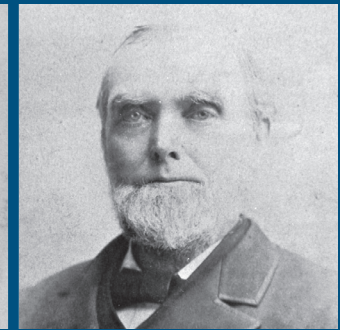
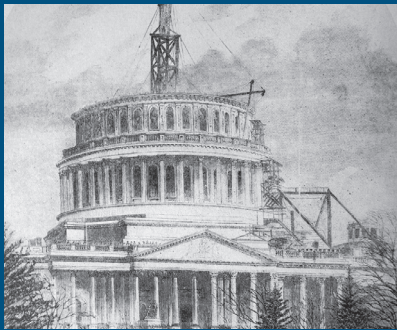
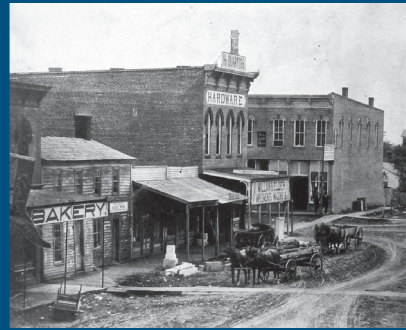
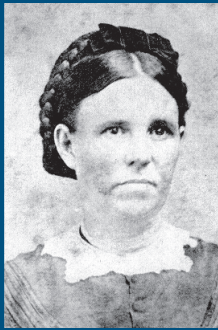
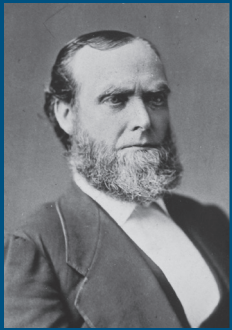


# JOHN R. EDEN

1826 – 1909

A COMPENDIUM OF MATERIALS



R. Eden Martin

Editor

**JOHN R. EDEN**  
**1826 – 1909**

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Compiled and Edited by

R. Eden Martin

Chicago

2012

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*Design and typography by Gareth Breunlin*

*For my family*

# CONTENTS

Foreword	1
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## THE EDENS

1. The Eden family	5
2. The Cann family	15
3. Eden family Bible record	17

## JOHN RICE EDEN

4. Excerpts – Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, 1881	25
5. Excerpts – Portrait and Biographical Record of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, 1891	27
6. Our Picture Gallery – from the <i>Sullivan Progress</i>	29
7. John R. Eden – Recollections of Rushville, Indiana in the 1840's (speech, 1892)	31
8. John R. Eden's Recollections of Sullivan in 1853	33
9. The Lincoln-Douglas Speeches in Sullivan - 1858	37
10. Excerpts From The <i>Sullivan Express</i> , 1857-1860	41
11. The Charleston Riot, 1864 – John R. Eden's Letters and Newspaper and Military Reports	95
12. Newspaper Articles about John R. Eden	107
13. Speeches of John R. Eden	255
14. The Letters of John R. Eden	293
15. The City Residence of John R. Eden – from 1875 Atlas	317
16. Newspaper Articles and Note About Joseph E. Eden, John R.'s brother	319

# CONTENTS

## THE MEEKERS

17.	The Meeker family	325
18.	Roxanna Meeker Eden	339
19.	Judge Jonathan Meeker	341

## FAMILY RECOLLECTIONS AND RESEARCH

20.	Olive Eden Martin (daughter I.J. Martin and Rose Eden Martin)	347
21.	Mabel Martin George (daughter I.J. Martin and Rose Eden Martin)	351
22.	A Political Biography of John R. Eden – John Martin George (1970)	395
23.	Walt Eden (son of John R. and Roxa Meeker Eden)	541
24.	The Eden Family in Sullivan (from <i>Ivory and Rose</i> ) – R. Eden Martin	567
25.	Essay by Robert D. Sampson	577

