arrival he was fortunate enough to be employed as a clerk at an auction sale, apparently being the only person present who could "write and cipher". He thus became acquainted with some of the people in that vicinity and immediately made arrangements to teach for the winter a private or select school, each pupil paying tuition directly to the teacher. He read some law while in New York and Ohio and continued it in his new location. He passed the examination for admission to the bar before he was twenty-one years of age. In the meantime he had gained a local reputation as a public speaker, excelling in popular belief a leading lawyer in a joint debate over resolutions approving the administration of President Jackson. Upon his admission to the bar he located at Jacksonville and soon became widely known — more as a leader of men than as a lawyer. At

the request of a member of the legislature he drafted in 1834 a statute for the appointment of prosecuting attorneys of the State, so that the legislature instead of the Governor should select them. He was chosen as prosecuting attorney of the first judicial district. It is often inaccurately stated that he was appointed attorney general. This latter officer at that time acted also as prosecuting attorney in the judicial district in which the capital was located. There is a well founded rumor that one of the Supreme Court judges said of him at the time of his appointment: "He is no lawyer and he has no law books." Moreover the story goes that at the first term of court after his appointment, at Bloomington in McLean County, in drafting his first indictments he spelled the name of the county "McClean" instead of "McLean". On this account a motion was made to quash all the indictments. Judge Logan, presiding on the circuit, asked Douglas what he had to say about it, and the latter replied that he did not have to say anything until the others proved the spelling incorrect. Much to the surprise of all, including Douglas, a reference to the statute establishing the county of McLean showed the name as Douglas had spelled it in the indictments, and the motion to quash was overruled. The conclusion does not follow, as Douglas's biographers assume, that the indictments would have been quashed, had the spelling of the name of the county been found to be incorrect. Clearly the two words, while slightly different in spelling, were what is known in law as *idem sonans*. Under the decisions of the Supreme Court of this State such a criticism of an indictment would be considered hypercritical.¹

Douglas spent much of his time in politics. For that matter all lawyers in this State who were at all gifted along that line then did the same thing. Because of his ability on the "stump" he was persuaded to become a

¹ *People v. Spoor*, 235 Ill. 230.

candidate for the legislature in 1836 and so he resigned as State's attorney. Before the close of that session of the legislature he was appointed as Register of the Land Office. The capital had previously been changed from Vandalia to Springfield and Douglas at once moved to the latter place to perform the duties of his new office, which was quite remunerative. He resigned this office in 1838 to accept the leadership of what appeared to be a forlorn hope, an election to Congress. John T. Stuart, a law partner of Lincoln, was his opponent, and the district included about two-thirds of the State, — all of the northern part. He was defeated on the face of the returns by five votes, although his friends insisted that if the ballots had been correctly counted he would have been elected. Douglas, disgusted with the result, announced publicly that thereafter he would eschew politics and give himself entirely to the practice of his profession. Until January, 1841, he did give much of his attention to law, but he was too much of a politician to keep out of public life. He practically had charge of the Democratic campaign for president in 1840 and largely through his efforts the State was saved for Van Buren, the remainder of the Middle West being carried for William Henry Harrison. There can be no doubt that during the two years that he rode circuit, as did Mr. Lincoln for many years thereafter, he established a name for himself as a successful lawyer. He appeared as counsel in six cases in the Supreme Court of the State from 1834 to 1839.² The opinions in those cases are found in Volume II of the Supreme Court reports. In all of them Douglas was successful. In the first case he was associated as counsel with John D. Caton, who afterwards served for many years on the Supreme Bench. This suit had reference to

² Lovett v. Noble, 1 Scam. 185; People v. Mobley, 1 Scam. 215; Miller v. Howell, 1 Scam. 499; Miller v. Houck, 1 Scam. 500; Corvill v. Marks, 1 Scam. 524; Whiteside v. Lee, 1 Scam. 548.

a right of action against a person who had cut timber on unenclosed public lands. In the same volume of the Supreme Court reports is found a case of interest in which Douglas was neither lawyer nor party.³ It grew out of an election bet at the time when he was a candidate for election to Congress against Stuart. Two of their respective partisans in Morgan County ordered the cloth for a coat at a cost of \$34, it being agreed that if Douglas was elected one party should pay for it, and if Stuart, the other. The suit was decided on points that did not go to the merits of the question.

In the third volume of the Illinois reports are found six cases in which he was counsel; two of them, the Field case⁴ and the Galena case,⁵ aroused great public interest. It was largely, doubtless, because of the part which he took in these cases as counsel that he was afterward elected judge of the Supreme Court. When Thomas Carlin qualified as Governor in 1838 he found as Secretary of State, Alexander P. Field. Carlin was a Democrat and Field a Whig. The law provided that the Governor should appoint the Secretary of State, but there was no provision as to when the latter's term of service should end. The new Governor contending that along with the power of appointment he had the power of removal, appointed John A. McClernand to the position. The State Senate, however, declared that no vacancy existed and rejected the nomination. After the legislature adjourned the Governor again named McClernand, who thereupon demanded possession of the office; on being refused he brought quo warranto proceedings before Judge Breese in the circuit court. The decision of that court was in his favor, but Field took an appeal to the Supreme Court where the decision was reversed by a

³ Lorton v. Gilliam, 1 Scam. 577.

⁴ Field v. People, 2 Scam. 79.

⁵ Spraggins v. Houghton, 2 Scam. 211, 277.

divided court, Wilson and Lockwood voting for the majority opinion, Smith dissenting, and Browne, the fourth judge, taking no part, as he was related to one of the parties. The majority of the court decided that the Governor did not have the power to remove at his pleasure; that the Secretary when once appointed held during good behavior or until the legislature limited his term. This is one of the leading cases in the State as to several questions of constitutional law and has been quoted frequently in later decisions. The other suit, considered of far greater political importance, was what is sometimes known as the "Galena alien case", brought in the circuit court of Jo Daviess County to test the right of aliens to vote. The circuit court, Judge Stone presiding, decided that the aliens were not entitled to exercise the electoral franchise. This judge was the same Stone who joined with Lincoln in signing a protest against slavery in the legislature of 1837. The case was taken to the Supreme Court by appeal and argued at the December term, 1839, by some of the most prominent lawyers of the State. Douglas was leading counsel in support of the Democratic contention that an alien was entitled to vote though not naturalized. It was feared by the Douglas side that the case would be decided at the next June term in the midst of a presidential campaign and that the decision would be against the right of the aliens to vote. The court was then constituted was made up of three Whigs and one Democrat, Judge Smith. It was commonly reported at the time that Smith came to the rescue of his political friends and pointed out a clerical defect in the record which caused a continuance to the December term, after the presidential election. As finally decided the constitutional question was avoided, the court holding that on the agreed state of facts an alien possessed all the qualifications of a voter required by the law then in force. These two decisions aroused much criticism of

the Supreme Court and a bill was introduced in the legislature to reorganize it. During the agitation over its reorganization the Governor appointed Douglas as Secretary of State. The Senate approved his appointment and no further contest was made by Field. At this time the Supreme Court performed only the duties of a court of review. In the early part of 1841, as a result of this agitation, a law was passed reorganizing the judiciary of the State, abolishing the circuit courts, increasing the membership of the Supreme Court from four to nine, requiring Supreme Court judges not only to attend to Supreme Court duties, but as individual members of the court to hold circuit court in the various circuits. The legislature appointed to these five new places on the Supreme Bench, Thomas Ford, the next year elected Governor, Walter B. Scates, for many years after leaving the bench one of the prominent lawyers of Illinois, Samuel H. Treat, afterward United States Federal Judge, Sidney Breese, one of the most noted judges of this State, and Stephen A. Douglas.

Lincoln was a member of the legislature when the law was passed which reorganized the Supreme Court. He opposed it vigorously, signing with many other members a protest charging that it was done for political purposes. He used this legislation with telling effect against Douglas in the debate of 1858; to the latter's criticism of his position on the Dred Scott decision, charging that he was not in favor of obeying the decisions of the highest court, Lincoln replied that he was in favor of obeying such decisions until they were changed in a constitutional way; if Douglas wanted to know how this could be done he would remind him of some Illinois history when the party of which Douglas was a member was displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois; that by the action of Douglas and his party five new judges were added to the bench

to overrule the decision of the four old ones. Lincoln pointedly continued, if Douglas thinks, as he now contends, that men under those conditions should only be appointed to the bench conditionally or must be catechised before they are appointed, with reference to their views on public questions his reply would be, "You know, Judge; you have tried it." And when Douglas charged that such a court would lose the confidence of all men and be prostituted and disgraced by such a proceeding, Lincoln again replied, "You know best, Judge, you have been through the mill."

Such a change in the law, to override a decision of the highest court of the State, would hardly be tolerated now. Indeed, there is frequent criticism as to judges taking part in politics. If anyone thinks that the judiciary are too much interested in political or public matters at the present time, a little study of the lives of our judges under the Constitution of 1818 and 1848 will show that those of the present day are paragons of good behavior in this respect as compared with their predecessors of that time. The first chief justice of the Supreme Court, Phillips, and one of his associates, Browne, were both candidates for Governor in 1822, when Governor Coles was elected. Breese, Young, Semple, Shields, Robinson, and Trumbull were all at different times United States Senators, Breese being on the Supreme Bench before and after he served in the Senate. Judge Smith was a colonel on the Governor's staff during the Black Hawk War, and at the same time was acting as judge of the Supreme Court. John Reynolds was Governor and Congressman, Thomas Reynolds, the second chief justice, when defeated for re-appointment to the court in 1825, moved to Missouri and was afterward Governor of that State. Ford went from the Supreme Bench to the Governor's chair. There were few judges of that time who were not known as leaders

in political matters in the part of the State where they resided. Without pausing to discuss the merits or demerits of the question as to whether judges on the bench ought to take part in public matters, it is very clear that public sentiment against that practice has been growing stronger, especially in recent years; that public sentiment will not now permit members of the court of last resort to take part in purely political matters as they did in the first half century of the history of the State. Without question the sentiment at the present day is sound. While judges should keep informed on public questions the evils arising from their taking part in matters purely political far outweigh the benefits arising from such a course.

Douglas became a member of the highest court of the State when less than twenty-eight years of age, and less than seven years from the time when he had come here a friendless wanderer. He was assigned to the fifth circuit to hold *nisi prius* court and moved from Springfield to Quincy, the latter city being in his circuit. From force of circumstances he had not devoted very much time to study or investigation. His career on the bench afforded an opportunity for becoming well grounded in the fundamental principles of the law. The cases in the Supreme Court, twenty-two in all, in which he wrote the opinions, are found in volumes 4, 5, and 6 of the *Illinois Reports*. There was little in any of these cases that tested his capacity as a judge; enough, however, to justify the conclusion that had he given his life unreservedly to the legal profession he would have been known as an eminent lawyer and judge. In view of his subsequent connection with the slavery question it is interesting to note that he was a member of the Supreme Court of Illinois when a majority of that court of his own political faith held in a case in which Shields and Trumbull were opposing counsel, Judge Smith writing the opinion, that the presump-

tion of law in this State was in favor of liberty and every person was supposed to be free without regard to color.⁸ Douglas, while on the bench wrote an opinion as to the adoption of the Common Law in this country, which has been frequently referred to with approval in other decisions. In it he said: "The common law is a beautiful system, containing the wisdom and experience of ages. Like the people it ruled and protected, it was simple and crude in its infancy, and became enlarged, improved and polished as the nation advanced in civilization, virtue and intelligence. Adapting itself to the condition and circumstances of the people and relying upon them for its administration, it necessarily improved as the condition of the people was elevated. . . . The inhabitants of this country always claimed the common law as their birth-right, and at an early period established it as the basis of their jurisprudence."⁹

When the Supreme Court was not in session the judges traveled the circuit and heard cases at *nisi prius*. From the best information obtainable it seems evident that Douglas gave practically all of his time to his judicial labors. We can find no accurate record of the amount of *nisi prius* work performed by him during the period of slightly over two years that he served as judge. Nineteen of the cases that he decided on the circuit were appealed to the Supreme Court. In two of these he wrote opinions in the higher court, affirming his *nisi prius* decision in one case¹⁰ and reversing in the other.¹¹ Those who practiced law with him or tried cases before him have stated that it was not unusual for him to leave the bench and familiarly sit on the knee of a friend with his arm about his neck, having a friendly talk about law or

⁸ Kinney v. Cook, 3 Scam. 232.

⁹ Penny v. Little, 3 Scam. 301.

¹⁰ Camden v. McKoy, 3 Scam. 437.

¹¹ Warren v. Nexsen, 3 Scam. 38.

politics. Such familiarity would doubtless shock the conservative bar of the present day. That Douglas could enforce respect, believed in and would uphold the dignity of his court, is fully confirmed by history. While holding court on the circuit, a case in which Joseph Smith the Mormon leader was defendant, exciting much local interest, was being tried and the sheriff, a small, timid man, failed to keep order. Douglas appointed a giant Kentuckian who was in the court room temporary sheriff and instructed him to keep order or clear the room, with a result that was entirely satisfactory both to the sheriff pro tem and to the presiding judge, since there was no further difficulty in keeping order during the trial. In the Stuart case¹² a newspaper editor in Chicago had been adjudged by the trial court guilty of contempt for certain matter which he had printed about a lawsuit then on trial. Judge Breese, speaking for the Supreme Court reversed the case, writing an opinion which is somewhat noted, in which he said, "Respect to courts cannot be compelled, but is the voluntary tribute of the public to worth, virtue and intelligence. . . . Power to punish for contempt is at best an arbitrary power, not a jewel of the court to be prized, but a rod most potent when rarely used." Douglas was the only one of the court to dissent. He was in favor of enforcing the fine against the editor and upholding what he thought was the proper dignity of the court.

Douglas resigned as judge of the Supreme Court to run for Congress in June, 1843, after serving a little more than two years and three months on that bench. During that time he wrote opinions in twenty-one cases.¹³ He

¹² Stuart v. People, 3 Scam. 395.

¹³ Woodward v. Turnbull, 3 Scam. 1; People v. Town, 3 Scam. 19; Stevens v. Stebbins, 3 Scam. 25; Warren v. Nexsen, 3 Scam. 38; Gardner v. People, 3 Scam. 83; Pattison v. Hood, 3 Scam. 151; Roper v. Clabough, 3 Scam. 165; King v. Thompson, 3 Scam. 184; Campbell v. Quinlin, 3 Scam. 288; Dunn v. Keegin, 3 Scam. 292; Penny v. Little, 3 Scam. 301; Townsend

was elected representative and twice re-elected; shortly after his third election the legislature of Illinois elected him to the United States Senate and he served as a member of that body until his death. I can not find that he did much legal business after his election to Congress. The case of *Dunlop v. Smith* is interesting from its brilliant array of counsel, Douglas, Stephen T. Logan and McClernand appearing for appellant and Lincoln for appellee.¹² Douglas was counsel also in 1851 before the Illinois Supreme Court at Ottawa in the case of *Canal Trustees v. Brainerd*,¹³ arguing the case orally. The question affected the right of preemption by settlers on canal lands within the city of Chicago, and involved hundreds of thousands of dollars. Those who took part with him in that trial say that notwithstanding the fact that he had only a few hours for preparation he so quickly assimilated from his associates the information as to the case that he made one of the strongest arguments ever heard in that court; so strong, vigorous, and to the point as to astonish both sides. It seems that he appeared in but three cases before the Illinois Supreme Court after leaving the bench.¹⁴ He was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court at its December term, 1849, but a search of the published reports has failed to show that he ever took part as counsel in any case before that court, as did Webster and other noted lawyers while they were members of Congress. Perhaps Douglas was too busy with his public

v. People, 3 Scam. 326; *Carpenter v. Mather*, 3 Scam. 374; *Averill v. Field*, 3 Scam. 389; *Sellers v. People*, 3 Scam. 412; *Camden v. McKoy*, 3 Scam. 437; *Cushman v. Dement*, 3 Scam. 497; *Bank of Illinois v. Stickney*, 4 Scam. 4; *Dawson v. Bank*, 4 Scam. 56; *Grubb v. Crane*, 4 Scam. 153; *Eyman v. People*, 1 Gilm. 4.

¹² *Dunlop v. Smith* 12 Ill. 399.

¹³ 12 Ill. 488.

¹⁴ *Dunlop v. Smith*, *supra*; *Canal Trustees v. Brainerd*, *supra*; *Trustees v. Dyer*, 12 Ill. 521.

duties to give any time to the practice of his profession.

A public prosecutor before he was twenty-two, leading counsel in some of the most important cases heard in the State during the next few years, a Supreme Court Judge at twenty-seven, Douglas's career at the Illinois bar has few parallels for brilliancy in the annals of history.

Lincoln, while four years older than Douglas, was not admitted to the bar until two years later and did not commence practice until April 21, 1837. During his legal career he had three law partners. The first was Maj. John T. Stuart, with whom he was associated for four years. Stuart was a member of Congress during the partnership, and Lincoln was in the Illinois legislature; their practice could not have been extensive. In 1841 he dissolved the partnership with Stuart and formed one with Judge Stephen T. Logan, one of the greatest lawyers whom the State has known. After remaining with him for two years he formed a partnership with William H. Herndon, which lasted until Lincoln was elected president. During these years he was counsel in one hundred and seventy-five cases in the Supreme Court of the State. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States at its December term, 1848, and was counsel thereafter in three cases in that court, and took part in many other cases that were tried in the Federal courts. The first case which he tried in the Illinois Supreme Court is found in the third volume of *Illinois Reports*¹⁵ and the last in the twenty-seventh volume.¹⁶ The last named case was an action by the State against the Illinois Central Railroad, in which Lincoln appeared for the Railroad Company; the case was decided at the November term, 1861, after Lincoln was president. Lincoln's reputation as a lawyer was made as much in the

¹⁵ *Scammon v. Cline*, 2 Scam. 456.

