

STATE HISTORY. II

NO doubt in ancient Athens the quiet controversialists of the Academy and the Lyceum now and then discussed the question as to whether men preferred to contemplate the typical or the unique; the schoolmen of the middle ages never could quite settle it, nor could the learned critics of the nineteenth century who compared the charms of realism and romance. It is a good question because it cannot be answered. Some men, for instance, will esteem biography as a mirror of humanity while others hungrily search out the singularities of the individual as alone possessing interest for them. The great crowd of us, for the most part, will choose both and seek a human story wherein we recognize ourselves, but with certain characters and circumstances not too familiar. If "local history is national history locally exemplified",¹ it has its own peculiarities as well, and can be made as interesting as the powers of its author will allow. The *Centennial History of Illinois*² is the latest and best example of success in such an undertaking.

In the first place, the theme was worthy of a great performance. Illinois in a century and a half has developed from a group of trading posts to one of the great states of the Union, surpassed by only two in population, and so typical in its rich variety of interests that its history seems indeed a vertical section of the nation's history, if not a microcosm of the western world. It leads in agriculture at

¹ See "State History I", *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, vol. XXXVI, p. 574.

² *Illinois in 1818*. By SOLON J. BUCK. Springfield, the Illinois Centennial Commission, 1917.—xxvi, 362 pp.

The Illinois Country, 1673-1818. By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD. Springfield, 1920.—xvii, 524 pp.

The Frontier State, 1818-1848. By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE. Springfield, 1919.—xi, 475 pp.

The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE. Springfield, 1919.—xi, 499 pp.

The Industrial State, 1870-1893. By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON. Springfield, 1920.—xiii, 553 pp.

The Modern Commonwealth, 1893-1918. By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and JOHN MABRY MATHEWS. Springfield, 1920.—xi, 544 pp.

The Centennial of the State of Illinois; Report of the Centennial Commission. By JESSIE PALMER WEBER. Springfield, 1920.—489 pp.

the same time that it holds the world's fourth largest city, ranks second in the value of its mineral product, third in manufactures, and is the railway crossroads of the country. In times past Virginianism and New-Englandism have met within its wide-flung borders, their conflict softened by a common westernism, and the melting-pot of races, the metaphor by which the America of modern times is most frequently envisaged, has boiled more furiously in Illinois than in the Union as a whole. In the very recency and vigor of its higher culture it represents America, and in the prejudices, the virtues and the temper of its people.

All this suggests the interesting past of Illinois, but an interesting past does not of itself supply a good six-volume history. An historical consciousness and historical training are two necessary antecedents, though it is the energizing earnestness of the trained few that eventually develops the supporting sympathy among the many. There had been some tribute paid to history from the days of the state's beginning. Two governors, John Reynolds and Thomas Ford, had written formal narratives covering after a fashion the years from 1673 to 1847, and important politicians, like Ninian W. Edwards, who headed the school system in the fifties, Chief Justice Sydney Breese and Elihu B. Washburne, who might possibly be called a statesman, had devoted some time and talents to the history of Illinois, and veteran journalists like Paul Selby had dabbled in its lore. There had been some publication of collected sources. But it was not until the very end of the nineteenth century, when the Illinois Historical Society was organized, that the train of events was set in motion which has led to the present achievement.¹ The professional historians of the modern type, whose native faculties of nice discernment had been developed by a systematic preparation, addressed themselves to the archives and miscellaneous memorials of the west. Foremost among the trained few, ready and able to apply the technic of what is called historical science to the various records of the state, was Clarence W. Alvord, an instructor in the University of Illinois. He was one of those who, fifteen years ago, realized the historical unity of the great basin—more extensive than those countries known

¹ Among the valuable contributions which had no relation to the movement should be mentioned: N. D. Harris, *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of the Slavery Agitation in that State, 1719-1864* (Chicago, 1904); A. C. Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1836* (Chicago, 1908), and M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913).

to former times as European Russia, Austria-Hungary and the German Empire—which lies between the Alleghanies and the Rockies. Unlike Roosevelt in the eighties, this group did not confine themselves to chronicling the picturesque adventures in the winning of the west, nor, like Shea and Winsor, to the exploration and cartography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Rather, they set out to learn exactly how this region had been ceded and receded by the diplomats until it was available as a home-land for Americans, and how these immigrants developed American group life within its borders. They saw clearly that so little had been done that comprehensive histories would be for many years impossible; in the humble spirit of true scholarship they set out to build a store of monographic studies.¹ The Mississippi Valley Historical Association was begun in 1907 and its quarterly under the editorship of Professor Alvord has become the second historical periodical of the United States and notable among those of the world. Ten years later this new school may be said to have achieved its first acknowledged masterpiece in Professor Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, which won the capital Loubat prize, the high laurel coveted by those who write the early history of America, his predecessors having been Henry Adams, Osgood, Beer, and W. H. Holmes, the anthropologist. It was fortunate for Illinois that she numbered among her citizens a man of such scrupulous scholarship and constructive enterprise.

