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A Developing Frontier: Logan County, Illinois to 1872

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A DEVELOPING FRONTIER:

LOGAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS TO 1872

(TITLE)

BY

D. MARK HUDDLESTON

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YEAR

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PREFACE

Perhaps no other episode in American history creates the excitement and interest provided by the westward movement. Much attention is given to those who participated in the great gold and silver rushes, but the long range importance in this country's development was the continuing rush for another commodity, good farm land. The pioneer farmer faced tremendous obstacles, but always overcame them, and in so doing helped extend American civilization.

This study examines the frontier experience as it relates to Logan County, Illinois. Located in the state's geographic center, Logan County possesses some of the world's richest soil, reclaimed from what once was mostly marsh land. A survey depicting events leading to the county's creation and growth is presented, along with several specialized investigations. Included are a quantitative study analyzing certain aspects of the frontier society, especially the role played by foreign-born settlers, and an assessment of the county's political attitudes and trends in its early history.

The author wishes to express gratitude to Dr. E. Duane Elbert of Eastern Illinois University, not only for guidance and assistance in this project, but also for opening exciting new vistas of research as yet barely explored by historians.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
CHAPTER	
I. A SURVEY OF LOGAN COUNTY HISTORY, 1778 TO 1872	1
II. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF LOGAN COUNTY, 1850 TO 1870	27
III. LOGAN COUNTY POLITICS, 1840 TO 1860	50
IV. LOGAN COUNTY POLITICS, 1861 TO 1872	73
V. SUMMARY	98
APPENDIX	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	102

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Map

1. Logan County, Illinois in 1872 14
2. Logan County Election Precincts, 1860 61

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Birthplace of White, Adult Males by Number and Per Cent	32
2.	Nativity of White, Adult Males by Number and Per Cent .	33
3.	Age Distribution of Total Adult Male Population by Per Cent	34
4.	Real and Personal Wealth of All Adult Males by Per Cent	37
5.	Nativity Wealth Distribution by Per Cent	40
6.	Chief Occupational and Nativity Groups by Number and Per Cent	44
7.	Occupational Structure of Individual Nativities by Per Cent	45
8.	Logan County Presidential Election Results, 1840-1856, by Per Cent	51
9.	Nativity of Potential Voters for Precinct and County by Per Cent	55
10.	Precinct and County Vote for the 1860 Presidential Election by Total and Per Cent	60
11.	Coefficients of Correlation for Voter Birthplace with Republican Vote, 1860 Presidential Election	65
12.	Nativity of Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1860	66
13.	Age and Wealth Comparison for Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1860	67
14.	Occupations of Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1860	68
15.	Nativity of Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1870	85

16.	Occupations of Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1870	86
17.	Age and Wealth Comparison for Potential Voters and Republican Party Elite by Per Cent, 1870	87
18.	Republican Party Precinct Vote for the 1868 and 1872 Presidential Elections by Per Cent	94
19.	Coefficients of Correlation for Voter Birthplace with Republican Vote, 1868 and 1872 Presidential Elections	96
20.	Selected Logan County Election Results by Per Cent . . .	101

CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF LOGAN COUNTY HISTORY, 1778 TO 1872

The history of American control and subsequent development of the area that became Logan County, Illinois, began on December 9, 1778, when word reached Williamsburg, Virginia, that George Rogers Clark had captured Kaskaskia in the Illinois Country. The Virginia Legislature responded by establishing the County of Illinois, with the only boundary being described as the area north of the Ohio River. Though supposedly under Virginia's political control, the County of Illinois virtually lacked any government. It technically assumed a state of anarchy when Virginia, recognizing the impracticality of governing its vast claims, allowed the law which created the county to lapse on January 5, 1782. On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded much of her western land claims to Congress, but government was not officially instituted until March 5, 1790, when the United States, acting under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, designated all territory west of Vincennes, Indiana, as Saint Clair County. This county was divided several times leading to the creation of fifteen counties by the time Illinois became a state on December 3, 1818.¹

¹Robert P. Howard, Illinois: A History of the Prairie State (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 54 and 60; and Arthur C. Boggess, The Settlement of Illinois 1778-1830 (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1908), pp. 40, 45, and 83.

In May, 1800, the Northwest Territory was divided with Illinois becoming part of the newly created Indiana Territory.² Pioneers in the Illinois area were unhappy with this arrangement, citing the excessive distance to the territorial capital, Vincennes, a lack of communication, and favoritism on the part of territorial governor William H. Harrison as the reasons for their disillusionment. The first decade of the 1800s witnessed repeated petitions to Congress for removal of Illinois from the Indiana Territory as well as counter petitions to remain. This action culminated in the creation of the Illinois Territory by Congress on March 1, 1810. Illinois entered the second territorial stage in October, 1812, and became a state as mentioned previously on December 3, 1818, though it was to be twenty-one years before Logan County would be created.³

Settlement in Illinois was relatively slow in the early 1800s, as the 1810 census listed only 12,282 people living in the area. Arthur Boggess enumerates several reasons for this slow settlement: pioneers could not secure title to the land, the unsettled condition of the slavery question, the great distance from older United States' markets and population, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana still had vast quantities of unoccupied land waiting to be settled, the danger and cost of moving, the fear of privation due to the lack of roads, schools, and churches, and finally, the existence of large prairies.⁴ Though not all of these problems had been

² Lawrence B. Stringer, History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1911), I, 138.

³ Boggess, Settlement of Illinois, pp. 86-89, and 112.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 97-98.

solved by the day of statehood, there were, by that time, about 35,000 people living in two columns on opposite sides of the state.⁵ One pocket of civilization was in an area known as the American Bottom, an extremely fertile land tract extending from the mouth of the Kaskaskia River to the mouth of the Illinois River, and containing about 600 square miles.⁶ The other main settlement area centered along the state's east side, using the Wabash River as an outlet, with a nucleus around the United States saline in what is today's Galletin County.⁷

When Illinois entered the Union in 1818, today's Logan County was part of Bond County, which covered much of the state's northern sections.⁸ Few settlers lived in this interior part, though some venturesome Kentuckians and Tennesseans had pushed into the general vicinity known as the Sangamon Country.⁹ Boggess points out that most immigrants at this time were Southerners for a variety of reasons: they held anti-slavery views, they did not want to or could not change from small farming to plantation operations, and there were some who simply moved from habit.¹⁰

⁵Theodore Calvin Pease, The Frontier State 1818-1848 (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918), p. 2.

⁶William V. Pooley, The Settlement of Illinois From 1830-1850 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, 1968), p. 315.

⁷Pease, The Frontier State, p. 2.

⁸Interstate Publishing Co. (pub.), History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: 1886), p. 216.

⁹Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 319.

¹⁰Boggess, Settlement of Illinois, p. 123.

A major source of opposition to settlement in this area was the Kickapoo Indians, who still held possessory title to the land.¹¹ They roamed throughout central Illinois as far south as present day Crawford County with one of their principal villages being on Salt Creek near modern day Lincoln.¹² The Kickapoos were described as especially fierce and highly resistant to the idea of moving beyond the Mississippi River.¹³ Grant Foreman points out that United States Commissioners Benjamin Stephenson and Auguste Chouteau did encounter considerable opposition, but explains the reason somewhat differently. It seems the Kickapoos were extremely reluctant to give up their lands because their neighbors to the north, the Pottawatomies, had menaced them and threatened if they signed a treaty to move they would be plundered and murdered. For all their reluctance, the Kickapoos concluded the Treaty of Edwardsville on July 30, 1819, calling for their removal beyond the Mississippi River to Missouri, and thus ended the principal Indian resistance to white settlement in central Illinois.¹⁴

By 1830, the remaining Indian titles in Illinois were extinguished, prices for public lands were lowered, and a pre-emption law was passed, all of which increased the desirability for settle-

¹¹ Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 320.

¹² Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 47.

¹³ A.M. Gibson, The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 80.

¹⁴ Grant Foreman, "Illinois and Her Indians," Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1939 (Springfield, Illinois: The Illinois State Historical Society, 1940), p. 91.

ment in the state.¹⁵ However, there were still major problems to overcome. On January 30, 1821, Sangamon County was created, portions of which would later become Logan County. The fact this area was only twenty per cent woodland, rather than heavily forested, was a deterrent to settlement.¹⁶ Pioneers were prejudiced against prairie lands, believing them to be incapable of agricultural production, and were oriented toward settling in forested lands as their forefathers had.¹⁷ The timber gave the pioneer shelter from summer's heat, winter's cold, and provided a refuge for his cattle.¹⁸ Settlement close to timbered areas was the pattern followed in the Logan County region. A study of land entries through the 1820s and 1830s indicates settlers did cling to the many wooded areas hugging the numerous creeks in the county.¹⁹ A slow experimentation process then occurred which eventually enabled the pioneer farmer to cultivate the prairies. James Latham, the first settler in what was to become Logan County, is credited with making the initial attempt to cultivate the prairie, a feat made especially difficult because he had only a bar-share plow with a wooden mould board.²⁰ with technical improvements such as the iron and later steel plow, the

¹⁵Bogges, Settlement of Illinois, p. 144.

¹⁶Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 308.

¹⁷Mount Pulaski Times News (pub.), 125 Yesteryears of Mount Pulaski (Mount Pulaski, Illinois, July 13, 1961), No Page Numbers Used.

¹⁸Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 324.

¹⁹Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 115.

²⁰Donnelley, Loyd & Co. (pub.), History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: 1878), p. 244.

farmer found the open prairie saved the labor generally necessary to make a clearing, and he also discovered crops would grow as well or better on the prairie as on cleared timber land.²¹ With the problems of farming the prairies solved at least in part, the pioneer settler still had to concern himself with an old nemesis, lack of transportation.

According to John H. Krenkel, the problem of transportation was one of the most difficult for Illinois pioneers to solve.²² Limitations of communication by land compelled Illinois people to rely for the most part upon river transportation. However, river transportation could not meet the needs in a large part of the state. As a result, a great quantity of desirable interior land, which lay between the major streams, could be developed only with improved land transportation systems.²³ This was particularly true of the region encompassing the Logan County area. There were many creeks in the region, but none were navigable.²⁴ In 1827, four roads were declared state highways including one from Springfield to Peoria which passed through what was to become Logan County, thus providing at least a recognized route for travel.²⁵ While developments such as this helped to settle the interior, problems

²¹ Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 324.

²² John H. Krenkel, Illinois Internal Improvements 1818-1848 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1958), p. 9.

²³ Ibid., pp. 11, 16.

²⁴ Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 219.

²⁵ Krenkel, Illinois Internal Improvements, p. 22.

still remained. Since the area's economic interests were wholly agricultural, the great requirement was a market for the produce. Inland cities which might be built could not provide adequate outlets until much later when the railroad would pass through.²⁶

Though Logan County was not created until February 5, 1839, to understand its growth and development and the reasons for its creation, a survey of important events and settlements must be considered prior to the county's formation. One of the first white men to see the area was Frederick Ernst from Hanover, Germany, who investigated in 1819. Ernst was interested in establishing a colony in the newly admitted state of Illinois, and although describing the Logan County area in glowing terms, he did not settle there.²⁷ The first pioneer to make a permanent settlement in what became Logan County was James Latham of Kentucky. Latham settled on Elkhart Hill in 1819, the highest point in the area, and the following year returned to Kentucky so he could bring his family to the new homestead in the Sangamon Country. In 1826, President John Quincy Adams appointed Latham as Indian agent, and he then moved to Fort Clark which is modern day Peoria. Latham died in 1828, whereupon his family moved back to Elkhart Hill, his sons and other relatives becoming prominent among the early settlers of the area.²⁸

Latham was closely followed in settlement by Robert Musick,

²⁶ Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 459.

²⁷ Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 51.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 55.

who established a residence on Sugar Creek in what is today Eminence Township.²⁹ Latham, Musick, and the other pioneers who followed were squatters until the government land office opened in Springfield in 1823. Pre-emption laws were not always followed, but settlers usually went to Springfield as a group to purchase land. In a cooperative spirit, these early pioneers recognized each other's claims, and thus purchases were made at the lowest possible bids. The first entry for the sale of public land was recorded on November 18, 1824, for 240 acres, and the purchase was made by the county's first settler, James Latham.³⁰

The 1830s showed continued growth in population and also recorded several noteworthy events. One problem settlers had which could not be solved was inclement weather. In 1830, the weather had been unusually mild, and settlers had been lax about making their harvests in the fall. Suddenly, cold weather set in, followed by several weeks of continuous snow amounting to about three feet. Rain then steadily fell, froze, and formed a thick crust over the snow. All of this caught the crops in the fields, destroyed them, and caused much hardship and privation. Many recently settled families were living in open-built huts and had the misfortune of freezing to death.³¹ A second unusual occurrence was on December 20, 1836, which also caused many problems for the settlers. Rain and sleet fell all that day, when, without warning

²⁹Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 241.

³⁰Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 114.

³¹Ibid., pp. 89-90.

approximately seventy miles per hour winds carrying extremely cold air struck. Animals were literally frozen in their tracks, and there were many accounts of people dying before they were able to reach shelter.³²

Despite such setbacks as described, the area continued to grow as three permanent settlements were established and many other unsuccessful attempts were made in the 1830s. The first known effort to establish a community resulted in a qualified success. A western land speculator, Hiram S. Allen, founded Middletown on October 13, 1832.³³ The village was laid out on the state highway leading from Springfield to Peoria, and served as a way-station between the two cities.³⁴ Though the town grew rapidly at first, it was destined not to become one of the larger communities in the county because railroads built through the area would by-pass it. The most noteworthy Middletown citizen was Colby Knapp, who operated the earliest general store in the area, was later prominent in Logan County politics, a state legislator, and upon leaving Middletown in 1860 because the railroad had passed it by, served two terms as mayor for the community of Lincoln.³⁵

Further attempts at settlement were spurred by the success of Chicago far to the north. Its growth whetted the gambling instinct, and promoted the belief paper towns would materialize into

³²Ibid., pp. 91-93.

³³Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 647.

³⁴Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 611.

³⁵Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 648.

prosperous cities. Thus, the "town lot craze" grew rapidly.³⁶ It is estimated that during the years 1835, 1836 and 1837, more than 500 new towns were laid out due to this wild speculation.³⁷ The Logan County area had its share of such speculation, with most ventures ending in failure. One notable undertaking was by the Smithfield Emigration Association of Providence, Rhode Island. Convinced central Illinois would provide their utopia, they purchased 1600 acres between Kickapoo and Sugar Creeks, and received a government patent from President Andrew Jackson. The plat was recorded on August 5, 1836, and the first colonization effort closely followed. The plan was to send a body of men to plant a crop, erect buildings and homes, and thus pave the way for other association members to come the next year. Unfortunately, almost all those who came were not farmers, but rather clerks, mechanics, and factory workers, unskilled in prairie farming, and not used to the central Illinois climate. Scores died from fever and various diseases, with the remaining living members so discouraged they returned to Providence, abandoning the project. A few buildings were erected, but that was the extent of their achievement.³⁸

Several towns never reached the construction stage. Some were Madison, Richmond, Rushbrook, London, and Eminence, all of which were to be located near the creeks throughout the area. One other unsuccessful attempt deserves mentioning if only because of

³⁶Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 96.

³⁷Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, p. 564.

³⁸Stringer, History of Logan County, pp. 97-98.

an individual who was involved. Following the pattern of locating these communities along the creeks, the proposed town of Albany was surveyed on January 16, 1836, at Rocky Ford on Salt Creek near present day Lincoln. Though this paper town never succeeded, it has significance in that the surveyor was Abraham Lincoln, then employed as an assistant surveyor for Sangamon County.³⁹

Two communities established during the town lot craze managed to survive, and both were to play a role in the county's civil history. Russell Post, a land speculator, laid out a new community on the direct road from Saint Louis to Chicago in 1835.⁴⁰ The road was the old Edward's Trace, used by Indians and white men alike for many years.⁴¹ Post christened the city Postville, and it served as a way-station for travelers and a regular stage coach stop.⁴²

The second successful city built during the speculative era was Mount Pulaski, which was located about ten miles southeast of Postville. Travelers in the 1820s and 1830s coming from Springfield often followed two old Indian trails which went easterly and north-easterly into what became Logan County. These trails eventually converged at the foot of a large hill, then the path continued easterly into what is today DeWitt County. The densest settlement had occurred to the northwest and southwest of the mount on Salt

³⁹Ibid., pp. 99-102.

⁴⁰Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, pp. 221-222.