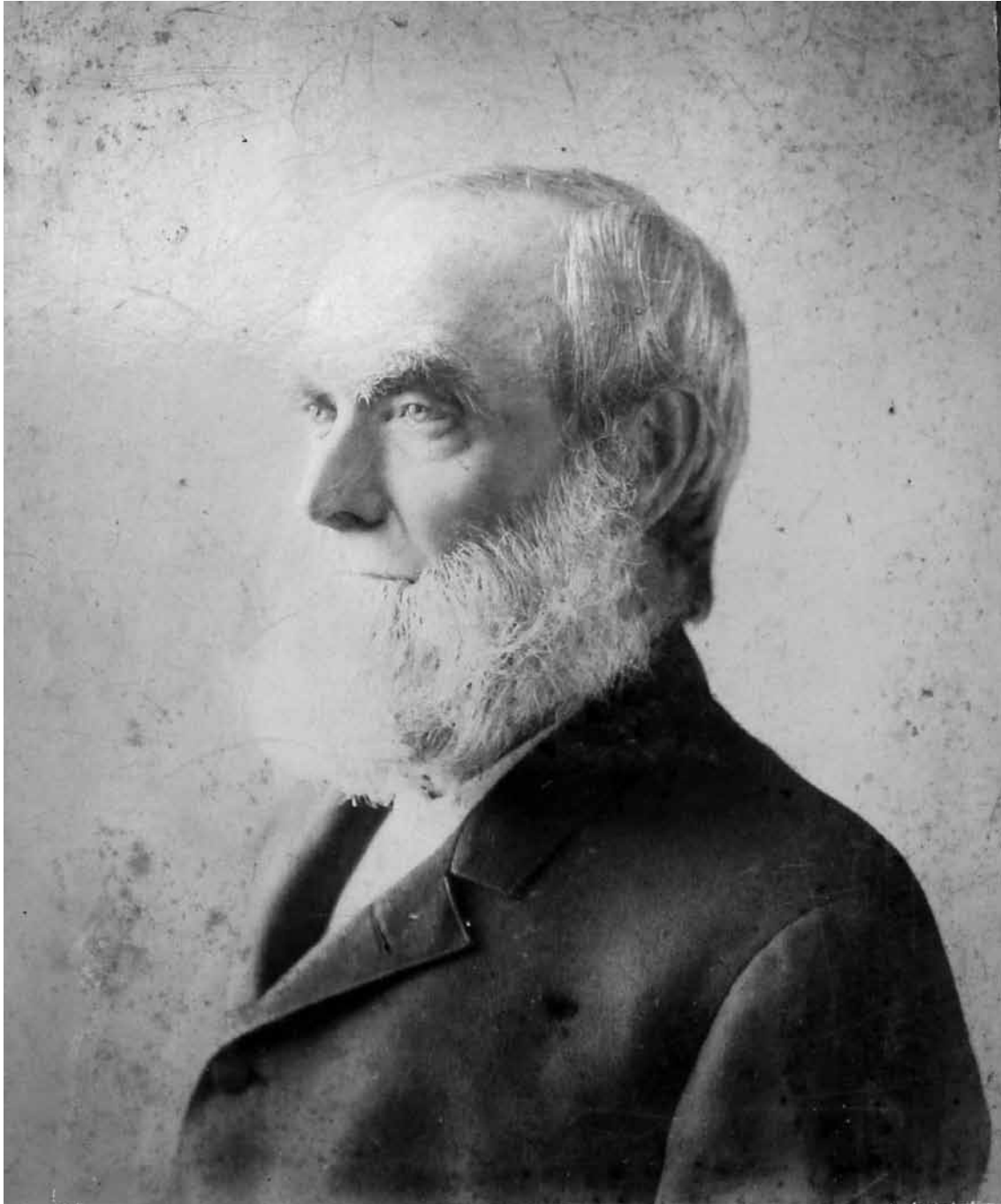




**John R. Eden, c 1888**



**John R. Eden**  
(Clipped from a Congressional Committee picture, 1886.)



**John R. Eden**



**Phoebe Roxanna Meeker Eden**



## FOREWORD

This book is not a biography but rather a compendium of materials relating to John R. Eden, his family and his political career. I am not convinced that enough detailed information about John R. has been preserved to make a full-length biography feasible. In any event, John Martin George, a Chicago lawyer and historian (and great-great-grandson of John R. Eden), has already written an excellent “political biography,” which is included in this volume. I am grateful to him for allowing it to be reproduced here and for his help with this project generally.

John R. Eden’s granddaughter, Mabel Martin George, saved and organized the few surviving letters written by John R. Eden, and Mabel wrote a fictionalized account of the family. John R.’s son, Walt Eden, John R.’s son-in-law, I.J. Martin, and others in the family wrote their own memoirs and saved fragments of family history in scrapbooks. Robert Sampson, an Illinois historian and collateral Eden descendant, wrote several scholarly papers about John R. Eden. My brother, Philip Martin, a lawyer and amateur historian, has given advice, counsel, and editorial assistance along the way. To all of them, Eden descendants and others interested in the history of that place and time owe a debt of gratitude.

This compendium is a “work in progress.” I hope that making these materials available in book form and via the internet will encourage others who have retained private memoirs, correspondence, or pictures – or perhaps news articles relating to Eden and his family – to allow them to be added to this collection, or make them public in some other way.

A broader hope is that making these materials available on the internet – along with lots of other stuff relating to the history of Sullivan and Moultrie County – will perhaps encourage others with boxes of family letters or pictures in their attics to dig into those boxes, see what’s there, put it in order, and then make it available to others in their families and communities.