¹⁶ *State of Illinois v. I. C. R. Co.* 27 Ill. 64.

trial of lawsuits on the circuit, which he traveled from 1840 to 1860, as in any other way. The eighth circuit during these years was presided over by Judge Samuel H. Treat and Judge David Davis. The boundaries of the circuit were changed from time to time, but from 1840 to 1860 it included at different times twenty-one of the present counties of Illinois, extending part of the time nearly across the State from Indiana to the Illinois River. It is also well known that even after counties had been attached to other circuits Lincoln was still called to try cases in them, and that his practice extended to other circuits. Lawyers of ability and experience in the trial of cases traveled with the judge from one county seat to another. Lincoln was the only one that traveled with the judge into all of the counties of the circuit. The court sat in each county from two days to a week. The cases were usually of small monetary importance, but the training as a lawyer to a man of Lincoln's ability and characteristics was doubtless such as he could not have obtained in any other manner. This training was invaluable in fitting him for leadership in the great problems that thereafter came before him for solution. Life on the circuit was hard, but it was most enjoyable, and all of his contemporaries state that in the evening gatherings that were held after court, Lincoln was always the center of interest. While Judge Davis was on the bench Lincoln was his favorite, and without question the judge relied very greatly on Lincoln's judgment and advice. Generally such favoritism causes the recipient to be disliked by his fellow practitioners, but Lincoln used his power so graciously and fairly and so tactfully refrained from imposing himself on the court that he was not only the favorite of the court, but was also the universal favorite of his profession, especially of the younger members. The judge's confidence in his ability is shown by the fact that he more than once asked Lincoln to sit on the bench and

conduct cases during his absence. Considerable doubt has been expressed as to whether Lincoln did act in the place of the judge as the law in the State, then as now, would not authorize a lawyer to do this. The testimony of Lincoln's contemporaries, however, is conclusive that Lincoln frequently so acted. Naturally he could not preside at the trial unless the attorneys on both sides consented. This, it is said, they were often glad to do in order not to delay their cases, thus avoiding the necessity of having clients and witnesses come again to the court.

Lincoln's reputation in Illinois as a story teller is based quite largely on his life in traveling circuit. I think in no one characteristic has he been more misunderstood. That he told stories for the sake of the stories, those who knew him and are now living emphatically deny. Mr. James Ewing, a lawyer of Bloomington, says that he never heard Lincoln tell a story for its own sake or simply to raise a laugh. Neither did he tell the kind of stories that are sometimes credited to him. True, as Ingersoll said, he would use any word which "wit would disinfect." He told stories to illustrate a point or clinch an argument.

In the fifties he was recognized as the leading jury lawyer in Illinois and took part in some of the most celebrated trials of his time, among which the Armstrong and Harrison murder cases are two of the most famous. In the first he undertook the defense at the request of the mother, an old time friend. One of the principal witnesses for the State swore on cross-examination that Armstrong hit the deceased with a slung shot and that he could see the occurrence well, because the moon at the time was about full and at about the same place in the heavens as the sun would be at ten o'clock in the morning. The fight took place about eleven o'clock at night. Lincoln proved from an almanac that the moon that night set a few minutes after midnight and that there could

have been very little moonlight on the date and at the time of the assault. It has been asserted that Lincoln played a trick by substituting an old calendar for one of that year; there is, however, no foundation for this charge. The contradiction of this witness by the almanac resulted in the acquittal of Armstrong. In the Harrison murder trial Lincoln by his skillful examination of Peter Cartwright, the great circuit rider preacher, who was grandfather of the defendant, aroused so much sympathy for his client that a verdict of acquittal followed.

One of his most important cases was that of Illinois Central Railroad Co. *v.* County of McLean,¹⁷ involving the right of the county to tax the lands of the Illinois Central Railroad; Lincoln represented the Company. On being defeated in the trial court he carried the case to the Supreme Court, where he won. There was some controversy over his fee of \$5,000, but it was finally paid after being put in judgment. A lawyer at the present time would have charged at least five times that amount for the services rendered. In 1856 he was retained by Mr. Manny in the famous case of Manny *v.* McCormick,¹⁸ tried in the circuit court at Cincinnati, involving the validity of certain patents as to reapers. Stanton was retained on the same side with Lincoln. It is well known history that Stanton ignored Lincoln and refused to allow him to argue the case orally. One of the last cases that Lincoln took part in before he was nominated for president was Johnson *v.* Jones in the United States Circuit Court in Chicago before Judge Drummond. Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, who was of opposing counsel, asked Col. John H. Kinzie how long he had resided in Chicago when Mr. Lincoln interposed saying, "I believe he is common law here; as one who dates back to the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." The late Governor

¹⁷ 17 Ill. 291.

¹⁸ 6 McLean (U. S.) 539.

Palmer states that the last case in which Mr. Lincoln appeared in court after he was nominated for president was a suit instituted by David J. Baker against the faculty of Shurtleff College, Mr. Lincoln appearing for the plaintiff and Governor Palmer for the defendant, the case being heard before Judge Treat of the Federal Bench.

Lincoln was not only a great jury lawyer but he was a great lawyer before the court. He excelled especially in the power of clear statement. While he could arouse the emotions or appeal to the imagination, his greatest power lay in his marvellous ability to present the facts to court or jury so that no one could fail to see the point. Mr. Isaac N. Arnold, who was a personal friend of both Lincoln and Douglas, states that "they were both strong jury lawyers; Lincoln, on the whole, one of the strongest we ever had in Illinois. Both were distinguished for their ability in seizing and bringing out distinctly and clearly the real point in a case. Both were happy in the examination of witnesses, but Lincoln was the stronger of the two in cross-examination. Lincoln was the stronger in a case when he believed he was on the right side. On the wrong side Douglas was the stronger." It is a well known fact that Lincoln's services were of little value in a case in which he felt his client was in the wrong. None knew Lincoln better than Judge Davis or was better qualified to speak of him as a lawyer. Davis said of Lincoln after the latter's death: "I enjoyed for twenty years the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. He and I were admitted to the bar about the same time. In all the elements that constituted a lawyer he had few equals. He was great at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a cause and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. . . . The framework of his mental and moral being was honest, and a wrong case

was poorly defended by him. The ability which some eminent lawyers possess of explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingenious sophistry was denied him. In order to bring into full activity his great powers it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small he was usually successful." Men who could meet and cope on equal terms with the great lawyers of Illinois of their time as did Lincoln and Douglas must have been more than ordinary lawyers. Among the members of that bar were six future United States Senators, eight future members of Congress, a future cabinet member, and not less than six who were to be judges of the Supreme Court of the State, to say nothing of many other distinguished lawyers.

These two men were not only dissimilar in their physical characteristics, but were most unlike in mental attributes. Douglas was shrewd, keen, analytical, bold and aggressive; a quick and ready debater, capable of thinking as well on his feet as after deliberation; marvelously suggestive and fertile as to resources. He rarely cited historical precedents except from American politics. In that field his knowledge was comprehensive and accurate. Nobody knew when he read, yet he could refer to date, page, and volume with wonderful accuracy. He was without wit or humor; intensely practical; in no sense a dreamer or follower of ideals. He disregarded all the adornments of rhetoric. As great an authority as Blaine says of him, "He was a master of logic. In that peculiar style of debate which in its intensity resembles a physical combat he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness; he used good English, terse, pointed and vigorous."

Lincoln, on the contrary, was in a sense a dreamer, a man of ideals, a prose-poet; slow of thought, and not a

ready extemporaneous speaker. He was never overbearing or intolerant. While he recognized his intellectual ability and never hesitated to assert himself when necessary, he was usually modest and retiring; honest by instinct, the logical working of his mind made him necessarily reach the true result after deliberation and thought; very strong when he was on the right side; extraordinarily weak when he felt that his side was in the wrong. Among his most effective weapons in leadership of men were his wonderful power of expressing his views in clear, terse English, and his argument from analogy and explanation of difficult points by maxims, figures of speech, and stories. His wit and humor, never pointed nor sarcastic, he always used effectively. He spoke with the most perfect sincerity and simplicity, and his hearers always felt that he was deeply interested in the moral bearing of the public questions which he discussed. He possessed, as perhaps no other public man of the country, lucidity, flexibility, and simplicity of style. It was because of his high ideals, his moral qualities, that he had such marvelous influence over the men of his time and of all time. While not a great reader of general literature, yet he was always a student. He knew a few books, such as Shakespeare, Burns, and the Bible, better than any other public man of his time. From his boyhood he had been familiar with them. In the files of the circuit court of Menard County, in a case tried in 1847, in which Lincoln was counsel, is found a motion in the writing of opposing counsel requesting the court to instruct the jury that the passage from "Exodus" read by Lincoln to the jury was not the law in the case on trial. The instruction was given. Lincoln's speeches are filled with biblical references; scarcely one of his public utterances or great State papers from the time he was elected president until his death is without a quotation from the Bible

or a reference to the fact that God rules in the affairs of nations.

Lincoln and Douglas, so unlike in mental and physical characteristics, were alike in their intense patriotism and loyalty to the Union. No man ever put more forcibly the benefit of the federal principle in the government of this country than did Lincoln in his first inaugural address when he asked if the States could not live together in one government peaceably, how could they do so as separate governments? "They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?" The same thought is shown clearly in all of Douglas's public utterances. However much we may disagree with his position on the slavery question, it is clear that he was against slavery and that he took his position because he believed it was for the best interests of his country. Perhaps the most remarkable triumph ever witnessed in Congress was the defeat, under Douglas's leadership in opposition to his party and its president, of the Lecompton Constitution which had been fraudulently and forcibly foisted upon the people of Kansas by the advocates of slavery. In judging him we should bear in mind the words of the great poet,

"But, know thou this, that,
Men are as the time is."

Douglas was unfortunate in facing the past, Lincoln most fortunate in facing the future. During the presidential campaign of 1860, when Douglas saw that his own defeat was certain, that Lincoln was to be elected, he abandoned his campaign in the North, where his main

hope of gaining votes lay, and started on a speaking tour through the South, hoping against hope that he could turn the tide of public feeling in that section so that the Southern States would be satisfied to remain in the Union after Lincoln was elected. At Norfolk, Virginia, he was asked, if Lincoln should be elected would the Southern States be justified in seceding from the Union? He replied instantly, "No. The election of any man to the presidency in conformity to the Constitution of the United States would not justify an attempt to dissolve the Union."

Few appreciate the greatest result of that war. It is usually argued that it was brought on by slavery, and it is generally accepted that the freeing of four million bondsmen was the greatest result of that terrible struggle. The freeing of the slaves was indeed a priceless gain, but all thoughtful students of history now agree that that was a mere incident of the war; that as one of our great historians has said, "far more subtly interwoven with the innermost fibers of our national well being, far heavier laden with weighty consequences for the future of mankind, was the question whether this great pacific federal principle joined with local independence should be overthrown by the first great social struggle in this country." The federal principle contains within itself the working basis of permanent peace. In the contest between civilization and barbarism that has gone on through the ages there has been a gradual substitution of settling disputes by arbitration instead of by wager of battle,—the transferring of power from the hands of the warrior to the hands of the statesman. We are frequently charged with being a commercial nation—"dollar hunters"—but is it not, as one has said, better to have a nation of "dollar hunters" than "scalp hunters"? However dangerous to the perpetuity of our country the commercial spirit may be—and it is possible if we follow

the ideals and teachings of Lincoln, to minimize such evils — would we not prefer our own Federal Union with all of its weaknesses to the civilization and government of Mexico? There they settle their public questions by revolution.

The adoption of the federal constitution made possible for the first time in history a federation of nations whose governments for all practical local purposes were independent and yet were united in one central organic whole. The working out of this federal idea, as John Fiske has said, "was the finest specimen of constructive statesmanship the world has ever seen." It was a long step toward reaching a proper solution of the settlement of social and governmental problems by methods of peace and law. "This greatest safeguard of universal peace," this pacific principle in government was imperiled by the revolt of the South. Had it been successful, the progress of civilization might have been delayed for centuries. Lincoln and Douglas instinctively realized the crisis on this question. When Lincoln was elected Douglas threw all of his great influence on the side of the Union. While asserting that he was still opposed to Lincoln in party matters he publicly announced that he would assist him in every way possible to preserve the government. He proved this not only by his words but by his actions. It is well known history that when Lincoln was inaugurated Douglas stood close by him upon the platform and when the president could not readily find a place to put his hat Douglas held it during the inaugural address. As soon as Lincoln's family were installed in the White House Mrs. Douglas, who was one of the society leaders of Washington, called upon Mrs. Lincoln, thus setting the stamp of social approval on the new administration. A few weeks thereafter at the invitation of the Illinois legislature Douglas visited Springfield and spoke before that body. Some of his lifelong political opponents stat-

ed that it was one of the most powerful speeches that they ever listened to from the lips of man. Near the close, with the deepest pathos, he said, "If war must come, if the bayonet must be used to maintain the constitution I can say before God my conscience is clear. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of this trouble. I deprecate war, but if it must come I am with my country and for my country in every contingency and under all circumstances. At all hazards our government must be maintained, and the shortest pathway to peace is through the most stupendous preparation for war." A few days later he made the last public speech of his life in the wigwam in Chicago where Lincoln had been nominated. In it he said he had "labored long for a peaceful solution of the great struggle; that slavery is a mere excuse, the election of Lincoln a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since. . . . Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every one must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors. Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question."

On the sarcophagus in his tomb in Douglas Monument Square, Chicago, are engraven his last words to his children. They should serve as an inspiration to the children of all patriots: "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution". There stands in Lincoln Park in the same city the greatest statue of Lincoln that has yet been produced. By one of the inscriptions that he has placed at its base, the sculptor shows a clear insight into Lincoln's place in history. The words of that inscription show the thoughts that inspired Lincoln in his leadership of his people, — words which demonstrate his thorough grasp of the great problems that were facing him, written when he had already made up

his mind that he would at the proper time issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves — written with infinite patience and forbearance in reply to a letter of his old friend Greeley; "If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."

Pressed on every hand by divided counsel, with prophetic vision looking through the perplexing problem of the time, there spake one who saw clearly the vital issue; "My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery." "This one thing I do; all else is subsidiary."

This nation was indeed divinely led that it had as its president during the Civil War one who realized the importance of the federal principle in our government and was willing — tender-hearted and sympathetic as he was — to save the Union at the sacrifice of nearly a million lives in campaign, hospital, and prison "that this nation under God might have a new birth of freedom." When the results of this titanic conflict are fully understood, history will credit to Lincoln, and to his great rival Douglas, the highest attributes of statesmanship in foreseeing the importance of and in insisting upon upholding this great principle of "Liberty in Union". The

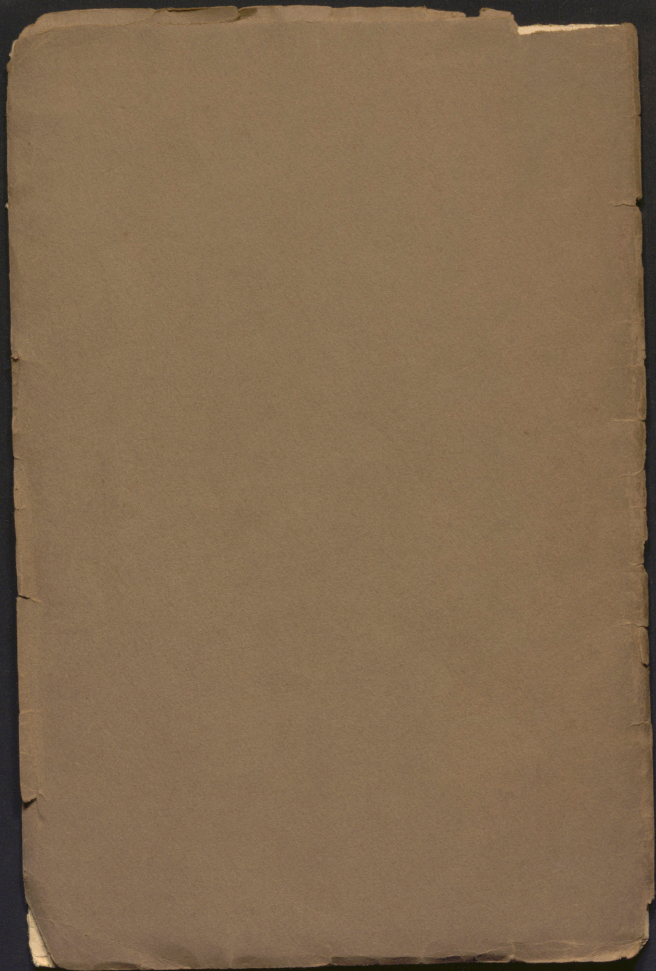
saving of the Union will hasten the realization of that dream of the poet,

"When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law,
When the war drum throbs no longer and the battle flags
are furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World."

Among others the following books and articles were consulted in the preparation of this address:

- Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln: A History*
Morse's *Abraham Lincoln in American Statesmen*, Vols. XXV, XXVI
Hill's *Lincoln and Douglas Debates in The Century Magazine*, Vol. 77, November, 1908
Brown's *Douglas in Great American Lawyers*, Vol. VI, p. 455
Sheahan's *Life of Douglas*, p. 49
Greeley's *Estimate of Lincoln in The Century Magazine*, Vol. XLII, July, 1891, pp. 371-382
Mabie's *Lincoln as a Literary Man in The Outlook*, Vol. LVIII, p. 321, February 5, 1895
Gilder's *Lincoln the Leader in The Century Magazine*, Vol. LV, February, 1909, pp. 479-507
Adams's *Lincoln's Place in History in The Century Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, February, 1894, pp. 590-596
Moore's *Lincoln — Career of a Country Lawyer in American Law Review*, Vol. XLIV, p. 886; Vol. XLV, p. 78
Ford's *History of Illinois*
Davidson and Stuvé's *History of Illinois*, p. 453
Stevenson's *Stephen A. Douglas in Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society Library*, No. 13
Fiske's *American Political Ideas*
Hill's *Lincoln the Lawyer*
Palmer's *Lincoln in Bench and Bar of Illinois*, Vol. I, p. 35
Arnold's *Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago in Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 132

- Conkling's *Bench and Bar of Central Illinois* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 35
- Arnold's *Recollections of Early Chicago and Illinois Bar* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 9
- Linder's *Reminiscences, Lincoln and Douglas*, p. 55
- Tarbell's *Lincoln*
- Rothschild's *Lincoln Master of Men*
- Rice's *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men*
- Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Constitutional Edition)
- Abraham Lincoln* in Lowell's *Prose Works*, Vol. V
- Johnson v. Jones, Lincoln*, in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. II, p. 27
- Arnold's *Lincoln* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 165
- Sheahan's *Douglas* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 195
- Douglas' Monument* in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 49
- Gillespie in *Fergus Historical Series*, Vol. I, p. 5
- Abraham Lincoln* in Emerson's *Works*, Vol. XI
- Autobiography of Stephen A. Douglas (manuscript copy furnished by his son, Judge Robert M. Douglas of Greensboro, North Carolina)



Newspapers and Periodicals
in the
Lincoln-Douglas Country
1831-1832

By
FRANK J. HEINL



Reprinted from the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
Volume 23, No. 3, October, 1930.