When in 1905 he disinterred the ancient records of the French colonial towns, long buried and forgotten in the courthouses of Chester and Bellville, there was a flutter of interest.² Illinois had "colonial documents" as well as the Atlantic states! A manuscripts commission was created to assist him in his work and there was begun, under his editorial supervision, but with the aid of other university specialists, the publication of the records of the state with introductions so substantial and notes of such completeness, erudition and propriety as to set a new mark for such efforts in America. In appearance these collections of the Illinois State Historical Library have avoided the stodgy monotony of the published records of the

¹ See C. W. Alvord, "The Study and Writing of History of the Mississippi Valley", in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, vol. I (Cedar Rapids, 1909), p. 98 *et seq.*

² C. W. Alvord, "The French Records in Illinois", *Americal Historical Association Report*, 1915, vol. I, p. 353 *et seq.*, and "Old Kaskaskia Records", *Illinois State Historical Society Proceedings* (Springfield, 1906), pp. 27-31.

older states; each volume has a unity of its own, while each is included in a certain indefinitely expansible series.¹

The administration of the state university regarded this activity of its historical faculty and others with a very cordial sympathy, and in 1909, to advance the work begun, organized the Illinois historical survey intended to discover and collect all material bearing upon the past development of the commonwealth. President James himself had contributed the first three volumes of the historical library series (1899-1901) and had a personal understanding of the difficulty and the worth of what was going forward under the newer dispensation; Dean Kinley of the graduate school, now his successor, was tireless in his efforts to find added funds to pay for copying in other libraries; Dean Greene of the college of literature and arts was for a number of years the chairman of the two state committees which oversee historical publication. To supply complete material for writing the first volume of the present history thousands of transcript pages were required from manuscripts in London, Paris, Ottawa, Quebec, as well as in Boston, Worcester, Albany, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, Richmond, Madison and elsewhere; two copyists were thus exclusively employed for a year and a half in Paris alone.

The thoroughness of the *Centennial History* would have been impossible without the preliminary labor of the survey as embodied in the *Collections*. Three members of the university staff, Dr. Scott, Dr. Buck and Dr. Pease, prepared a bibliography comprised in about two thousand printed pages, stating with laborious particularity the character, the historical circumstances and the present location of each item, and covering newspapers, books of travel and description, county histories, territorial and state laws, and county archives. The long introductions which trace the evolution of each class of material with penetrating comment on its value and, in the case of some, suggestions as to care and safety, have importance in themselves. Though but a torso of the massive work that would represent a complete assessment of the sources that exist, nothing so extensive and precise as this has been done for any other commonwealth, and it may stand as a new milestone in the development of American state history, which must be written in no small part from materials such as those here analyzed.

¹ For example, Professor Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records* (1909) and Professors Greene and Thompson's *Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853* (1911); the first of these is the second volume of those devoted to Virginia period and the other is the second volume of that on the Executive.

The historian of Illinois [wrote Dr. Pease]¹ can no longer be content with chronicling the acts and the succession of her governors and legislatures, and her votes for Whig, Democratic, or Republican congressmen, senators and presidents. He cannot even be content with tracing in microscopic detail the lives of her great citizens. Rather, if he expects the world to approve his work as worth the doing, he must set himself to the task of showing how the Illinois of the present has come into being. He must explain how on the foundation of a French empire in the Mississippi valley has been built an Anglo-Saxon commonwealth—how men entered the wilderness, bought and sold land, dabbled with slavery they had put from them in their constitution as a forbidden thing, acquired wealth and achieved comfort and luxury, built roads and established schools, and administered a rude justice and a simple government. In the land records, county commissioners' records, and circuit court records, in the assessors' books, the probate wills and inventories, the election returns, and the slavery papers that survive in county courthouses is the extant material for such a history of Illinois.

Although it must be confessed that none of the authors, not even Dr. Pease himself, has made much use of these particular materials, it may be said without too violent a paradox that his paragraph does declare the spirit in which they all have approached their task.

Those who planned the history decided to present an introductory volume as an antepast of the feast that was to follow; thus Professor Buck brought out his *Illinois in 1818* the year before the celebration, essaying "to portray the social, economic, and political life in Illinois at the close of the territorial period, and, in addition, to tell the story of the transition from colonial dependence to the full dignity of a state in the Union." It was intended that this should be distinguished from the later volumes because of an easy, popular style, but such at last proved not to be the case; that is to say, the other authors also had a sense of human values, thought many of their phases through before they wrote them, and generally refrained from discharges of statistics and from that parading of small controversies as to fact that gives the heavy atmosphere of pedantry. But to say that what they wrote was popular, meaning that it was acceptable to everybody, would not be accurate. Some will contend that such a history issued at the state's cost should edify with tales exclusively of saints and heroes; they will be disappointed. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* was not the authors' motto. Some figures like Professor Jonathan B. Turner, to whose wisdom, faith and energy the nation owes

¹ T. C. Pease, *The County Archives of Illinois* (Springfield, 1915), p. xx.

in large part its agricultural schools and land-grant universities,¹ and Governor John P. Altgeld,² who tried so earnestly to solve the problems of the people, are exalted as high models of public service, but others fare like General John A. Logan, who emerges from the record as "Black Jack".³ In refusing to apotheosize the pioneer they doubtless have displeased some readers. "Illinois", remarked the editor, "in passing from frontier conditions to a stage of higher civilization, lost nothing that was worth keeping and gained much that was of greatest value."⁴

But the American historian who sets out to find and tell the whole truth does not sail a halcyon sea. The winds of doctrine beat upon him—partisan, sectional, class, racial and sectarian—and courage as well as skill is needed to hold him to his course, especially if his sails be raised with public funds. On page 165 of *Illinois in 1818* Professor Buck set forth a quotation from a credible contemporary witness, John Mason Peck, that, "Not a few drunken, profane, worthless Irishmen were perambulating the country, and getting up schools; and yet they could neither speak, read, pronounce, spell, nor write the English language." In support of Peck he cited the Irish Catholic Governor Reynolds and others, but the Ancient Order of Hibernians told the Centennial Commission that such history was not good; in the second edition the sentence is omitted. It is said that it seemed dubious that the enterprise could make its way at all until the Commission boldly proclaimed that matters of interpretation as well as those of fact would rest in the hands of the editor-in-chief.