Memory is another attic. As the grandparents advance in years, they often retain striking recollections of the events of their childhood and the stories about their ancestors’ childhoods. But if no one asks – if no one “debriefs” them or interviews them in front of a digital camera – then those recollections and memories are lost. As the memories fade or the old folks pass on and the boxes are destroyed because no one is interested or has the time to save them, history disappears.

Saving local and family history is not the responsibility of professional historians. It’s ours.

Also, it isn’t a burden. It can be deeply rewarding – the satisfaction of an obligation to one’s predecessors. And your great-grandchildren, or some of them, may someday thank you for it.

R. Eden Martin,  
2012



*THE*  
*EDENS*





# I

## THE EDEN FAMILY

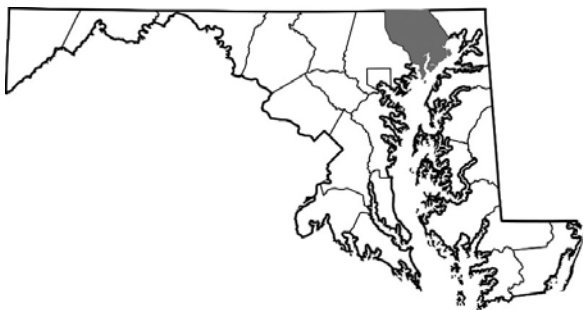
Husband: William EDEN  
Birthdate: 1746  
Birthplace: Probably England  
Death date: before August 16, 1793  
Place of Death: Harford County, Maryland

Wife: Sarah  
Birthdate: 1750  
Birthplace:  
Death date:  
Place of death:

### CHILDREN:

**Jeremiah** b. 1767, d. Feb. 2, 1859  
Elizabeth b. 1770, married John Smith  
Benjamin b. 1773  
Mary b. 1775/6

(Authority: *More Marylanders to Kentucky 1778-1828*, by Henry C. Peden, 2000, p. 47. Also 1776 Census of Harford Lower Hundred, Harford County.)



---

JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

---

Harford County, Maryland  
Harford Lower Hundred

Marriage place: Bath Co., Kentucky  
Spouse's name: John DUTY

\*\*\*\*\*

Husband: Jeremiah EDEN  
Birthdate: Sep 2,1767  
Birthplace: Maryland  
Death date: Feb 2,1859  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky

**Child No. 4:** Isaac EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: Oct 9,1801  
Birthplace: Baltimore, Maryland  
Death date: unknown  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Marriage date:  
Marriage place:  
Spouse's name:

Marriage date: May 2,1791  
Marriage place: Bel Air, Harford County, Maryland  
Wife: Mary SUMMERS  
Birthdate: 1769  
Birthplace: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Death date: Oct 5,1850  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky

**Child No. 5:** Jacob EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: Oct 9,1801  
Birthplace: Baltimore, Maryland  
Death date: Oct 6,1868  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Marriage date: Oct 18,1827  
Marriage place: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Rachel MCCRACKEN

-----  
**CHILDREN**  
-----

**Child No. 1:** Nellie EDEN  
Sex: F  
Birthdate: ABT. 1795  
Birthplace: Baltimore, Maryland  
Death date: BEF. 1822  
Place of death: Bath Co., Kentucky?  
Marriage date: Sep 20,1817  
Marriage place: Bath Co., Kentucky  
Spouse's name: William GROVER

**Child No. 6:** Benjamin EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: Aug 23,1803  
Birthplace: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Death date: Sep 22,1881  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Marriage date: Sep 2,1832  
Marriage place: Bath County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Charlotte ALEXANDER

**Child No. 2: John Paul EDEN**  
FATHER OF JOHN R. EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: April 30,1796  
Birthplace: Baltimore, Maryland  
Death date: July 16,1835  
Place of death: Rush County, Indiana  
Marriage date: Nov 19,1819  
Marriage place: Bath County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Catherine CANN

**Child No. 7:** William EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: March 25,1805  
Birthplace: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Death date: March 30,1891  
Place of death: Slate Creek, Bath Co., Kentucky  
Marriage date: Nov 19,1832  
Marriage place: Bath County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Nancy VICE

**Child No. 3:** Sarah EDEN  
Sex: F  
Birthdate: March 20, 1798  
Birthplace: Maryland  
Death date: Feb 9,1882  
Place of death: Bath Co., Kentucky  
Marriage date: July 20, 1819

**Child No. 8:** Jeremiah EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: abt. 1808  
Birthplace: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Death date: Feb 3, 1890  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Marriage date: Feb 17,1834

Marriage place: Bath County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Catherine ADAMS

**Child No. 9:** Andrew EDEN  
Sex: M  
Birthdate: April 7,1811  
Birthplace: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Death date: June 5,1888  
Place of death: Hillsboro, Fleming Co., Kentucky  
Marriage date: Aug 15,1836  
Marriage place: Bath County, Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Jane JOHNSON