Newspapers and Periodicals
in the
Lincoln-Douglas Country
1831-1832

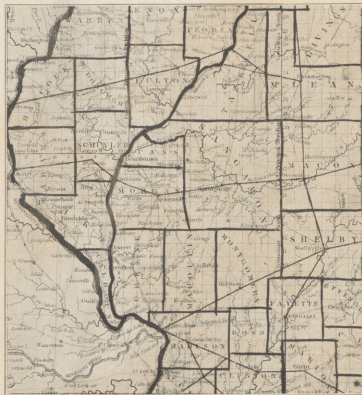
By
FRANK J. HEINL



Reprinted from the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
Volume 23, No. 3, October, 1920.

JOURNAL PRINTING COMPANY,
 SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.
 1931

46258—125



THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS COUNTRY

From Map Published by

S. A. Mitchell, 1838

About one-half of the population of Illinois in 1830 was located in the portion of Illinois shown. Counties in it with a population of more than 2,000 were: Sangamon 12,960, Morgan 12,714, Greene 7,674, St. Clair 7,078, Madison 6,221, Tazewell 4,716, Bond 3,124, Montgomery 2,953, Fayette 2,704, Pike 2,386, Clinton 2,330, Adams 2,186, and Marion 2,125. Seventeen other counties in Illinois had more than 2,000 people only three of which, Galatin with 7,405, White with 6,091, and Vermilion with 5,836, had more than 5,000.

Lincoln came to Macon County in 1830, and located at New Salem in 1831. He was first elected to the legislature, in 1834, while a resident of New Salem. He removed to Springfield in 1837.

Douglas came to Jacksonville in 1833. While residing there he was elected to the legislature, in 1836. Later, he moved to Springfield and Quincy.

The Jacksonville-Springfield congressional district elected Lincoln to Congress in 1846. The Quincy congressional district elected Douglas to Congress in 1843.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS COUNTRY, 1831-1832.

By FRANK J. HEINL.

The charge account book of the postmaster at Jacksonville, Illinois, for the years 1831 and 1832 discloses the names of 133 publications received by 271 residents of Morgan County. At that time, addressees paid the postage on the mail they received. Postage stamps were not adopted by the Post Office Department until 1847 and prepayment of postage was not made compulsory until 1855.

Abraham Lincoln located at New Salem in Sangamon County, which adjoins Morgan County on the east, in 1831. New Salem was but eight miles from the Morgan County line and was twenty-seven miles from Jacksonville. Lincoln's later home, Springfield, is thirty-three miles from Jacksonville. Stephen Arnold Douglas came to Jacksonville in 1833. Morgan County gave him his first elective office in 1836, when it sent him to the Legislature. Douglas lived in Jacksonville, Springfield, and Quincy until after he became a United States Senator in 1847, when he located in Chicago.

The publications distributed through the Jacksonville postoffice in 1831 and 1832 were those which influenced public opinion in the Lincoln and Douglas country at the time of the opening of the careers of the two men. The same publications circulated throughout the region, although they had a larger circulation through the Jacksonville postoffice than any other in it.

At that time, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, fifty-five years had elapsed since the Declaration of Independence, forty-two years since the government under the Constitution had begun, twenty-eight years since the Louisiana Purchase, and sixteen years since the ratification of peace

after the War of 1812 and the battles of New Orleans and Waterloo. Washington had been dead thirty-three years and Adams and Jefferson, the second and third Presidents, five years.

At the time, Jacksonville with two or three thousand people was the largest town in Illinois, the center of population in the commonwealth, and in many respects the most important town in the State. It had already taken that leadership in the educational, religious, social, and political life of the State which it held for many years.

At the time, the overwhelming majority of the people in Morgan County were of Southern origin and bore names indicating their connection with the pioneers in Virginia and with that stream of immigrants which had poured into the back country of Virginia and the Carolinas. About 1830 there had come to Jacksonville enough New England Congregationalists to give the frontier village on the western fringe of American civilization a decidedly Puritan cast which it retains to this day. The migration which settled Morgan County started in the mountain regions of Virginia and the Carolinas, coursed through Kentucky, or tarried there awhile, and then broke over the Ohio River and worked northward into Central Illinois. After the defeat of the attempt to legalize slavery in Illinois in 1824, there commenced a movement of Easterners into the northern part of the State which began to run at full tide after the Black Hawk War, continued for many years, and made the northern part of the State as overwhelmingly northern in sentiment as the southern part was Southern. Out of this situation came a sectionalism which still exists. Central Illinois was the common ground of both the Cavalier and the Puritan. Jacksonville early became and long continued a storm center for the antagonisms of the men from the Cotton States and those from the East and North. South of the town were Southerners, north of it were Easterners, it became a veritable melting pot for conflicting social, religious, and political ideas, and in it Puritan and Cavalier contended for the ideals and traditions of their ancestors. Both Lincoln and Douglas were observers of this conflict.

The American occupation of Illinois began with the advent of traders during the British regime, 1765 to 1778. Clark's conquest during the Revolutionary War introduced a new American element as a number of his troops became permanent settlers, but Americans came slowly. At the commencement of the War of 1812, there were about ten thousand Americans in Illinois. For several decades after the close of that war the growth of the region was phenomenal. When Illinois became a State, in 1818, the frontier of the Indian country was approximately a line running eastward from the mouth of the Illinois River. With few exceptions the whites in the State were south of this line and were mostly along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. North of the line were Indians, military posts, and traders. It was not until after the Kickapoo Indians ceded their claim to Central Illinois, July 20, 1819, that white men came into what is now Morgan County. No record remains of the name of any white man whose foot touched the soil of the county prior to the Kickapoo cession notwithstanding that Joliet and Marquette canoed along its western border in 1673, that LaSalle followed their trail in 1680 and later, that French courriers du bois, fur traders, and transients to and from Canada and the French towns in the American Bottom used the Illinois River along its western limits as a highway for a century, that war expeditions passed over that river in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812, and that overland expeditions passed near the county in the latter war. Immediately after the Kickapoo cession, prospectors and settlers rushed into the Kickapoo country from Southern Illinois and Kentucky. Within a few months, Colonel Seymour Kellogg and Captain Elisha Kellogg, veterans of the War of 1812, and descendants of an old New England Puritan family, their families, and Charles Collins became the first white settlers near Jacksonville. The next spring, began an inrush of settlers from the South. The population near the present Jacksonville jumped from about 100 in 1820 to about 1,000 in 1823, and on January, 31, 1823, Morgan County was erected and included the territory of the

present counties of Cass, Morgan and Scott. Jacksonville was laid out as the county seat of the county by authority of the Legislature on April 26, 1825. Immigrants were rushing into the Prairie State. The population of the county was about 4,000 in 1826, about 6,000 in 1828, and was 12,714 in 1830, it being the second county in population in the State. In 1840, with its 19,547 people, it was the most populous county in Illinois. Jacksonville had 446 people in 1830 and by the close of 1833 had 2,500 or 3,000.

The population of Illinois had increased to 157,445 in 1830. Settlements had spread north to Peoria, principally along the rivers and creeks, and there were scattered settlers along the Mississippi River to the lead mines at Galena. The country of the Sangamon and Maumet rivers was settled as was also the interior of the southern part of the State, but a third of the State extending from Chicago to Galena, far down into the interior, was still a trackless waste overrun by wandering Indians and fur-traders.

Francis Grierson in his "The Valley of Shadows" writing of a somewhat later period said, "The settlers were hard at work with axe and plough; yet, in spite of material preoccupation, all felt the unnameable influence of unfolding destiny. The social cycle, which began with the Declaration of Independence, was drawing to a close. . . . It was impossible to tell what a day might bring forth. . . . The prairie was a region of expectant watchfulness, and life a perpetual contrast of work and idleness, hope, and misgiving. . . . Swiftly and silently came the mighty influences. Thousands labored on in silence, thousands were acting under an imperative, spiritual impulse without knowing it."

In the early thirties, a great change was in process all over America and in Europe, too. History and destiny were in the air. A continuous and rapid change was going on as the old order passed. For forty years before 1815, the whole world had been at war, and the French Revolution was the greatest wrecker of complacency that had occurred in modern times,—before 1914. In the years after 1815, men threw off

the shackles of the past, they exalted the position of the individual in society, burst the bonds of education and religion, experimented with schemes of better human life, sought the abolition of slavery, and the reformation of drunkards and criminals. After 1815, the American mind which had concerned itself only with political organization, suddenly turned to other problems of human experience. The time was favorable for the discussion of moral questions. Just a few years earlier, the Protestant churches in America were taken possession of by an unquiet spirit. Religious papers were extending their sphere and the political press was entering a new stage of development.

The democratic upheaval in the life of the people of the United States in the twenties and thirties may be regarded as a transformation of American society that manifested itself in every phase of thought and endeavor. The elevation of the backwoodsman, Andrew Jackson, to the presidency in 1829 was a dramatic symbol of the success of the disintegrating forces of the time. Andrew Jackson was the product rather than the creator of the new democratic spirit. The growth of the West affords one vital approach to an understanding of the democratic outlook of America. The democracy of the frontier grew out of the hardy experiences of the pioneers. The West with all its crudeness and virtues came to play a large part in American life in the twenties and thirties, deepening the channels of democracy and driving them in a roaring tide.

In the early thirties, both politics and religion in America were muddled and confused and both were in process of transformation. Morgan County was settled during that Era of Good Feeling in American politics which followed the War of 1812 and terminated the year in which Jacksonville was founded. During those years partisanship in American politics was rather dormant. The Democratic-Republican party which was first known as the Republican party and later as the Democratic was in control and had little opposition. John Quincy Adams was elected President by the Congress in 1825.

Out of the ill-feeling over his election came party division which showed itself first in the curious Anti-Masonic party which rose during his administration and which was promoted to a considerable extent by the opposition to Andrew Jackson. During the Adams administration, Andrew Jackson's followers assumed the name of Jackson men to distinguish themselves from the supporters of Adams and Henry Clay who took the name of National Republican and who about 1834 went into the emerging Whig party.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson who gloried in the name of Democrat defeated John Quincy Adams, the leader of the National Republicans, for the presidency and in 1832 he defeated Henry Clay behind whom had gathered most of the opposition to Jackson. Jackson's first victory was a triumph for the West. Both candidates in 1832 were from the West. William Henry Harrison, Whig, a western man, was defeated in 1836 by Martin Van Buren, Jackson's political legatee, but in 1840 Harrison defeated Van Buren.

The War of 1812 brought out conspicuously the solidarity of interest of the West. This sectional solidarity on the part of the trans-Appalachian communities is a factor often overlooked in relating the political history of the earlier part of the last century. It was this strong sectional feeling that drew the Cavalier and Puritan together on the prairies of Illinois and enabled them to work in harmony in public and social affairs which were not too closely entangled with the slavery question.

In the presidential election of 1824 Illinois chose three electors. Morgan County voted for four candidates and gave an Adams elector the largest vote, a Jackson and Clay elector the second largest vote, and a Jackson elector and a Clay elector ran close together as the third. In 1828 the county gave Jackson 702 votes to 279 for Adams. In 1832 Jackson received 1,226 and Clay 1,003. The large increase in the anti-Jackson vote surprised and greatly disturbed the "Whole-Hog" Jackson men in the county. The county sent two Jackson men to the Legislature in 1828 and again in 1830, but in

1832 it elected two Jackson men and two others who later became Whigs. Political lines in Illinois in 1832 were loose and badly crossed.

When Lincoln went to Vandalia, to enter upon his second term in the Illinois House of Representatives as one of the "Long Nine" from Sangamon County, he found as colleagues Stephen A. Douglas and John J. Hardin who were two of the nine members of the General Assembly from Morgan County. The three were actively engaged in politics. By 1840, Douglas had established himself as the leader of his party in Illinois and, meanwhile, Hardin had not been idle and had become the acknowledged Whig leader of the State while Lincoln was the leader of the Whigs in the General Assembly.

Morgan and Sangamon counties, the home counties of Douglas and Lincoln, became Whig strongholds and their congressional district for a decade was the only one in Illinois which elected Whig congressmen. It sent Stuart, Hardin, Baker, Lincoln, and Yates to Congress. Douglas saw that the Whig strength in the district would thwart his political ambitions, removed to Quincy, and was elected to Congress in 1843. In 1847 he went into the United States Senate and in the same year Hardin lost his life while leading his regiment at Buena Vista.

In spite of the efforts of churchmen after the close of the Revolutionary War, there was no considerable religious awakening until the close of the century. The Great Revival of 1800 in Eastern Kentucky spread through the older states and large numbers of members were added to the leading denominations. About this time, were held in Kentucky the first camp meetings. Every settlement along the Green and Cumberland rivers soon filled with religious fervor. The meeting at Cane Ridge where Barton W. Stone was the Presbyterian minister is said to have had an attendance of twenty thousand. The Kentucky revivals contributed much to the astounding growth of the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in the newer parts of the country and out of them came several sects including Barton W. Stone's New Lights or Christians

who later amalgamated with Alexander Campbell's Disciples. In the Great Awakening of 1800 originated the revivalist and itinerant preacher to contribute one of the most picturesque chapters in American history. Peter Cartwright introduced camp meetings into Illinois, both he and Barton W. Stone became famous itinerants, and both lived near Jacksonville. Many of the revivalists tried to preach the Word in their own tongues and according to their own lights, consequently the sects began breaking up after the Great Awakening.

The only religious organization in Illinois until after Clark's conquest was the Roman Catholic. Organized Protestantism in the region began with the incoming of Baptist families from Kentucky. Methodism followed soon after and Presbyterianism came after the War of 1812. The pioneer Southern settlers in Morgan County had all felt the influence of the Great Awakening. Most of them came Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. There was a Methodist preacher in the region in 1821 and the next year two classes were formed which grew into Centenary and Mt. Zion churches. The Baptists probably organized the first church in the section in 1821. Several Baptist preachers were working in the county at its organization. The Diamond Grove Church (Missionary Baptist) was organized April 26, 1823. Primitive and Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptist preachers gathered congregations in the twenties, but it was not until 1841 that Jacksonville had a Baptist church. Cumberland Presbyterians had a camp ground on the north fork of the Mauvaiseterre as early as 1824. Elbridge Gerry Howe, a New England Congregationalist, came to Diamond Grove in 1825 or 1826 and worked there awhile, but for financial reasons went to another field. John Brich, an itinerant English Presbyterian missionary, came into the county in 1824, probably from the South. He organized the first Presbyterian church in the county on June 30, 1827. In 1828, John Millot Ellis became pastor of this church and remained with it until 1832. A New England Congregationalist, Ellis promoted the organization of Illinois College and was the first church pas-

tor in Jacksonville. Most of the New Englanders who came to Jacksonville prior to the organization of the Congregational church became members of or associated with the Presbyterian church. Trinity church, the oldest Protestant Episcopal church in Illinois, was organized August 11, 1832. The Church of Christ, the Christian Church, was organized October 31, 1832. It was the first Christian church in Illinois to gather within its fold several elements which had been independent. The origin of three of these groups traced back to the Cane Ridge revival of 1800, the other group were Disciples, called Reformers, followers of Alexander Campbell. Barton W. Stone left the Presbyterian church a few years after the Great Awakening and headed the Christians, called Stoneites or New Lights. He sent Harrison W. Osborne whom he had baptized and ordained to Jacksonville in 1830 and bought real estate near it in 1830, 1831, and 1832. He removed his family and his paper, the *Christian Messenger*, to it in 1834. Josephus Hewett, a Disciple preacher, located near Jacksonville in 1831. Both Osborne and Hewett were trying to gather churches of their sects. Early in 1832, Stone and most of his followers in Kentucky fused with the Disciples. Fresh from his success in Kentucky, Stone came to Jacksonville and induced the Disciples, his own followers, Cumberland Presbyterians, and, perhaps, others to unite in one church organization which took the name Christian.

After the organization of the Yale Divinity School in 1822, there came a great denominational awakening among the Congregationalists of western New England, especially among those in the shadow of Yale. The Congregationalists of western Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Presbyterians of New York, and the Dutch Reformed Church had been prosecuting missionary work in the West under the Plan of Union of 1801. The plan, itself, was eminently fair to all concerned, but it resulted in the organization of Presbyterian churches only. The Congregational laymen in Jacksonville in the early thirties were mostly from Connecticut, had experienced the denominational awakening there, were opposed to the results

of the operation of the Plan of Union, and, determined to have a church like those they had left in their boyhood homes, were in 1832 planning the organization of a Congregational church which was formally organized on December 15, 1833. The founding of their church was an ecclesiastical revolution against the Plan of Union which in due course brought most important results to their denomination.

In the early thirties, the schism in the Presbyterian Church which materialized in 1837 was casting its shadow before. While the split in the Methodist Church was a full decade in the future, currents of disruption were already flowing in it. The Baptists were divided into several sects among which were many and bitter contentions. Denominational lines in Illinois in 1831 and 1832 were as loose and badly crossed as were political lines.

Negro slavery was introduced into Illinois by the French in 1720. The Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory should be allowed to retain their ancient possessions which included slaves and enjoy their ancient rights, but a clause prohibiting slavery was inserted in the same document. In 1803, Indiana Territory of which Illinois was a part adopted a slave code copied from the codes of Virginia and Kentucky. Under it negroes were brought into Indiana and indentured for long terms of years. When Illinois became a territory in 1809 the practice continued and when Illinois became a State in 1818 her constitution had to express itself against slavery and it was so written, but the old-time slavery continued and soon got into politics. Slaves were held as far north as Morgan County although there were not many in the upper counties. In 1830, there were 746 slaves held in Illinois under the "Black Laws." Negroes unclaimed by masters were sold in Illinois at auction as late as 1853. Questions concerning slaves were heard by Illinois courts as late as 1863, but a decision by the Supreme Court of Illinois made in 1845 practically abolished slavery in the State.

With the close of the War of 1812, the American conscience awakened to the evils of every-day social practices. Dr. Benjamin Rush had published during the Revolutionary War tracts calling attention to the evils of intemperance, but the people were too much occupied with other problems to give heed to the liquor question. The first half-century under the constitution witnessed a most appalling consumption of alcoholic stimulants. Wines and liquors were consumed in almost fabulous quantities. Clergymen, women, and even children on occasion joined the mass of mankind in drinking. Lyman Beecher described how at an ordination the sideboard was set with decanters and how the ministers stepped up again and again to get drinks. In pioneer sections liquor flowed freely at house-raising, corn-huskings, and other community and social gatherings. It remained for Lyman Beecher to arouse the nation to the evils of intemperance and inaugurate a temperance reform by the delivery of his "Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasion, Signs, Evils and Remedy of Intemperance" at Litchfield, Conn., in 1826. The files of the *Western Observer* printed in Jacksonville in 1830 and 1831 disclose blistering editorials against intemperance.