The history is cooperative in the obvious sense that its volumes are brought forth by eight different professors of the university, but it is cooperative as well, like most works of scholarship, in taking advantage of the monographs that have been published and, indeed, some students' theses which remain in manuscript. But beside this it may be said that probably no state history, excepting Mr. H. H. Bancroft's, has had the benefit of so much special expert service. A dozen research assistants were employed in the investigation and five

¹ T. C. Pease, *The Frontier State*, pp. 353, 384, 411, 439-442; A. C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, pp. 80-81, 239, 247, 231-233, 240-245.

² Bogart and Thompson, *The Industrial State*, pp. 182-187; Bogart and Mathews, *The Modern Commonwealth*, pp. 190-191, 271-272.

³ A. C. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201, 399-403.

⁴ *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society for 1918*, p. 82.

typists in copying extracts from the newspapers and other sources which had been marked out for use. In the prefaces are mentioned persons who have "collected the material" or prepared "preliminary studies" or "rough drafts" for considerable portions, while in three cases the service of the authors in the war necessitated the complete revision of manuscript by other hands.

Professor Alvord's opening chapter, to begin the account in chronological order, pictures the land in the making, a wood-and-prairie country greater in extent than England and with climate far more various, yet whose highest point is but twelve hundred feet above sea level. The history of rivers and coal beds and glaciers, and still more that of trees, fish, worms and gnats, is a difficult matter for the ordinary historian of men, but it is all presented with an eloquence and sureness that indicates the author's breadth of interest and intelligent employment of lieutenants, as well as valuable conversations with his colleagues at the university. When we conjure up to view an "Illinois inhabited by huge reptiles eighty feet long, by gigantic kangaroo-like saurians, by dragons flying on twenty-foot wings, and by innumerable crocodiles", we realize that in time limits the state historian is almost upon an equal footing with him who writes the story of the world. The author, in contrast to a recent world-historian, shows some reticence in his portrait of the primitive man, though he gives a clear account of what is known about the moundbuilders and their conquest by the Shawnee. Just as

Greece, conquered Greece, her conquerors subdued
And clownish Latium with her arts imbued,

so here the invaders took to building mounds and raising corn and making pots after the manner of their victims at Cahokia and elsewhere.

But the Shawnee and their fellow-Algonquins, the Illinois and the Miami, were not to rest in peace throughout the seventeenth century; already the scourge of the western tribes, the Iroquois brave, came like Attila driving the Mascoutins and Kickapoo out of the Michigan peninsulas and the Potawatomi from the Wisconsin valley, and finally the Illinois themselves were pushed beyond the Mississippi. When the French appeared along the rivers this tribe was already demoralized and scarcely more a warlike people. The queernesses of the Indian mind could not be fathomed by the European priests, yet on their testimony and the recent studies of the government's ethnologists, the author hazards his description of their common life.

The French may have been accustomed at home to more refinements and greater cleanliness [he remarks], but in the wilderness they soon found it impossible to maintain standards much higher than those of the Indians; and in spite of a supposedly more enlightened religion, they were no more amiable, no more honest, no more generous and hospitable, no more loyal to their friends, than were the benighted children of the wilds. If in the course of contact with shrewd traders who befuddled them with a strange fiery liquor and reduced them from economic self-sufficiency to abject dependence, the Indians came to show themselves suspicious, treacherous, greedy, and oftentimes ill-natured and unreasonable, it is not a logical deduction to conclude that the dusky aborigines were an essentially inferior race who deserved nothing better than to be exterminated and driven from the land of their forbears.

But, as the old poet said, these be deep questions, my masters; there might be two opinions. Perhaps mere historians are not qualified to discuss the "great race" and all its privileges and patents.

The account of the discoveries by Jolliet and Marquette—note the spelling and especially the precedence of the trader's name—though clear and animated, does not profess to add a contribution to the scholar's learning, but the analysis of the elements in the western system of the French is very interesting. With the thinking done in far-away Quebec or Paris, the colony had policy, but not the individual, upon whom social and economic strength had really to depend. Frontenac desired to take the Mississippi valley by slow advance and closely licensed commerce; the priests and traders favored rapid extension to afford as many contacts with the savages as possible, but were themselves at odds on the question of the brandy trade. Frontenac could sympathize with the Jesuits' humane desire, but thought a limitation of the liquor would prove ruinous, believing, hard realist that he was, that Indian support would be won in a competition between Catholic brandy and Protestant rum; the latter was cheaper and quite as effective—"the English liquor made one drunk for a muskrat skin, the French, for a beaver" (p. 86). The dramatic story of LaSalle, the dreamer and diplomatist who could not lead men or keep books, is rehearsed with frequent reference to Margry's great collection of documents, which was accessible to Parkman only after the first ten editions of his work; but that of commercial policy depends to a considerable degree upon fresh material from the Archives Nationales. The author sees the first blow of the hundred years' war for the continent in the stroke by the Iroquois, egged on by the English in 1680.