⁴¹Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 560.

⁴²Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 221.

Creek and its tributary, Lake Fork. Doctor Alexander Shields, a Springfield physician, when traveling in the area, noticed the mount and remarked to a friend that it would be an ideal site for a town. That friend was Jabez Capps, and he, along with Doctor Barton Robinson decided to embark upon founding a new town. Capps, an English immigrant, was disappointed with the slow progress his general store was making in Springfield and believed he would be able to draw upon the business of the settlers in the mount area. The land was purchased and surveyed, and it was decided to name the town for Count Pulaski of Revolutionary War fame. It was thus founded on July 5, 1836, with Capps becoming the first resident and establishing a flourishing trade among the settlers who desired goods from his general store.⁴³ Actual population of the town proper was small at first, but increased throughout the 1840s as the surrounding prairies were steadily occupied, and the need developed for skilled tradesmen and professional services. By 1850, the community contained 360 inhabitants.⁴⁴

With such growth in the vicinity, naturally agitation arose to create a new county. Sangamon County had far-reaching boundaries and residents in distant portions were unhappy because they were so remote, forty to fifty miles, from the government at Springfield.⁴⁵ Accordingly, a legislative bill proposed the creation of Dane,

⁴³Times News (pub.), 125 Yesteryears of Mount Pulaski, No Page Numbers Used.

⁴⁴Ninth Census of the United States, 1870 Population and Social Statistics, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 115.

⁴⁵Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 145.

Menard, and Logan Counties from various parts of Sangamon. Though the bill met with some opposition, Abraham Lincoln, then a state representative from Sangamon County, was instrumental in getting it passed on February 5, 1839.⁴⁶

Logan County's limits as defined by the Legislative Act of February 5 were changed at two later dates. In 1840, the present tier of northern townships which includes Prairie Creek, Orvil, and Eminence, was taken from Tazewell County and added to Logan. Then, in 1845, the Illinois Legislature detached present Atlanta Township from DeWitt County and gave it to Logan, completing the boundaries as they are today.⁴⁷ The county limits thus drawn contain a little over seventeen congressional townships and approximately 618 square miles.⁴⁸

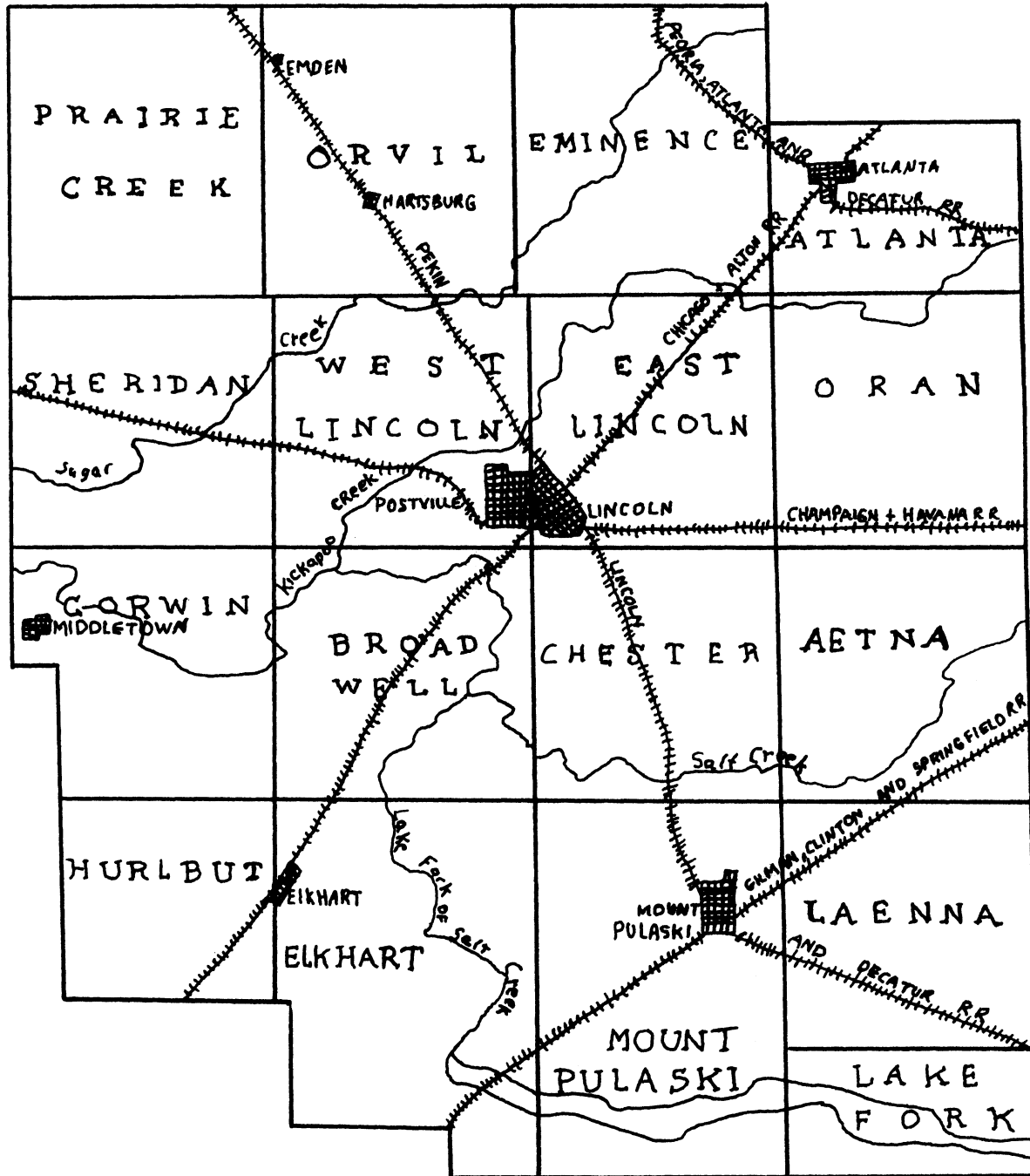
Selecting a government seat for the newly created county presented various problems. Two of the three existing communities actively vied for the position. Mount Pulaski and Postville both desired to be the county seat, and both had positive and negative points. Mount Pulaski was far from the geographic center of the county, but was very close to the population center, with Postville being in precisely the opposite circumstances. The problem was supposedly solved when three commissioners were chosen by the state legislature to investigate the situation and make a decision as to which community had the most merit. With a two to one vote,

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 214.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 160.

⁴⁸Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 160.

LOGAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS IN 1872



the commissioners chose Postville over Mount Pulaski on June 3, 1839, as the first county seat.⁴⁹

Mount Pulaski's irritation at the decision and agitation for a removal of the seat from Postville highlighted activities in the 1840s. They actually had a two-fold scheme during the decade. Complaining because they were twenty miles from Logan County's northern limit, and over fifteen miles to the western boundary, Mount Pulaski residents argued for the creation of a new county. Being only six miles from Sangamon County and eight from Macon, they thought it only natural a new county be created from the two mentioned above along with a part of Logan County. The county, of course, would have Mount Pulaski serve as the government seat.⁵⁰ These plans, however, were frustrated by the Illinois State Constitution put into effect in 1848. The constitution prohibited organization of new counties until a certain number of inhabitants were within prescribed limits, and the area was specifically defined. Unable to meet these conditions, Mount Pulaski abandoned the scheme. The idea was in the process of being discarded anyway because they had previously struck upon a method to get the county seat moved to their location.⁵¹

Protesting that the county seat location had never been submitted to a popular vote, Mount Pulaskites were able to convince the state legislature to make provisions for a popular

⁴⁹Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 150.

⁵⁰Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 227.

⁵¹Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 266.

election to be held in April, 1847, to determine once again where the county seat should be. Since most of the people lived in the Mount Pulaski vicinity, a majority cast their votes for removal of the county seat from Postville. Mount Pulaski was jubilant, but its joy was to be short-lived as a future community would inflict the same fate upon them as they had on Postville.⁵²

Government structure for Logan County also changed at various times and underwent the same haggling as the county seat issue. It was originally governed by a County Commissioners Court. However, under the Illinois State Constitution of 1848, this form of control was abolished and a new one instituted. Government affairs were now placed with the County Court consisting of one county judge and two justices, each of whom would serve a four year term. The law also provided that fifty or more voters could petition to submit township organization to the electorate. By 1858, this type of government was deemed a better form than the County Court by enough citizens to draw a petition for an election. In the ensuing vote, a majority of 521 was cast in favor of township organization. However, nothing was done. The following year another election was held with the same results, but again nothing was done because the County Court members were opposed to the plan. The project was abandoned at that point until 1865.⁵³

When the petition for township organization was presented in 1865 and another election held, the results were the same as

⁵²Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 158.

⁵³Lincoln Evening Courier, Centennial Edition, August 26, 1953, sec. 3, p. 8.

the previous two times. In this instance, however, three commissioners were chosen to divide the county into townships, which they proceeded to do, finishing the project on March 7, 1867.⁵⁴ Implementation of the township system, however, could not yet be effected. In January, 1866, the County Court had issued an injunction against the commissioners elected under the township system, and the case was still pending with the Illinois Supreme Court. Both the County Court and the Board of Supervisors claimed to be the legitimate administrative bodies, and this situation existed until the supreme court ruled in the supervisors' favor in January, 1868.⁵⁵

While the problems of government were being solved in the 1850s and 1860s, the county experienced considerable progress. Settlers continued pouring in as railroads crisscrossed the area, bringing about the formation of new towns and facilitating the shipment of goods to market. The most important new community to be established was Lincoln.

Three prominent central Illinois men played an important role in founding Lincoln. They were Virgil Hickox of Springfield, John D. Gillette of Elkhart Hill, and Robert B. Latham, Logan County Sheriff. These three were given advance information by a friend, state legislator Colby Knapp, concerning the proposed route through Logan County of a new railroad, the Chicago and Mississippi, later to be known as the Chicago and Alton. A station

⁵⁴Lincoln Weekly Herald, March 7, 1867.

⁵⁵Lincoln Evening Courier, Centennial Edition, p. 8.

was to be located on the northwest corner of section thirty-one in what is today East Lincoln Township. Since Postville was two miles away, speculative possibilities as to the formation of a new town were available to the three men.⁵⁶ The first step to be taken was to secure title to the land involved. The deed to the property was held by Isaac Loose of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. To hurry the process, Latham traveled to Pennsylvania and bought the land for \$1,350, thus completing the first step in the scheme.⁵⁷

Purchase of the land was the signal for the proprietors' collaborator in the legislature, Knapp, to sponsor a bill to remove the county seat from Mount Pulaski to the northwest corner of section thirty-one, precisely the location of the land bought from Isaac Loose. The bill passed the Illinois Legislature on February 14, 1853, calling for an election to be held in November so the electorate could decide the matter.⁵⁸ Then, on April 15, 1853, Latham deeded the Chicago and Alton Railroad the right-of-way through his land ensuring the proposed route would be followed.⁵⁹ A close friend of the three men, Abraham Lincoln, drew up the legal documents for the city, and it was decided to christen the community Lincoln. It thus became the only town named for Lincoln prior to his presidency. The town was surveyed on August 23, 1853, with

⁵⁶Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 566.

⁵⁷Raymond Dooley, ed., The Namesake Town: A Centennial History of Lincoln, Illinois (Lincoln, Illinois: Centennial Booklet Committee, 1953), p. 11.

⁵⁸Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 566.

⁵⁹Dooley, ed., Centennial History, p. 11.

the sale of lots beginning three days later.⁶⁰ So sure were Latham, Gillette, and Hickox the county seat would be moved to Lincoln, they guaranteed each sale of land lots or promised to forfeit the money, though the election would not be held until November.⁶¹ The election did prove successful for Lincoln although the government seat was not moved until 1855 when the courthouse was completely built.

The Chicago and Alton was finished in 1854 at a distance of twenty-eight miles through the county, and, as Lincoln's proprietors had hoped, led to rapid commercial progress for the community.⁶² This rapid growth is evidenced by a comparison of railroad revenues for the year ending December 31, 1861. The following communities showed these returns: Bloomington, \$56,312, Lincoln, \$52,314, Springfield, \$40,885, Alton, \$38,216, Joliet, \$18,085, and Pontiac, \$17,627.⁶³ Further, the community's expansion was such that by 1865 Lincoln's boundaries had spread to the edge of Postville. By a state legislative act, Postville, on February 16, 1865, was incorporated into Lincoln.⁶⁴

Just as the Chicago and Alton Railroad spurred county growth, so did four railroads established at later dates. The second railroad to be built in Logan County was the Peoria, Decatur, and

⁶⁰Stringer, History of Logan County, pp. 567-69.

⁶¹Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 418.

⁶²Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 235.

⁶³Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 573.

⁶⁴Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 272.

Evansville, later to be known as the Pekin, Lincoln, and Decatur. It was organized in 1867, with the county to provide \$300,000 for its construction. However, the proposal to build the railroad was voted down twice until provisions were made to appropriate money only as sections of track were completed. A main problem concerning the routing of the railroad was township jealousy. Special interest dictated that each particular township would be all for or all against the proposal, depending if it would pass through their area. Despite this difficulty, the proposal to build the line was accepted on April 27, 1869.⁶⁵ This railroad, later purchased by the Illinois Central, had twenty-eight distinct companies own it, and experienced considerable problems with bankruptcy.⁶⁶

Three other railroads eventually traversed the county. The Champaign and Havana Line was built in 1869. Because it passed through Lincoln, it was decided to route it through the community's southern part instead of the north for fear it would create a new business area if three railroads joined at one point northeast of the city. Another line, the Peoria, Atlanta, and Decatur Railroad Company was incorporated March 1, 1869, but was not completed until 1874. The last railroad to pass through the county was the Gilman, Clinton, and Springfield Railroad which was completed in 1871.⁶⁷ In each instance, the railroads in the county promoted growth and

⁶⁵ Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, pp. 389-90.

⁶⁶ Carlton J. Corliss, Main Line of Mid-America: The Story of the Illinois Central (New York: Creative Age Press, 1950), p. 219.

⁶⁷ Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, pp. 393-97.

led to the creation of many communities, several of which have permanently endured.

One town laid out along the Chicago and Alton Railroad, Atlanta, paralleled Lincoln's growth for a few years. Two smaller communities, Mount Hope to the northeast, and New Castle to the southeast were abandoned when the new city was proposed along the Chicago and Alton. It was first named Xenia, then Hamilton, but in both instances it was found there were cities already established in Illinois with those names. One resident who recently had visited Atlanta, Georgia, and appreciated its beauty, suggested the new village be named for that city. This was accepted, and the community experienced a four year period from 1853 to 1857 when it grew rapidly, and was considered a boom town. However, when the Panic of 1857 hit, the town was badly affected by depression and never again rivaled Lincoln in commercial interests.⁶⁸

Three other communities in Logan County were established during this era, and experienced at least minimal population growth. Elkhart was laid out along the Chicago and Alton Railroad and at the base of Elkhart Hill in 1855 by John Shockey of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and was incorporated on February 22, 1861.⁶⁹ Emden, located north of Lincoln on the Pekin, Lincoln, and Decatur Railroad, was incorporated on June 15, 1871. It got its name from Emden on the Ems River in Germany from where many settlers in the locality came. Hartsburg, a short distance from Emden, and also

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 550.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 678.

situated on the Pekin, Lincoln, and Decatur, was incorporated a week later, June 22, 1871.⁷⁰ The only other communities in the county were grain stops on the railroads with very few residents.

Logan County also experienced educational, religious, and journalistic progress along with its growth in population, commerce, and transportational facilities. From meager beginnings, having only one teacher, Erastus Wright, who conducted school in James Latham's home in the 1820s, the public education system for the county grew to 125 schools by the 1870s.⁷¹ The county also acquired a college during this period. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church had several colleges, but most were located south of the Mason-Dixon Line, and this presented problems for young northern Presbyterians during the Civil War. Thus, impetus was provided to create a new university.⁷² Lincoln University was incorporated February 6, 1865, under the control of Five Synods of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.⁷³

As the county grew, churches also grew in number. Prior to the 1840s, most religious services were conducted by itinerant preachers who were usually Methodists or Baptists. In these times of sparse settlement, the Methodist order was best equipped for waging a systematic campaign against the often indifferent or downright hostile pioneers. The organization was an elastic one,

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 846-48.

⁷¹ Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 230.

⁷² Dooley, ed., Centennial History, p. 49.