It is impossible at this time to realize the animosity shown by the pioneer settlers towards immigrants from the East who were indiscriminately called "Yankees." In Jacksonville, as elsewhere, settlers were divided into two classes, those from the Cotton States called "Whites" and those from the East called "Yankees." The better class of the South-erners felt themselves to be ladies and gentlemen, they were proud of their ancestry and aristocracy and felt that there were none like themselves among the "Yankees." The "Yankees" were almost to a man anti-slavery and did not hide their sentiments. A considerable part of the Southern stock was opposed to "book larnin," "pay preachers," "Bible Schools," written "sarmints," etc. The "Yankees" favored education for the masses and "Yankee" preachers advocated colleges where preaching might be taught, and, worse than all else, many of them were regarded as unsound in their

theological views. There was an element in the Southern stock that was emancipationist, another that favored the education of the masses, and another opposed to intemperance, and these elements sympathized with the "Yankees," but, in the main, great animosity to Easterners persisted for several decades.

Schools in Illinois, prior to statehood, were few and far between, and most of them were poor excuses. Academies were popular with the wealthier Southerners. The Legislature in 1825 passed a free school law championed by Joseph Duncan. A few schools went into operation under it, among them the Jacksonville District School which was opened in 1826 with William Thomas as teacher and continued until 1831. The Duncan school law was unpopular and was repealed in a few years. Subscription schools had been opened in Morgan County in 1820 and many of them were being held in the thirties. Common schools came slowly in Illinois as they did in most states outside of New England. In Illinois the college preceded the little red schoolhouse. The educators and political leaders of Jacksonville, known as the "Jacksonville Crowd," fought persistently to secure a public school system, but not until 1855 did they succeed.

Illinois College was promoted by John M. Ellis. When, in 1825, Ellis was ordained to the Ministry in the Old South Meeting House in Boston, he was charged with the duty of establishing a seminary of learning in the West. He came immediately to Kaskaskia, Illinois. He met little encouragement in Egypt for his seminary plans. At the suggestion of Joseph Duncan and Samuel D. Lockwood he came to Jacksonville in 1828, received promises of support, and selected a site for his school. In midsummer he located in the town as pastor of its Presbyterian church. Just about the time Ellis made his first visit to Jacksonville, the call of the West was ringing in the ears of a group of theological students at Yale Divinity School. One of these students through the *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal* got in touch with Ellis who invited the group to cooperate with him. The plans

of Ellis and the Illinois Association, generally known as the Yale Band, were combined. The original members of the Yale Band were Mason Grosvenor, Julian Monson Sturtevant, Theron Baldwin, William Kirby, Elisha Jenney, Asa Turner, and John Flavel Brooks. These men engaged to go into the West and teach and preach and their band was the first to undertake such a task. Later members of the band were William Carter, Flavel Bascom, Lucien Farnham, and Albert Hale. On November 15, 1829, Sturtevant, the advance agent of the band, arrived in Jacksonville to inaugurate Illinois College which was soon to become the foremost educational institution in the State. The next year, Edward Beecher, son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward and Harriet, came from the pulpit of the Park Street Congregational Church in Boston to the presidency of the college. In 1833, Jonathan Baldwin Turner and Truman Marcellus Post came from New England to the faculty of the college. In 1835, the college awarded Richard Yates the first college degree conferred in Illinois. Within a few years after the opening of the college, all of the Yale Band, except one detained in the East by illness, were busily engaged in teaching and preaching in Illinois and establishing a cordon of supporting churches for the college.

The episode known as the Black Hawk War which is famous more on account of the great number of participants therein who later became prominent in the public affairs of the Nation and State than for its warfare terminated in 1832. Among the large number of Morgan County men who mustered for the war were Joseph Duncan, John J. Hardin, William Thomas, Murray McConnel, and Enoch C. March. Peter Cartwright, Abraham Lincoln, Edward D. Baker, and John T. Stuart went from Sangamon County.

There appears to have been no political activities which brought large crowds together in Jacksonville during the years 1831 and 1832. Candidates for local offices stumped the county and everybody talked politics, but the politicians abandoned the field to the preachers. The preachers had

stirred up much religious excitement and then they easily stepped over into the political field. Political leaders in the muddled political situation were slow to declare themselves until after Douglas promoted his successful Jackson meeting in 1834 and then they began to align as Whigs and Democrats.

Elections those days were exciting enough. Governor Ford wrote of the campaign of 1830, "Mr. Kinney (a candidate for governor) was one of the old sort of Baptist preachers. It was said that he went forth electioneering with a Bible in one pocket and a bottle of whiskey in the other; and thus armed with 'the sword of the Lord and the spirit' he could preach to one set of men and drink with another, and thus make himself agreeable to all. 'Treating' as it was called was an indispensable element of success at elections. In many counties the candidates would hire all the groceries in the county seats and other considerable villages, where the people could get liquor without cost for several weeks before election. The voters in all the neighboring country around turned out every Saturday to visit the towns, see the candidates and hear the news. The candidates came also, and addressed the people from wagons, old logs, or stumps newly cut, from whence comes the phrase 'stump speeches.' The speeches being over, then commenced the drinking of liquor, and long before night a large portion of the voters would be drunk and staggering about town, cursing, swearing, halloing, yelling, huzzaing for the favorite candidates, throwing their arms up and around, threatening to fight and fighting. Towards evening, they would mount their ponies, go reeling from side to side, galloping through the town, screeching like so many infernal spirits broke loose from their prisons, and thus they departed for their homes." John Reynolds, who was elected governor in 1830, wrote, "About this time, in 1828, the parties known as the Whigs and Democrats were formed in Illinois, and operated with great venom and rage against one another. I traversed every section of the State in 1830. The party excitement waxed exceedingly warm and bitter, and the papers flooded the country with the most exciting, fiery and scathing

hand-bills, as well as their ordinary issues. I would often meet my name appended to a hand-bill that I never saw before. Both myself and Mr. Kinney addressed the people in public meetings hundreds and hundreds of times in the protracted canvass. In the canvass, I was literally exhausted by speaking and other labors. My last speech I made, was on the day of the election at Jacksonville, where a vast concourse of people attended. Rancor in the campaign raged so high that neighborhoods fell with one another, and the angry and bitter feelings entered into the common transactions of life. It was the universal custom of the times to treat with liquor. We both did it. A great amount of money was bet on the election. Many tricks were played by each on the other. One was that Captain Mathew Duncan (elder brother of Joseph) had his saddle-bags full of hand-bills for Mr. Kinney, and put up at the hotel in Jacksonville. Our party had their messengers there also with documents. In the night, our friends took the Kinney hand-bills out of the saddle-bags of Duncan, and filled them with mine. Duncan distributed the wrong documents for several days before he found out the trick." Morgan County gave Reynolds, the "Milk-and-Water" Jackson candidate, 1,019 votes and Kinney, the "Whole Hog" Jackson candidate who had the support of Congressman Duncan, at the time a resident of Jacksonville, 797 votes.

The preacher was in politics then and there were preachers enough in Morgan County. During the years 1831 and 1832, sixty-eight preachers solemnized marriages in the county. Some of them may have been only itinerants, but several preachers who are known to have worked in the county about that time had no weddings and without doubt there were other preachers in the county who left no record of their presence. Most of the preachers at the time depended upon farming or some business or profession for their livelihood. A number of them pieced out their incomes with salaries from public office. Newton Cloud, William Gillham, John Green, David Pat Henderson, and John T. Jones, preachers, were county officers or legislators. Preachers filled many minor

offices and in the long lists of defeated candidates appear the names of many of them. Quite naturally the preachers who itinerated, and most of them did to some extent, gained a wide acquaintance, and were looked to for all sorts of information, political as well as religious. Among the preachers who resided or worked in the county in the thirties, Peter Cartwright, Peter Akers, Barton W. Stone, John Mason Peck, Edward Beecher, Julian M. Sturtevant, and Truman M. Post gained national fame in their denominations, and a number of others were prominent in the early religious history of Illinois. During the years 1831 and 1832, the Christians and Disciples were particularly active in Jacksonville gathering members for the church they were organizing, the Congregationalists were promoting their church, and lines of division were already discernible among the Methodists and Presbyterians. Withal, the preachers were kept busy, especially those who went in for politics. At the time, there was no Roman Catholic priest or church in the county and, apparently, no families of that faith.

A sample of the religious unrest of the period is the trial for heresy, the first in Illinois, of Julian M. Sturtevant, Edward Beecher, and William Kirby by the Illinois Presbytery sitting in Jacksonville in 1833 upon charges preferred by a Presbyterian preacher who lived in the town about that time. The ministers were acquitted.

The influence of the preachers and teachers at Jacksonville was widespread. The town was already the religious and educational center of Illinois. From it radiated preachers who went into the farthest corners of the State and into nearby states and from it, too, scattered college students to help pay their college expenses by teaching short terms of subscription schools. The frontier town was a caravansary for travelers and settlers passing farther west. It drew walkers, and talkers, and hawkers of all kinds—William Cullen Bryant and medicine men, Lorenzo Dow and religious fanatics, agents for investment and colonizing societies of the East and even from Europe, explorers and scientific researchers, political

scouts from the older states, slave-chasers and kidnappers from the slave states, and "Yankee" peddlers of clocks, notions, and nostrums.

William Cullen Bryant found Jacksonville in 1832 a better and more attractive town than Springfield. It appeared to Henry Asbury as the brightest and largest town in Illinois. Allen Johnson in his "Stephen A. Douglas" says Jacksonville in 1833 was "hardly more than a crowded village on the outskirts of civilized Illinois," but Frank E. Stevens in his "Stephen A. Douglas, Autobiography," says, "Jacksonville was then the most important city in the State. The ablest lawyers of the State practiced there. It was the pole star among Illinois cities. Everything which had political ambition behind it pointed to Jacksonville." B. F. Harris in 1835 found Jacksonville a beautiful place of about fifteen hundred people with "nice" buildings and Springfield, "A small village of about one hundred people and twenty or thirty shanties, a Hotel, a hard looking place," Patrick Shirreff in 1835 wrote, "Jacksonville contains about the same number of souls as Springfield, but is superior in buildings, arrangements, and situation. Many of the houses consist of brick, and the hotels are large and commodious." According to John Mason Peck the business and professional interests of Springfield in 1834 were less than those at Jacksonville. Thomas Lippincott in 1828 wrote, "All was new on the broad, swelling prairie where we were, the doe had not yet ceased to feed in security and the yells of the prairie wolf broke upon the ears of the inhabitants. The people had not yet had time to construct brick or frame houses and yet they seemed ready to undertake and support a seminary of learning." Jonathan Baldwin Turner wrote in 1833, "You cannot find a village east of the Hudson of the same number of inhabitants, possessing so many men of literary taste and manners. Hundreds of people pass through here from the East and from Europe every year." Truman M. Post wrote of the town in 1833, "Jacksonville was then a new world, socially embryonic, genetic, in a period demiurgic, constantly engaged with primordial problems

which required dealing and handling, re-examining, and testing first principles, philosophic and organic, social, political, institutional, educational and religious. The excitement of activity and speculation was universal."

Jacksonville and Springfield were the most important towns in the Lincoln and Douglas country in 1832. In fact, no town in America north or west of St. Louis approached them in size or activity.

The year 1830 and those immediately following saw many societies organized in Jacksonville,—a county tract society, a State Sunday school union, a Bible society, the Illinois Branch of the American Educational Society, a colonization society, and others. Among those active in the organizations were Samuel D. Lockwood, John M. Ellis, Julian M. Sturtevant, Peter Cownover, James G. Edwards, John Mason Peck, Joseph Duncan, Theron Baldwin, Elihu Wolcott, William Collins, Dennis Rockwell, Newton Cloud, William Thomas, Josephus Hewett, Richard Yates, John T. Jones, Harrison W. Osborne, and a number of others who later held political offices.

Colonization societies were organized quite generally over the country. Their object was to colonize free negroes in Africa. The idea seems to have originated before the Revolutionary War, but the American Colonization Society was not organized until 1817. Among its presidents were James Madison and Henry Clay. The movement at first was encouraged by slaveholders as it tended to relieve the South of free negroes. It was proposed by some to purchase the slaves from their owners and send them to Africa. Many honestly believed that funds could be raised to solve the slavery question by purchase and deportation. When the cry of abolition was raised, many people in the North who were financially interested in slavery in the South turned to colonization in the hope of saving their investments in negroes.

The flood of printers' ink which deluges the country began to flow in the infancy of the Republic. The colonial newspapers during the stormy days of the stamp act were

transformed from colorless bulletins into flaming sheets of sedition. Throughout the Revolutionary War, a battle royal was waged between the Patriot and Tory press and when that issue was settled, local disputes still furnished an abundance of fuel for editorial fires. As factional struggles waxed hotter and hotter and the population increased, new papers appeared until every town of any size had its newspaper. About forty colonial sheets survived the Revolution. Three decades later, there were almost four hundred papers in the United States and by the close of 1809 there were about thirty daily papers scattered from Boston to New Orleans. There were 827 newspapers published in the United States in 1828 according to *The Traveller and Monthly Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, June, 1828. Pennsylvania led the list with 185. New York had 161, Massachusetts 78, Ohio 66, Virginia 34, Maryland 32, Maine 29, Connecticut 26, Kentucky 23, New Jersey 22, Vermont 21, Georgia 18, New Hampshire and Indiana 17 each, South Carolina 16, North Carolina 15, Rhode Island 11, Alabama 10, Louisiana and the District of Columbia 9 each, Mississippi 6, Missouri 5, Delaware and Illinois 4 each, Florida and Michigan 2 each, and Arkansas and the Cherokee Nation 1 each.

During and immediately after the Revolutionary War, political pamphlets circulated everywhere and to these were soon added religious tracts. About 1800, the epoch of magazines and books began. They were of many types and intended for people of education.

The United States Post Office Department distributed newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals quite promptly. Mails were moved by boat, stages, and post-riders. A mail route was established from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in 1788. It was extended to Louisville in 1794, to Vincennes in 1800, to Cahokia in 1805, and to St. Louis in 1810. A postoffice was opened at Cahokia, Indiana Territory, on April 1, 1802, and this office served all of the Illinois Country near and north of it for many years. Two main routes for travelers led north from Cahokia, one by way of Springfield and the other by way of Alton, Carrollton, and Jacksonville. The first postoffice in

Sangamon County was that at Sangamon Court House, established January 26, 1822, which became Springfield on February 29, 1828. The postoffice at Carrollton was opened October 12, 1822, and the one at Edwardsville on November 2, of the same year. Alton did not get an office until August 14, 1826. In 1814 there were but nine offices in Illinois, but from that year postal facilities increased rapidly. In 1823 a mail route was extended from Carrollton into Pike County and this route passed through the Diamond Grove settlement, near the site of Jacksonville, but it never had an office. Routes were extended from Springfield to Peoria in 1826 and to Chicago in 1832. By 1833, nearly every important point in Illinois could be reached by mail and travelers in a reasonably short time, if rivers were not frozen or flooded and roads not impassable.

The postoffice at Jacksonville was opened August 15, 1825. Prior to its opening the two or three thousand people in Morgan County, were dependent upon Carrollton, Springfield, and post-riders for their mail service. In 1825, the only mail service Jacksonville had was weekly from St. Louis. Soon after, a weekly mail was carried between Springfield, Jacksonville, and Quincy. The *Western Observer* of May 20, 1830, observed, "Mails. Instead of laying in the Post Office at Springfield from Monday till Friday, it is to arrive here every Tuesday. We want a direct mail route to St. Louis. No doubt a stage would be well supported." Jacksonville did not get daily mails until late in the thirties. The speed of the mails in 1830 is illustrated by the carriage of the President's message from Washington to Columbus, Ohio, in thirty-eight hours and to New Orleans in six days.

The postmaster at Jacksonville charged the postage on newspapers quarterly. The rate on the following weeklies was thirteen cents a quarter: *Illinois Herald*, Springfield; *Beardstown Chronicle*, Beardstown, Ill.; *Illinois Advocate*, Edwardsville; *Western Ploughboy*, Edwardsville; *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia; *Pioneer and Western Baptist*, Rock Spring, Ill.; *Sangamon Journal*, Springfield, and *Alton Spec-*

tator. A quarterly charge of nineteen and one-half cents was made for such weeklies as *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C.; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York City; *Louisville Public Advertiser*; *New York Observer*; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, Mo.; *New York Evangelist*; *Liberator*, Boston, Mass.; *Presbyterian*, Philadelphia, Pa.; *The New York Post*; *Commentator*, Frankfort, Ky.; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Md.; *Boston Recorder*, and *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley*, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thirty-nine cents a quarter was charged for such dailies as *The New York Post*, *New York Journal of Commerce*, and *United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pa. The postage on the bi-weekly *Sunday School Journal*, Philadelphia, Pa., was nineteen and one-half cents a quarter. The quarterly charge on *Godey's Lady's Book*, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., and *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, monthly, Boston, Mass., was thirty-one and one-half cents, *Christian Messenger*, monthly, Georgetown, Ky., seven and one-half cents, *Milenial Harbinger*, monthly, Bethany, Va., fifteen cents, *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vandalia, fifteen cents, *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, monthly, New York City, fifteen cents, *Agriculturist*, monthly, New York City, nineteen and one-half cents, *Journal of Humanity and Temperance Herald*, monthly, Andover, Mass., ten cents, and *Youth's Magazine*, monthly, New York City, seven and one-half cents.

The postage on letters delivered was charged at the time of delivery and the usual charges were ten cents, twelve and one-half cents, eighteen and three-quarters cents, and thirty-seven and one-half cents.

In 1831 and 1832, the Jacksonville postoffice served a wide territory. Newton Cloud came twenty miles from southeast for his mail. Peter Cownover came about as far from the north and others came even greater distances.

Other postoffices were established in Morgan County soon after the Jacksonville office. Exeter was established February 27, 1826; Sylvan Grove, now Virginia, March 6, 1828; Beard's Ferry, now Beardstown, April 12, 1830; Naples, September 15,

1830; Meredosia, January 19, 1832, and Winchester, February 16, 1833. Waverly did not get an office until April 15, 1847.

In early pioneer days, newspapers from Louisville, Frankfort, and Lexington, Ky.; Nashville, Tenn., and Cincinnati, Ohio, came into Illinois. The first paper published in St. Louis, Mo., appeared in 1808. St. Louis papers from their first issues had large circulations in Central and Southern Illinois.

The first newspaper in Illinois was the *Illinois Herald*, published in 1814 at Kaskaskia by Mathew Duncan, brother of Joseph. It became the *Western Intelligencer* and in 1820 moved to Vandalia with the State capital and became the *Illinois Intelligencer*. Five other papers were founded prior to the exciting slavery campaign of 1823 and 1824. During that campaign a number of newspapers were established, but only four survived the battle. Between 1824 and 1840, about one hundred and sixty journalistic ventures were made in the State, but only about one-fourth of them survived.