To picture clearly the contest between the French and English, the author needs a broad canvas. Almost simultaneously in 1671 appeared the pompous St. Luson at Sault Ste. Marie to claim the west for Louis XIV, and Captain Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam on the Alleghany Front to set their stake for Charles II. Louisiana was established to forestall the English who were trading southward from the Tennessee and whose low-priced goods were penetrating to the Illinois. The French were never sure of their vassal Indians against the persuasions of the English agents, of which Cumming, Johnson, Croghan, Weiser and Post were the most successful. Is it significant, by the way, that while all these five were immigrants, not one was an Englishman? Looking from Kaskaskia we see a different facet of the treaties of Utrecht and Paris. Within the interval had come permanent French settlement on the American bottom beside the Mississippi, simple village communities with undivided land but with sharp distinctions between the social classes. The French officials here, obscure lieutenants on the lists of the Marine, were on the whole, the author thinks, superior in capacity and character to corresponding officeholders in the British colonial service. But their situations were quite different; the English functionaries looked with envy on the arbitrary power of the régime along the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, while the governors at Quebec and New Orleans coveted no less the growing population of New England. Such had been the cost that France was not chagrined in 1763 at giving up America, but rather contemplated with some satisfaction the embarrassment that Canada would be to England. France had not learned the secret; experience in self-government saves colonies—and yet may lose them.

In discussing the Mississippi valley and British politics between this treaty and that of 1783, the author, of course, compacts the chronicle and argument of his two-volume work thus entitled, to which reference has been made, his comprehensive introductions to the published records of the French towns, and his various other publications; he resorts, as well, to the narrative and documents which have been presented by Professor C. E. Carter. It is a quickly moving story of intrigues and heroisms, of speculators scheming in Philadelphia and in London for great grants of land, of stultifying quarrels among the English ministers as to a western policy, of brave leaders like George Rogers Clark battling through the wilderness and disappointed at Virginia's indifference, of the civil government which the energetic young John Todd struggled to maintain despite

the machinations of land companies and the great reluctance of *habitants* to pay their taxes, and of scoundrels like John Dodge and Thomas Bentley, of whose double perfidy in betraying the weakness of the towns to each side in turn, the author is now convinced. The authority of America dwindled down to nothing, but Americans made money. "These men of the border succeeded where their more conventional French neighbors, still limited by many civil and ecclesiastical prohibitions on personal liberty, had failed" (p. 339).

When the peace was made there were many in New England who were anxious to yield the ultramontane region so that a better case could be made out for fishing rights along the banks of Newfoundland, and this was, of course, in close accord with French and Spanish policy. But "the statesmen of Great Britain made no effort to secure the territory that their foes seemed so anxious to grant them. Instead, the negotiations concerning the boundaries proceeded along most unexpected lines" (p. 355). The Earl of Shelburne thought it dangerous to cramp the new republic which he recognized, knowing well the trouble that would come from clashing traders and backwoodsmen, and in consequence renounced to Franklin the country of the Illinois even before Jay and Adams came to Paris. Evidently Lord Shelburne along with George Washington and Sir William Howe should be remembered among those to whom we owe so much in making possible the United States of 1783. Most British politicians were not as wise or generous; shortly after the preliminary treaty it was understood in London that some excuses would be found to hold the western posts and with them the fur trade of that country, but, though they gave the savages arms and powder, and their presence there proved deeply irritating to Americans, the author believes the secret correspondence proves that "the representatives of the empire kept within the limits of international practice in their dealings with the Indian tribes dwelling within the United States territory" (p. 402).¹ Though they left the posts in 1796, their negotiators some twenty years later at Ghent came prepared to make

¹ It is strange that no citation is made in note or bibliography to A. C. McLaughlin's "Western Posts and the British Debts" (*American Historical Association Reports*, 1894, pp. 413-444), which is considered the standard treatise on this subject, and with whose conclusion the author seems to be in accord. Was it well, also, to neglect entirely R. L. Schuyler's *Transition in Illinois from British to American Government* (N. Y., 1909), especially chapters one and seven? In this bibliography there are some misprints, *e. g.* the names of Edward McCrady and James Breck Perkins are misspelled.

the diplomatic contest turn upon the disposition of the west; Shelburne's "error" would have been corrected, had not the English been confronted with negotiators of great firmness and ability.

In the administration of the western claims and holdings, Professor Alvord observes, "The moribund continental congress appears to have been a mere plaything in the hands of the financial leaders of America" (p. 393). Maryland was encouraged by numerous speculators in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the south to pronounce her ultimatum calling for the cession of their land claims by the states, but New England's dread of western growth was not sufficiently diminished until the formation of the Ohio Company within its midst. Stories of mosquitoes, the myth of infertility of prairie land, the uncertainty as to land titles, the fear of the savages, and the distance to be traveled, deterred the American settlement of Illinois, and those who came were not the best exemplars of American civilization. It was not until the outcome of the War of 1812 had convinced the Indians that their fight was hopeless, that the Illinois country began to fill with settlers.