⁷³ Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 359.

capable of adaptation to the changing frontier, yet it responded to the touch of the executive officers.⁷⁴ However, the oldest continuous church organization in the county was the Big Grove Baptist Church established in 1830 in Atlanta Township.⁷⁵ By the 1870s, the list of churches included sixteen different denominations, including ones established by German, Irish, and Negro residents.⁷⁶

Corresponding to the population growth was the need and desire for improved communications. The first newspaper to be published in the county was the Logan County Forum, established in August, 1855, by S.B. Dugger in Atlanta.⁷⁷ It was closely followed by two papers which were printed in Lincoln. The Lincoln Weekly Herald, a Republican publication, was established on January 1, 1856. Also organized in 1856 was the Logan County Democrat, but it lasted only seven years before being absorbed by the Herald. Several other papers were founded during the 1850s and 1860s, but unlike the Herald, which is now published under the heading of The Lincoln Courier, they were able to survive only a few months to three years.⁷⁸

A survey of Logan County's development would be lacking without mention of two important men, both of whom were large land

⁷⁴Pease, The Frontier State, p. 24.

⁷⁵Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 493.

⁷⁶Donnelley (pub.), History of Logan County, pp. 277-78.

⁷⁷Interstate (pub.), History of Logan County, p. 289.

⁷⁸Franklin W. Scott, Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois 1814-1879 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1910), pp. 223-24.

owners. They were John D. Gillette, mentioned previously as one of the proprietors of Lincoln, and William Scully. Gillette was born in Connecticut in 1819, and came to Illinois in 1839. From 1840 to 1868 he lived on a farm in the Lake Fork area of Logan County, then moved to Elkhart Hill in 1869, and established a 9,000 acre home farm. He eventually entered about 12,000 acres in the county by himself, and another 5,000 acres with Robert B. Latham. Raising blooded stock, Gillette became internationally known as the "Cattle King of the Midwest." He shipped 1,500 head of cattle and 1,000 hogs a year, mostly to European markets. When he died on August 25, 1888, Gillette left an estate that was valued at a million and a half dollars.⁷⁹

A much larger land owner was William Scully. Born in Ireland in 1821, Scully first came to Illinois in the late 1840s, and purchased land here in 1850. He previously conducted extensive investigations throughout the Midwest as to soil fertility and drainage before deciding to buy land in Logan County as well as several other areas.⁸⁰ Large tracts of land were purchased through the use of soldiers' land warrants.⁸¹ These holdings eventually amounted to approximately 225,000 acres with entries in Logan County, other parts of Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri.⁸²

⁷⁹Stringer, History of Logan County, p. 117.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 118.

⁸¹Paul J. Beaver, "William Scully and the Scully Estates Of Logan County, Illinois" (Master's Thesis, Illinois State University, 1964), p. 13.

⁸²Ibid., p. 40.

Much of the Logan County land was very swampy, but Scully applied the expertise of years of study in Ireland dealing with drainage problems and was able, with the extensive use of a tiling system, to turn the land into highly productive farm soil.⁸³ Although Scully became embroiled in controversy during the late 1870s and 1880s concerning his land rental policies, that issue goes beyond the time and scope of this study, and it remains that the Scullys' brought some of the first soil conservation and land reclamation techniques to the Midwest.⁸⁴

Thus has been Logan County's growth from the time of earliest United States' control to 1872. Understandably, as the nation expanded westward, the area passed through many governmental stages. Several developmental problems occurred delaying settlement and organization until those situations were rectified. Once communication and transportation were developed, the Indian problem solved, and agricultural technology improved, Logan County provided an attractive spot for pioneers seeking a new life on fertile soils. A natural product stemming from increased population was the formation of communities.

Many towns were founded during the speculative mania in the 1830s, and though most failed, three survived to help usher in later decades. Fierce competition arose between two communities, Mount Pulaski and Postville, to achieve political dominance in the county. This rivalry was overshadowed and became somewhat insig-

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 52-57.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

nificant in the 1850s when the Chicago and Alton Railroad was built. The scheme to create a new town which would serve as county seat was successful when Lincoln was organized along the railroad, and became the county's political, commercial, and population center. The significance here, too, is the sizeable role played by the railroads in that rapid settlement and economic growth were a direct result of their being built.

A correlation of the above described processes was the county's developing culture. More towns were constructed, churches built, schools provided, and newspapers established, reflecting the growing population's needs. Doubtless, many pioneers had hopes and aspirations to succeed like John Gillette and William Scully, and many did, though certainly not on such a grandiose scale. Still, the opportunities to make one's mark abounded as the county passed through its frontier stage.

CHAPTER II

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF LOGAN COUNTY

1850 TO 1870

In analyzing any historical data such as the foregoing information concerning Logan County's growth, a major problem is to achieve interpretive objectivity. The standard approach used in researching a topic such as this is to rely on county historians, period newspapers, and members' speeches of old settlers' organizations, to name a few sources normally available. Thus, the historian is subjected not only to his own bias, but also that of each of his sources. County historians naturally tend to glorify and glamorize the characteristics and achievements of the pioneers about whom they are writing, as also would newspaper editors. Old settlers, in remembering previous events of forty or fifty years, might have a somewhat jaded viewpoint in recounting their experiences. The historian must sift through such materials taking into account his own bias as well, and attempt to arrive at objective conclusions, thus using a research method he can not be sure is based on fact. More recently, another method to obtain a larger degree of objectivity has become increasingly popular with historians, the use of quantitative analysis.

Though not always feasible or appropriate for historical research, quantitative analysis can be as useful to the historian

as it is to the sociologist. This methodology has been primarily used in specialized investigations in economic history.¹ A notable exception is Merle Curti's work in The Making of An American Community. This book centers around two issues: one about whether historians can be objective, and a second which explores the controversy surrounding Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier interpretations concerning democracy. Objective tests were applied to the Turner thesis, and these methods as well as traditional ones were used in studying the frontier history of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin.²

The informational source for a quantitative analysis of Logan County is a handcount of the Manuscript Population Census Returns for 1850, 1860, and 1870. Such information provides the study basis for the county's social and economic structure, and involves characteristics such as percentages in various age categories, an occupational breakdown, migration patterns, and property and wealth distribution. Any analysis in these areas normally would have to be based on supposition and impression, but with quantitative analysis the historian has the opportunity to present the facts as discovered in the census. This chapter's purpose, then, is to use tests developed by Curti and applied to Turner's theories to provide insight into Logan County's development. It is not intended necessarily to prove or disprove Turner's ideas,

¹Merle Curti, The Making of An American Community (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 5.

²Ibid., p. 1.

but to study them as they relate to Logan County, thereby gaining better understanding of its frontier era.

An important topic for the historian in studying a particular county is the background, or birthplace of those who settled there. Having such information can provide insights into the settler's cultural influences, and therefore help one understand how and why the county developed as it did. Table 1 gives the place of birth by total number and percentage of the white, adult males over age twenty.

Rather stable percentages occur for native-born settlers from the New England and Mid-Atlantic states, and also for the Other foreign-born category, with only slight increases noted from census year to census year. Most of those found in the Other foreign-born category were from the British Isles, being primarily English and Scots. Large numbers of Germans and Irish were present in the county. The German migration was very strong for two decades, thus indicating they came not only immediately after the political upheavals of 1848, but also later, probably for the economic opportunity to be found in the Old Northwest. They were, as the statistics show, the largest immigrant group in the county. Irish immigration showed a dramatic increase in the 1850s, but tapered off in the next ten years. Especially significant are the totals for the foreign-born in the county. One of every four adult males in 1860 and 1870 were foreign-born, which is a very high percentage. That they would have social, cultural, political, and economic influence is highly probable due to their large numbers.

Another way to view immigration is by dividing the foreign-

born into those from English-speaking countries and those from non-English-speaking ones. Turner believed the percentage of English-speaking immigrants would decrease with each census, while percentages for the non-English-speaking foreign-born would increase. Table 2 provides the necessary information to ascertain if Logan County fit into this pattern. The non-English-speaking group did so exactly, showing increases in each year. However, the English-speaking group, instead of decreasing in each census, showed a large increase in the 1860 census before it decreased in 1870. This, obviously, is due to the large Irish immigration in the 1850s noted previously. It is possible with the decrease from 1860 to 1870 the pattern espoused by Turner was emerging.

Of significance in Table 1 are the totals given for the South and Midwest categories because they both are quite large and show considerable fluctuation in each census. As noted in Chapter I, county historians believe the earliest migrations into the area which became Logan County were from the South, and the census bears this out, with 38.84 per cent of the county population in 1850 listing their birthplace as a Southern state. The bulk of these settlers were provided by three states: Kentucky with 46 per cent of the total Southern-born, Virginia with 22 per cent, and Tennessee with 17 per cent. No other state provided more than five per cent.

After 1850, the Southern percentages show decreases with the 20.02 decrease between 1850 and 1860 being the most drastic change in percentage for any group in each census. Interpretation of that change offers several plausible explanations, but these must be

tempered by closely examining the statistical evidence. The decrease is not as large as it seems because the South actually had more settlers in Logan County for each census. There were 416 in 1850, 692 in 1860, and 828 in 1870. At least partly, these totals can be explained by sons of Southerners becoming adult age. However, it is still likely a large percentage of the increase is due to further migration from the South. Therefore, the percentages should not suggest that Southern migration ceased, but rather the increase rate was much slower in relation to the other groups, hence leading to the drastic reduction in percentage as compared to the total population. Visual inspection of the totals in Table 1 provides evidence for this assumption. In almost every case, especially for 1860, the groups increased their numbers by several hundred per cent, while the South only had approximately a 66 per cent increase in their total. Though less impressive statistics are indicated by the 1870 totals, the pattern remains the same as for 1860.

There are different ways to explain the slower increase rate for Southerners. It is possible that Southern migration was continuing in volume, but was focused on areas other than Illinois. It is known that they poured into Kansas and the Southwest in the 1850s as the frontier expanded well beyond the Old Northwest. Another plausible explanation is that by 1860 the lines were drawn between Northern and Southern ideologies. People who opposed the plantation system had already moved to the North, and Southerners who left their homes in the 1850s were simply going to another slaveholding area.

One could logically expect that a large increase in numbers would be given for each census for those from Illinois. This certainly was the case as there were 72 born in Illinois in the 1850 census, 466 in 1860, and 1,113 by 1870. However, importantly, the state of Ohio provided more settlers for Logan County than any other state or country. There were 236 Ohioans in 1850, 848 in 1860, and 1,287 in 1870, thus reflecting a continuing migration westward in states of the Old Northwest.

TABLE 1
BIRTHPLACE OF WHITE, ADULT MALES BY NUMBER AND PER CENT^a

Birthplace	1850		1860		1870	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New England	27	2.52	141	3.83	166	2.82
Mid-Atlantic	128	11.95	418	11.37	620	10.55
Midwest	365	34.08	1,495	40.66	2,708	46.11
South	416	38.84	692	18.82	828	14.10
Germany	91	8.49	473	12.86	889	15.13
Ireland	16	1.49	342	9.30	429	7.30
Other foreign-born	28	2.61	115	3.12	232	3.95
All foreign-born	135	12.60	930	25.29	1,550	26.39

^aManuscript Population Census Returns, 1850, 1860, and 1870. All statistical and tabular references to population are derived from this source except where noted. The New England states include Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Mid-Atlantic states are New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. South denotes all slave states, and Midwest refers to all remaining free states. There were only two settlers in Logan County whose origin was farther west than Iowa, thus their exclusion has no statistical bearing on the results.

TABLE 2
 NATIVITY OF WHITE, ADULT MALES BY NUMBER AND PER CENT

Nativity	1850		1860		1870	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Native-born	936	87.40	2,746	74.71	4,322	73.61
English-speaking foreign-born	41	3.82	435	11.83	582	9.91
Non-English-speaking foreign-born	94	8.78	495	13.46	968	16.48

Another characteristic of the frontier society which can be tested objectively is age distribution. Turner believed the percentage of young people would be much larger on the frontier than in older, previously settled areas. If this hypothesis were to hold true, people under 40 years old would constitute a much higher percentage than those over 40, but would decrease in the next two census years as the frontier stage was passed.³

The findings, as shown in Table 3 on age distribution, generally support the Turner hypothesis. Glancing down the five-year categories, one notes a general decrease in the percentage for each census with a preponderance of the inhabitants included in the two categories ranging from 21 to 29 years old. Although comparable statistics are not available from an older settled region, the figures for Logan County definitely prove Turner's belief there would be a large number of people under 40 in a frontier society is correct. In adding the four categories from 21 to 39 years, one finds that in

³Ibid., p. 55.

1850, 69.97 per cent of the population was under 40, 72.23 per cent in 1860, and 64.22 per cent in 1870. In each instance the proportion of young people is found in overwhelming numbers.

TABLE 3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL ADULT MALE POPULATION BY PER CENT

Age	1850		1860		1870	
	Nat-born	For-born	Nat-born	For-born	Nat-born	For-born
20-24	21.78	1.25	17.80	5.08	17.31	3.57
25-29	16.69	1.78	16.07	6.62	12.46	4.01
30-34	12.23	2.05	10.71	5.22	9.50	4.01
35-39	12.50	1.69	8.03	2.70	9.02	4.34
40-44	9.73	1.69	7.11	2.29	8.10	3.34
45-49	6.07	.53	4.84	.86	6.18	2.45
50-54	4.10	.44	4.43	1.19	3.70	1.70
55-59	2.50	.44	2.62	.56	3.24	1.00
60-64	1.69	.08	1.46	.32	2.12	.55
Over 64	2.50	.17	1.70	.29	2.47	.85

One Turner theory not borne out by this investigation is his belief there would be a decrease in percentage for persons under 40 years old from census to census. The increase in 1860 may be explained by examining the foreign-born categories. Foreign-born adult males increased by almost 800 per cent in the 1850s. Mostly, this increase is found in the groups ranging from 21 to 34, which all showed substantial gains, thus accounting for the total increase in percentage for those under 40. Undoubtedly, these foreign-born were young Germans making their way west after the 1848 revolution,

and youthful Irishmen doing the same in light of limited economic opportunity due to the continuing potato famine in Ireland. It will be recalled from Table 1 that Logan County experienced its largest immigration in the 1850s with the German totals increasing by about 50 per cent, and Irish settlers rising by approximately 700 per cent. If one extracts the foreign-born percentages from the total, the age distribution pattern for the native-born exactly follows the Turner hypothesis. It can be noted that by 1870 the frontier may not have been completely passed, and it is feasible that calculations for 1880 and 1890 would show a continued decrease in the per cent of adults under 40 years old.

An important consideration of the county's development is its property structure. Property distribution in some Oriental countries is quite top-heavy, with a large share of the property concentrated in a small class of very wealthy people. In western countries there is not so much concentration at the top, but it is a fact the upper tenth of even the American population has far more than a tenth of the total wealth; income distribution is top-heavy and so is property distribution. In the more democratic countries one might expect a less top-heavy distribution. Further, in light of Turner's frontier theory, there would be a less top-heavy distribution of property in a frontier society than in an older settled region.⁴

A means of studying these concepts is by analyzing the real and personal wealth reported by each adult male in the census.

⁴Ibid., p. 77.

Table 4 shows the percentage of all adult males who reported their wealth in each given category. One could expect the largest numbers to be found in the lower income groups, and this was shown to be correct. By far in each census year, the largest group was the one showing no property wealth at all, with the second highest percentage being the Under \$500 class. While with the available information it is impossible to determine precisely if the top tenth of the county held more than a tenth of the property wealth, it is likely they did so. However, the distribution pattern indicates the structure was not extremely top-heavy, and certainly provides evidence of the county's democratic growth.

The foregoing assumption can be proved by adding percentages in various wealth categories. In each census those reporting a wealth under \$2,000 decreased, and conversely, those over \$2,000 increased. The total percentage of adult males having a worth over \$2,000 in 1850 was 11.58 per cent. By 1860 it had increased to 22.16 per cent, and in 1870 it went up to 29.58 per cent. This is entirely to be expected in a democratic society as those who stayed over a period of time would more than likely increase their property holdings, developed property would have greater value than undeveloped, and wartime inflation helped increase land values. The upward movement in the wealth categories can further be shown by noting the percentages included in the groups over \$20,000. In 1850 no one reported a worth that high. However, in 1860 .88 per cent were included, and in 1870, as one would expect in a socio-economically mobile society, those having more than \$20,000 real and personal wealth increased to 3.15 per cent.