**Child No. 10:** Nancy EDEN  
Sex: F  
Birthdate: abt. 1815  
Birthplace: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Death date:  
Place of death: Fleming County, Kentucky  
Marriage date: Dec 25,1836  
Marriage place: Bath Co., Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Absolom Lyman

**Child No. 11:** Mary EDEN  
Sex: F  
Birthdate: 1809  
Birthplace: Fleming Co., Kentucky  
Death date: unknown  
Place of death:  
Marriage date: March 17, 1845  
Marriage place: Bath Co., Kentucky  
Spouse's name: Howard MCLAIN

-----  
Documentation:  
-----

Census, Cem. Inscription books and other Vital Docs.  
Marilyn Coy researcher, worked on family for 40 yrs. She has the family bible

\*\*\*\*\*

From: *More Marylanders to Kentucky 1778-1828*, by Henry C. Peden, Jr., Westminster, Maryland, 2000 (pp. 47-48):

William EDEN was born in 1746 probably in England and lived in Harford County, Maryland by 1774. In the 1776 census his age was listed as 31, with wife Sarah EDEN (age 26), son Jeremiah EDEN (age 8), daughter Elizabeth EDEN (age 6), son Benjamin EDEN (age 3), and daughter Mary EDEN (age 10 months). Jeremiah EDEN married Mary SUMMERS on May 2, 1791. William EDEN, farmer, died testate before August 16, 1793, naming wife Sarah EDEN, son Jeremiah EDEN, son Benjamin EDEN, daughter Elizabeth SMITH [who had married John SMITH in Baltimore by license dated October 8, 1789], and daughter Mary EDEN.

During February 1795, Jeremiah sold two horses, a number of household goods, and one skoner (schooner) named the *Sally of Harford* to Harmon BEEDLE of Harford County. This would indicate that Jeremiah was a waterman by trade. By 1797 he and brother Benjamin were in Baltimore City where they appeared on a tax list for carts (Jeremiah 2 carts, Benjamin 1 cart).

Jeremiah EDEN also purchased the 'residuum' of a 99 year lease on a lot on Goodman Street at Honey Alley, and Benjamin EDEN, laborer, leased part of a tract called 'David's Fancy.' Jeremiah is on the 1798 and 1799 tax lists and is enumerated in the 1800 Federal Census with 'a boy under age ten (no doubt John Paul EDEN, born 1796), two little girls, a young woman, and another woman over age 45.' In 1801 he leased another property near the first one and a few months later 'Jere. Eaton' sold three plats at auction, which became involved in a lengthy chancery case; Benjamin posted a guardianship in the same case. The brothers may have been speculating, or perhaps they were victims of speculation, but Jeremiah was about to lift stakes once again.

By 1803 Jeremiah EDEN was in Fleming County, Kentucky. By 1810 he and wife Mary had six children under age ten and four from age 10 to 16, and three older children had married (no names were given). Jeremiah appeared in circuit court several times in Fleming County 'showing signs of great frustration' before moving over the river to Bath County in 1812.

Jeremiah EDEN was buried in Fleming County on February 2, 1859, at Eden Chapel Cemetery where wife Mary had been buried in 1850. His brother Benjamin EDEN may have also come to Kentucky. 'If he died young, some of Jeremiah's big family could have been his children.'

\*\*\*\*\*

John Paul EDEN, son of Jeremiah, was born on April 30, 1796 in Maryland and came with the family to Kentucky where he grew to manhood and married Catherine CANN. They moved to Rush County, Indiana in 1831 where John Paul died only four years later (1835). Their son John Rice EDEN moved, as a young lawyer, to Moultrie County, Illinois.

\*\*\*\*\*

William EATON is listed as a taxable in the 1773 tax list of Westminster Hundred in Baltimore County. William EATON is listed as a taxable in the 1774 tax list of Spesutia Lower Hundred in Harford County. William EDEN lived in Harford Lower Hundred in 1776. William EADIN was a private in Capt. Bradford's Militia Company No. 13 on September 390, 1775. William EDEN was a private in Capt. Rigdon's Militia Company No. 12 on December 2, 1775. William EDEN was a signer of the Association of Freemen of Maryland in 1776 in Deer Creek Upper Hundred. William EATON was head of a household of 7 white inhabitants in Gunpowder Hundred in 1783. It appears that there may have been two men named William EDEN in early Harford County. Additional research may be necessary before drawing conclusions.