It is here that Professor Buck takes up the narrative although there is a long pause for a broad "still picture", as the cinema man would say, of Illinois at the time when it became a state. His lens is trained first on the Indians, the tribal groupings and their distribution, and their state of culture as described by the observers of the day. From the studies of Chittenden and others, and from official records and private letters, he gives a brief and readable account of the fur trade at the time when Astor had begun his American Fur Company with its French and English *engagés* and, like the smaller licensed traders, was able easily to out-compete the government factories. He enters then upon the mazy problem of the public lands. The Indian title quashed to a large extent by 1803, the government had begun surveys along meridian and base lines, but retained the huge triangle between the Mississippi and the Illinois as bounty lands for soldiers, though few of these resisted the temptation to sell their rights to speculators. The author's lucid exposition informs the uninstructed of the method of acquiring plots, and the map, compiled from archives at Washington and Springfield, reveals the taste of purchasers for land along the streams, especially along the three great border rivers, from the point where the Missouri joins the Mississippi around to where the Wabash leaves its native Indiana. To prepare his excellent description of the pioneers and their settlement it is obvious that Professor Buck has made his way with in-

dustry and critical acumen through the baffling jungle of travelers' records and county histories which he mapped out in his bibliography published some years before. With minute precision yet with a touch of the dramatic he points out the stage reached by 1818 of that "comparatively orderly progress, like the advance of multitudinous chessmen across a gigantic board". The light-hearted, nimble-footed *habitants*, closely settled in their towns, numbered scarcely more than fifteen hundred; of the thirty-five or forty thousand others, two-thirds had come from the south with the remainder halved between the north and foreign countries. But the southerners were really westerners, coming as they did from the upland regions and of a class in which sons seldom died as far east as their fathers. By laboriously listing heads of families, calling genealogy to the aid of sound science, and matching with the testimony of contemporary travelers, he builds his generalizations upon a broad foundation. Is this not a brilliant instance of the modern method of the historians of the masses? One group cannot be docketed and tabled with the others—the English families in Gallatin County, recently arrived in 1817. Their leaders, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, with a not unnatural mixture of philanthropy and vain ambition, sought to reproduce on Boltonhouse Prairie the old familiar countryside, but with themselves as uncommonly benevolent manor-lords and the others as uncommonly happy tenantry.

The terrors of the trace or open road beset with cutthroats, the daily round of farming when ninety-nine men in a hundred got their living from the soil, the versatile and heavy rôle of the woman of the cabin, the neighborly cooperation, the state of health, education, literary culture, religious organization and belief—with the data of such subjects, skilfully extracted from a wide variety of sources, Professor Buck builds out, not an album of small studies, but a rounded picture. This sense of composition distinguishes the author from most of those who have tried to write the story of the people, though in all the volumes of the work social history is adequately emphasized. But he is almost equally successful in the record of the struggle for a constitution, which takes up the last half of his volume. In this one does see some influence of the social and economic interests of the people, but except upon the slavery question, the factional groupings in the territorial politics were mostly on lines of personal preference—whether one's friends did or did not get smiles and offices from Harrison, the governor while Illinois was still joined to Indiana, or from Ninian Edwards, appointed to that post for the western region when the division was made in 1809.

In his story of the campaign for a convention and the legal controversies of the pioneers in session, the author employs the meager material to full value and no more. That Illinois opinion was sharply split upon the subject of slavery is known to everyone, but the connection of the controversy with the Missouri question is not widely understood. Professor Buck sets forth that the advocates of slavery complained that the more prosperous southern immigrants, those with slaves, passed through Illinois for the more habitable land beyond the Mississippi; the antislavery men, who increased more rapidly after 1815, desired to get a free-state constitution before the admittance of their western neighbor, fearing that example. It was the latter, he finds, that were earliest behind the movement for full statehood, while their opponents urged delay. The antislavery arguments as published in the single newspaper by such men as Edward Coles, later the governor, and Morris Birkbeck, had their effect; but when the delegates met in the convention, a small majority, while willing to make Illinois ultimately free and to wipe out the territorial indenture system for the future, agreed not to interfere seriously with the existing property rights in owned or hired slaves or in indentured servants. When the constitution came to Congress it was Tallmadge of New York who challenged it in the debate and drew about him thirty-four representatives from the section north of Maryland in an unsuccessful effort to defeat it. It was the contest over Illinois, seeming now like an overture of the more celebrated passage of the next two years, which revealed the antislavery *bloc*.

Professor Pease who chronicles the first thirty years of statehood gives ample space to the discussion of the settlement and socializing of the rude frontier immigration, which continued to come chiefly from the south throughout the first half of his period. The preference seemed still to be for river woodland, though the advertisement of the prairie and the methods of its agriculture set forth by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower had begun to have effect. Horse-thieves, counterfeits, bandits, gamblers, kidnappers of negroes, were forces matched against the hard-working settlers, the missionaries and able men of generous ambition, like Governors Edward Coles and Thomas Ford, who represented the tradition of civilization. The ministers took a hand in politics; J. M. Peck (p. 81), William C. Kinney (p. 130 *et seq.*), Zadoc Casey (pp. 131, 245 *et al.*) and Peter Cartright (pp. 28-29, 149) all played their parts, though there were religious controversies to occupy the larger part of their atten-