TABLE 4

REAL AND PERSONAL WEALTH OF ALL ADULT MALES BY PER CENT

Wealth	1850	1860	1870
0	43.59	44.85	37.19
Under \$500	15.65	19.70	13.32
501- 1,000	14.46	6.62	12.79
1,001- 2,000	14.64	6.69	7.10
2,001- 3,000	4.78	4.75	4.36
3,001- 5,000	4.60	8.10	7.24
5,001-10,000	1.93	5.96	9.63
10,001-15,000	.18	1.94	3.51
15,001-20,000	.09	.53	1.69
20,001-25,000	0	.26	1.02
25,001-35,000	0	.32	1.16
35,001-50,000	0	.24	.57
50,001-75,000	0	.04	.23
Over 75,000	0	.02	.17

While the property structure as a whole reveals certain conclusions, it is possible a study of particular nativity groups might yield totally different results. Native-born Americans, for example, could be expected to reflect greater wealth than immigrants. Those immigrants born in English-speaking countries, due to cultural and linguistic advantages, could be expected to have more wealth than those from non-English-speaking countries. Turner's belief the frontier was a crucible in which immigrants became increasingly Americanized can also be tested with the anticipation that in each census year they would report increasing amounts of wealth, thus undoubtedly displaying adaptation to and acceptance by the demo-

cratic system.⁵ Table 5 shows the property structure for native-born, English-speaking foreigners, and non-English-speaking immigrants for each census year included in this study.

The statistics generally support the above assumptions, though there were a couple of surprises. In 1850, as anticipated, the non-English-speaking group lagged far behind the other two with only 2.84 per cent reporting wealth over \$2,000. At the same time, the English-speaking group had 12.80 per cent over \$2,000, and native-born Americans had 12.17 per cent. The surprise of English-speaking immigrants registering a larger percentage than native-born Americans can be explained by the presence of Jabez Capps and his sons, Mount Pulaski's co-founders in 1836. They had well-established themselves commercially by 1850, and since there were only 39 English-speaking foreign settlers in that year, the Capps' family economic success creates the high percentage.

The 1860 census shows a general trend developing but also reflects some diversions from the expected norm. Native-born Americans who reported wealth over \$2,000 increased to 28.53 per cent, while those who held no property decreased by approximately four per cent. The non-English-speaking group increased as well to 9.93 per cent, actually surpassing the 8.33 per cent of the English-speaking group. While the increase in the non-English-speaking category was predictable, the decrease reported by the English-speaking immigrants requires further examination. The key

⁵Ibid., p. 80.

to explaining this situation is in the percentage who reported no property wealth. This number increased from 35.89 per cent in 1850 to 63.20 in 1860. It will be remembered that in the 1850s hundreds of Irish came into Logan County, most, if not almost all of whom would not have property wealth. This influx caused a change in the percentages that was not expected. While there were more individuals who held over \$2,000 worth of property, Table 5 does not reflect it because a vast increase occurred among those who held no property at all.

By 1870 all groups reported a considerable number above the \$2,000 category. Native-born Americans showed a slight increase to 30.26 per cent, and both the English-speaking and non-English-speaking groups had large gains with the former having 26.74 per cent, and the latter 28.48 per cent over \$2,000. Turner's crucible theory seems essentially correct, that non-English-speaking immigrants would eventually compare favorably with the native-born group. However, it was not anticipated that non-English-speaking foreigners would continue to outstrip the English-speaking foreign-born. It should be noted that in the upper wealth levels over \$20,000, the native-born category continued its superiority over both foreign groups, and the English-speaking foreign-born had a higher percentage than the non-English-speaking. In 1850 there were none over \$20,000, but in 1860 the native-born had 1.59 per cent, the English-speaking settlers .22 per cent, and the non-English-speaking .20 per cent. This pattern continued through 1870 when the native-born rose to 3.69 per cent, the English-speaking to 2.31 per cent, and the non-English-speaking to 1.43 per cent.

TABLE 5
 NATIVITY WEALTH DISTRIBUTION BY PER CENT^a

Wealth	1850			1860			1870		
	NB	NESF	ESF	NB	NESF	ESF	NB	NESF	ESF
0	43.5	48.5	35.8	39.0	59.7	63.2	36.2	41.8	36.2
Under \$500	14.6	21.4	30.7	19.7	18.9	20.0	13.7	9.9	15.4
501- 1,000	14.2	17.1	15.3	7.0	6.0	4.7	12.5	11.7	15.9
1,001- 2,000	15.3	10.0	5.1	7.4	5.2	3.8	7.1	7.9	5.4
2,001- 3,000	5.0	1.4	5.1	5.3	3.4	2.4	4.6	2.9	4.8
3,001- 5,000	4.9	1.4	2.5	10.2	4.2	3.1	6.8	9.8	5.6
5,001- 10,000	1.9	0	5.1	7.8	1.8	2.2	9.8	8.4	9.6
10,001- 15,000	.2	0	0	2.7	.2	0	3.4	3.7	3.3
15,001- 20,000	.1	0	0	.7	0	.2	1.6	2.1	.9
20,001- 25,000	0	0	0	.3	.2	0	1.1	.4	.9
25,001- 35,000	0	0	0	.4	0	0	1.3	.7	.8
35,001- 50,000	0	0	0	.7	0	0	.6	.1	.4
50,001- 75,000	0	0	0	.1	0	.2	.2	.2	0
Over 75,000	0	0	0	.1	0	0	.2	0	0

^aNB refers to native-born Americans, NESF to non-English-speaking foreign-born, and ESF to English-speaking foreign-born.

In order to further understand Logan County's growth, it is possible to test objectively certain aspects of its occupational structure. In so doing, occupations have been specially classified according to presumed socioeconomic status, resulting in five occupational groups. Before delving into Table 6 which shows the study's results, it is necessary to identify precisely who was included in each category. The first group, agricultural workers, includes farmers, farm laborers, nurserymen, and gardeners. Among the non-agricultural groups the first is professional occupations. Examples of those who are included in this category are physicians, teachers, clergymen, lawyers, and government officials. The third classification included those involved in business. In this group all occupations were listed which dealt with the handling of either goods or services through a store or other establishment. Those listing a trade such as carpentry, tailoring, brewing, and many others are considered in the skilled artisan group. The final class is one consisting of general laborers. This term refers to those who were handymen, or "jacks-of-all-trades," who seemed to be employed but did not report a specific trade or skill.⁶

The most striking statistic of Table 6 is the number and percentage of adult males engaged in agricultural activity. Undoubtedly, Logan County was an agricultural frontier with over 70 per cent of the labor force involved in farm work each census year. The number working on farms increased substantially every ten years, though the total percentage decreased. This decrease can be associated with the fron-

⁶Ibid., pp. 59-61.

tier's passage. As migration reached its apex, the widespread settlement created a need for more professional and business services, and thus decreased the overall percentage involved in farming.

Two other patterns emerge from Table 7, which gives the county's occupational structure by individual nativity. In each census, for both the English-speaking and non-English-speaking groups, there was an increase in the number and percentage of their respective labor forces who were engaged in farming. At the same time, while there were certainly increases numerically for the native-born, the decrease in percentage of farmers included in their group indicates many transferred to other occupations.

One minor frontier characteristic projected by Turner was not borne out by the information in Tables 6 and 7. He believed there would be a preponderance of general laborers because in a frontier area the occupational structure would be simple with some services and specialized occupations lacking.⁷ The statistics do not support this theory for Logan County. In the total number of gainfully employed for 1850, only 2.83 per cent listed their occupations as being general labor. This percentage increased to 8.46 per cent in 1860, then decreased to 5.10 per cent by 1870. In two census years skilled workers outnumbered the unskilled, and in 1860 they numbered about the same. Logan County probably attracted skilled labor because it had a relatively large number of communities which provided excellent business opportunities. In a re-

⁷Ibid., p. 57.

lated topic, Turner believed the frontier would show increasing specialization in its occupational structure. By a handcount of the occupations reported, this was found to be true. There were 26 different occupations indicated in 1850, 46 in 1860, and 51 in 1870, not counting two gentlemen who listed their work as being a whiskey drinker and lecherous loafer!

Especially interesting in investigating Logan County is the role played by the foreign-born groups in comparison to those who were native-born. In light of the crucible theory, or the belief non-English-speaking immigrants would eventually become Americanized, one could expect to find this group increasingly participating in occupations demanding special skill, professional training, or facility in using the English language. In the early frontier stages, no matter how hospitable to "foreigners" the county might be, it can not be expected that immigrants from a non-English-speaking country, especially if of low income and scanty education, to go into professional life, or even shopkeeping. It further would be expected that many might be found in the skilled artisan group, especially if they came from such industrialized countries as the German states, as many Logan County immigrants did.⁸

All evidence found in the study generally supports the crucible theory. In the professional occupations for 1850, there were no non-English-speaking immigrants listed. However, there were four in 1860 and 16 by 1870, accounting for .12 per cent and .27 per cent respectively of the total labor force. These increases

⁸Ibid., p. 63.

TABLE 6

CHIEF OCCUPATIONAL AND NATIVITY GROUPS BY NUMBER AND PER CENT^a

Year and Occupation	NB		NESF		ESF		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1850								
Ag.	760	74.21	19	1.85	20	1.95	799	78.02
Prof.	26	2.53	0	0	5	.48	31	3.02
Bus.	19	1.85	6	.58	6	.58	31	3.02
Skil.	100	9.76	25	2.44	9	.87	134	13.08
Lab.	16	1.56	10	.97	3	.29	29	2.83
Total	921	89.84	60	5.85	43	4.19	1,024	99.97
1860								
Ag.	1,844	57.58	283	8.83	253	7.90	2,380	74.32
Prof.	95	2.96	4	.12	8	.24	107	3.34
Bus.	122	3.81	31	.96	24	.74	177	5.52
Skil.	180	5.62	63	1.96	24	.74	267	8.33
Lab.	110	3.43	60	1.87	101	3.15	271	8.46
Total	2,351	73.42	441	13.77	410	12.80	3,202	99.97
1870								
Ag.	3,067	53.64	635	11.10	422	7.38	4,124	72.13
Prof.	167	2.92	16	.27	7	.12	190	3.32
Bus.	349	6.10	74	1.29	69	1.20	492	8.60
Skil.	428	7.48	143	2.50	48	.83	619	10.82
Lab.	177	3.09	67	1.17	48	.83	292	5.10
Total	4,178	73.23	935	16.33	594	10.36	5,717	99.97

^a Abbreviations used are: Ag., referring to agricultural workers, Prof., denoting those in professional occupations, Bus., for businessmen, Skil., for skilled artisans, and Lab., which stands for general laborers.

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF INDIVIDUAL NATIVITIES BY PER CENT

Year and Occupation	NB	NESF	ESF
1850			
Agriculture	82.52	31.66	46.51
Professional	2.82	0	11.62
Business	2.06	10.00	13.95
Skilled	10.85	41.66	20.93
Labor	1.73	16.66	6.97
1860			
Agriculture	78.43	64.17	61.70
Professional	4.04	.90	1.95
Business	5.18	7.02	5.85
Skilled	7.65	14.28	5.85
Labor	4.67	13.60	24.63
1870			
Agriculture	73.40	67.91	71.04
Professional	3.99	1.71	1.17
Business	8.35	7.91	11.61
Skilled	10.24	15.29	8.08
Labor	4.23	7.16	8.08

occurred while native-born participation remained essentially stable. It should also be noted that by 1870 the non-English-speaking professional men had more than doubled the number provided by the English-speaking foreign-born. Large numbers, too, of non-English-speaking immigrants were engaged in a skilled trade. While their percentage fluctuated substantially in each census year as shown in Table 7, a greater percentage of the

non-English-speaking had skilled occupations than in each other group respectively.

The county's continuing commercial progress is reflected by the increasing number of the labor force involved in business occupations. The totals for this category as given in Table 6 show 3.02 per cent of the entire work force was in business in 1850, 5.52 per cent in 1860, and 8.60 per cent in 1870. Native-born businessmen increased considerably, and so did English-speaking and non-English-speaking foreign-born. Significantly, the percentages of the non-English-speaking, which, along with their increase in the professional occupations, indicate an ever-increasing involvement in the upper status positions, thus their Americanization.

Undoubtedly, using methods developed by Merle Curti and others allows far greater insight into the development of Logan County than conventional techniques alone could provide. Through this type of objective testing, if one accepts Turner's theories concerning the "typical" frontier as at least a study basis, it has been shown that in most instances Logan County fits precisely into the suggested developmental pattern. Further, using census returns allows for penetrating insights into the county's structure irregardless of Turner's theories.

It has been noted that immigrants played an important role in the county. They numbered one out of every four adult males, with the dominant groups being the Germans and Irish. German migration was a continuing factor in the county's growth, with large numerical increases for each census year. The Irish played an important role

also, but the numbers coming to the county in the 1860s dwindled rapidly in comparison to those who came the previous decade. Some trends in immigration generally supported the Turner thesis. Non-English-speaking immigrants increased substantially for each census. However, Turner's belief the English-speaking foreign-born immigrants would decrease in each census was not borne out due to the Irish influx of the 1850s.

The statistical analysis also supports the impressionistic evidence concerning native-American activity. The small number of native-born settlers from New England and the Mid-Atlantic states probably stems from using the prevalent migration routes. Many undoubtedly traveled the Erie Canal and Great Lakes system for their westward journey. They would therefore more than likely settle in Wisconsin and Michigan as well as the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois rather than in the central areas of the latter three states.

Southern migration to Logan County was certainly an important force. In fact, Southerners accounted for the largest group of settlers in the county for 1850. Although their percentage of the total dropped off drastically, it has been shown this was due mostly to a slower rate of incoming settlers from the South in comparison to other areas. The two main factors were the interest in moving to newer slave territories, and also the probability most Southerners who were opposed to slavery had already made their way into the North. Migration from Ohio, especially, rapidly increased the percentages of those who listed their birthplace as the Midwest. As could be expected, Illinois-born increased sub-

stantially in each census, though they never equalled the Ohio-born, indicating a continuing westward movement.

As Turner expected, the majority of settlers in the county were under 40 years old for each census year, averaging approximately 70 per cent of the total. The native-born structure followed the age pattern suggested by Turner as their percentage under 40 decreased in each census year. The total population did not follow this pattern because a continuing settlement by foreign-born of a very young age occurred, particularly in the 1850s. The decrease from 1860 to 1870 for those under 40 probably indicates the beginning of the pattern espoused by Turner; as immigration slowed, the county was settled, and the frontier passed.

In a socioeconomically mobile, democratic society, one could expect to find an increasing number of settlers to be in the higher property wealth categories. Such was the case for Logan County which witnessed an increase for those reporting property wealth over \$2,000 for each census year. The percentage for those with no property would have decreased each year except as noted earlier, the young immigrants who continued to come in the 1850's very likely had no property wealth to report for the 1860 census. Turner's crucible theory is particularly applicable to the county's wealth structure. Examining the native-born, English-speaking foreign-born, and non-English-speaking foreign-born separately, it was found the one least likely to hold much property, the non-English-speaking, showed considerable gain in their numbers who reported more than \$2,000 property wealth. In 1850, as anticipated, the native-born had a higher percentage over \$2,000, followed by the

English-speaking foreigners, and then the non-English-speaking. By 1860, however, the non-English-speaking immigrants had surpassed their English-speaking counterparts, and by 1870 almost equalled the native-born in their percentage over \$2,000. It should be pointed out, however, the native-born and English-speaking settlers maintained their superiority in the upper levels, those over \$20,000 in property wealth. While the non-English-speaking immigrant was becoming Americanized, it would still take time for him to reach the upper property wealth brackets.

Proof of the crucible theory is also available from studying the occupational structure for Logan County. The non-English-speaking foreign-born were increasingly found engaged in the professional and business occupations, jobs in which the native-born and English-speaking immigrants could be expected to dominate. Here, too, lies proof of the frontier's passing. The occupational structure was very specialized by 1870, and in a predominately agricultural society the total of all settlers engaged in business increased considerably for each census year. These factors, coupled with the decrease in young people, and the increase in the wealth categories, especially for the non-English-speaking foreign-born, indicate that by 1870 Logan County's frontier era was on the verge of being passed.

CHAPTER III

LOGAN COUNTY POLITICS, 1840 TO 1860

Especially significant in studying a county's history is the important role played by politics. Chapter III analyzes Logan County's first twenty years of political history, with detailed emphasis on the critical 1860 presidential election. A special problem dealt with is the role German immigrants played in Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency, accompanied by information concerning each nativity group and their political behavior.