\*\*\*\*\*

From: *Harford County, Maryland Wills 1774-1800*, Ralph H. Morgan, Jr., Westminster, Maryland, 2000, p. 25:

AJ-2-197 [Refers to Harford County Will Book so designated]:

**William Eden, farmer 12 Jul 1793 / 18 Aug 1793**

To: Wife, Sarah EDEN; sons, Benjamin & Jeremiah Eden

Daughters, Elizabeth Smith and Mary EDEN

Ex: Son, Benjamin EDEN; Wife, Sarah EDEN

Wt: Richard BULL; James SHIELDS; George TAYLOR

\*\*\*\*\*

From: *Early Harford Countians, Individuals Living in Harford County, Maryland, In its Formative Years, Vol 1*, by Henry C. Peden, Jr., Westminster, 1999, at p. 128:

Eden Hundred FAMILY. See "William and Sarah Eden Hundred" in 1776. Ref: B.

[Lists children: Benjamin, Elizabeth, Jeremiah, Mary; and wife Sarah.]

1776 Census shows:

Eden, William. Age 31 in 1776, Harford Lower Hundred. Sarah, age 26; Jeremiah, age 8; Elizabeth, age 6; Benjamin, age 3; Mary, age 10 months. Also: Peter Codonia, age 15, and Elizabeth Boayer (no age listed).

\*\*\*\*\*

JOHN R. EDEN 1826 - 1909

FAMILY GROUP

No. \_\_\_\_\_ Surname \_\_\_\_\_

Husband's Full Name: <b>John Paul Eden</b>						
VITAL DATA	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	TOWN	COUNTY	STATE OR COUNTRY
Birth				Baltimore		Maryland
Christen.						
Marriage						
Death			1835	Cause:		Rush County, Indiana
Burial				Cemetery:		
Father's Full Name				Mother's Maiden Name		
Other wives: Remarks: NONE				Military		
Wife's Full Maiden Name: <b>Catherine Cann</b>						
VITAL DATA	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	TOWN	COUNTY	STATE OR COUNTRY
Birth	September 26,		1800			Kentucky
Christen.						
Death	August 29,		1870	Cause:		
Burial	August 30,		1870	Cemetery:	Greenhill Cemetery, Moultrie Co., Ill.	
Father's Full Name				Mother's Maiden Name		
Other husbands: Remarks: NONE						
(ARRANGE IN ORDER OF BIRTH) CHILDREN						
SEX	FULL NAME			VITAL DATA	DATE	PLACE
1				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:
2				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:
M	John R.	3	Birth	Feb. 1, 1826	Bath County, Kentucky	
			Death	June 9, 1909	Sullivan, Moultrie Co., Ill.	
			Marriage	Aug. 7, 1856	To: Phoebe Roxanna Meeker	
M	Joseph E.	4	Birth	Apr. 25, 1828	Rush County, Indiana	
			Death	Oct. 27, 1898	Lincoln, Nebraska	
			Marriage		To: Matilda Russell	
F	Nancy J.	5	Birth	Aug. 26, 1832	Rushville, Indiana	
			Death	Mar. 13, 1919	Pruce, Moultrie Co., Ill.	
			Marriage		To: Henry Bishop Sampson	
F	Julianna	6	Birth			
			Death			
			Marriage		To: James E. Moore	
7				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:
8				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:
9				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:
10				Birth		
				Death		
				Marriage		To:

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 St. Louis, Missouri 63144

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 Missouri Residents:  
 Add 4% State Sales Tax.



JOHN R. EDEN 1826 - 1909

HUSBAND JOHN PAUL EDEN

Born 1796 Place Baltimore, Md.  
 Marr. 1818 Place Ky.  
 Died 1835 Place Rush Co., Indiana  
 Bur. Place

Mrs. William C. Power, Jr.  
 8102 North Illinois Street  
 Indianapolis, Indiana 46260

*Oct 5-1981-llr*

Husband's father Jeremiah Eden Husband's mother ("a lady of Germ decent")  
 Husband's other wives

76 WIFE CATHERINE (CANN) EDEN

Born 26 Sept 1800 Place Ky.  
 Marr. ca. 1818 Place Ky.  
 Died 29 Aug, 1870 Place Moultrie Co., Ill.  
 Bur. Place Greenhill Cemetery

Wife's father Joseph Cann ("from Virginia") Wife's mother  
 Wife's other husbands

sex	Children	When born	Where born	First Marriage	When die
61 1. m	<u>Joseph Edgar Eden</u>	10 Sept., 1820	Bath Co., Ky.	<u>Matilda Bussell</u>	28 Feb.
2. f		betw 1820&1825	" "		
64 3. f	Julina (Julianne, Julia)	26 FEB., 1823	" "	HENRY CO., KY James "Ed" Moore d. 9 MAY 1895	26 JUNE
76 4. m	<u>John Rice Eden</u>	1 Feb., 1826	" "	<u>Fhebe Roxana Meeker</u>	9 June,
5. f	Nancy Jane	ca. 1832	Rush Co., Ind.	Henry Sampson	
6. f		betw 18ca. 1835	" "		
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					