tion, such as whether a learned ministry was safe and Sunday schools were of any use when God had saved and damned the proper portions of the race so long ago. The Methodists made best headway, in part because of their elastic system of the circuits. Dr. Pease is a dexterous writer but he cannot hold attention for his circumstantial record of political campaigns in Illinois a hundred years ago; they seem like what Hume called the wars of the Saxon princes, "the scuffling of kites and crows". The characters are neatly limned but none is big enough to enlist the sympathy or add a consequence to his adventures. It is the author's misfortune that there never was a Federalist party in Illinois whose vestiges, surprised in one camp or another, might supply some hint of implication whereby the factions might be tagged as to political philosophy. Ambition supplied the motive for leadership and loyalty the principle of adhesion. In general, it seems that anyone who sought to "interpret" the alignments would soon weary of his task. Only the slavery question, which would not down, land policy and internal improvements, supplied issues of some dignity. The Whigs, it is interesting to note, were for a time the friends of slavery and the foes of public works. In his chapters on finance and banking the author gives the impression of confusion, which was probably his purpose.

The story of the two "wars" of the period—against forlorn Black Hawk and against the Mormons of Nauvoo—picturesque, dramatic as they are in the telling, show how the individualism of the frontier could produce intolerance. Both episodes have been subjects of recent monographic treatment, but the author, according to his wont, has cut under to the testimony of participants and witnesses and constructs a fresh, authentic narrative. As to the former enterprise, if we forget the little band of Indians, there is a tone of farce; the citizens, "starving for incident, heard in the call to arms a promise of a frolic more venturesome than a wolf hunt. . . . They themselves were unconscious of the tremendous psychic hold the savage had established over them in the form of a fear, which in the face of a threatened reverse would stampede them in frantic hysteria" (p. 160). He does not palliate the violence and greed of those who pillaged the Saints, but says that it must be admitted "that they saw clearly how terrible an excrescence on the political body of the state the Mormon community would be, ere it attained full growth" (p. 362). The treatment of the constitutional convention of 1847 is unexpectedly compendious; it would seem that the thousand pages

of debates as published.¹ would have supplied material for more than three pages here. In his survey of social, educational and religious advance he shows again his breadth and his originality; for example, not everyone would look for differences as to the type of fiction, poetry and art criticism between Democratic and Whig newspapers. As a wise and careful critic of the frontier state he writes with sympathy and a sense that men in Illinois are somewhat like men in other places; as to Alvord, John Dodge in Kaskaskia is a typical Greek tyrant, so to Pease, Morris Birkbeck writing his "Jonathan Freeman" letters is Dean Swift and the abolitionist martyr Elijah Lovejoy is Ibsen's Brand.

By the middle of the century, when Professor Cole begins his volume, Illinois had caught up with the nation. It surpassed all other states in railroad-building and soon in wheat production; its metropolis now wore an urban aspect; its people had reached a state of composition which was to last for many years. The original southern stock went their old way down in "Egypt" and the neighborhood; Yankees from New England and New York built school-houses and factories in the north; idealistic Germans brought books and song as well as beer to Bellville, Alton and Peoria; hearty Irishmen foregathered in Chicago or had to take up land in payment for their work on the canal. Illinois was entering upon a railroad era in which the partisans of Chicago at first successfully competed for franchises and capital with those who sought connection with St. Louis. However, when the latter was finally effected, it must have had political consequences in its contact with the east which the author has not indicated. Douglas, who commands the author's admiration for his judgment and his courage in promoting the Illinois Central, secured a handsome land grant from the national government. The battle of contending lobbyists at Springfield, the triumphs and defeats of towns who sought facilities of transportation, the introduction of farm machinery and its effect on farming and the homestead movement, are vividly set forth. But the reader soon discovers that these matters in Illinois had a national significance.

The author makes a contribution to the history of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in distinguishing between the daily and the weekly issues of a newspaper and thus revealing that Senator Douglas had

¹ A. C. Cole, editor, *The Constitutional Debates of 1847*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XIV; Constitutional Series, volume II (Springfield, 1919).

informed the editor of the *Illinois State Register* of his policy before any bill was introduced, and depreciating not a little the theory that he was a mere agent late engaged by others to present their plan (pp. 113-116). By his stroke, however, Douglas lost the Germans and in them his safe majority at home, with all that meant to himself and to the United States. The chapter on the origin of the Republican party, written from the newspapers and manuscripts, is valuable in showing the part played by the various Democrats and Whigs who joined, and particularly for the light thrown by the Trumbull papers. The local history brings solution to many puzzling problems; for example, Douglas doubtless had in mind his home constituency when he shifted to his aggressive anti-Lecompton ground (pp. 173-175). The campaign of 1860, with the two chief candidates from Illinois, is of course presented with picturesque detail. The followers of Lincoln though they made objection to the tariff plank, carried on their fight with great enthusiasm. "The talent of the Democratic party had to a large extent been transferred to the Republican organization. . . . Realizing this, the little giant broke all traditions and entered the hustings in person, much to the disgust of his Republican opponents"—but all in vain.

The title of this book is *The Era of the Civil War* but no attempt is made to follow Illinois regiments through southern battlefields; the bitter strifes at home supply sufficient theme. The story of recruiting when "Egypt" talked secession and the north surpassed its quota, shows that the choice of Lincoln had converted the central counties to his cause. After the first year the issue was "liberty *vs.* Lincolnism" among the Democrats, and "firmness *vs.* Lincolnism" among the Republicans; the state seemed singularly rent between the abolitionists and copperheads. Governor Yates rose with glorious courage to meet the crisis of 1863 and supported the dictatorship of the President, wishing that it might be stronger. In his party there were few enthusiastic Lincoln men, but who was more available? The victories of Farragut and Sherman turned the tide in Illinois as elsewhere.