Jacksonville's first paper, *The Western Observer*, published by James Gardiner Edwards, appeared April 24, 1830. It became the *Illinois Patriot* on December 20, 1831, with Joseph Duncan as editor for a time, and in 1837 the *Illinois Patriot* became the *Illinoisian* with John J. Hardin as one of its editors. In 1844 or 1845, the *Morgan Journal* took over the plant of the *Illinoisian* and it became the *Jacksonville Journal* in 1858. Edwards left Jacksonville about 1837 and later established the *Burlington Hawkeye*. This chain of Jacksonville papers was at first anti-Jackson and then, in turn, Whig and Republican.

Early in 1834, probably, Robert Goudy established the *News* in connection with his print shop in Jacksonville from which were issued in 1834 almanacs, Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois, and Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War and these books, with the exception of State publications, were about the first made in Illinois. Some time in 1833, Samuel S. Brooks established the *Illinois State Gazette* which was soon merged with *Goudy's News* into the *Illinois State Ga-*

zette and Jacksonville News, a Jacksonian Democratic sheet. It was for this paper that Stephen A. Douglas solicited subscriptions when he first came to Illinois. Brooks became the newspaper sponsor for Douglas. In 1831, the *Sangamon Journal* appeared at Springfield and in the same year the *Miners' Journal* was established at Galena. The *Alton Spectator* began publication in 1832 and the *Chicago Democrat*, Chicago's first paper, appeared in 1833. Illinois had no daily paper until 1847.

The early newspapers usually depended upon public advertising for their existence. Consequently many of them went into bankruptcy with political changes, unless they could switch their politics on election night. Their general character was political, their tone frequently controversial, but they were highly moral and often religious. They printed little, very little, local news, but filled their columns with extracts from Eastern and Southern publications.

The only newspapers published in the Lincoln and Douglas country in 1831 and 1832 were the *Sangamon Journal* and the *Illinois Herald* at Springfield, the *Chronicle* at Beardstown, and the *Illinois Patriot* at Jacksonville. Other towns in Illinois with newspapers at that time were Galena, Kaskaskia, Edwardsville, Vandalia, and Alton. Quincy, Bloomington, Peoria, Danville, Decatur, and other towns in the region had no papers and there was no paper in the settlement on the Chicago River.

The slavery question was a fiercely contested issue in Morgan County from the very organization of the county until the Civil War period. The General Assembly which established the county in 1823 submitted to the voters of Illinois at the general election of 1824 the question of calling a constitutional convention to draw a new constitution for the State. The pro-slavery element in the State proposed to legalize slavery in Illinois by this new constitution. Morgan County was organized during the opening of the exciting campaign which preceded the election of 1824. Most of the pioneer settlers in the county came from south of Mason and Dixon's

Line to secure cheap, fertile lands and remove their families from the influences of slavery. Some of them were financially interested in slaves. Some of them wanted to legalize slavery in their new home so they could bring family slaves to it. A few of them did bring slaves with them and held them as slaves. A few of them brought slaves to the county temporarily in summer time to make their crops. At the time, there were few Easterners in the county. The presence of slaves angered those who had come from the Southland to get away from slavery and most of those from the Eastern states and the attempt to legalize slavery added fuel to the flame. One hundred and forty pioneers in the county united in 1824 in a society to prevent the introduction of slavery into the State. The 432 votes polled in the county against the proposed convention included the votes of many who favored slavery as it existed in the South. The 42 votes for the convention were polled by a small minority who wanted slavery in their new home. The campaign left much ill will which lingered on until the coming of men who advocated the total destruction of slavery everywhere in the country.

In the early thirties, men from Connecticut and Massachusetts brought to Jacksonville the "New England Conscience" with determined opinions on several moral questions which later became political issues. Their ideas were poison to many of the Southerners. The influx of "Yankees" angered many of the Southerners especially when the "Down-Easters" advocated abolition or criticised Southern customs or traditions. As a result, many of the Southerners who had voted against the legalization of slavery in Illinois were driven into the pro-slavery ranks.

Abolitionism took on a national aspect with the establishment of Garrison's *Liberator* in Boston in 1831 and the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society at the same place in 1833. In the thirties, anti-slavery agitation moved from the religious and moral columns of the newspapers to the news pages,—became first page material with headlines.

When Illinois College was founded by men from Connecticut, in 1829, Southerners suspected that it was anti-slavery and soon became convinced of the fact. When the Congregational church of Jacksonville was organized, in 1833, after organization preliminaries had dragged along a year or two, it became known as the "Abolition Church." The title was no misnomer for every member of the church was anti-slavery as were the other Congregationalists in the village who on account of their connection with the college did not formally unite with the church. Most of those Congregationalists became outspoken abolitionists and many of them Underground Railroad conductors. Both college and church were recognized by the pro-slavery element as enemies and were counted abolition engines.

The founding of a college and church by New Englanders so nearly coincident with the anti-slavery promotions in Boston, though mere coincidents, were sufficient to arouse the animosity of the pro-slavery element not only in Jacksonville, but in St. Louis, then a hot bed of slavery, and in many sections of the South. From the inception in Boston of the abolition movement, every step taken there against the institution of the South was echoed in Jacksonville. Soon an outcry was raised against abolitionists. "To be an Abolitionist," wrote Clark E. Carr, "meant political ostracism and in many localities those so branded were social outcasts. I became convinced that the man who had done more than any other to arouse and inflame this feeling was Stephen A. Douglas." And Douglas resided in Jacksonville and Lincoln from nearby New Salem was watching every political and social move made in Jacksonville.

At Jacksonville a bit of New England had been set down in a Southern environment. New England men, anti-slavery in sentiment, liberal in their religious views, advocates of common school and higher education, of temperance, of a free press, and a free pulpit were located in a community overwhelmingly in sympathy with slavery as it existed in the South, strict in its religious views and not tolerant as to tem-

perance agitation, free schools, etc. The Cavaliers from the South and the Puritans from New England were of different ancestry, customs, and traditions. There were many sources of conflict between them. This peculiar situation existed, perhaps, in no other place in the country. Certainly in no place in Illinois or even in the West were antagonistic principles championed by abler men. It was fortunate that both elements had intelligent, broad-minded leaders of great ability. Nowhere else in the West was there such a group of cultured, able, and courageous anti-slavery leaders as in Jacksonville, and several of them were, like William Lloyd Garrison, thorough radicals. The New England element led and guided by the leaders of New England churches fostered and organized the expression of anti-slavery feeling and anti-slavery societies and political parties in Illinois. Most of the acknowledged leaders were definitely allied with Congregational churches, Philo Carpenter and Zebina Eastman at Chicago, Owen Lovejoy at Princeton, Jonathan Blanchard at Galesburg, Richard Eells and Frederick Collins at Quincy, and Edward Beecher, Julian M. Sturtevant, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, Truman M. Post, Elihu Wolcott, William Carter, and Ebenezer Carter at Jacksonville. Cooperating with the Jacksonville group were a number of preachers and teachers, such as Asa Turner, William Kirby, Theron Baldwin, and Thomas Lippincott, scattered about the State, who were frequently in Jacksonville on college business.

The New Englanders in Jacksonville paid little attention to partisan politics until after the slavery issue entered the political arena. They voted for John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, and Richard Yates, Whigs, but when they entered politics most of them took their way through the Liberty and Free Soil parties into the Republican party, many of whose early leaders in Illinois, such as Lincoln, Yates, Orville H. Browning, and John M. Palmer, were Kentuckians.

Among the Congregationalists of Jacksonville Edward Beecher was the first of his illustrious family to take a definite stand against slavery, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, a lecturer

of wide repute, was a radical and outspoken opponent of slavery and occasionally conducted on the Underground Railroad, Julian M. Sturtevant and Truman M. Post, the latter of whom declared "American slavery and American liberty cannot co-exist on the same soil" many years before Lincoln expressed the same opinion in other words, wielded their voices and pens against slavery, Elihu Wolcott, a scion of the noted Connecticut Wolcott family which furnished officials to the commonwealth for two centuries, the mainspring in the organization of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville, and conductor-in-chief on the Underground Railroad, made sacrifice hits as congressional candidate for the Liberty party, and James G. Edwards was editor and publisher of Jacksonville's first newspaper.

Beecher was intimate with Elijah P. Lovejoy who frequently visited Jacksonville and was with him at Alton in his last defense of a press, but left there the morning before his murder. When the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society was organized at Alton,—about the time Lovejoy was killed, Elihu Wolcott became its first president and its address to the people was signed by Beecher, Wolcott and Ebenezer Carter. Seven of the eleven members of the Yale Band attended the meeting at Alton, one of its members was not in Illinois and Sturtevant remained in Jacksonville to run his college.

Former Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson wrote, "When Douglas came the issues were sharply drawn between the two political parties and central Illinois was the home of as brilliant an array of gifted leaders as the Whig party had at any time ever known—Hardin, Stuart, Logan, Baker and Lincoln were just then on the threshold of careers that have given their names honored places on history's pages." These men were all residents of Morgan and Sangamon counties.

Among the political leaders who lived in Jacksonville when Lincoln and Douglas opened their careers were Joseph Duncan, Congressman, a Jacksonian, who became a Whig after he was elected governor in 1834, who hated slavery and despised abolitionists; John J. Hardin, lawyer and soldier,

who looked upon slavery from the strictly legal standpoint, who became the acknowledged leader of the Whigs of Illinois, who was the first congressman from Illinois to vote with John Quincy Adams against the "Gag Rule" (Douglas at the same time voted to sustain the rule and thus made his first record vote in Congress on the slavery issue) and who in 1845 in a speech opposing the annexation of Texas declared, "slavery the greatest curse which has been inflicted on our land" and warned the slave power of the dangers it faced in the annexation of Texas; William Thomas, lawyer, legislator, and promoter of public schools and State charities, Whig, who clung to his party policy on slavery, defended the Fugitive Slave law and finally became a Republican; Richard Yates who took an advanced stand on the slavery issue years before other Whig leaders did so (Gustave Koerner said Yates was an abolitionist in 1842, when he was a member of the Legislature) and who was elected governor on the same ticket with Lincoln in 1860, and later became a United States Senator; all Kentuckians and proud of it; Samuel D. Lockwood, a native of New York, who in decisions of the Supreme Court on slavery cases upheld the laws of the State but who in private life bitterly opposed slavery, a Whig who later became a Republican; Murray McConnell, another son of New York, Jacksonian wheel-horse, who befriended Douglas when he arrived in Jacksonville and ever remained his close friend and adviser and who was always in agreement with Douglas on the slavery question and the issues which came out of it; and Josiah Lam-born, another Kentuckian, a Jacksonian, a lawyer and brilliant orator of convivial habits and not overly scrupulous. Three other Whig lawyers did politics or practiced law occasionally in Jacksonville, John T. Stuart and Stephen T. Logan of Springfield and Edward D. Baker of Carrollton and Springfield.

Two preachers, Peter Cartwright, famous Methodist circuit-rider, who entered the campaign for the legislature in 1832 in which he defeated Lincoln to oppose the movements of pro-slavery men in Illinois, and John Mason Peck, Baptist

preacher, author and temperance advocate, who had been extremely active in fighting the attempt made in 1823 and 1824 to legalize slavery in Illinois, each the outstanding leader of his denomination in Illinois, visited Jacksonville frequently in the early thirties and both, like Joseph Duncan, hated slavery and despised abolitionists. Another preacher, Barton W. Stone, one of the founders of the Christian denomination, removed from Cane Ridge, Ky., to Jacksonville soon after Douglas came to the village in order to get his family away from slavery.

Jacksonville became an important station on the Underground Railroad in the early thirties. Run-away slaves were befriended in the county from the time of its organization and the so-called railroad began moving fugitive slaves towards Canada in large numbers years before the line operated in most places in the West. Slave chasers and kidnappers followed along the line and clashes between them and the railroad conductors frequently created much excitement. A number of slave cases got into the courts. About the time of the Lovejoy murder, a sister of John J. Hardin removed from Kentucky to Jacksonville and brought two of the Hardin family slaves, a man and a woman, with her. When she held these negroes in slavery, they were advised that they were free whereupon they took refuge in the home of Elihu Wolcott. The man was apprehended and sent down the river. The woman became a member of the Congregational church, and the church, its members and others provided funds to secure her freedom in the courts. Later, Julius A. Willard and his son, Samuel, were indicted for secreting a person of color belonging to a resident of Louisiana and the father was tried before Judge Lockwood, found guilty, and fined twenty dollars. About the same time, Richard Eells was tried at Quincy for secreting a run-away slave, found guilty, and fined by Judge Stephen A. Douglas four hundred dollars. It was less expensive to secrete a negro in Lockwood's jurisdiction than in Douglas's.

When Lincoln, five generations removed from Puritan ancestors, located at New Salem in 1831, he soon learned from students of Illinois College of the doings of the Puritans at Jacksonville and that the village was looked upon as a center of political and religious heresy. He soon learned that the New Englanders in the village were anti-slavery and that they and Lockwood, Hardin, Thomas and others were advocating the establishment of a common school system, temperance, and agricultural and industrial development. In his first announcement for the legislature he was strong for education to advance "morality, sobriety, enterprise and industry." His experience in the Black Hawk War gave him an acquaintance with a number of Jacksonville men. Anne Rutledge was preparing to attend school at Jacksonville when she died. It has been claimed that she also planned to have Lincoln attend the college. Her death terminated any plans they had, but the college gave Lincoln his long-time law partner and loyal supporter William H. Herndon, who was a student at the college and was withdrawn immediately after the murder of Lovejoy by an irate pro-slavery father who feared the son would turn abolitionist, which he did. When Lincoln went to Vandalia for his first session of the legislature he met Duncan, Lockwood, Thomas, Hardin, and other men of Jacksonville. At New Salem, Lincoln read the *National Intelligencer*, the *Louisville Journal*, the *Missouri Republican*, and the *Sangamon Journal*.

In the early thirties, a mania for internal improvements spread over the states of the Union. The craze for canals, railroads, and improved highways which took possession of the people of most of the Western States affected Illinois. The states were called upon to use their credit and resources to provide markets by supplying transportation facilities for almost every community. In Illinois the cry went out, "Other states are building canals and railroads. Why not Illinois?"

Jacksonville and Springfield were the most important towns in the most populous section of Illinois. The Illinois River was the main transportation artery for both towns. A

railroad from the river to Jacksonville and Springfield would serve the heart of Illinois.

Jacksonville demanded such a railroad—and eventually got it when the Northern Cross Railroad, the only railroad constructed under the ill-fated Internal Improvement Act of 1837, was completed. The town was not slow in publishing her demand and organizing to secure success. A great mass-meeting was held and it appears that all the political leaders of the town favored the construction of a railroad, although there were differences of opinion as to the method of financing construction. A campaign for the railroad was inaugurated. Lincoln in his address to the voters in 1832 said, "A meeting has been held by citizens of Jacksonville and the adjacent country, for the purpose of deliberating and inquiring into the expediency of constructing a railroad from some eligible point on the Illinois River, through the town of Jacksonville, in Morgan County, to the town of Springfield, in Sangamon County. This is, indeed, a very desirable object." He called attention to the probable cost of a railroad and suggested that the improvement of the Sangamon River was much better suited to the infant resources of the period.

Partisan politics, denominationalism, slavery, temperance, and education should have given the people of Jacksonville in the early thirties plenty to wrangle over but some of them dragged into the limelight another thing to squabble about, and it was Freemasonry. At the time, Freemasonry was looked upon by many as a matter of partisan politics. In Jacksonville, Anti-Masonry became involved in the churches and in the slavery issue.

William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., after threatening an exposure of Freemasonry, disappeared utterly in 1826. His disappearance created enormous excitement. It was quickly seized upon by many politicians who were in search of an issue against Andrew Jackson who was a Mason. An Anti-Masonic political party was formed which in 1830 elected many officers in the Eastern States. The party complicated the political situation from New England to the Mississippi

River. Anti-Masonry raged long and bitterly in New England both in the churches and in politics. John Quincy Adams who at the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union had expressed his intense repulsion for slavery and who was falsely charged with being a Mason ran for office on an Anti-Masonic ticket after he had denounced Freemasonry. The Anti-Masonic political party declined as rapidly as it had risen. Its remnants were swallowed up by the Whigs.

At the time of the Anti-Masonic excitement, the settlers in Trans-Appalachia were not over two generations removed from the Revolutionary War and many of them were descendants of soldiers in that war. Traditions and facts concerning the war lingered with them. Freemasonry had been planted in most of the colonies long before the battles at Lexington and Concord. It was established in Massachusetts in 1733, in South Carolina in 1735, in Virginia in 1741, and at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1762. Many of the officers and soldiers in the Revolutionary War and colonial officials were Masons. Washington, Joseph Warren, Rufus Putnam, Alexander Hamilton, Nathan Hale, John Stark, Von Steuben, John Paul Jones, LaFayette, Schuyler, Muhlenberg, Montgomery, Herkimer, Pulaski, and Greene were Masons, and St. Clair, Wayne, Marion, and scores of other officers, are reputed to have been. Franklin, John Hancock, Paul Revere, James Otis, Roger Sherman, James Monroe, Payton Randolph, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, and Henry Knox were Masons, and Samuel Adams, Robert Morris, Thomas Jefferson, and Oliver Wolcott were reputed to have been. Seventeen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons and nine others are believed to have been. The Continental Congresses always included a group of Masons. Washington's cabinet was made up of Masons, if Jefferson was a Mason.

All over the country were men who knew of the patriotic services of Masons during the Revolutionary period and the critical times following it. Anti-Masonry did not appeal to these men. They said little but were ready to vote against the promotions of the Anti-Masons.

The pioneer New Englanders in Jacksonville were almost to a man natives of Connecticut and Congregationalists. Freemasonry permeated Connecticut and in 1800 it had forty-four lodges there. It was then a stronghold of both Congregationalism and Freemasonry. Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler and their group of New Englanders planted a Congregational church at Marietta, Ohio, which was the first Protestant church in the old Northwest Territory. Putnam and Cutler also planted a Masonic lodge there.