Sources of information County bio/hist, obits, gravestones, etc. Other marriages



JOHN R. EDEN 1826 - 1909

HUSBAND JOHN RICE EDEN

Born 1 Feb., 1826 Place Bath Co., Ky.  
 Marr. 1856 Place Sullivan, Moultrie Co., Ill.  
 Died 9 June, 1909 Place Sullivan " "  
 Bur. Place Greenhill Cem., Sullivan

76 Husband's father John Paul Eden Husband's mother Catherine Cann(Can) Eden  
 Husband's other wives

76 WIFE Phoebe Roxana (Meeker) Eden

Born 6 Jan., 1834 Place Bennington Twnsp, Delaware Co., O.  
 Marr. 17 Aug., 1856 Place Sullivan, Moultrie Co., Ill.  
 Died 10 Mar., 1888 Place  
 Bur. Place Greenhill Cem., Sullivan

8162 Wife's father Ambrose Meeker Wife's mother Hannah (Hartwell) Meeker  
 Wife's other husbands

sex	Children	When born	Where born	First Marriage	When died
p76 1. f	<u>Emma</u>	1857		never	5 Mar., 1923 - Greenhill
p63 2. f	<u>Rose</u>	1858		<u>I. J. Martin</u>	1907 - Greenhill
976 3. m	<u>Thomas Hartwell</u>	1860			18 Mar., 1879 - Greenhill
4. m	<u>Walter</u>	14 July, 1862	Sullivan	<u>Mae Mulvey</u>	7 Nov., 1932
p63 5. f	<u>Belle</u>	1863		<u>Jowl K. Martin</u>	1932 - Greenhill
p76 6. m.	<u>Finley R.</u>	1859			22 Mar., 1862 - Greenhill
p76 7. m	<u>Joseph Edgar</u>	1870			26 Feb., 1872 - Greenhill
p44 8. m	<u>Blanche</u>	1877		<u>Paul Thackwell</u>	1939 - Greenhill
9.					
10.					
11.					

Sources of information

Other marriages

JOHN R. EDEN 1826 - 1909

HUSBAND <u>JOSEPH EDGAR EDEN</u>						
?)	Born	10 Sept., 1820	Place	Bath Co., Ky.		
	Marr.	14 May, 1846	Place	Rush Co., Ind.		
	Died	28 Feb., 1910	Place			
	Bur.		Place	Greenhill Cemetery, Moultrie Co., Ill.		
76	Husband's father	John Paul Eden	Husband's mother	<u>Catherine Cann Eden</u>		
	Husband's other wives					
WIFE <u>MATILDA (BUSSELL) EDEN</u>						
	Born	25 April, 1828	Place	Rush Co., Ind.		
	Marr.	14 May, 1846	Place	" " "		
	Died	27 Oct., 1895	Place	Lincoln, Neb.		
	Bur.		Place	Greenhill Cemetery, Moultrie Co., Ill.		
	Wife's father	William S. Bussell "from Ky."	Wife's mother	Maria (Ward) Bussell		
	Wife's other husbands					
sex	Children	When born	Where born	First Marriage	When died	
1. m	William W. Eden	27 Sept., 1847	Rush Co., Ind.	Belle Alexander	10 Aug 1880	
2. f	<u>Susan R.</u>	23 Mar., 1850	" "	O. C. Link	1927 (Calif.)	
3. m	<u>John Finley Eden</u>	1852	Sullivan, Ill.	Nary Josephine	31 Mar., 1900	b. Greenhill Cem.
4. m	<u>Erastus Bussell Eden</u>	1855	Sullivan, Ill.	Elizabeth	1904	b. Greenhill Cem.
5.				Beverage	1926	b. Greenhill Cem.
6.				(Kavanaugh?)		
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
Sources of information				Other marriages		

HUSBAND <u>AMBROSE MEEKER</u>					
Born	Jan., 1799	Place	New Jersey -Orange		
Marr.	1824	Place	Newark, Ohio (Licking Co.)		
Died	14 June, 1880	Place	Moultrie Co., Ill.		
Bur.		Place	Greenhill Cemetery		
Husband's father	Jonathan Meeker -b. 1758		Husband's mother	Phoebe Thompson	
Husband's other wives	m. <u>Sarah Hibbard</u> , 1849 -d. 12 May, 1850 m. <u>Deborah Hibbard</u> 1857 -d. 1883				
WIFE <u>HANNAH (HARTWELL) MEEKER</u>					
Born	Jan. 1808 (1803?)	Place	Plymouth, Mass.		
Marr.	1824	Place	Newark, Ohio		
Died	30 Mar., 1848	Place	Sullivan, Ill.		
Bur.		Place	Greenhill Cemetery		
Wife's father	Nathan Hartwell -b. 1765 at		Wife's mother	Sara Ripley	
Wife's other husbands	New Bedford, Mass.				
	Children	When born	Where born	First Marriage	When died
sex					
1.	(possibly, a son, Hartwell, who died at 18 before family left Ohio)				
2. f	Cordelia	ca. 1830	Ohio		ca. 1847
3. m	<u>Jonathan M.</u>	25 Jul., 1831	Delaware Co., O.	<u>Nancy Parker</u>	1900
4. f	<u>Phoebe Roxanna</u>	6 Jan., 1834	Delaware Co., Ohio	<u>John Rice Eden</u>	9 March, 1888
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
Sources of information					