Peace brought new problems in its train. The increase of population during war-time, the rise and fall in the prosperity of the farmers, the industrial revolution somewhat hastened by stimulation of war needs and prices, the rise of sport and the development of taste—all these receive intelligent and adequate attention, taking up four times the number of pages given to the military politicians and the spoilsmen of the later sixties, whose behavior would have been

the exclusive theme of historians trained in an older school. The style throughout the book is lively and engaging,¹ but the author has allowed himself no flights of fancy; almost every statement is buttressed by close documentation, especially from newspapers.

To Professor Thompson fall the early years of industrial Illinois and the recovery of idealism long buried under the aftermath of war. In the constitutional convention of 1847 the farmers had been masters by a large majority; now in its successor of 1870 the lawyers outnumbered all others almost two to one, and it must be said that their product proved more serviceable and permanent. A broadened view of public law was evidenced in the provision for control of railroad rates, and a partial remedy for the pernicious sectionalism, with which the state was cursed, was found in the cumulative vote, to give expression to minorities. The farmers of Illinois were not beguiled by Liberal Republicanism; their interest was in economic, not political, reform, and they were astonished at the curious futility of naming the high-tariff editor of the *New York Tribune*. Their experiments with laws and parties and cooperative agencies, their unstable partnership with industrial labor, are recounted with dramatic interest more easily attainable within the narrow compass of state history than in national. From the McCormick manuscripts, not previously used, there comes a vivid story of party methods in 1876; the Democratic party, which had fed on miscellaneous discontents, now with the return of the southern states was sobered by the prospect of success and in Illinois as elsewhere took on an air of responsibility. The author's chapters on the Republican machine reveal the fascination of the great American game of organizing popular majorities. Strong hearts were necessary in the deadlock of 1885 which so long suspended certainty as to John A. Logan's third election to the Senate.

But new forces and new issues were emerging; it was realized in Illinois that the generals and the copperheads were out of date and that farmers were not the only class that had a grievance and a voice.²

¹ It is at times, in the reviewer's opinion, a bit too lively, *e. g.*, such expressions as giving a resolution the "go by" (p. 107), "to keep mum" (p. 110), "an effective comeback" (p. 169), "the fair weather brigade" (p. 178), "the *Mt. Carmel Register* took the Lincoln train" (p. 201, note), the legislature "cared little for the advice handed out to it" (p. 415), etc. This may be a question of personal taste.

² The chapter on "New Forces Astir" is attributed for the most part to Mrs. Agnes W. Dennis. H. B. Fuller and Mrs. N. O. Barrett also contribute chapters to this book.

The "impractical demands of labor—demands for shorter hours, for safety devices, for employers' liability, for the limitation of child labor, for the right of organization"—now the safe achievements of the past, were then regarded by the press as wild fantasies of aliens in Chicago. The principles of union labor and the principles of Mr. Cyrus Hall McCormick came into conflict; scabs, Pinkertons, parades, anarchist philosophy, a bewildered mayor, the Haymarket riot, the public cry for victims, the four men hung—such was the tragic sequence. The militant farmers and the laborers founded political associations and in the early nineties, joining with the Democrats, sent John M. Palmer to the Senate and John P. Altgeld to the governor's chair to show the courage and the fate of those who do unpopular justice.

The economic historian appears with a fanfare of figures, but Professor Bogart proves that the history of plows and cheese, wheat prices and bank reserves, can be made as interesting as that of party struggles. To see the panic of 1873 from the viewpoint of Chicago is in itself illuminating. How rivers and canals and especially the Great Lakes, as potential thoroughfares of transportation, have kept down railroad rates, how Chicago lost the lumber trade but produced great quantities of farm machinery and with her system of commercial travelers competed with the eastern jobbers, how level land was drained with tile, how roads were built on stoneless prairies, how Illinois by gaining population lost its wheat, how by importing a first-grade coal and coking it with heat from the poor coal from the state, the gas as well as coke was saved to industry—this is a story of how man has made possible a larger life. That the larger life was not more largely shared resulted in the protest of the Socialists who armed and trained their soldiers for the coming class war, while many less extreme sought benefit in politics or in trade unions. It is pleasant to observe how much the university professors have accomplished no less for farming than for the intricate processes of the mills; the milk tests, the economy of feeding "baby beef", the best scheme of road construction, the superiority of shallow cultivation, and the recipe for permanent fertility, have all been worked out in their laboratories.¹ The intelligence and adaptability of the Illinois farmer is illustrated by his turn to hay and oats when the European war began. But farming has become a scientific business in

¹ Bogart and Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 253; Bogart and Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 82, 147. The milk-test was developed by Professor Babcock of Wisconsin, but the others by the staff of the University of Illinois.

Illinois and, with an average investment of more than \$20,000, a capitalistic business, so much so that tenant-farming has been rapidly increasing.