The first ten years of county existence saw no rigid party affiliations, or even a party caucus. County-wide candidates ran basically on personal popularity without so much as identifying themselves with a particular party. This was evidenced by a unanimous vote in some precincts for a candidate, and no votes at all in others.¹

However, even without rigid party organizations, in the first four presidential elections after the county's creation, the voters were reliably Whig in sentiment as shown in Table 8. A significant trend developed, though, showing a seven per cent decrease in Whig votes by the 1852 election. The pattern erupted suddenly in the

¹Interstate Publishing Co. (pub.), History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: 1886), p. 259.

1856 election. For the first time a Democrat, James Buchanan, polled more votes than any other candidate. This can not be construed to indicate a mass switch in political allegiance. Buchanan's percentage was only a plurality, not a majority, and was smaller than the Democratic percentages in the three previous elections. The Whig party was now defunct, leaving the old-line members grasping in confusion for the two parties which rose in its wake, the Republican and American. Undoubtedly, the Whig collapse reflects the nationally confused political situation, and left Logan County voters in a quandry as to their party loyalties. Thus, the vote was split among three candidates.

TABLE 8

LOGAN COUNTY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1840-1856, BY PER CENT^a

Year	Party and candidate		Party and candidate		Party and candidate	
	Whig		Democrat			
1840	Harrison	60.88	Van Buren	39.12		
1844	Clay	55.25	Polk	44.85		
1848	Taylor	55.75	Cass	44.25		
1852	Scott	53.73	Pierce	46.37		
	Republican				American	
1856	Fremont	33.38	Buchanan	41.94	Fillmore	24.68

^aNo third-party candidate received votes in Logan County before 1856. Percentage strengths were computed from the vote tallies included in Stringer's History of Logan County, Illinois, pp. 271-278. All subsequent references to Logan County election results are derived from this source, except where noted.

To gauge political persuasions after the 1856 confusion, and to prelude the possible results of the 1860 presidential election, it is desirable to investigate the 1858 Illinois Senatorial campaign. In this famous election, the nation watched Stephen A. Douglas' performance, for he would more than likely be the Democratic presidential candidate in 1860. Douglas, though placed in a precarious position by Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln at Freeport, which would affect his opportunities for the presidency in 1860, was able to win the vote in the state legislature for the senatorship. No clear-cut pattern emerged in the county vote. The Democratic candidate for the General Assembly, George H. Campbell, polled 2,208 votes for 50.89 per cent, and his opponent, Republican William Walker, received 2,130 votes for 49.11 per cent.² It was not a decisive victory for the Democrats, and would make support in the county tenuous for the presidential election in 1860.

What were the voting preferences for various Logan County groups in relation to that election? Since William E. Dodd published his essay, "The Fight for the Northwest," in 1911, political historians have been concerned with the part German-Americans had in electing Abraham Lincoln to the presidency.³ Dodd, assuming Germans voted as a Republican bloc, came to the conclusion they experienced a mass change in political allegiance from the Democratic to Republican party, and thus provided the decisive votes in Lincoln's

²Lawrence B. Stringer, History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1911), I, 138.

³William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest," American Historical Review, Vol. 16 (July, 1911), pp. 774-788.

election. This thesis relies on the belief rank-and-file Germans followed the exhortations of leading German spokesmen such as Carl Schurz and Gustave Koerner to vote for the Republican candidate.

Later essays have followed Dodd's lead, and point to aversion to slavery as the motivation for a Republican vote by the Germans.⁴ This approach assumes national issues such as slavery and homestead legislation had vitality for the German ethnic group, but dismisses ethnocultural issues such as nativism and prohibition because Lincoln had cleansed the Republican record on these issues in the national platform.⁵

Other historians, however, have indicated the theses described in the above examples lacked evidence, and further research is necessary. For example, no proof was offered to support the conclusion Germans actually did vote Republican; nor is evidence presented which indicates Germans voted such as Schurz and Koerner implored them to. Further, the question of the decisiveness of the German vote must be considered from two dimensions which earlier studies ignored. First, a time dimension must be introduced. By time dimension it is meant that if Germans voted 70 per cent Republican in 1856, and continued this pattern in 1860, their votes could hardly be considered distinctive for Lincoln's election. Secondly, no comparative data was used to prove the decisiveness

⁴See Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 19 (September, 1932), pp. 192-204.

⁵Frederick C. Luebke, ed., Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), p. xv.

of the German vote. If the Germans voted in much the same manner as native-born, their voting behavior can not be considered either decisive or distinctive.

Newer and more sophisticated research techniques have allowed historians to make inroads into understanding German voting behavior in the 1850s. Comparison of manuscript census data with election records on the precinct, township, and county levels has indicated Germans did not vote as a bloc, often did not follow the voting pattern set by leading German spokesmen, and that other factors, such as ethnoreligious characteristics are important correlates of voting behavior.⁶ With these new indications and the realization ethnic voting preferences are based on a complexity of factors, historians are seeking insight to the problem by examining evidence on the local level, and hope to arrive at valid conclusions for the nation as a whole when enough research has been completed.

The first step in using this method is to identify the ethnic and nativity composition for the county's political precincts. Table 9 shows Logan County's precincts with the per cent of potential voters by nativity.⁷ Logan County, as shown in Chapter II, and like much of the Northwest, experienced a rapid influx in German immigration during the 1850s. They increased their numbers in Logan County sevenfold during the decade, and rose from 7.2 per cent of

⁶ See George H. Daniels, "Immigrant Vote in the 1860 Election: The Case of Iowa," Mid-America: An Historical Review, Vol. 44 (July, 1962), pp. 146-162.

⁷ Potential voters were free, white males over the age of twenty years.

the county's potential voter population in 1850, to 12.8 per cent in 1860. The German-Americans were greatly concentrated in Mount Pulaski and Lincoln precincts, with rather uniform distribution in the other five. Midwestern and Southern-born potential voters dominated the native-born groups throughout the precincts, with exception to Middletown, which contained a strong Mid-Atlantic settlement.

TABLE 9
NATIVITY OF POTENTIAL VOTERS FOR PRECINCT
AND COUNTY BY PER CENT, 1860

Precinct	New Eng.	Mid-Atl.	Mid-west	South	Germany	Ireland	Other for-born
Mt. Pulaski	2.2	9.0	48.3	15.1	21.2	1.8	3.4
Atlanta	5.0	10.3	44.5	23.1	8.5	6.6	2.0
Sugar Creek	5.8	8.0	39.2	29.9	6.2	4.9	6.0
Prairie Creek	3.3	13.5	41.2	15.8	9.0	6.7	10.5
Middletown	2.5	20.1	27.0	16.7	6.4	24.0	3.3
Elkhart	4.6	12.3	35.1	20.0	6.1	16.6	5.3
Lincoln	3.8	11.4	39.0	17.6	14.3	10.9	3.0
County	3.9	12.1	39.2	19.7	12.8	10.2	4.1

That Germans constituted an important portion of the potential vote was recognized by the county's Republicans. Several references to the Germans and their political persuasions were made by the county's leading Republican journalist, O.C. Dake, who was the editor of the Lincoln Weekly Herald. During the months preceding

the 1860 election, the Herald printed articles from other papers as well as voicing its own opinions towards the Germans.⁸ On July 13, 1859, Dake reported receiving copies of the Springfield Staats-Anzeiger to be sold for two dollars per annum. Dake stated the paper voiced sound principles and advocated Republican party doctrines, while he expressed hope the county's Germans would render it hearty support.⁹ Obviously, the strategy was to provide Germans with a Republican-oriented German language newspaper, as Logan County lacked any such publication until 1874, and even it backed the Democratic party.¹⁰

Other appeals were made to Germans in Logan County by the Republicans. The Herald printed an article from the October 15, 1859, Pittsburgh Gazette, which stated "there were no worthier or more reliable friends to Republican principles than the Germans, and that Germans were Republican because of honest conviction for the causes of the party."¹¹ Dake said German immigration was vastly in the Republican's favor because, "Germans, fleeing from the proscriptive institutions in the land of their birth, had no mind to place themselves on the level of slaves by voting for the

⁸ There are no existant copies of the Logan County Democrat, the official medium for the Democrat party in the 1850s and early 1860s in Logan County, thus it is not known if Democrats actively cultivated the German vote.

⁹ Lincoln Weekly Herald, July 13, 1859.

¹⁰ Franklin W. Scott, Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1910), p. 244.

¹¹ Lincoln Weekly Herald, October 26, 1859.

Democrats."¹² Effort was made to use any bit of influence the famous Carl Schurz had on Germans. In reporting Schurz's activities and speechmaking while he stumped throughout Illinois, the Herald indicated his speech at Pekin had the effect of changing at least one hundred Germans from Democrats to Republicans.¹³

Aside from the positive appeals as described above, various negative attacks were made to engender German support. Stephen Douglas was quoted as saying he believed the Irish and Germans to be inferior to the Americans, while the Herald quoted the Democratic, Atlanta, Georgia, Confederacy, as stating that every Irishman and German should be a slave for fourteen years after their arrival in the United States.¹⁴ A further attempt was made to convince the Germans Democrats did not have their interests at heart when Illinois Democratic leader Charles L. Wheeler was reputed by the Herald to have said, "the damned mullet-headed Dutch and Irish can be made to vote any way."¹⁵ Also, Know-Nothingism was associated with the Democratic party,¹⁶ but it was on this nativism issue that Republicans encountered difficulty in their campaign.

The Republican party attempted to disavow any relationship with the declining Know-Nothings, but an event in Massachusetts complicated these efforts. In April, 1859, the Massachusetts

¹² Ibid., June 20, 1860.

¹³ Ibid., August 1, 1860.

¹⁴ Ibid., October 10, 1860.

¹⁵ Ibid., November 6, 1860.

¹⁶ Ibid., October 31, 1860.

legislature, dominated by Republicans, proposed to amend its constitution so naturalized citizens could not vote for two years after they had attained their citizenship. Reaction was not long in coming from Logan County Republicans. On May 25, Dake printed his opposition to the amendment, and blamed Democrats as much as Republicans for its passage.¹⁷ Abraham Lincoln recognized the possible political consequences, particularly since the more radical German Republican papers in the United States suggested that Germans should vote Democratic at the next election to punish the Republicans.¹⁸ To make his position clear on the issue, Lincoln sent an open letter to Springfield which was published by the Herald. He recognized Massachusetts' sovereignty, and thus its right to enact legislation as it saw fit, but stated he was opposed to the amendment's adoption in Illinois. He further noted he condoned no project which curtailed the rights of white men, even though they were born in different lands, and spoke different languages.¹⁹ Whether Germans were convinced by such efforts that Republicans did not possess the elements of Know-Nothingism would ultimately be decided at the polls.

Local issues seemed to have been virtually non-existent in Logan County. The Herald stressed only national ones, particularly the question of slavery, which Dake indicated was the primary and

¹⁷Ibid., May 25, 1859.

¹⁸Thomas J. McCormack, ed., Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1909), II, 74.

¹⁹Lincoln Weekly Herald, May 25, 1859.

most critical issue.²⁰ Many attacks were made on Douglas, most which denounced him as a traitor to all parties and principles, while accusing him of trying to spread slavery throughout the nation.²¹ Two other issues were mentioned as the Herald pointed out the need for a new tariff, but stated the South would obstruct its passage.²² The need for a new homestead law was also indicated by Dake, as he pointed out President James Buchanan's veto of a proposed homestead bill in June, 1860, saying that Buchanan refused to give land to the landless.²³ Such an issue may have been important to Germans in Logan County, but evidence from Table 5 in Chapter II suggests Germans were faring well economically in comparison to native-born settlers, therefore reducing the possibility homesteading was a strongly viable issue which set Germans apart from native-born Americans.

As the presidential election approached, Dake was sure Logan County men would see the proper way to vote, and cast their ballots for Lincoln.²⁴ Since Logan County was traditionally Whig in sentiment, the Herald believed old-line Whigs everywhere would support the candidate that had formerly been a party member.²⁵ When the vote was tallied for the 1860 election, Dake was not disappointed

²⁰ Ibid., February 1, 15, March 25, April 11, 1860.

²¹ Ibid., June 1, 15, 1859; October 24, 1860.

²² Ibid., May 23, 1860.

²³ Ibid., June 27, 1860.

²⁴ Ibid., May 23, 1860.

²⁵ Ibid., August 8, September 5, November 6, 1860.

in his prediction the county would be won by the Republicans. Lincoln polled 52.68 per cent of the vote, Douglas 46.34 per cent, with the remaining .98 per cent being divided between John Breckinridge and John Bell.²⁶ The number of votes cast and percentages for each precinct are shown in Table 10. Lincoln carried three precincts and Douglas four, while the Bell-Breckinridge votes were insignificant and are not shown in the totals.²⁷

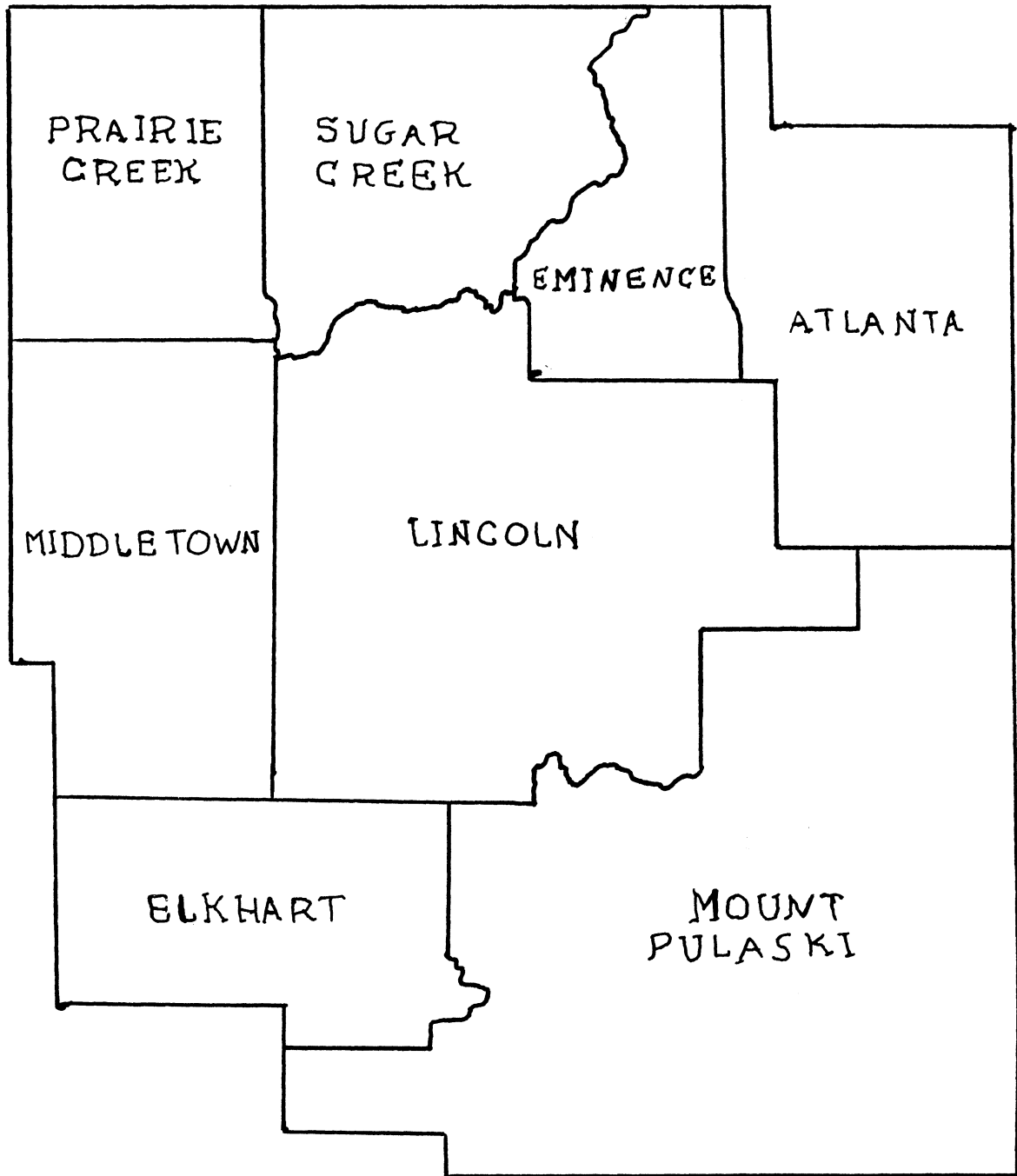
TABLE 10
PRECINCT AND COUNTY VOTE FOR THE 1860 PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION BY TOTAL AND PER CENT

Precinct	Total vote	Lincoln	Douglas
Mount Pulaski	697	42.61	57.10
Atlanta	700	60.85	38.71
Sugar Creek	290	78.12	21.87
Prairie Creek	116	45.68	54.31
Middletown	276	48.91	50.72
Elkhart	237	61.60	37.12
Lincoln	966	46.27	51.55
County	3,282	52.68	46.34

²⁶Percentage strengths were computed from the official election returns published in the Lincoln Weekly Herald, November 13, 1860.