# II

## THE CANN FAMILY

John Paul Eden married Catherine Cann in 1819.

The parents of Catherine Cann were Joseph Cann and Jane Rice Cann.

- a. Joseph Cann (1777-1814 Va,). Little is known about the Cann family.
- b. Jane Rice (1770-1836 Va) (daughter of James and Bethany Oxley Rice ).

James Rice [b. 4 Jul 1744, Worcester, MA and died 20 Sep 1817, Loudon Co., VA] and Bethany Oxley [b. 14 Jul 1750, Hopewell, Burlington, NJ and died 21 Aug 1822, Loudoun Co., VA]

The children of James and Bethany Oxley Rice :

William Rice, b. 1767

Leonard Rice, b. 1769

John Rice, b. 1771

**Susanna Rice**, 1773-1843 [m. Enoch Burns, mother of Nicholas of Shelby County]

**Jane Rice, 1775 [married Joseph Cann – parents of Catherine Cann]**

Isaac Rice, 1779

James Rice, 1781

Jesse Rice, 1782

Sampson Rice, 1787

Rebeckah Rice, 1789



# III

## RECORD IN EDEN FAMILY BIBLE, COPIED BY I.J. MARTIN

### THE EDEN FAMILY BIBLE

Published Philadelphia, 1844.

Separate note on stationery of Moultrie County Abstract Company, by I.J. Martin:

This is the family Bible of the Eden family – John Paul Eden (1796-1835) and his wife, Katheryn Cann Eden (1800-\_\_\_\_), who were married November 19, 1819, and who were the parents of Joseph Edgar Eden (1820–) and John Rice Eden (1826-1909). Two daughters lived to reach womanhood – Julina Eden Moore and Nancy Jane Eden Sampson.

This book – the second which the family owned – was purchased about the year 1844. It contains the family history, marriages, births and deaths from 1796 to about 1855. Later entries are of the Sampson family who had the book until it was purchased at a Sampson sale in 1936. Besides the entries made in the “Family Record”, there is inserted a manuscript of entries copied from an earlier record, perhaps in the first Bible owned by the family. Mrs. Eden’s entries cease about the year 1853 or 1854. She does not enter the birth of E.B. Eden in 1855 or the marriage of John R. Eden and Phoebe Roxanna Meeker in 1856. The later entries are of the Sampson family, with whom Mrs. Eden made her home the last years of her life.

1. Manuscript. John Paul Eden was born April 30th 1796. Kitty Cann was born September 26th, 1800. John Paul Eden and Kitty Cann was married November 19th, 1819.

Joseph Edgar Eden, son of the above, was born September 10th, 1820.

Julina Eden was born February 26th, 1823.

John Rice Eden was born February 1st, 1826.

Nancy Jane Eden was born August 27th, A.D. 1832.

John Eden died July the 16, 1835, was 39 years 2 months and 16 days old.

Mary Ann Eden was born August 12th, 1835.

Mary Ann Eden died January the 19th, AD. 1842.

2. “Family Record” in 1844 Bible.

Marriages:

John Paul Eden and Katharine Cann was married November the 19th, 1819.

Joseph E. Eden and Matilda Burrell was married May the 14th, 1846.

Henry B. Sampson and Nancy J. Eden were married the 16th August 1852.

Henry B. Sampson, died April 5, 1908.

Births:

John Paul Eden was born April the 30th, 1796.

Katharine Cann was born September the 26, 1800.

Marilda Sampson was born July 2d, 1853 .

Edgar Sampson was born October 29th, 1855.

William Sampson was born May 25, 1858.

George Sampson, born May 26, 1865.

Susan Rice Sampson, was born December 4, 18\_9.

Rosie Sampson was born June 29th, 1870,

Henry B. Sampson was born February the 7, 1828.

Alfred Leroy Sampson was born April 28, 1888.

Lilian Sampson was born September 2, 1891.

Joseph Edgar Eden was born September the 10th, 1820.

Irelina [Julina?] Eden was born February the 26th, 1823.

John Rice Eden was born February the 1st, 1826.

Susan Eden was born January the 21st 1829.