Professor Bogart had a task of great complexity to chronicle the widely varied and continually changing economic life of the last half-century in Illinois. The impression is not exactly clear and the reader wonders if less data might not have been more informing, but on reflection he withdraws his protest; a didactic narrative would have been more comfortable, but it would have been a poorer picture of that colorful *mélange* we know as modern American life. At any rate, he has the historian's sense of cause and effect and has constantly in mind the element of social evolution. This cannot be said of Professor Mathews, who presents an elaborate and valuable account of the public law and practice of the state today. Perhaps we are too tender of the hopes and hurts of yesterday to write or read their record with detachment—for example, a setting forth of William Lorimer's political career undoubtedly would lose some necessary friends of an enterprise supported by state money—or perhaps the evidence is not all in as yet, and the commentary on the trend of things belongs more in the field of journalism.

However, that a contribution can be made to very recent history by one historically minded, is brilliantly illustrated by Professor Cole's chapter, which concludes the work, on "Illinois and the Great War". A considerable portion of the people of that state, many of them conspicuous for probity and talent, opposed a war with Germany, and these this author treats apparently with sympathy but not approval. The patrioteers and profiteers and the I. W. W. and William H. Thompson are dispassionately reviewed, but the author's concern is chiefly with how the common people went to war.

Illinois was, from the point of view of international relations, the most important state in the Mississippi valley—in the opinion of many the most important state in the Union. The sturdy war governor interpreted the rôle to the political authorities through the state and to the state council of defense; and these forces in turn cooperated in carrying the message to the people of this typical American commonwealth. To this appeal the citizenry of Illinois responded with a growing enthusiasm and achieved a record befitting the keystone state of the middle west.

To conceive ten years ago the centennial celebration of Illinois was indeed becoming in its citizens, but to develop it in war time and execute it in the critical summer of 1918 was heroically courageous. Underneath it all there was a note of earnestness and dedication. Its

pageantry combined unusual beauty with instruction; its great meetings were occasions of dignity and inspiration;¹ its memorial building will afford a safe and permanent depository for the public records; and its published history, as perhaps it has been shown, is an achievement without precedent.

The great American novel is still unwritten, but as the present writer turns the last page of this history he feels that he has found a tolerable substitute. Recent exponents of social theory reiterate that the state is only one expression of our human interest and will, and that most history gives a distorted picture in its emphasis upon that single institution. This criticism, valid or invalid, will not be urged against this work, for almost half its pages are devoted to activities outside of politics. It is as important in the human story to know that shortly after 1876 the piano triumphed over the melodeon, as to know that Hayes was seated in the place of Tilden. The foraging instinct of these authors is revealed, to give but one example, in examining the mail-order catalogues to learn the taste of farmers in the eighties. Mr. H. B. Fuller's special chapters on the development of modern arts and letters are no less eloquent recitals than keen critiques, and yet they seem quite congruous to the general spirit of the history. Indeed, one wonders at the evenness of style, animated and engaging, but not cheap or flippant, the achievement coming to the reader as a labor of love carefully wrought. Illinois may be proud of having servants of this attitude and competence, and the pensive scholar wonders why already she has let three of their little number leave her rolls. In their notes, maps,² indexes and bibliographies they are generally adequate and helpful, and in method they meet the tests of modern seminars; in the effective use of newspapers, especially by Professor Cole, the volumes are, at least in the judgment of one reader, unrivaled in American historiography. It is a great work finely done, proving, as the celebration posters blazoned forth, that

"Not without thy wondrous story,
Can be writ the Nation's glory,
ILLINOIS."

DIXON RYAN FOX.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

¹ The proceedings were elaborately reported. Sometimes it seemed too much so; for example, Professor Allen Johnson can compare the editions of his address as they appeared in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, and in the *Report of the Centennial Commission*.

² There are imperfections in the statistical maps facing page 384, in Pease's *Frontier State*, and pages 133 and 178 in Cole's *Era of the Civil War*.

REVIEWS

The New World Problems in Political Geography. By ISAIAH BOWMAN. Yonkers-on-Hudson, The World Book Company, 1921. —vii, 632 pp.

The history of the American people during the nineteenth century is a history of a people whose great political problems were primarily domestic and not foreign. The attention of our people was devoted to national expansion westwards, to the development of the natural resources of their great country, and to the complications that arose from those movements. Geography and history combined to prevent the growth of an interest in foreign affairs, and down to the Great War it is fair to say that intelligent Americans were less familiar with international relations generally and with the background of the War in particular than were intelligent people in European countries. Moreover there was not much literature in compact form in English from which they might get enlightenment. The Great War made a great change in this respect. Americans became intensely interested in European international relations, and in 1917 Leon Dominian published *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, which received a cordial welcome in the QUARTERLY from the writer of this review. Though confined to Europe and treating only of ethnic and political questions, it was a great boon to the American student. But the changes in boundaries, constitutions, and social systems resulting from the War and the Treaty of Versailles have been so numerous and startling that Dominian's book is already out of date. The professor of political science, giving a course on international relations—and what first-class college is today without such a course?—has up to the present been unsupplied with a work that could be used as a textbook. That void has now been filled by Dr. Bowman's splendid work.

The enthusiasm of the reviewer grew as he read the book. The extent of the ground covered is enormous and yet it is covered fully and accurately. The attention of all earnest Americans is given just now to the Washington Conference. They cannot do better than read chapters xxxi and xxxii of this work on the Far East and the Pacific Realm. In them they will find every aspect of the Far