²⁷An eighth precinct, Eminence, was reported for the election with 169 Republican votes, and 48 Democratic. Since Eminence was not included in the 1860 census, this presented a problem for other research in Chapter III stemming from Table 10. Thus, the List of Taxable Real Estate in the County of Logan and the State of Illinois for the Year of 1860 collections book was studied to locate those settlers who lived in Eminence precinct according to the boundaries as reported in the October 3, 1860 issue of the Lincoln Weekly

LOGAN COUNTY ELECTION PRECINCTS, 1860



To determine if any mass voting allegiance changes occurred, it is necessary to compare the 1860 returns with a previous election. Comparison of the 1860 election results with the 1859 county totals for treasurer and surveyor reveals each precinct retained its allegiance in the national election it had in the local one.²⁸ Thus, it can be safely said that Germans, nor any voter group, experienced a mass party preference change in the 1860 presidential election. Having established there was no large changeover, it remains now to determine what each group's voting preferences actually were. Visual inspection of Tables 9 and 10 suggests Germans voted Democratic, as Mount Pulaski, Lincoln, and Prairie Creek, the first, second, and third most-German precincts, gave the highest percentage vote to Stephen Douglas. It is possible to test this impressionistic concept of a positive relationship between Germans and the Democratic vote by using a mathematical technique called coefficient of correlation.

The tool used to obtain coefficients of correlation between two variables is the Charles Spearman rank-difference formula. By relating the numbers of German voters, expressed as a percentage of the total adult male population within the several county precincts,

Herald. This list was then checked against the census, with the discovery the settlers were evenly divided between Atlanta and Sugar Creek precincts, the two adjacent ones to the area defined as Eminence. Therefore, that precinct's vote totals were split equally between Atlanta and Sugar Creek for this table. Since both precincts were already dominately Republican, no significant percentage changes occur due to this adjustment.

²⁸County results were taken from the Lincoln Weekly Herald, November 16, 1859.

to the numbers of votes cast for a given candidate, expressed as a percentage of the total number of votes cast in the same precincts, indices showing degree of association between the two variables may be produced.²⁹ The range of possible coefficients extends from +1.00 to -1.00. If a calculation produced a coefficient of +1.00, it would mean the precinct order, ranked from most-German to least, is identical to the precinct order when ranked according to the vote percentages given to a particular candidate.³⁰

Table 11 contains the coefficients of correlation for Logan County, and provides clues as to the positive or negative relationships between the various nativity groups and the Republican vote. Though the correlation for New England is somewhat dubious because a relatively small number settled in Logan County, it has been included to provide perspective in comparison with the other groups. If the correlation for the group is valid, the strong Republican tendency can probably be attributed to the New England tradition for holding anti-slavery views. Both Mid-Atlantic and Midwestern groups show a tendency to vote Democratic, though the correlation for the Mid-Atlantic settlers is not strong enough to definitely conclude this. Both possibly reflect waverings in party allegiance among many former Whigs, who, as stated previously, being considerable in number, played an important role in the 1858 senatorial election.

²⁹ Frederick C. Luebke, Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), p. 71.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 76; for further explanation see pp. 194-196.

The high correlation between Southern-born and the Republican vote is related to a primary reason that many left the South to settle north of the Ohio River. Morally opposed to slavery, and tired from uneven competition with the slave-holding interests, Southerners made their way north and naturally supported the party which was opposed to extending the peculiar institution.

The Irish have traditionally been aligned with the Democratic party, thus one would expect the Irish correlation to be considerably lower than +.178. The results suggest the Irish vote was split, and implies then, another factor rather than ethnicity was important in determining the Irish vote. Studies conducted in Pittsburgh have indicated protestant Irish tended to vote Republican, rather than Democratic.³¹ To determine if this trend is applicable to Logan County, it is necessary to examine the location of churches established prior to 1860. Roman Catholic churches were organized in Lincoln, Atlanta, and Elkhart precincts before 1860, but none was established in Middletown precinct.³² Since Irish comprised one-fourth of the Middletown voter population, and were present in far greater numbers than in Atlanta and Elkhart precincts, it is improbable they were Roman Catholic and had not formed a church by 1860. On this basis it can be asserted that Logan County had both protestant and Catholic Irish, and that religion was probably an important factor in determining their respective votes.

³¹See Paul J. Kleppner, "Lincoln and the Immigrant Vote: A Case of Religious Polarization," Mid-America: An Historical Review, Vol. 48 (July, 1966), pp. 176-195.

³²Stringer, History of Logan County, pp. 496, 498, 500, 510, and 511.

A somewhat surprising discovery is the strong tendency for the German-born to vote Democratic, thus disallowing the theory that aversion to slavery extension led them into the Republican ranks, and creating the need to further explain the causitive factors behind their political behavior.

TABLE 11

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION FOR VOTER BIRTHPLACE WITH
REPUBLICAN VOTE, 1860 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Birthplace	Correlation
New England	+ .857
Mid-Atlantic	- .214
Midwest	- .428
South	+ .928
Germany	- .892
Ireland	+ .178

A plausible gauge of German adherence to a particular party is their participation among the party's elite.³³ Though data is unavailable for the Democrat party, Table 12 compares the county percentage for each nativity group with the per cent who were members in the Republican party elite. The significant figures in Table 12 obviously lie in the rather uniform overrepresentation for native-American groups, while they point out the foreign-born underrepresentation. This is particularly applicable to Germans,

³³Elite are those who represented their respective precincts at county conventions, a list of whom was obtained from the Lincoln Weekly Herald, May 2, 1860.

who, though being the most populous ethnic group in the county, only had one representative in the elite structure, Mike Henrichsen. Even Henrichsen's representation of the Germans is questionable, because other than his ethnicity, he can not be said to be reflective of the German population socioeconomically. While it has been pointed out Germans competed well in the middle wealth categories, Henrichsen's worth of \$21,000 more than doubled the wealth of any one of the other 472 adult Germans in the county, and thus parallels the general characteristics of the Logan County Republican elite rather than the German populace.

TABLE 12

NATIVITY OF POTENTIAL VOTERS AND REPUBLICAN
PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1860

Nativity	Potential voters	Elite
New England	3.91	4.54
Mid-Atlantic	12.10	13.63
Midwest	39.18	45.45
South	19.69	27.27
Foreign-born	27.01	9.09

Traditional views of the Republican elite hold they were more than likely above the average age and wealth for the county. Although complete figures are unavailable, the elite's average age, 39.5 years, and average property wealth, over \$6,000, can be considered as quite above the county averages as indicated in Table 13.

TABLE 13

AGE AND WEALTH COMPARISON FOR POTENTIAL VOTERS AND
REPUBLICAN PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1860

Age and wealth	Potential voters	Elite
Over 35 years old	37.19	68.17
Over \$5,000 wealth	9.66	40.90

A final comparison for the potential voters and elite is the occupational structure for the two groups. Republican elite, it is believed, tended to come from higher status positions. Table 14 shows this to be true for Logan County. Farmers, of course, were the most numerous as this was an agriculturally oriented county. Significantly, however, those in professional and business occupations ranked as the next highest groups, with skilled and general laborers, the second and third ranking foreign-born categories, being virtually ignored.

In each instance the Republican party elite fulfilled the traditional historical impressions. They tended to be native-born, had high status occupations, were much older than other members of a youthful frontier, and possessed far above the average wealth. None of these characteristics describe the general foreign-born population. Germans, as well as all immigrants, were vastly underrepresented in the elite structure, and appear to have had very little connection with the party. This should not be construed as a causitive factor in German voting behavior, necessarily, but rather as a result of German proclivity for the Democrats.

TABLE 14
 OCCUPATIONS OF POTENTIAL VOTERS AND REPUBLICAN
 PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1860

Occupation	Potential voters	Elite
Agriculture	74.32	63.63
Professional	3.34	18.27
Business	5.52	13.63
Skilled	8.33	4.54
Laborers	8.46	0

Ethnoreligious factors, as mentioned earlier, can be important in determining political behavior. While complete data, such as church membership lists is lacking, implications can be made from the available evidence as to whether religious factors were important correlates of German voting behavior in Logan County. Five German churches were established in the county prior to 1860, four Roman Catholic and one Lutheran.³⁴ If religion was an important consideration in voting preference, one would expect to discover that German Lutherans voted Republican because they had not been bothered by Know-Nothing anti-Catholicism. However, impressionistic evidence does not support this conclusion in Logan County. The Lutheran church was located in Mount Pulaski precinct, while this area also contained a Roman Catholic church with a rather small membership. The fact Mount Pulaski contained the largest

³⁴Stringer, History of Logan County, pp. 496, 498, 500, 510, and 511.

German percentage in the county, most of whom were Lutheran, and also provided the largest Democratic vote suggests that religion was not an important correlate for Logan County German voting behavior.

It was noted earlier the Lincoln Weekly Herald at least recognized the German importance in Logan County as a political entity, and made direct appeals to gain their support. However, the distinction must be made as to how active the Republicans were in pursuing that support. In seventy-six Herald issues published prior to the election, only seven direct appeals were made to the Germans. At the same time, the Herald exhibited rather strange behavior for a newspaper which was trying to cultivate the German vote, because it made at least two publications which could have been offensive to Germans. The first occurred only a week after the 1859 county elections when the paper reported two Germans were drunk and disturbing the peace in Atlanta, and finally had to be thrown in jail and fined.³⁵ This was the only instance of this type of reporting, and was printed on the issue's political page. There was obviously no fear of losing German support by publishing an article singling out Germans for drunk and disorderly conduct, so the Herald must have recognized there was little support to lose.

A second event which may have irritated Germans concerned the state Democratic nominations for the 1860 election. When the Democrats nominated a young German, Barney Arntzen of Quincy for the state auditor's office, ridicule accompanied the choice. Arntzen

³⁵Lincoln Weekly Herald, November 16, 1859.

was said to be unqualified, and Dake stated he "held nothing against Arntzen any more than he would any other clever German boy without a beard."³⁶

Finally, the Herald served notice that Gustave Koerner would be in Lincoln to speak to the county's Germans, and that men of all parties were invited.³⁷ However, no account is given in later issues as to whether Koerner actually spoke. If he did appear, and the Herald though it unimportant enough to report, the implications are clear. This, along with the previously discussed slights and patronizing attitude expressed by the Herald are rather minor in nature, but these small incidents are probably indicative of the Republican posture because the Germans were already Democrats, had traditionally backed that party, and there was no indication of change in 1860.

Politics in the county's first twenty years can be described as reasonably stable. The initial presidential election in the county, 1840, found the Whig party in command. Although local political organizations were lacking the first twelve years, Whigs, according to the scant available information, tended to win on the local level as well. The Whigs had no overwhelming victories, and experienced a general decline in vote percentages through each election. The 1856 presidential election paralleled the confusion and sectional controversy which plagued the nation. Significant is the American party's showing in the county totals. One of every four

³⁶ Ibid., June 20, 1860.

³⁷ Ibid., September 5, 1860.

voters associated themselves with a party whose main appeal was anti-immigration. In a county which had 27.1 per cent foreign-born, this result might reflect native-born antagonisms toward the new citizens, although it possibly indicates the desire of uncertain voters to avoid the slavery issue which the Republican and Democrat parties addressed themselves to, and which seemingly had no viable solutions.

In 1858, Logan County still had not made a definite party choice. In a very close senatorial race, the Democrats won by less than two per cent, and left the county's status doubtful for the 1860 presidential election. In assessing that contest, different techniques were employed to explain voter behavior. These included using mathematical formulas in conjunction with the vote tally and census, as well as standard impressionistic methods.

The Republicans won in 1860 by a slim majority, polling 52.7 per cent, and were victorious in three of the county's seven precincts. Since only national issues seemed to be important, the results probably reflect the decision by some old-line Whigs to associate themselves with the Republican party. Certainly every effort was made by the Herald to remind voters Lincoln had been a Whig. Most Republican support stemmed from the New England and Southern-born voters, while three nativity groups had less decisive patterns. Both Midwesterners and those born in the Mid-Atlantic states had a slight tendency to vote Democratic, while the Irish were split on the basis of religion, protestants voting Republican, and Catholics Democratic.

Because traditional researchers have singled out a mass change

in allegiance by German-Americans as a primary reason for Lincoln's victory in 1860, these immigrants were studied in detail. It was established through precinct comparisons for 1859 county elections and the 1860 presidential campaign that no mass changeover in voting behavior occurred, while all evidence points to a Democratic vote in Logan County by its German citizens. The Herald gave only token interest to cultivating the German vote, and had a patronizing attitude on several occasions. Germans, as well as all foreign-born, were vastly underrepresented in the Republican party elite structure, while impressionistic evidence leads one to believe religion was not an important German voting correlate. Thus, even German Lutherans voted for Stephen Douglas. The extremely high coefficient of correlation, $+0.892$, between the Democratic vote and Germans concludes without a doubt their voting preferences.

Logan County Germans were conservative, rural people, had minimal contact with others, and probably were more concerned with their own freedom and rights rather than liberty for slaves. Anti-slavery sentiment was prevalent among some Germans, especially among liberals such as Carl Schurz and Gustave Koerner, but the issue was not as crucial as those which directly affected the rank-and-file Germans such as prohibition, sabbatarianism, and nativism. Probably, incidents like the Massachusetts amendment convinced the rural Germans of Logan County the Republican party had inherited the nativistic spirit from the Know-Nothings, and thus they found no reason to switch party allegiance in the 1860 presidential election.

CHAPTER IV

LOGAN COUNTY POLITICS, 1861 TO 1872

With the fateful 1860 presidential election past, the effort now is made to determine issues which affected voter behavior in Logan County through the 1872 presidential election, and to continue analyzing the county's political trends. This attempt is hampered to a degree because the precinct election returns for the 1864 presidential election are unavailable, and also because the Lincoln Weekly Herald's issues from June, 1863, to May, 1866, and all of 1868 have been lost. However, local and county elections as well as the 1868 and 1872 presidential contests provide adequate material to measure the political trends in this period.

With the secessionist crisis precipitated by Lincoln's election, the Herald immediately assumed an uncompromising posture in its editorials. In most January, February, and March issues, the Herald called for no concessions to despotism, no compromise with traitors, and stated the people's verdict was rendered on November 6th, and that should be the settlement. So engrossed was the Herald's new editor, A.B. McKenzie in prosecuting the war, he, by his own admission, failed to report there was to be an election on June 3, 1861, for judges and clerks in the Circuit and Supreme Courts. He stated there were no party nominations and incumbents were requested by their districts to run. In both elections, no opposition was

provided, and thus only a small voter turnout occurred, making these elections ones of little political significance.¹

Political indifference did not last long however. On August 8, 1861, the Herald reported the attempt to revive the Democratic party in the county.² Through the remaining war period, there seems to have been considerable political interest throughout the county, particularly because evidence points to the development of two Democratic factions. Logan County, like many other central and southern Illinois counties, was plagued with Copperheads and growth politically by the Peace Democrats. The Herald spent most editorial space in making vociferous attacks on the county's Democrats, while at the same time appealing to them to join the Republican ranks.

The August 8th issue condemned the county Democratic proposal of honorable compromise, saying the only thing Democrats favored was a surrender to Jefferson Davis to maintain the Southern slave oligarchy. The party proposals, taken from the Logan County Democrat, were viewed by the Herald to contain no patriotism, no fervor, no honesty, no courage, and were filled with deceit and secessionism. The declaration by Democrats to oppose all unconstitutional acts by the administration, including the "unlawful" seizure of Southern property by Union troops, brought a vituperative response from the Herald. Calling the local opposition party Rebel-Democrats, McKenzie pointed out secessionists had no rights that could be respected by Union men, and called them traitors to their country.³

¹ Lincoln Weekly Herald, May 30, 1861.