In 1822 a Grand Lodge of Masons was organized in Illinois by lodges located in Southern Illinois with Governor Shadrach Bond as Grand Master. Bond and a number of other leaders among the Masons were pro-slavery enthusiasts. That Grand Lodge succeeded in 1827 under the Anti-Masonic propaganda. However, several lodges continued and in due course others were constituted. On October 4, 1837, the Grand Lodge of Masons of Missouri, in session in St. Louis, issued a dispensation for constituting Harmony Lodge, number 24, at Jacksonville, Ill. Soon after the lodge was constituted. The early members of this lodge were mostly pro-slavery men. There was neither a New Englander nor an active anti-slavery man among them. When the Grand Lodge of A. F. & A. Masons of Illinois was organized in Jacksonville on April 6, 1840, the town became the capital of Freemasonry in Illinois as it was already the capital of Congregationalism in the State. A few years later the Jacksonville lodge led the movement to exclude negroes from lodges in Illinois.

While there was no Masonic lodge in Jacksonville until 1837, there were Masons in the town from its founding, among them Dennis Rockwell and, later, Joseph Duncan, although neither affiliated with the local lodge. Apparently Masons in Jacksonville met together informally as early as 1826. The Kelloggs, the first settlers in Morgan County, came to Illinois from the same county in New York from which William Morgan disappeared. The election returns show that the Kelloggs were anti-Jackson in politics and later became Whigs. They opposed the proposal to make Illinois a slave state. Many

local feuds and much litigation in the early thirties may be traced to the Anti-Masonic agitation. Several of the Kelloggs were involved in quarrels and law suits which seem to have originated in the political phase of Anti-Masonry.

The Congregationalists of Jacksonville were warmly attached to John Quincy Adams. They approved his attitude against slavery and accepted his stand against Masonry. The Jacksonville lodge owed its existence to the grand lodge of a slave state whose seat was St. Louis, a slavery hot-bed. Several of the most prominent members of the Jacksonville lodge were involved on the pro-slavery side of heated local controversies. The origin of the Jacksonville lodge, the pro-slavery activities of members of the lodge, and the lodge's attitude toward negroes easily gave the impression in Jacksonville that Freemasonry was pro-slavery. As the Congregationalists saw Masonry it was in Illinois a political ally of slavery. Those Congregationalists were the chief promoters of the organization in 1844 of the Congregational Association of Illinois which in 1846 declared that secret societies, though formed for benevolent purposes, are peculiarly liable to corruption, that they have commonly, if not invariably, been corrupt and have interfered with and injured the administration of justice, and the freedom of elections, and declared it the obvious duty of all Christians to have no fellowship with those unfruitful works of darkness. At the same time the association adopted radical resolutions against slavery. The records of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville contain no reference to Masonry. Nothing available indicates that any resident member of the church was active against Masonry, although one of its non-resident members carried on for years a campaign against secret societies. Not one of the pioneer Congregationalists of Jacksonville ever became a Mason. Sons of one of the members of the Yale Band became Masons as have many grandsons of the pioneers. The church accepts Masons as pastors. Some of the Congregational churches of Illinois organized in the thirties and forties would not permit members of secret societies to unite with them. After the

emancipation of the slaves, the attitude of these churches towards secret societies changed rapidly.

Douglas came to Illinois from New York where the Anti-Masonic fight on Andrew Jackson had been hottest. In Jacksonville he found the same men were the backbone of both the anti-slavery and the Anti-Masonic movements. In his efforts to establish himself in Jacksonville he had the support of the Masons. There was no Masonic lodge—or any lodge of any kind—in Jacksonville when he located in it. When he took office in Springfield, he promptly became a Mason there. Lincoln was never a Mason.

Stephen Arnold Douglas, who spelled his name Douglass when he came to Illinois, having taught school in Winchester, a village near Jacksonville, for a few months and having been admitted to the bar, flung his shingle as a lawyer from a window in the court house in the Public Square in Jacksonville in March, 1834. He planted himself in the center of political activities in Morgan County as the court house and its surrounding grounds were the gathering places of men from far and near and in them were held militia musters and all sorts of meetings. It was the one place in the community where acquaintances could be quickly made with all classes of people.

In choosing Jacksonville, a village named after his political idol, for a location, Douglas selected a place whose lawyers—and there were many of them—were accounted the ablest in the State, in which had already gathered a group of scholars, preachers and teachers—many of whom later attained national reputations—altogether an unusual company of patriotic, cultured, able, foresighted, and courageous men, and a place which was already very much alive to three issues with which Douglas's entire future was to be involved, politics, slavery, and railroads.

Douglas was a militant Jacksonian when he came West and it was the Jacksonian spirit which moved him in later years to strike at disunion. He hated abolitionism because he thought it lawlessness and a danger to the Union. The wide-open spaces and magnificent distances of the West made him

an advocate of better transportation facilities. In later years his statesmanship made states of the territory west of the Mississippi River and he planned the binding of the East and West and the North and South together with bands of steel.

All Illinois seethed with politics. There were no political parties as they now exist. Political alignments were by groups attached to leaders. While there were no parties, there were many factions and the time was ripe for political alignments on national lines.

Recent elections had shown that Jackson was losing ground in Morgan County. His policies had alienated many of his former followers, sentiment against him was almost overwhelming and his supporters were in a hopeless tangle. Congressman Duncan, Josiah Lamborn and other erstwhile Jackson leaders were lukewarm and even severely critical of their former chief. Murray McConnel was over-awed by the defections from Jackson. On the other hand, the local leaders of the emerging Whig party were noisy, enthusiastically aggressive and confident. John J. Hardin and William Thomas were leading their fellow Kentuckians into the new party and John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, and O. H. Browning, all Kentuckians, and Edward D. Baker aided them. The New Englanders in the village were giving little attention to partisan politics but were engaged in promoting their anti-slavery, educational and social doctrines. In 1832, the *Patriot*, edited by James G. Edwards, the only newspaper in Jacksonville, had opposed Jackson for the presidency, but about the time Douglas came to Jacksonville, Samuel S. Brooks, an ardent Jacksonian, established the *Illinois State Gazette* at Jacksonville and Douglas had already won the warm friendship of Brooks.

Douglas quickly sensed the political situation and the discomfiture of the "Whole-Hog" Jackson men who were without leadership or organization. He doffed his eastern dress and manners and assumed a suit of Kentucky jeans and an arm-in-arm intimacy in street and grog-shop with Kentuckians and Jacksonians. A New Englander himself, it ap-

pears he had no close contact with the other New Englanders in the village. He had discovered that the vast majority of the citizens were opposed to the anti-slavery doctrines of the Congregational New Englanders—he was of Baptist extraction—and that they had little use for other principles advocated by them. The charge of abolitionism leveled at those New Englanders would draw multitudes of Kentuckians to him. He supported the plans of the New Englanders for common school and higher education. His advocacy of a railroad would make him friends everywhere. He set out to rally the personal followers of Jackson and to win away from the Whig leaders those Kentuckians opposed to the new-fangled anti-slavery, educational, and religious ideas. He had an unusual faculty of drawing preachers to him and ere long he counted many of them, including Peter Cartwright and John Mason Peck, among his friends or supporters.

He at once raised the banner of the Hero of New Orleans and set in motion machinery to combat the sentiment against Jackson. He proposed to a few Jackson leaders to call a mass meeting to rally the friends of Jackson, but only Brooks approved his plan. However, Douglas went ahead with his plan, got out hand-bills for the meeting, and it was held two weeks after Douglas had opened his office. He had prepared a series of resolutions supporting Jackson and his policies which, he says, he asked older men to introduce, but, in the end, he introduced them himself. Josiah Lamborn in an extended speech vigorously attacked them. Douglas in reply to Lamborn and in support of the resolutions made a speech which carried away his audience, secured the adoption of the resolutions, and spread his fame widely. By this clever maneuver he made himself the Jackson leader in the county and won for himself the title of "Little Giant."

Following this meeting, the *Patriot* devoted space for several issues to criticisms of Douglas and the *Illinois State Gazette*, of course, defended him. Douglas wrote that this newspaper advertising brought him considerable legal business. While he did gain a reasonable civil law practice—per-

haps, as much as he could have expected when in competition with so many and so able lawyers—it did not pay him well. Several suits on notes indicate that he was close run for money for many years.

Douglas had learned the benefits of Van Buren's political party conventions while he was a resident of New York. He made Morgan County a political experiment station. He introduced Van Buren's system to the Jackson men of the county and in 1834 succeeded in holding in Jacksonville the first party convention ever held in the State. A local political quarrel made Douglas a candidate before the General Assembly of 1834 for Prosecuting Attorney of the First Judicial Circuit, a place held by Hardin. While lobbying at Vandalia, Douglas met Lincoln for the first time. Douglas won the office over Hardin. Lincoln voted for Hardin. Then began the life-long personal friendship and political rivalry of Lincoln and Douglas. In 1836 both Whigs and Democrats of Morgan County nominated their legislative and county tickets in conventions. Hardin headed the Whig legislative ticket and Brooks the Democratic. It soon developed that no Democratic candidate could combat Hardin on the stump so Brooks withdrew from the ticket and Douglas took his place. Hardin and Douglas debated issues all over the county. Douglas, four other Democrats and Hardin were elected. Douglas promoted a Democratic congressional convention in 1838 and came out of it the nominee, when he had been in the State but little over four years, only to be defeated by John T. Stuart in a very close election in a district which extended north to the Wisconsin line. Douglas's convention plans were opposed by strong elements in his own party, not many counties sent delegates to the congressional convention of 1838, but his party promptly adopted the convention system. Whigs generally opposed the system. Hardin saw its advantages and adopted it in Morgan County in 1836. Lincoln observed the workings of the system in Morgan County and approved it, but the Whigs of Illinois did not adopt conventions until after the defeat of Joseph Duncan, their candidate for governor,

in 1842. Douglas's rise as a politician coincides with the development of party organization and machinery.

The leading issue in the campaign of 1836 in which Douglas was elected to the Legislature was internal improvements—railroads and canals. When Douglas went to Vandalia in December to attend the Legislature, he had already matured in his own mind a plan for internal improvements. A great popular demonstration to impress the General Assembly was held at the opening of the session. Douglas hastened to offer his plan which was moderate in its proposals to his colleagues. Log-rolling began. Every member wanted a railroad, a canal or other improvement for his district. Sops were thrown to those counties which got neither. Douglas was appalled by the magnitude of the proposals. His moderate views were brushed aside and his attempts to put on brakes failed utterly. His opposition to the "Mammoth Bill" became known. A mass meeting at Jacksonville instructed its members of the General Assembly to vote for the bill. Douglas finally drafted the bill which became a law and voted for it. He defended his action by pleading that he was obeying the instructions of his constituents. Hardin and the two Whig Senators for Morgan County voted against the bill. Governor Duncan and Judge Lockwood also opposed the bill which was finally passed over the veto of the Council of Revision of which they were members. Lincoln voted for the bill.

The Internal Improvement Act of 1837 was repealed after it had piled up a State debt of over fourteen million dollars. Its only tangible results were improvements on the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Northern Cross Railroad from Meredosia to Jacksonville and Springfield.

One hundred and thirty-three publications were distributed through the postoffice at Jacksonville from October 1, 1831, to December 9, 1832. The postmaster who allowed 271 patrons of the Jacksonville postoffice to take their mail out of his office on credit and obligingly kept a charge account book which has preserved the names of the publications distributed and those who received them was Dennis Rockwell.

A native of Connecticut, he was employed in the United States Land Office at Edwardsville, Illinois, from 1818 until February, 1823, when he was appointed Recorder of the newly organized Morgan County. When the new county government was organized, Mr. Rockwell became Circuit Clerk and County Clerk. He held these offices many years. When the Jacksonville postoffice was established, he was appointed postmaster and served as such until December 24, 1834. He was an Episcopalian, a Whig, and a Freemason.

In undertaking to identify 133 newspapers and periodicals published in 1831 and 1832 one meets many difficulties. A wholly accurate identification of such a list cannot be made. Many of the publications were merely temporary. Others survived only by frequent mergers which often involved changes of names. Oftentimes, papers of the same name were printed in several places. Authorities consulted often disagree as to names, frequency of publication and religious and political affiliations.

The 133 publications went to 486 subscribers. Of them 68 with 214 subscriptions were secular or unidentified, 54 with 243 subscriptions were religious, 10 with 24 subscriptions were agricultural, and one with 10 subscriptions was a temperance sheet. Among them were several purely educational and commercial papers. No trade or scientific publications appear on the list. The educators and preachers received their professional papers but the lawyers and doctors worried along without any, although such were available. No Roman Catholic paper appears in the list. The list includes one Anti-Masonic paper but no Masonic, although there were a number of Freemasons, but no lodge, in the town. Garrison's *Liberator* came to two students at Illinois College both of whom became prominent preachers and outspoken abolitionists. Not one of the New Englanders in the town all of whom soon became radical abolitionists received the *Liberator*. None of the Southern papers which later became conspicuous mouthpieces of the slave power are in the list.

More religious than secular papers were distributed. The *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Methodist, with 58 subscriptions had the largest circulation of all the papers. The *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Jacksonian Democratic, with 22 subscriptions had the largest circulation among the secular papers.

Of the secular papers nine with 61 subscriptions are identified as Jacksonian Democratic and 13 with 57 subscriptions as anti-Jackson and later Whig. Among the religious papers five with 68 subscriptions were Methodist, two with 37 subscriptions Christian, four with 21 subscriptions Baptist, six with 19 subscriptions Presbyterian, seven with 19 subscriptions Congregational, and eight with 20 subscriptions interdenominational. Eleven publications with 51 subscriptions were wholly or largely literary.

Kentucky newspapers with 19 papers and 64 subscriptions lead the list. Illinois with nine papers and 49 subscriptions came next. Ohio had six papers with 12 subscriptions, New York eight papers with 13 subscriptions, New England four papers with eight subscriptions, Tennessee two papers with two subscriptions, Pennsylvania five papers with eight subscriptions, Washington, D. C., five papers with seven subscriptions, Maryland three papers with 11 subscriptions, Missouri five papers with 19 subscriptions, and Alabama and Louisiana each had one paper with one subscription. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the residents of the community were not over one generation from Virginia and the Carolinas, but one paper from those states is in the list.

Louisville, Ky., with four papers and 35 subscriptions circulated more papers than any other town. Next in order came Springfield, Ill., Lexington, Ky., St. Louis, Mo., New York City, Philadelphia, Pa., Vandalia, Ill., Cincinnati, Ohio, and Beardstown, Ill.

In 1831 and 1832, Louisville papers had the largest circulation in Jacksonville. St. Louis papers had about half the circulation of those of Louisville, and Vandalia, the State capital, and Springfield papers each had about the same cir-

ulation as those of St. Louis. Within a decade or two, St. Louis papers enjoyed the largest circulation and continued to do so until about the close of the century when they lost the lead to those of Chicago. When the State capital was removed to Springfield, the Vandalia papers lost their circulation.

At the present time Chicago which had no paper in 1831 and 1832 sends the most metropolitan papers into Jacksonville. The *Chicago Tribune*, Republican, now distributes 516 copies daily in the town. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Independent Republican, comes to 178 subscribers daily and the *Illinois State Register*, Democratic, of Springfield, is received by 1,450 people daily. A leading Louisville paper has no subscriber in Jacksonville. The daily circulation of the *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, Republican, through the city and countryside is 4,715 and that of the *Jacksonville Courier*, Democratic, is 2,632.

Religious publications have not shared the increased circulation of secular papers and magazines and trade and professional journals. In fact, they have fallen away behind. No figures on the circulation of religious publications through the Jacksonville postoffice at this time are available but it is clear enough that during the years since 1830 and 1831 their circulation has continuously decreased as compared with other publications.

Several names of prominent citizens do not appear in the postmaster's charge account book. They may not have received any publications or when they received them they may have paid the postage in cash. The name of Congressman Duncan does not appear in the book. He may have received his mail, or most of it, at Washington, D. C.

It is interesting to note the papers received by some of the citizens. D. B. Ayers, a merchant, got one secular, one temperance, one farm, and seven religious papers. Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College and a preacher, one secular, one educational, and six religious papers. Newton Clond, politician and preacher, got one farm and two secu-

lar, but no religious paper. Joseph Coddington, a merchant, received six secular and no other paper. John M. Ellis, preacher, got nine religious papers and no other. Bezaleel Gillett, a merchant, took five secular and one farm paper. John J. Hardin, lawyer, and later legislator and congressman, received only his old home paper. John Henry, later legislator and congressman, got three secular and one literary paper. William Kirby, preacher, received two religious, one temperance, and one secular paper. Samuel D. Lockwood, Justice of the Supreme Court, took four secular papers, all printed in Illinois, and one farm paper. Julian M. Sturtevant, college professor and preacher, received eight religious, one secular, one temperance, and one literary publication. Murray McConnell, lawyer and later legislator, got the *Free Enquirer*, one secular, and one literary paper. William Thomas, good Methodist that he was, lawyer and later legislator, received but two secular papers and Elihn Wolcott, staunch Congregationalist, took two secular, but no religious paper.

The Methodists generally received their denominational publications as did the Christians and Baptists. Presbyterians got a few publications of other denominations, Congregationalists got their denominational papers and some of other denominations and a few men mixed their religious reading.

It is impossible to classify politically the subscribers of the political journals. The *Louisville Public Advertiser* had the largest circulation among the secular papers. It was a pro-Jackson publication but among its subscribers were a number of men who were opposed to Jackson at the time or who later became Whigs. Many of its subscribers took it because it brought the news from home or for its market reports. On the other hand the men who received the *Louisville Focus* and *Louisville Journal*, both anti-Jackson papers, so far as identified became Whigs. The newspapers of Illinois and Missouri apparently were read more for the State news they printed than for their politics as each circulated among men who were not in sympathy with them politically. One paper, *Niles' Weekly Register*, a very high-class anti-Jackson

paper, was received exclusively by men who became Whigs later.

THE NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

In the following list the word "the" is omitted from the names of such publications as used it and the number of copies distributed follows each name.

Agriculturist, 1, monthly, New York City.

Age and Argus, 1, monthly, London, England.

Alarum, 1.

Alton Spectator, 1, weekly, Alton, Ill., became Whig.

American Annals of Education and Instruction, 2, monthly, Boston, Mass.

American Biblical Repository, 1, quarterly, Andover, Mass., Congregational.

American Farmer, 1, weekly, Baltimore, Md., oldest agricultural paper in the United States.

American National Preacher, 2, monthly, New York City, undenominational, published original sermons by living preachers.

American Quarterly Register, 1, Andover, Mass., by the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry.

American Tract Magazine, 2, monthly, New York City.

Anti-Conspirator, or, *Infidelity Unmasked*, 1, weekly or semi-monthly, Cincinnati, Ohio, Anti-Masonic.

Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley, 5, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Beardstown Chronicle, 7, weekly, Beardstown, Ill., became Whig.

Boston Recorder, 3, weekly, Boston, Mass., Congregational, became the Congregationalist, claimed to be the first religious paper in the United States and probably in the world.