² Ibid., August 8, 1861.

³ Ibid., August 22, 1861.

The remaining time before the fall county elections was spent in similar fashion. Effort was made to disassociate the "Pulaski street clique," as local Democratic leaders were now called, from what county Republicans believed to be the true Democracy, with the Herald stating only one Democrat in ten would support compromise proposals.⁴ The Herald also stressed this point by referring to one of the last speeches made by Stephen Douglas. In this speech, given before the Illinois Legislature in joint session on April 25, 1861, Douglas said: "... in the present crisis there are only two parties, patriots and traitors. It is a duty we owe ourselves and our children, and our God, to protect this government, and the flag, from every assailant be he who he may."⁵ The county Republican Convention endorsed the Douglas speech, and called for all men to lay aside party differences for the Union cause.

The Democrats seemed to be influenced by instances such as these, and abruptly changed policy just prior to the county election. Previously blaming the Republicans for starting the war, and endorsing a proposal for peace on any terms to avoid the fighting, the Democrats abandoned their schemes for compromise and backed proposals almost exactly like the Republican party's. This information was quoted by the Herald from the Logan County Democrat, and according to McKenzie, "no one believed the Pulaski street clique to be in earnest," and he described the change in policy as a

⁴ Ibid., September 12, October 3, 1861.

⁵ Charles A. Church, History of the Republican Party in Illinois 1854-1912 (Rockford, Illinois: Wilson Brothers Company, 1912), pp. 85-86.

political manipulation which could not possibly fool Logan County voters.⁶

As the county election approached, the Herald, while having confidence, stated Republicans should not be so absorbed in the war as to let the election go by default, and it was important to secure themselves against a fire in the rear from Southern sympathizers in the county.⁷ The election results confirmed McKenzie's optimism as the Republicans carried each office in the county. Though the Herald claimed the results to reflect a handsome majority for the Union ticket, it was actually very close in some races.⁸ The largest percentage polled was 56.71 per cent, while the smallest was only 50.19 per cent, which could hardly be considered a handsome majority.⁹ It should be recognized that although the Democrat party appeared disunited and confused in its aims, it still maintained substantial support from Logan County voters.

McKenzie started the new year, 1862, with an attack on administration policies. While expressing faith in the government's ability, he questioned the fact Union armies were not striking, and also criticized Lincoln's seemingly delicate policy concerning interference with rebel property. He was referring primarily to slavery, describing it as the main Southern strength in the war effort,

⁶Lincoln Weekly Herald, October 17, 1861.

⁷Ibid., October 10, 1861.

⁸Ibid., November 5, 1861.

⁹County results for presidential and selected local and state elections which reflect the county's general political trends are included in the Appendix.

and called for vigorous prosecution in abolishing it.¹⁰ Thus began a crucial year for Republicans in Logan County, as well as the party in general throughout the states.

The Herald's main strategy during the year continued to be the suggestion that all party differences should be forgotten, and men everywhere should join in defeating the South.¹¹ Several references were made to the Douglas speech, and Democrats were exhorted to follow his leadership rather than that of prominent Copperheads such as Clement Vanlandingham.¹² The only issue to which reference was made other than vigorous war prosecution concerned greenbacks. The Republican candidates believed the government would continue to redeem them at par, and promised to pass a law allowing taxes to be paid in greenbacks rather than gold. The "secesh" Democrats were simply described as being opposed to the whole idea.¹³ How much importance this issue had in the election is difficult to ascertain as it was only mentioned once in the Herald.

The 1862 elections proved to be a disappointment for Republicans everywhere. Before the returns were fully counted, the Herald admitted the Republican party had been defeated.¹⁴ This capitulation was a bit hasty, as every Republican candidate except one actually recieved majorities in the county. These were extremely

¹⁰ Lincoln Weekly Herald, January 9, 1862.

¹¹ Ibid., August 21, and September 4, 1862.

¹² Ibid., October 9, October 16, and October 23, 1862.

¹³ Ibid., October 30, 1862.

¹⁴ Ibid., November 13, 1862.

small, however, ranging from 50.54 per cent to 50.81. The one county Democrat victor, Abe Mayfield, was elected sheriff with 51.37 per cent. It was hardly the crushing defeat McKenzie depicted, but as he pointed out, when the party was defeated on the state and national levels, it did not really matter what the local vote was.¹⁵ The real defeat was not in Logan County, but in the fact Republican candidates throughout the state had been beaten by Democrats. Arthur Cole pointed to the newly elected Democratic legislature as a repudiation of abolitionist doctrine, and believed even the Republican vote was attributed to Senator Lyman Trumbell and Governor Richard Yates, who both questioned President Lincoln's ability, and wanted to adopt more radical policies.¹⁶

A similar viewpoint to Cole's is taken by Robert P. Howard in Illinois: A History of the Prairie State. He indicates that emancipation talk was a primary reason for Democratic successes, but signals arbitrary arrests by the administration and the scarcity of good news from the battlefields as other important considerations.¹⁷ A.B. McKenzie, representing Logan County Republican attitudes, offered an explanation much like Howard's last mentioned factor. In his editorial on November 13, 1862, McKenzie singled out the terrible inefficiency in the war effort as having done more than all the

¹⁵ Ibid., November 20, 1862.

¹⁶ Arthur C. Cole, The Era of the Civil War 1848-1870 (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919), p. 297.

¹⁷ Robert P. Howard, Illinois: A History of the Prairie State (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972), p. 310.

president's proclamations to dissatisfy and alienate the people from his administration. However, McKenzie, always the optimist in his unwavering belief Republicans could do no wrong, then proceeded to absolve the administration from any misdeeds, and placed the blame on Democrats for mismanaging the war. Saying that Lincoln should not be blamed for having faith in his military leaders who were Democrats, McKenzie then put the responsibility squarely on their shoulders; most notably Generals George McClellan, Henry Halleck, and Carlos Buell. McKenzie's other explanation was a simple one. One hundred thousand Illinois troops were away, and had they been present, the Union ticket would have swept the state by a fifty thousand vote majority.¹⁸

A final point should be considered as a possible explanation concerning the close vote in the county. McKenzie had early in the year commented on the need to fight slavery. It may very well be many local Republicans did not share this philosophy. One provision voted on in the 1862 election was that no Negro or mulatto should be allowed to migrate into or settle in Illinois, nor have the right to vote or hold office. The article carried in Logan County with 1,945 yes votes and only 469 opposed.¹⁹ To save the Union was one matter, but to create four million freemen, many who would undoubtedly descend on the North, was a prospect county voters were not yet willing to accept.

Though Herald issues are unavailable and little about Logan

¹⁸ Lincoln Weekly Herald, November 13, 1862.

¹⁹ Lawrence B. Stringer, History of Logan County, Illinois (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1911), I, p. 284.

County politics is known for the remaining war years, it is clear the Republicans recovered from their losses in 1862, and maintained supremacy in later elections. They commanded 56.84 per cent in the 1863 elections, Lincoln had 55.74 per cent in the 1864 presidential contest, and the party won 53.33 per cent of the votes in 1865.

In the nationally critical 1866 elections, Logan County Republicans reached one of their highest points in their desire for county dominance. The campaign seemed to be an active and exciting one with interest running high in the entire county. Various candidates gave many speeches in several communities. In September, President Andrew Johnson, General Ulysses Grant, Admiral David Farragut, and several cabinet members stopped in Lincoln for a few minutes on their way to Chicago. Grant and Farragut were reportedly greeted with cheers, but Johnson was met by boos and hisses. Later, after the dignitaries left, the county veterans met and passed resolutions denouncing Johnson and his administration.²⁰

The Herald espoused Radical Republican principles all through the campaign as could be expected. Anti-Johnson editorials were abundant in 1866, with claims he had abandoned the party which originally placed him on the Lincoln ticket. It was pointed out that Johnson's support in the county came from those who had only so very recently been Southern sympathizers and had worked against the Union war effort.²¹ New Herald editor, Andrew McGalliard, reported with

²⁰Ibid., p. 287.

²¹Lincoln Weekly Herald, June 7, July 26, August 2, and November 13, 1866.

great satisfaction rumblings of discontent and disunity among the county's Democrats in their convention.²² At the same time, Union men unanimously endorsed the several resolutions offered in their county convention held on August 4th. Among those proposals passed were: it is the legitimate province of Congress, and not a presidential prerogative to prescribe Reconstruction terms and conditions; it is a Congressional duty to establish political rights and privileges for ex-slaves; the president's policy to oppose protection of freedmen, and his attempt to admit to Congress senators and representatives from the rebel states are most prejudicial and pernicious to the country's welfare and peace, and threatens to arouse anew opposition and resistance to the government's lawful powers and authority; and finally that gratitude is owed to those Congressional members who have contributed to the Union's restoration upon the basis of immutable right and justice.²³ Republican solidarity seemed complete when the state convention in Springfield passed comparable resolutions endorsing Radical Congressional Reconstruction.²⁴

Expected Republican strength was realized when the balloting was finished. The party returned higher percentages than at any time previously in the county's history with local and state candidates all garnering approximately 59 per cent. The Radical Republican victories throughout the country led the Herald to say

²²Ibid., September 27, 1866.

²³Ibid., August 9, 1866.

²⁴Ibid., August 16, 1866.

Johnson was in effect a lame-duck president, and should retain his dignity by not interfering with Congress, as he could not hope to effect his viewpoints to them anyway. This condescension was tempered with a warning from McGalliard that the 1866 elections were only a preliminary skirmish to the 1868 presidential contest, and that Republicans should maintain their active vigilance at least until the contest was decided.²⁵

Elections during the next three years, 1867, 1868, and 1869, including the 1868 presidential election, displayed the Republican strength in Logan County. Party percentages ranged from 55.53 per cent to 62.03. Ulysses Grant easily won 56.93 per cent to Horatio Seymour's 43.07 in the 1868 presidential campaign, figures which were matched by candidates for local and state offices as well. More detailed information concerning this election will be included in a comparison with the 1872 election.

The 1860s had been a prosperous decade for the Republicans in Logan County. The first election held in the 1870s, however, indicated Republican strength might be ebbing. In the off-year 1870 elections in Illinois, a new party which fashioned itself variously as the State Temperance or Prohibition party, appeared. Initial organization took place in Bloomington at the State Temperance Convention held on December 10, 1868, but no fully structured movement to place candidates on the ballot occurred until 1870. Interested participants in Logan County met on April 29, 1869, established their own Temperance party, nominated candidates, and

²⁵Ibid., November 15, and November 22, 1866.

adopted resolutions from the state convention held the previous year.²⁶

The issue assumed critical proportions in Logan County when the Lincoln city council considered an anti-license resolution. Reaction surfaced quickly when many of the county's Germans met in a grove outside of Lincoln to protest the proposal. The Herald instantly denounced the meeting because it was held on the sabbath. Conceding the Germans' right to assemble and express their feelings, the newspaper questioned the propriety of holding such a "hilarious" gathering on Sunday, especially when some lager had reportedly been consumed.²⁷

The issue ended on September 5 when the city council killed the anti-license resolution. The Herald vigorously condemned various aldermen who previously spoke for the proposition, and then voted against it. The "sell-out" seemed complete when the council granted four liquor licenses before the meeting adjourned.²⁸ Perhaps finally sensing the county's mood, the paper softened its attitude and merely recommended temperance without endorsing the Prohibitionists.²⁹ McGalliard eventually explained the county Prohibition ticket as a Democratic scheme to draw votes from the Republican candidates.³⁰

²⁶ Ibid., May 6, 1869.

²⁷ Ibid., May 5, 1870.

²⁸ Ibid., September 8, 1870.

²⁹ Ibid., October 6, 1870.

³⁰ Ibid., October 20, 1870.

If this indeed was the strategy, it was at least partially successful. Republican State Treasurer candidate, E.N. Bates, won only 49.49 per cent in Logan County, with the Democrat, Charles Ridgeley receiving 45.23, and Prohibitionist K.J. Hammond 4.82 per cent. More importantly, for the first time in eight years, the Republicans lost a county election. In the race for sheriff, the Democrats polled 49.42 per cent, the Republicans 47.25, and the Prohibitionists 3.33. Had those Prohibitionist votes been given to the Republicans, the election results would have been reversed. Indications were the Republican party possibly was not the county power it had once been, raised doubts as to its future, and gave hope to the Democrats for the next presidential election.

Certainly the Republican party's viability was questionable. By 1870 the party obviously lost much spirituality characteristic of its earlier battles for freedom. Too, the spoils of victory drew professional politicians into the party, and it badly needed purification.³¹ Another concern was the party's ability to represent all classes of people. The Herald considered Republicans the workingman's friend, and attempted to cultivate such an image, but there is some doubt that such efforts were convincing.³²

As explained in Chapter III, one method to determine if a political party represents the common man and various ethnic groups is by studying the party's elite. Tables 15, 16, and 17 provide a composite of Republican leaders through the 1860s. Every indication

³¹Cole, Era of the Civil War, p. 419.

³²Lincoln Weekly Herald, October 27, 1870

given by the tables is that the party did not represent the common man and ethnic groups in its elite structure. Just as in 1860, every nativity group except the foreign-born was overrepresented in proportion to its numbers. In a politically prosperous decade for Republicans, ethnic groups advanced only fractionally into the party elite structure. Though it might be unreasonable to expect complete equality, it is unlikely in a county with 26 per cent foreign-born who had only 9 per cent representation, that the Republican party could command immigrant votes.

TABLE 15

NATIVITY OF POTENTIAL VOTERS AND REPUBLICAN
PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1870

Nativity	Potential voters	Elite
New England	2.82	6.76
Mid-Atlantic	10.55	15.45
Midwest	46.11	52.17
South	14.10	16.42
Germany	15.13	2.89
Ireland	7.30	2.89
All foreign-born	26.39	9.66

The common man was no better represented than the ethnic groups. Skilled workers and laborers, as in 1860, were vastly underrepresented, and actually decreased somewhat in total percentage for the elite group. A surprising factor for the 1870 elite structure is the percentage of professionals and businessmen who were members. These two groups comprised 18.27 per cent and 13.63 per cent re-

spectively of the elite total in 1860. However, professional representation slipped to 9.66 per cent, and businessmen to 8.21 in 1870. With this decline a corresponding increase occurred in agricultural membership. There are two explanations for this situation. Since there were seventeen townships instead of seven in the late 1860s, many which did not have a community, it became a matter of necessity for farmers to attend county conventions. Secondly, many wealthy farmers, by this time well-established, and working mostly as overseers, probably had the time and inclination to travel several miles periodically to participate in party politics.

TABLE 16

OCCUPATIONS OF POTENTIAL VOTERS AND REPUBLICAN
PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1870

Occupation	Potential voters	Elite
Agriculture	72.13	78.26
Professional	3.32	9.66
Business	8.60	8.21
Skilled	10.82	2.89
Laborers	5.10	.96

The above assumption is lended credence by studying the elite wealth structure. Their average worth was \$18,245. Even removing John D. Gillette's wealth of \$800,000 as reported in the 1870 census, the average still remains very high at \$14,450. Though averages were not computed for the entire county, Table 17 shows the

disparity in percentages for potential voters and the elite. The most astonishing figures are for those who had over \$10,000 in real and personal wealth, 61.59 per cent for the elite to only 8.35 for the potential voters. Age differences were also considerable with over 75 per cent 35 years or older among the elite, compared to 49 per cent for the whole county. Thus, the Republican party elite structure in Logan County did not fully represent the ethnic groups, the common man with average income, nor the young.

TABLE 17

AGE AND WEALTH COMPARISON FOR POTENTIAL VOTERS AND
REPUBLICAN PARTY ELITE BY PER CENT, 1870

Age and wealth	Potential voters	Elite
Over 35 years old	49.06	75.36
Over \$5,000	17.98	66.66
Over \$10,000	8.35	61.59
Over \$20,000	3.15	31.16

Who and what, then, did the Republican party represent, and was it truly vulnerable for the 1872 presidential election? The time appeared ripe for the party's downfall. Aside from the questions already raised concerning weaknesses among the Republicans, growing discontent seemed to pervade the party as anti-Grant feelings gained momentum after the 1870 November elections.³³ Many

³³ Ernest Bogart and Charles Thompson, The Industrial State 1870-1893 (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920), p. 61.

were dissatisfied with Grant's appointment policies of nepotism and favoritism, while others grew weary of Radical Reconstruction, and felt the hatred between North and South must be removed by eliminating Southern political disabilities.³⁴ When unhappy Missouri Republicans met in January, 1872, at Jefferson City, and called for a Liberal Republican National Convention to be held in Cincinnati on May 1, the protest manifested itself into an organized movement.³⁵

The Liberal protest initially attracted great numbers of voters with widely divergent viewpoints. For many reasons it was thought the movement would appeal to Germans. The Republican party, beginning to lose cohesiveness as the slavery issue waned, experienced a revival of local issues which precluded a sympathetic understanding of German social customs and became distinctly embarrassing for the party.³⁶ This definitely was true for Logan County as shown by the anti-license campaign and the Herald's criticism aimed directly at the German population. In singling out the aversion to this trend by the Republican party, the Belleuille Democrat indicated Germans were liberals in the truest sense, in religion, society, and politics, and would back the Liberal movement.³⁷

Furthermore, the government arms sale to France in violation

³⁴Ibid., p. 70.

³⁵Church, Republican Party in Illinois, p. 112.

³⁶Cole, Era of the Civil War, p. 343.

³⁷From the Belleuille Democrat, September 26, November 7, and December 12, 1867, in Ibid., p. 343.

of neutral rights during the Franco-Prussian War embittered many Germans. Former lieutenant governor Gustave Koerner believed this alienated a great many German Republicans from Grant's administration, and they strongly opposed his re-election.³⁸ Finally, the Liberal movement had as its leader the most famous German political spokesman in the United States, Carl Schurz.

When the Liberals met at Cincinnati with Schurz as chairman, they nominated Horace Greeley for president, and B. Gratz Brown for vice-president. The Democrats, convening at Baltimore on July 9, endorsed the same candidates as the Liberals, and the marriage between movement and established party seemed complete. However, not all went well with the coalition. Many problems arose which would make it difficult to sustain the tenuous harmony. Greeley's nomination proved a severe disability to the effort. It would be difficult for Democrats to accept an old enemy, and the free traders in the West, one of the prime elements in the movement, now had an avowed expansionist as their presidential nominee.³⁹ The Liberals' preoccupation with government reform and civil service virtually ignored a large body of potential voters. Nothing was done to satisfy farmers who were bitterly dissatisfied with railroad rates.⁴⁰ A final liability was Greeley's unpopularity among the Germans. Known to be a prohibitionist, his nomination instilled disillusion-

³⁸Thomas J. McCormack, ed., Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1909), II, 523-24.

³⁹Bogart and Thompson, The Industrial State, p. 72.

⁴⁰Howard, History of the Prairie State, p. 343.

ment within the German element, and threatened their support for the movement.

Carl Schurz candidly indicated this in a letter to Greeley on May 6, 1872, in which he gloomily explained the political situation as he saw it. Describing the movement as composed of three elements, the tariff reformers, Germans, and the anti-Grant people, Schurz accusingly stated that political trickery among Eastern professional politicians, many known to be Greeley's friends, stained the Liberal's moral fervor and reduced the campaign to the ordinary level of that by professional politicians. None, according to Schurz, more bitterly resented the situation than the Germans whose moral disappointment was great. The effect, he believed, would be to lose German votes throughout the country. Illinois Governor John Palmer promised Greeley 75,000 Republican votes, but Schurz admonished him not to believe such "wild talk." Germans were thought by Schurz to form a considerable number among the Republicans in Illinois, and he believed their reaction to be stronger than in any other state. After all the unhappy news, Schurz pledged himself to work the best he could for Greeley and the movement.⁴¹ Losing German support seemed imminent also to Gustave Koerner, but in nominating him for governor in Illinois, the Liberals hoped to carry the German vote on his shoulders.⁴²

The Republicans met the waning Liberal challenge by re-nomin-

⁴¹Carl Schurz to Horace Greeley, May 6, 1872, from Frederic Bancroft, ed., Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), II, 361-367.

⁴²McCormack, ed., Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, p. 562.

ating Grant at their convention in Philadelphia. As anticipated, the party appealed to Northern sectional prejudices, revived the war spirit, and rallied Northern sentiment to its old war chief.⁴³ Under all the described conditions, it comes as no surprise that Grant won an overwhelming victory nationwide, as he also did in Logan County, polling 56.93 per cent compared to 56.89 per cent in 1868.

Logan County Republicans and the Herald busied themselves with their normal political ploys in the 1872 campaign, staunchly defending the administration against all critics, and violently attacking its opponents. Numerous editorials assailed Greeley's background, and scathingly attacked him as a traitor to principle, calling him among other things a secessionist and socialist.⁴⁴ Too, Liberal Republicans and Democrats in the county did not seem to effect great harmony. Separate conventions met with a great deal of squabbling over the chosen candidates. According to the Herald, only twenty attended the Democratic convention, and several of those were "rounded up" from the street corners. McGalliard condescendingly referred to this meeting as a gathering of political opportunists.⁴⁵

The Herald continued its decade-long policy ambiguously appealing to the foreign-born in one instance and criticizing them

⁴³Bogart and Thompson, The Industrial State, p. 75.

⁴⁴Lincoln Weekly Herald, May 16, July 11, August 1, August 8, August 22, October 3, and October 31, 1872.

⁴⁵Ibid., August 29, 1872.

the next. The attack concerning the license issue has already been described, but several positive appeals were also made. One article printed by the Herald was taken from the Democratic Chicago Times, and depicted the Franco-Prussian War as definite aggression on Prussia's part, while describing the Democratic reaction as a shout for joy when it was rumored Russia would enter the war against the Germans. Indicating the Republican party was under the control of Prussians who infested the country, the article criticized that party's continued sympathy and backing for the Prussian war of conquest.⁴⁶ The Herald faithfully reported the activities undertaken by a local German aid society to provide relief for the fatherland, and appeared sympathetic to its efforts.⁴⁷ Other support for Germans came in editorials which pointed to the historic injustices perpetrated by the French toward Prussia as reasonable cause for the Germans to demand Alsace-Lorraine, and assured them that a proposed state temperance law should not, and would not affect lager sales.⁴⁸

More direct appeals to the Irish were also printed in the late 1860s and early 1870s than had previously appeared in the Herald. There were reports concerning the Irish-Republican Convention held in Chicago in 1869, and articles flattering the Irish immigrants in their political instincts. The primary strength of the argument that Irishmen should vote Republican stemmed from the party's portrayal as the great emancipators. Likening the Irish domination by

⁴⁶Ibid., October 13, 1870.

⁴⁷Ibid., February 16, and June 15, 1871.

⁴⁸Ibid., January 5, 1871, and February 29, 1872.

the Democratic party as similar to the Southern enslavement of blacks, the Republicans beckoned the Irish to them, the party of liberty, equality, and political freedom for all races and nationalities.⁴⁹ The Logan County Republican party definitely made a more concentrated effort to attract foreign voters during the late 1860s and early 1870s.

No conclusive evidence is available, however, to determine the political preferences of the county's foreign-born, or for that matter, the native-born either. Since the county adopted the township system in 1867, it is possible to compare the results of both the 1868 and 1872 presidential elections, but impossible to contrast them with the election in 1860. While Table 18 shows that some precinct vote percentages varied for the two elections, no discernible pattern emerges, other than the fact total support for Grant remained fairly constant in the two elections. Not much can be gleaned from the precinct comparisons because a shift of fewer than ten votes could create a ten per cent shift in several precincts, hardly an impressive enough number to draw concrete conclusions. Fifteen precincts retained the allegiance in 1872 they had in 1868. Only two, Laenna, which went from 59.17 per cent Republican to 48.46, and Prairie Creek, which gave 48.42 per cent support to the Republicans in 1868 and 58.06 in 1872, changed party allegiance. The evidence is further clouded by the fact both these townships had approximately one-fourth Germans, thus reducing the possibility

⁴⁹Ibid., September 27, 1866; July 8, July 15, 1869, and May 30, 1872.

German-born citizens gave their loyalty in large numbers to one party or the other. Of course, proof the Liberal Republicans made few inroads in the county was the similarity in percentages for Grant in the two elections.

TABLE 18

REPUBLICAN PARTY PRECINCT VOTE FOR THE 1868 AND 1872
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS BY PER CENT

Precinct	1868	1872
Aetna	73.94	75.14
Atlanta	69.97	72.90
Broadwell	52.87	59.25
Chester	61.19	54.35
Corwin	53.81	51.65
East Lincoln	62.38	60.97
Elkhart	68.18	59.24
Eminence	75.30	79.75
Hurlbut	68.48	59.66
Laenna	59.17	48.46
Lake Fork	20.33	8.88
Mount Pulaski	39.77	42.53
Oran	53.57	58.15
Orvil	70.37	75.74
Prairie Creek	48.42	58.06
Sheridan	39.86	43.80
West Lincoln	44.18	43.19

That Liberal Republicanism did not elicit any great change in county political behavior is further indicated by the coefficients of correlation shown in Table 19. Only one group, the Irish, had

as much as a full point change in the two elections. In no category is the correlation high enough to conclude there was a direct connection between voter ethnicity and a particular political party, although some slight tendencies can be seen.

One possible explanation for the lack of definite trends could be the result of the township system inaugurated in 1867. As will be recalled, the 1860 election provided definite correlations. Ascribing to the cliché that "birds of a feather flock together," it is feasible that pockets of settlement throughout the county in 1860 expressed basically the same political sentiment among those who lived there. That nativity was an important determinant in settlement location can be seen in the census. In instance after instance groups of settlers, each emigrating or migrating from the same place, clustered closely together. They tended in Logan County to gather near the creek bottoms, and the 1860 precinct boundaries therefore followed the same tendency to be drawn by natural borders. Undoubtedly, the township division separated by precinct some natural pockets of settlement, dividing the concentrated area of political sentiment as well. Thus, indefinite correlations may be partly a result of the newly drawn precincts.

A second explanation is related to Frederick Jackson Turner's ideas concerning the frontier. It was shown in Chapter II that evidence for Logan County supported the crucible theory, ie; native and foreign differences became less obvious as the frontier passed. It is very possible the correlations reflect this development politically. Just as in social and economic concerns, nativity differences blurred politically as the foreigners became American-

ized, and Logan County became one of the "older" settled regions in the United States.

TABLE 19

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION FOR VOTER BIRTHPLACE WITH REPUBLICAN VOTE, 1868 AND 1872 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Birthplace	Correlation	
	1868	1872
New England	+.142	+.200
Mid-Atlantic	+.470	+.414
Midwest	+.078	+.029
South	+.205	+.259
Germany	-.259	-.247
Ireland	-.049	+.078

Thus concluded over a decade of Logan County political history with the dominant theme being the Republican party's overwhelming strength in practically every election. There were only two contests which presented serious challenges to the Republicans. In 1862, a general populace which was war-weary and probably fearing emancipation talk made the county vote very close, with a Democrat actually winning the sheriff's race. However, Republicans won by slim majorities in each other position, so it was only a minor setback. In the second election, 1870, the Prohibitionists seemingly cut into the Republican voter base as the returns show Democrats receiving a similar per cent as in other elections, while Republicans fell below fifty per cent. Neither election presented a major problem for the party to overcome.

Another trend was the support given to national Republicans in each presidential election. While local election percentages fluctuated according to candidates' personal popularity, the county always gave approximately the same per cent for Republican presidential candidates. Although the county leadership was staunchly Radical, even Lincoln was able to garner three per cent more votes in 1864 than in 1860. Liberal Republicanism made little or no headway, so entrenched was the county in the regular party. The county's Democrats supported the 1872 coalition as the "straight-out," or regular Democratic nominee, Charles O'Connor, received only .92 per cent of the vote, but Grant in the meantime carried a slightly larger percentage in 1872 than in 1868, thus indicating there were few Republican defections. If railroad legislation was a viable issue, and it could well have been in a county which had railroads crisscrossing it by 1872, the Liberal Republicans would have little appeal to the county voters. This would especially be since Koerner had served on an ineffectual committee to regulate the railroads, and the Liberals offered no plank to satisfy this interest.

Logan County voters were essentially conservative and patriotic, had served capably in the war, and this explains why Grant appealed to their instincts. By 1872, political preferences due to nativity probably had meshed with no distinctive difference occurring, and the county had the long and firmly established tradition of supporting the Whigs and Republicans, a tradition so well-entrenched Democrats simply could not gain much headway.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Logan County, and the area it entailed, experienced a process probably very similar to hundreds of counties like it. In a little over one hundred years, from 1778 to 1872, the central portion of today's Illinois progressed from total wilderness to an established civilization. There occurred many developmental problems, including struggling to provide adequate communication and transportation, Indian removal, establishing successful agricultural methods to overcome the special difficulties associated with cultivating prairies, and creating effective government.

Various governments claimed and technically controlled the area at different times. England, France, and then Virginia possessed nominal control until colonial claims were relinquished creating the national domain and eventually the Northwest Territory. Then came divisions which created the Indiana Territory, Illinois Territory, and finally statehood. Even then, the process was far from complete. The area which became Logan County was included in several different governmental units as settlement spread through the state. The county was not incorporated until 1839, but government organization was still weak. When the county switched to township organization in 1867, a local governmental system responsible to all the county's population finally served Logan citizens.

As settlement increased, so did the tendency to create communities to accommodate the population. The early successful ones, Middletown, Postville, and Mount Pulaski were all situated on stage routes or natural landmarks which would attract settlement. Eventually these villages were surpassed in size and importance by those located at significant railroad junctures in the county. One community, Lincoln, became the largest town as well as county seat, a direct result of the influence railroads had on settlement and commerce.

The county's economic character was considerably altered by the railroads. Having literally no adequate transportation facilities available to them previously, Logan settlers now had markets both far and near, and quickly sought commercial advantage. They were successful, as attested by railroad revenues which within five years exceeded those of large, older, and more established towns on the line. As settlement and commerce grew, so did the cultural amenities including newspapers, schools, churches, and settlers' organizations.

Most settlers were Southerners, Midwesterners, Germans, and Irish, thus providing a heterogeneous pioneer mixture. The frontier society's openness is attested by the fact foreign-born established themselves economically on an almost equal level with native-born Americans very early in the county's history. Frederick Jackson Turner's theories concerning the frontier essentially described the major processes which occurred in county development. For Logan County, at least, Turner had correctly assessed the important stages in frontier growth.

In politics, the county was dominated by the Whig and Republican parties. The county's first four presidential elections found the Whigs winning, and the last four included in this study were Republican victories. The only deviation was the 1856 election when voting was badly split among three parties, reflecting the confused nature of national politics in that year. The Republicans were so strong they only experienced minor setbacks twice in the various off-year elections held. The major attraction probably lay in the policies of the Republican party concerning homestead legislation since Logan was essentially an agricultural county, and internal improvements schemes which could provide commercial outlets for the local settlers. There can be little doubt many Logan residents viewed the Democrats as being essentially Southern with many adverse interests to their own.

Finally, Logan County frontier development can be recognized as typical of the American experience. What is sometimes described as a myth certainly has been shown to be true for Logan County. Its pioneers were rugged, solved settlement problems, were industrious, built the county into a commercial success, extended democracy, and displayed a spirit which transformed the wilderness into civilization, a process mostly accomplished in Logan County by 1872.

APPENDIX

TABLE 20

SELECTED LOGAN COUNTY ELECTION RESULTS BY PER CENT

Year	Office	Republican	Democrat
1861	County Judge	50.19	49.81
	County Clerk	56.71	44.29
1862	State Treasurer	50.81	49.19
	County Sheriff	48.53	51.37
1863	County Treasurer	56.84	43.16
1864	President	55.74	44.26
1865	County Judge	53.33	46.67
1866	State Treasurer	59.28	40.72
1867	County Treasurer	57.01	42.99
1868	President	56.93	43.07
1869	County Judge	57.03	42.97
1870 ^a	State Treasurer	49.95	45.23
1871	County Treasurer	67.45	32.55
1872	President	56.89	42.19 ^b
	County Sheriff	50.51	49.49

^aIn 1870, the Prohibitionist candidate for State Treasurer received 4.82 per cent of the county vote.

^bThe Democratic percentage in the 1872 Presidential contest represents the Liberal-Democratic coalition vote. Charles O'Connor, the regular Democratic candidate, won only .92 per cent of the vote.

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