Calvanistic Magazine, 1, monthly, Rogersville, Tenn., Congregational ?.

Casket, 1, either the *Literary Casket*, semi-monthly, supplement to the *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, Conn., or the *Casket or Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment*, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., or *Atkinson's Casket*, devoted to literature, art and fashion, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Castigator, 2, either weekly, Georgetown, Ohio, or *Boston Castigator*, weekly, Boston, Mass.

Christian Advocate, 3, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian.

Christian Advocate and Journal, 58, weekly, New York City, Methodist. The *Christian Advocate* was founded in 1826. Soon after, it was merged with *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass., and the *Missionary Herald*, Charleston, S. Car., into the *Christian Advocate and Journal* and *Zion's Herald*. In a short time, *Zion's Herald* was re-established at Boston, Mass. *Zion's Herald* was the first exclusively Methodist publication in the world. The *Christian Advocate and Journal* at one time had the largest circulation of any paper in the United States and, also, it is claimed, in the world.

Christian Examiner, 1, either weekly, Boston, Mass., the leading Unitarian paper, or weekly, Louisville, Ky.

Christian Magazine, 1, probably *Christian Magazine and Clerical Review*, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian, but may have been *Christian Magazine*, Boston, Mass., or *Christian Magazine*, weekly, Geneva, N. Y., Dutch Reformed.

Christian Messenger, 22, monthly, Georgetown, Ky. Barton Warren Stone's paper, established 1826 and removed to Jacksonville, Ill., 1834, Christian.

Christian Monthly Spectator, 3, New Haven, Conn., Congregational.

Christian Soldier, 1, Boston, Mass.

Christian Watchman and Baptist Register, 1, weekly, Boston, Mass., Baptist.

Cincinnati American, 3, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette, 1, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cincinnati Journal, 4, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Commentator, 2, weekly, Frankfort, Ky., became Whig, ?.

Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander, 2, daily, Baltimore, Md.

Connecticut Courant, 1, weekly, Hartford, Conn., became Whig, fourth oldest paper in the United States.

Connecticut Observer, 4, weekly, Hartford, Conn.

Daily Globe, 3, Washington, D. C., Andrew Jackson's personal organ.

E——— Globe, 1.

Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, 1, weekly, Utica, N. Y., Liberal.

Evangelist, 2, apparently one copy the monthly, Hartford, Conn., the other the monthly ?, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Farm Budget, 1.

Farmers Chronicle, 2, weekly, Danbury, Conn., or weekly, Richmond, Ky.

Farmers' Enquirer, 3.

Farmers' Herald, 1.

Farmers' Reporter and United States Agriculturist, 9, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Free Enquirer, 3, weekly, New Harmony, N. Y.

Galatian, 2, weekly, Galena, Ill., Democratic.

Gallia Free Press, 1, weekly, Gallipolis, Ohio.

General Assembly Minutes, 4, annually, Presbyterian.

Godey's Lady's Book, 2, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Gospel Herald, 7, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Methodist.

Home Messenger, 1.

Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, 5, monthly, New York City, later merged into the *American Missionary*, organ of the American Home Missionary Society, Congregational.

Home Missionary Magazine, 1, London, England.

Illinois Advocate, 5, weekly, Edwardsville and Vandalia, Ill.

The *Crisis*, established in 1831 at Edwardsville and edited by Samuel S. Brooks, then lately from Cincinnati, Ohio, became or merged into the *Illinois Advocate* which was edited and published by John York Sawyer, a Whig, at Edwardsville until December, 1832, when it was removed to Vandalia, the State capital. The paper has been, in turn, the *Illinois Advocate and State Register*, the *Illinois Advocate*, the *Illinois State Register* and *Illinois Advocate*, the *Illinois State Register* and *Peoples Advocate* and the *Illinois State Register*. In 1839 the paper was removed to Springfield, Ill. Democratic since 1836. The personal organ of Stephen A. Douglas after he left Jacksonville.

Illinois Herald, 11, weekly, Springfield, Ill. Published by Samuel S. Brooks after he left the *Crisis*, Edwardsville, Ill. In 1833, Mr. Brooks established the *Illinois State Gazette* at Jacksonville which in 1834 was merged with the *News*, Jacksonville, into the *Illinois State Gazette* and *Jacksonville News*, edited by Mr. Brooks and this paper was the personal organ of Stephen A. Douglas for several years, Democratic. Mr. Brooks made a newspaper venture at Quincy, Ill., in the later thirties. He had a newspaper at Lewistown, Ill., in 1850, one at Cairo, Ill., in 1856 and one at Mt. Sterling, Ill., in 1863.

Illinois Intelligencer, 12, weekly, Vandalia, Ill., became Whig. Successor to the *Illinois Herald*, the first paper in Illinois, published by Mathew Duncan at Kaskaskia, 1814-1816, became *Western Intelligencer* in 1816 and *Illinois Intelligencer* in 1818 and removed to Vandalia in 1820. In 1824, this paper was financed by Governor Edward Coles and edited by Samuel D. Lockwood as an anti-slavery paper. Later it changed ownership and editorship and favored slavery. In 1828, the paper supported John Quincy Adams for president but showed no animosity to Andrew Jackson. In 1832, the paper became the *Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer*. Discontinued after 1834.

Illinois Monthly Magazine, 17, Vandalia, Ill., literary. First literary journal published in Illinois. Removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1833, and discontinued in 1836. James Hall was its editor and Edward Coles, Morris Birkbeck, John Mason Peck, and Salmon P. Chase were among its contributors.

Illinois Sunday School Banner, 1.

Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, 10, weekly, Andover, Mass., published by the American Temperance Society.

Kanawha Banner, 1, Virginia ?.

Kentucky Balance, 1.

Kentucky Centinel, 1.

Kentucky Gazette, 5, weekly, Lexington, Ky., first western paper, founded 1787.

Kentucky Observer, 2.

Kentucky Reporter, 7, weekly, Lexington, Ky.

Le Courier des Etats Unis, 1, weekly, New York City.

Lexington Observer, 4, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Democratic. Later *Lexington Observer and Kentucky Reporter*.

La——Public Advocate, 1.

Liberal Advocate, 1.

Liberator, 2, weekly, Boston, Mass. William Lloyd Garrison's abolition paper.

Little Rec——, 1.

Louisville Focus, 8, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., violently anti-Jackson. Later merged with *Louisville Journal*.

Louisville Journal, 3, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., anti-Jackson and became Whig. Its editor, George D. Prentice, a native of Connecticut, was brought to Kentucky by Henry Clay to write the latter's biography and edit the *Journal* which soon became the most influential Louisville paper.

Louisville Public Advertiser, 22, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., Jacksonian and Democratic.

Louisville Weekly Poster, 2, weekly, Louisville, Ky.

Mad River Current, 1, Kentucky ?.

Marietta Gazette, 1, weekly, Marietta, Ohio.

Massachusetts Spy, 1, weekly, Worcester, Mass. This paper, founded in 1770, was during the Revolutionary War the most daring patriot paper in the colonies and had a tempestuous career both during and after the war.

Methodist Preacher, 1, monthly, Boston, Mass.

Millenial Harbinger, 15, monthly, Bethany, Va. Alexander Campbell's paper. Disciples.

Missionary Herald, 4, monthly, Boston, Mass. Congregational. Published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Missionary Reporter and Education Register, 4, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa. Published by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

Missouri Correspondent, 4.

Missouri Intelligencer, 1, weekly, Franklin, Mo.

Missouri Reporter, 1, weekly, St. Louis, Mo.

Missouri Republican, 9, weekly, St. Louis, Mo., founded in 1808 as the *Missouri Gazette*, became the *Louisiana Gazette* and in 1822 the *Missouri Republican*, Democratic.

Morning Courier and Enquirer, 2, daily, New York City, Jacksonian until 1832, then became Whig.

Nashville Reporter, 1, Tenn. ?.

Nashville Republican and State Gazette, 1, semi-weekly, Nashville, Tenn.

National Intelligencer, 2, daily, Washington, D. C. Had supported the national administrations politically from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams. Anti-Jackson and became Whig and the organ and central mouthpiece of the Whig party.

National Republican and Ohio Political Register, 1, semi-weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

New England Church Herald, 1.

New England Christian Herald, 1.

New England Farmer, 1, weekly, Boston, Mass.

New Orleans Magazine, 1.

- New York Evangelist*, 2, weekly, New York City, Presbyterian, became New School.
- New York Evening Post*, 4, daily, New York City, Democratic, became Free-soil and Republican. William Cullen Bryant, editor.
- New York Journal of Commerce*, 3, daily, New York City.
- New York Mercury*, 2, weekly, New York City.
- New York Observer*, 7, weekly, New York City, Presbyterian, became Old School.
- New York Spectator*, 1, semi-weekly, New York City, became Whig.
- Niles' Weekly Register*, 9, weekly, Baltimore, Md., a magazine of very high standards and wide influence which became Whig.
- Ohio Patriot*, 1, weekly, New Lisbon, Ohio.
- Old Countryman*, 1, weekly, New York City.
- Palmyra Centinel*, 1, weekly, N. Y., Tenn. or Mo.
- Peoples' Advocate*, 1, weekly, Yorkville, So. Car.
- Pioneer and Western Baptist*, 13, weekly, Rock Spring, Ill., John Mason Peck, editor, Baptist, first religious paper in Illinois.
- Presbyterian*, 4, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian, became Old School.
- Religious and Literary Intelligencer*, 6, weekly, Princeton, Ky.
- Revivalist*, 2.
- R——— Post*, 1.
- Sabbath School Herald*, 1, New Haven, Conn.
- Sangamon Journal*, 8, weekly, Springfield, Ill., became Whig. Established in 1831 as the *Sangamon Journal*, it became the *Sangamo Journal* in 1832 and later the *Illinois Journal* and the *Illinois State Journal*. It was the personal organ of Abraham Lincoln.
- Saturday Courier*, 1, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Saturday Evening Post*, 5, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., literary.

- Sentinel*, 1. This may have been any one of a half dozen *Sentinels* published in the country or *Sentinel and Star of the West*. Weekly. Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Southern Advocate*, 1, weekly, Huntsville, Ala.
- Sparta Review*, 1, weekly, Sparta, Tenn.
- Spirit of the Pilgrims*, 2, monthly, Boston, Mass., Congregational.
- Standard*, 2, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio,? Baptist,?.
- St. Louis Times*, 6.
- Supporter and Sciota Gazette*, 1, weekly, Chillicothe, Ohio.
- Sunday School Banner*, 1, monthly, Toronto, Can., Methodist.
- Sunday School Herald*, 1.
- Sunday School Journal*, 10, Bi-weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., by the American Sunday School Union.
- Sunday School Recorder*, 1.
- Susquehanna Democrat*, 1, weekly, Wilkesbarre, Pa.
- Theology*, 1.
- Torch Light and Public Advertiser*, 1, weekly, Hagerstown, Md.
- United States Gazette*, 1, daily, Philadelphia, Pa. A Federalist paper which was established in 1789 and was the personal organ of Alexander Hamilton.
- Wayne Centinel*, 2, weekly, Palmyra, N. Y.
- Western Citizen*, 1, weekly, Paris, Ky., Democratic.
- Western Luminary*, 6, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Interdenominational and literary.
- Western Ploughboy*, 4, weekly, Edwardsville, Ill., edited by John York Sawyer and printed by Samuel S. Brooks, merged into the *Illinois Advocate*. The first agricultural paper in Illinois and the second west of the Alleghanies.
- Youth's Friend*, 1, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., by the American Sunday School Union.
- Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, 1, monthly, New York City, Methodist.
- Youth's Magazine*, 4, monthly, New York City.

WHAT THEY READ.

In the following list of patrons of the Jacksonville, Ill., postoffice in 1831-1832 and the publications they received the word "the" is omitted from the names of such publications as used it. An attempt has been made to give the dates patrons came to Morgan County, their nativity, their political and religious affiliations, and their business or profession.

- Adams, Elijah. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Adkins, B. Louisville Public Advertiser, *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Allen, Wilson. *Wayne Centinel*.
 Allinson, Adam. 1822. England. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.
 Allinson, T. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Antrobus, Thomas. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Arnett, James. 1820. Democrat. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, *Illinois Intelligencer*, *Illinois Herald*.
 Arnett, Thomas B. 1820. Democrat. *Illinois Intelligencer*.
 Askins, W. H. Methodist, preacher.
 Austin, Joshua D. Merchant. *Niles' Weekly Register*, *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.
 Ayers, David B. 1830. New Jersey. Presbyterian, merchant. *New York Evening Post*, *New York Evangelist*, *Sunday School Journal*, *Western Ploughboy*, *Missionary Herald*, *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, *Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society*, *Sunday School Banner*, *American Tract Magazine*, *Youth's Friend*.
 Barker, Jeremiah. Episcopalian. *Cincinnati American*.
 Barker, Jesse.
 Bartlett, Milton. *Connecticut Courant*.
 Barton, Jacob H. 1827. Massachusetts. Presbyterian, farmer. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer*, *Revivalist*.

- Barton, William R. 1827. Massachusetts. Presbyterian. *American National Preacher*.
 Barton, R. 1.
 Beach, Caleb. Carriage maker. *Millennial Harbinger*, *Christian Monthly Spectator*.
 Beecher, Edward. 1830. Long Island, reared in Connecticut, became Free-Soiler and Republican, Congregationalist, preacher and president Illinois College. Son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward and Harriet Beecher Stowe, first of famous family to take anti-slavery stand, inspired his sister to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *Sunday School Journal*, *Boston Recorder*, *Theology*, *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, *Southern Advocate*, *Home Messenger*, *Christian Monthly Spectator*, *Annals of Education*, *Minutes of the General Assembly*.
 Bennett, Joseph. Removed to Springfield, Ill. Christian. *Christian Messenger*, *Millennial Harbinger*.
 Bennett, Moses R. *Illinois Herald*.
 Berry, Samuel. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
 Bibb, Richard. Physician, merchant. *Missouri Intelligencer*.
 Blackwell, Levi. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Blood, Charles E. Student Illinois College, later Congregational preacher. *Boston Recorder*, *Christian Soldiers*, *Liberator*, *Cincinnati Journal*.
 Bond, John C. *Sangamon Journal*.
 Boyd, J. T. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Boys, T. L.
 Bradshaw, John. 1820. Democrat, family Christians, farmer. *Millennial Harbinger*.
 Brich, John. 1824. England. Presbyterian preacher. *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, *Missionary Herald*, *Minutes General Assembly*.
 Brockman, Samuel. *Christian Messenger*.
 Brothers, Alexander. Episcopal, merchant. *Millennial Harbinger*.

- Brown, Bedford. 1828. Kentucky. Presbyterian, farmer. *Western Luminary, Agriculturist, Commentator, Calvinistic Magazine, Kentucky Balance, Christian Magazine, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Bryant, John Howard. 1829 or 1830. Massachusetts. Abolitionist and later Whig and Republican, Liberal Unitarian, farmer, poet, legislator. Brother of William Cullen Bryant. *New York Evening Post.*
- Buckner, Aydelot H. Came to Illinois from Kentucky. Whig, Episcopalian, lawyer, editor. *National Intelligencer, Kentucky Reporter, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*
- Bullard, Theophilus. Preacher.
- Burch or Bunch, J. or I. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Carlock, Moses. Baptist. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Carson, Thomas M. 1825. Virginia. Democrat, tavern-keeper, hatter, mason and plasterer. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Cassell, David. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Cassell, Robert T. 1831. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Catlin, Joel. 1832. Connecticut. Presbyterian. *American Tract Magazine, New York Mercury, New England Farmer, American Quarterly Review.*
- Caulkins, Nehemiah. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Challin, Jonathan. Christian. *Millenial Harbinger, Gospel Herald.*
- Chandler, Ero. 1821. Presbyterian, first doctor in Jacksonville. *New York Observer, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist, R_____ Post.*
- Chamberlain, Benjamin. 1832. Massachusetts. Whig and later Republican, Congregationalist. *Saturday Evening Post.*
- Chapman, Abner. *Alarum.*
- Chenery, William D. Democrat, family Congregational. *Massachusetts Spy.*
- Church, Thomas. 1827. Kentucky. Christian, tavern-keeper, farmer. *Gospel Herald.*

- Clark, Abraham M. Congregationalist, doctor. *New York Observer.*
- Cloud, Newton. 1827. North Carolina. Democrat, Methodist, farmer, preacher, long-time legislator. *Western Ploughboy, Illinois Advocate, Illinois Herald.*
- Coddington, Joseph. Democrat, Episcopalian, merchant, second postmaster. *Godey's Lady's Book, Missouri Republican, Philadelphia Evening Post, Illinois Herald, New York Journal of Commerce, Missouri Republican.*
- Coffman, Phillip. Christian, merchant, preacher. *Kentucky Observer, Kentucky Gazette, Christian Messenger, Louisville Weekly Poster.*
- Collins & Graham. Merchants. *Louisville Weekly Poster.*
- Colton, _____.
- Conn, Mrs. Elizabeth. Presbyterian, sister of Mrs. John M. Ellis.
- Cook, George W. or N. and Eastham. *Saturday Courier, Illinois Monthly Magazine, New York Mercury, Age.*
- Cooling, Thomas. *Sangamon Journal.*
- Cooper, Joseph B. *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley.*
- Compton, N. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer.*
- Cord, F. or T. H. *Kentucky Gazette.*
- Corrington, John W. Kentucky. Democrat. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Cownover, Peter. New Jersey. Baptist, farmer. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, New York Observer.*
- Cox, John. *Sparta Record.*
- Craig & Smith. *Presbyterian.*
- Crane, Samuel S. *Peoples Advocate.*
- Cyrus, Henry H. or A. Christian, preacher. *Millenial Harbinger.*
- Davidson, Alexander. *Christian Messenger, Millenial Harbinger.*
- Davidson, C. T. *Millenial Harbinger.*
- Davidson, E. *Millenial Harbinger.*
- Davenport, Ira. 1832. Came from Ohio. Whig, Methodist, merchant. *Supporter and Sciota Gazette.*

- Deatherage, Alfred. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Deaton, James. 1820. Virginia. Methodist, farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Devore, John. 1829. Kentucky. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Dew, Peter. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 De Witt, Abraham B. Tavern-keeper. *Missouri Republican, Millenial Harbinger*.
 Dixon, Alvin M. Student, Illinois College, Presbyterian ?, later preacher. *Sunday School Journal*.
 Dunbar, Rice. Carpenter. *Illinois Herald, Beardstown Chronicle*.
 Dunlap, James. 1830. Kentucky. Merchant, contractor, preacher ?. *Louisville Journal, Mad River Current, Louisville Focus*.
 Durant, Edward. Carpenter. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer*.
 Durant, Samuel. Carpenter. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Eads, John. 1827. Kentucky. Christian, blacksmith. *Christian Messenger, Millenial Harbinger*.
 Eastham, Braxton. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
 Eastham, S. or T. M. *Daily Globe, Illinois Monthly Magazine*.
 Edwards, James Gardiner. 1829. Massachusetts. Whig, Congregationalist, editor and publisher *The Western Observer*, Jacksonville's first newspaper. Removed to Iowa and established *The Burlington Hawkeye*. *Boston Recorder, Gospel Herald, Illinois Monthly Magazine, New York Journal of Commerce*.
 Elder, Matthew. Christian, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, Millenial Harbinger, Missouri Reporter*.
 Ellis, John Millot. 1828. New Hampshire. Congregationalist, preacher. Projector of Illinois College. *American National Preacher, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Spirit of the Pilgrims, Missionary Reporter, New York Evangelist, New York Observer, Sunday School Journal, Standard, Biblical Repository, Minutes General Assembly*.

- England, B. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 England, T. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Evans, David. 1829. Tennessee. Lawyer. *United States Gazette, Beardstown Chronicle*.
 Evans, James. *Illinois Advocate, Louisville Public Advertiser, Western Ploughboy, Illinois Herald*.
 Fairfield, Joseph M. Baptist, Whig, merchant, legislator. *Niles' Weekly Register, Youth's Magazine, Baptist Weekly, Journal of the Mississippi Valley*.
 Farnham, Lucien. 1831. Connecticut. Congregationalist, preacher, one of Yale Band. *Sunday School Journal*.
 Field, Golden. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Fox, John. New Jersey. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal, Missouri Republican, Youth's Instructor*.
 Frazer, William J. Presbyterian, preacher. *Missionary Reporter and Education Register, Presbyterian, Minutes General Assembly, Report American Board of Missions*.
 Frost, Miss. *New England Christian Herald, Methodist Preacher*.
 Funk, Nimrod. 1827. Virginia. Baptist. *Youth's Magazine*.
 Geers, James. *Louisville Focus, New York Evening Post*.
 Geers, William. *Kentucky Reporter, Louisville Journal and Focus, Chronicle and Marylander, New York Evening Post*.
 Gentry, W. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Gilliam, William. Whig, farmer, legislator. *Cincinnati American, Kentucky Reporter*.
 Gillett, Bezaleel, and Gordon, William. Merchants. Gillett, physician, Episcopalian. Both Whigs. *St. Louis Times, National Intelligencer, Wayne Centinel, Farmers Herald, Niles' Weekly Register, Palmyra Centinel*.
 Givens, William T. 1828. Tennessee. Democrat. *Beardstown Chronicle*.
 Gorham, Stephen. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Goodpasture, William. 1826. Tennessee. *Illinois Herald*.

- Gordon, William, Colonel. Ireland. Whig, farmer, legislator. *New York Courier and Enquirer, Illinois Intelligencer.*
- Graves, Jeremiah. Massachusetts. Congregationalist, farmer. *Connecticut Observer.*
- Green, Benjamin. *Missouri Republican.*
- Green, E. P. or T. *Sangamon Journal.*
- Green, James. Whig, Christian, preacher. *Niles' Weekly Register.*
- Green, John. Christian, preacher. *Christian Messenger, Sangamon Journal.*
- Grimsley, Elijah. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Western Ploughboy, Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate.*
- Grimsley, Fielding.
- Grimsley, S. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Herald.*
- Grimsley, William. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Hackett, T.
- Hardin, John J. 1830. Kentucky. Whig, Presbyterian, lawyer, soldier, legislator, congressman. *Commentator.*
- Hardwick, James. Baker. *Christian Messenger.*
- Hardy, Solomon. Presbyterian, preacher. *Illinois Monthly Magazine.*
- Harlan, Levi. Christian, merchant at Winchester. *Farm Budget, Torch Light and Public Advertiser.*
- Harris, B. or F. S. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Harris, W. C.
- Hart, Stephen. Family Congregational. *Marietta Gazette.*
- Hedenberg, James V. Christian, preacher, linseed oil maker. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Hedenberg, Peter. Whig, Christian, preacher, harness maker. *Millennial Harbinger, Christian Examiner.*
- Henderson, Archibald. Christian. *Kentucky Gazette, Christian Messenger, Lexington Observer.*
- Henderson, David Pat. Democrat, Christian, preacher. *Christian Messenger, Lexington Observer.*
- Henry, John. 1828. Kentucky. Whig, cabinet-maker, legislator, congressman. *Cincinnati* ———, *Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Herald, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*

- Hewett, Josephus. 1831. Native of New York, came to Illinois from Kentucky. Disciple, preacher, lawyer. Removed to Springfield. *Sangamon Journal, Kentucky Observer, Casket, Evangelist.*
- Higgins, James M. Doctor. *Daily Globe.*
- Hill, John M. 1828. Kentucky. Cooper. *Western Luminary, Presbyterian.*
- Howard, E. *Youth's Magazine, Sunday School Banner.*
- Howard, George. *Niles' Weekly Register.*
- Howard, James. *Illinois Advocate.*
- Howard, Thomas. *Louisville Focus.*
- Hudson, Samuel. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Huffaker, Michael. 1823. Kentucky. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Hughes, Allen B. Virginia. Farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Ingalls, Thomas. 1824. New York. *Christian Messenger.*
- January, D. A. Later a long-time St. Louis merchant. *Saturday Evening Post, Louisville Focus.*
- Johnson, William G. Whig. *Lexington Observer, Kentucky Reporter, Gospel Herald.*
- Johnston, John L. *Western Luminary, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Jones, Charles. Lawyer. *Sentinel, Morning Courier and New York Enquirer.*
- Jones, John T. Ohio. Whig, Christian, preacher, teacher. *Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette.*
- Jones, Nathaniel W. Christian Watchman and Baptist Register, *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley.*
- Jones, Waller. Lawyer, legislator. *Illinois Intelligencer, Farmers Chronicle, Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*
- Jordan, William S. 1822. Born in Illinois. Methodist, farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Kennar, William C. Preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*

- Keplinger, Isaac. 1829. Tennessee. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Keplinger, Samuel. 1829. Tennessee. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Kerr, James. 1821. Scotland. Presbyterian. *Western Luminary, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.
- King, William. 1831. Connecticut. *Missouri Republican, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist, Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Kirby, William. 1831. Connecticut. Abolitionist, Congregationalist, teacher Illinois College, preacher, church organizer, one of the Yale Band. *Connecticut Observer, Christian Monthly Spectator, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, Sunday School Journal*.
- Kirkman, George. Democrat. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Langworth, Stephen. *Illinois Monthly Magazine*.
- Larimore, Thomas J. 1830. Kentucky. Whig, Methodist, merchant, farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Leforce, ———. *Christian Advocate*.
- Lewis, William. *Susquehanna Democrat, Saturday Evening Post*.
- Lindsay, William K. Tennessee. Whig, Christian. *Christian Messenger, Kentucky Reporter*.
- Lockwood, Samuel D. New York. Whig and Republican, wife Presbyterian, children Congregationalists, lawyer, long-time Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois and Chairman of the Trustees of Illinois College. *Illinois Intelligencer, Sangamon Journal, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist, Galenaecan, Alton Spectator*.
- Lohr, Christian (later spelled Loar). Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Lurton, William. Democrat. Methodist. *Kentucky Centinel*.
- Magill, James. *Niles' Weekly Register*.
- Mallory, Stephen. Tavern-keeper. *St. Louis Times*.

- March, Enoch C. 1823. Eastern man. Miller and merchant. *Christian Advocate and Journal, Gospel Herald*.
- Massey, Silas. 1826. Vermont. Whig and Republican, wife Presbyterian.
- Matthews, Samuel T. 1821. Kentucky. Whig and Republican, farmer, legislator. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- McClung, Hervey, Presbyterian, tanner. *Anti-Conspirator, or Infidelity Unmasked*.
- McConnel, Murray. 1820. New York. Democrat, family Episcopalian, lawyer and legislator, soldier, befriended Stephen A. Douglas. *Illinois Intelligencer, Free Enquirer, Illinois Monthly Magazine*.
- McHenry, William.
- McKae, John. *Pioneer and Western Baptist*.
- McIlheny, D. *Castigator*.
- McKing, John A. *Illinois Advocate*.
- McMurray, William. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer, Revivalist*.
- Mears, Edwin A. Democrat, Congregationalist. *New York Observer*.
- Mears, James. Democrat, Congregationalist. *New York Observer, Sunday School Journal*.
- Meeker, Josiah. Tinner. *Illinois Advocate*.
- Miller, Ebenezer T. 1827. Kentucky. Democrat, Episcopalian, carpenter, carder, farmer. *St. Louis Times, American Farmer*.
- Mitchell, John E. *Missouri Correspondent*.
- Mitchell, James T. Virginia. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Moore, Edmund. Whig, Presbyterian. *Niles' Weekly Register*.
- Moore, Samuel. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Morse, A. C. *Missionary Herald*.
- Morrison, Robert. 1832. Virginia. Methodist, doctor. *Louisville Focus*.

- Morton, Joseph. 1820. Virginia. Democrat, Christian, farmer, legislator. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, *Illinois Intelligencer*, *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, *E——— Globe*.
- Moss, William. Tennessee. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- Muckle, John.
- Murphy, John. *Christian Advocate*.
- Murphy, S. C. or E. *Millennial Harbinger*.
- Murray, N. *Ohio Register*.
- Newcomb, Andrew. Christian, spinning-wheel-wright. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- Nifong, J. *Christian Messenger*.
- Nilson, W. M. *Cincinnati Journal*.
- Nuckles, William C. *Lexington Observer*.
- Orear, William. 1826. Virginia. Whig and Republican, Methodist, farmer and legislator. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Osborne, Harrison W. 1830. Born in Georgia, came to Illinois from Kentucky. Christian, preacher. *Christian Messenger*.
- Owens, Mary. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer*.
- Parkinson, James. Whig, wool-carder, legislator. *Louisville Journal*.
- Parkinson, N. *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, *Illinois Herald*, *Louisville Public Advertiser*, *Nashville Republican*, *St. Louis Times*.
- Parkinson, R. *Louisville Public Advertiser*, *Nashville Republican*, *Sangamon Journal*, *Louisville Focus*, *St. Louis Times*.
- Patterson, Robert W. Student, Illinois College, Tennessee, Abolitionist and Republican, Presbyterian, preacher, educator. *Liberator*.
- Patterson, William. 1829. Kentucky. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Payton, Daniel. Preacher. *Missouri Correspondent*.
- Pitner, Montgomery. 1826. Tennessee. Methodist, farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Plummer, S. or J. B. *Little Rec———*.

- Prentice, D. *Western Luminary*, *Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society*.
- Prentice, Thomas. Presbyterian.
- Prosser, Samuel M. Episcopalian, doctor. *Kanawha Banner*.
- Pulliam, Drury.
- Purkett, George T. Student, Illinois College, Congregationalist. *Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society*.
- Ragan, S. C. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Ragan, Landon C.
- Ragan, S. *Kentucky Gazette*.
- Ralph, George W. *Louisville Journal*.
- Ratekin, Joseph. 1829. Kentucky. Democrat, Christian, farmer, merchant. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- Ray, Felix G. *Beardstown Chronicle*.
- Reed, Maro, McL. 1830. Connecticut. Abolitionist, Republican, Congregationalist, doctor. *Connecticut Observer*, *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, *Pioneer and Western Baptist*, *Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society*.
- Reeve, Joel. 1820. North Carolina. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Regnier, Francis. Doctor. Removed to New Salem, Illinois. Lincoln prosecuted slander suit against him. *Gallia Free Press*.
- Repshire, John. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Richards, Daniel. *Free Enquirer*.
- Riggs, Reuben. *Millennial Harbinger*.
- Riggs, Scott. 1825. North Carolina. Came to Illinois 1817. Democrat, Christian, member first Illinois Legislature. *Christian Messenger*.
- Roberts, Charles. *New York Spectator*, *Le Courier de Etats Unis*, *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.
- Robertson, C.
- Robertson, M. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.
- Robinson, Kirker. Shoemaker. *The Old Countryman*.

- Rogers, William. Baptist, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist*.
 Ruark, J. A. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Ruble, Jesse H. 1820. Tennessee. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Rucker, John. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Sappington, John. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Saxton, William. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Sewell, William. Teacher. *Sunday School Journal*.
 Shelton, Johnston. 1821. Democrat, surveyor. *Pioneer and Western Baptist*.
 Shotton, Christopher. *Beardstown Chronicle*.
 Simms, Austin. *Christian Messenger*.
 Simms, George. *Christian Messenger*.
 Simms, Ignatius R. Episcopalian. *Farmers Chronicle, Illinois Monthly Magazine*.
 Sinclair, John. Methodist, preacher. *Gospel Herald, Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Sinclair, George.
 Sinclair, W. Cotton spinner. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Smedley, William. Kentucky. *Christian Messenger*.
 Smith, William B. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Solomon, Lewis. 1824. Preacher. *Youth's Magazine*.
 Spencer, Ellen C., Mrs. Teacher. *Saturday Evening Post*.
 Spencer, F. *Evangelist*.
 Spencer, T. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Spencer, Stephen W.
 Spencer, William S. Indiana. *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley, Beardstown Chronicle*.
 Stacy, Matthew. 1827. Virginia. Democrat, Whig, Republican, Methodist, harness maker. *Ohio Patriot, Louisville Public Advertiser*.
 Standly, Moses. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
 Stephenson, Elliott. 1828. Kentucky. Presbyterian. *Western Luminary*.

- Stephenson & Hill. *Presbyterian*.
 Stuart, Robert. Presbyterian. *Sunday School Journal, Cincinnati Journal*.
 Sturtevant, Julian Monson. 1829. Connecticut. Abolitionist, later Republican, Congregationalist, preacher, one of the Yale Band, on faculty Illinois College for fifty-six years, president of the college thirty-two years. *New York Observer, Standard, Sabbath School Herald, Missionary Herald, Missionary Reporter and Education Register, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Pioneer and Western Baptist, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Sunday School Recorder, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, N—O— Magazine*.
 Sweet, Jonathan (Joel). Baptist, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, Sunday School Journal, Cincinnati Journal*.
 Sweet, Robert. *Missouri Republican*.
 Thomas, William. 1826. Kentucky. Whig, later Republican, Methodist, lawyer, judge, legislator, promoter common school and State charities legislation. *Niles' Weekly Register, Sangamon Journal*.
 Thornton, Fitzgreen or Fitzhugh. Doctor ? *Louisville Focus*.
 Ticknor, Olney. 1823. New York. *Illinois Intelligencer*.
 Tilton and Sanders.
 Todd, A. *Western Citizen*.
 Tuples, John.
 Turner, Asa. 1830. Massachusetts. Resided at Quincy. Abolitionist and later Republican, Congregationalist, brother of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, preacher, pioneer Congregationalist in Iowa. *Annals of Education*.
 Vaughan, C. A.
 Westrope, John. 1828. Ohio. *Louisville Public Advertiser, La Public Advocate*.
 Westrope, I. or J. L.

- Wilkinson, John P. 1828. Virginia. Whig, Presbyterian, merchant. *Niles' Weekly Register, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Williams, William W. *Christian Advocate and Herald.*
- Williams, Z. *Liberal Advocate.*
- Willson, Aaron. 1820. Merchant, first probate judge. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist.*
- Wiswell, Henry C. 1822. Vermont. Presbyterian. *Free Enquirer, Galenacan.*
- Wisell, Thomas. 1822. Vermont. Presbyterian. *Missouri Republican.*
- Wise, Daniel. Christian. *Illinois Monthly Magazine, Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley.*
- Wolcott, Elihu. 1831. Connecticut. Abolitionist, later Republican, Congregationalist, mainspring in organization Congregational church of Jacksonville, conductor-in-chief Underground Railroad, first president Illinois Anti-Slavery Society. *New York Journal of Commerce, Connecticut Observer.*
- Wyatt, John. 1820. Virginia. Democrat, Methodist, farmer, legislator. *Illinois Intelligencer, Illinois Herald, Vandalian and Whig.*
- Yaple, Jacob. *Pioneer and Western Baptist.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada, Winifred Gregory, 1927.
- A Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress, 1901.
- A List of Newspapers in the Yale University Library, 1916.
- The Traveller and Monthly Gazetteer, Philadelphia, June, 1828.
- Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879, Franklin William Scott, Volume VI, Illinois State Historical Library, 1910.

- The Pageant of America, 1928.
- The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier, Ralph Leslie Rush, 1925.
- The Cambridge History of American Literature, 1917.
- On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833, William B. Cairns, 1898.
- Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872, Frederic Hudson, 1873.
- History of American Journalism, James Melville Lee, 1917.
- Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, W. H. Venable, 1891.
- The Whig Party in the South, Arthur Charles Cole, 1913.
- History of Cincinnati, Ohio, Ford and Ford, 1881.
- History of the Disciples of Christ in Illinois, 1819-1914, N. S. Haynes, 1915.
- Presbyterians, Geo. P. Hays, 1892.
- A History of the Methodists in the United States, J. M. Buckley, 1896.
- A Compendious History of American Methodism, Abel Stevens, 1867.
- History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832, James Leaton, 1883.
- Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, 1906.
- Abraham Lincoln, Albert J. Beveridge, 1928.
- History of the United States, Edward Channing, 1912-1925.
- History of the People of the United States, John Bach McMaster, 1907-1927.
- A Gazetteer of Illinois, John Mason Peck, Jacksonville, Ill., 1834.
- The Constitutional and Political History of the United States, H. Von Holst, 1889.
- American Statesmen, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1898-1900.

Histories of Illinois, of Jacksonville, Illinois, and of Morgan County, Illinois, the Blue Books of Illinois, the Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Library, the records of the courts of Morgan County, Illinois, and the records of the Congregational, Trinity Episcopal, Christian, and First Presbyterian churches of Jacksonville, Illinois.

I wish to thank for their services and assistance The American Antiquarian Society, The Postmaster General, Mr. W. A. Fay, Postmaster, Jacksonville, Ill., The Library of Congress, The Illinois State Historical Library, The Jacksonville, Ill., Public Library, The Congregational House, Boston, Mass., Rev. Frank Grant Lewis, Librarian, The American Baptist Historical Society, Chester, Pa., Dr. Logan Hay, President, and Mr. Paul M. Angle, Secretary, The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill., Dr. Louis A. Warren, Fort Wayne, Ind., Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp, President of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill., Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, President Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Ill., and the newspapers and libraries which have answered inquiries.