Nancy Lane Eden was born August the 27, 1832.

Mary Ann Eden was born August the 12th, 1835.

Matilda E. Burrell was born April the 25th, 1828.

William Wallace Eden was born September the 27th, 1841.

Susan Rice Eden was born March the 23, 1850.

John Finley Eden was born December the 26th, 1851.

Marilda Sampson was born July the 2d, 1853.

Deaths:

John Paul Eden died July the 16th 1835, aged 39 years, 2 months and 17 days.

Mary Ann Eden died January the 19th 1842.

Susan Eden died July the 23rd, 1845.

Mary Ann Sampson died October \_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_.





*JOHN*  
*RICE*  
*EDEN*



**John Rice Eden**



**Phoebe Roxanna Meeker Eden**

John R. Eden was born February 1, 1826, in Bath County, Kentucky. In 1835 the family moved to Rush County, Indiana, where John R. grew to adulthood. He moved from Rushville, Indiana, to Shelbyville, Illinois in 1852, and was admitted to the Illinois bar in June of that year. In August 1853 he moved a few miles north to the new town of Sullivan, where his older brother, Joseph Edgar Eden, had already settled.

Not long after moving to Sullivan, John R. Eden met his future wife, Roxanna Meeker, born in 1834 in Marysville, Ohio. Her father, Ambrose Meeker, was a blacksmith and farmer who had moved his family from Ohio to Illinois in 1846 and settled in Sullivan in 1848.

John and Roxanna married in 1856. They had eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood: Emma, Rose, Walter, Belle and Blanche. Rose married I.J. Martin.

John R. was elected States Attorney for the Seventh Judicial Circuit in 1856. The circuit comprised nine central Illinois counties, and he served in that capacity for four years while at the same time building his own private law practice.

In 1858 the great Lincoln-Douglas debates were held in conjunction with the race for the U.S. Senate seat. On September 20, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas appeared separately in Sullivan to give campaign speeches. John R. Eden was the Chairman of the Douglas meeting and made a short speech of introduction. His son-in-law, I.J. Martin, later wrote an article about the disruption that occurred that day – sometimes referred to as a “riot.” (*Fragments of Martin Family History*, at 241-248, which can be found on the edenmartin.com local history web site.)

In November 1859, John R. Eden became political editor of the first newspaper published in Moultrie County – the *Sullivan Express*. The paper was a strong supporter of the Stephen Douglas wing of the Democratic party. Eden’s political talent and writing ability are said to have given “the paper prominence among the journals of Central Illinois, and made for himself a reputation as a strong and vigorous writer of political articles.” (*Ivory and Rose*, ed. R. Eden Martin, at xi.)

In 1860 Eden was nominated by the Democrats for a place in the state legislature, but was defeated in the heavily Republican district by a few votes.

In 1862 the Democrats in the Seventh Congressional District made him their candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, and he was elected, taking his seat in the 38<sup>th</sup> Congress in March 1863 as the Civil War raged.



# IV

## FROM COMBINED HISTORY OF SHELBY AND MOULTRIE COUNTIES, PHILADELPHIA, 1881

[INFORMATION PROBABLY PROVIDED OR VERIFIED BY JOHN R. EDEN]

John Rice Eden, for four terms one of the Illinois representatives in Congress, is a native of Bath County, Kentucky, and was born on the first day of February 1826. His great grandfather was an Englishman, who emigrated to this country and settled in Maryland. His father, John Eden, was born in the city of Baltimore, and was five or six years of age at the time of the removal of the family to Kentucky. John Eden was raised in Kentucky and married Catharine Cann, who was a native of the same state, but whose father was a Virginian. Mr. Eden's grandparents, both on his father's and mother's side, were among the early settlers of Kentucky, making their home in the state soon after the opening of the present century.

The subject of this sketch was the third of a family of six children. In 1831 when he was five years old, the family moved to Rush County, Indiana. Four years later the father died, leaving his family in somewhat limited circumstances. Mr. Eden's boyhood days were spent in Rush County, a rough frontier portion of Indiana, possessing only the commonest educational facilities. As was the custom with the boys of that period, he went to school in the winter, and worked on the farm during the summer. He made the best use he could of his opportunities, and at the age of eighteen, secured a position as teacher of a school in the same neighborhood where his early years were spent. He afterward taught school several winters.

Having resolved on the practice of the law in the spring of 1850, he became a student of Bigger & Logan at Rushville, Indiana, and industriously applied himself to his legal studies. After reading law two years at Rushville, he came to Illinois in the spring of 1852, and settled at Shelbyville with a view of establishing himself in practice at that point. He was admitted to the bar in May 1852. He opened an office and was meeting with success in securing business, when the unfavorable condition of his health occasioned his removal in August 1853 to Sullivan, of which place his brother had become a resident.

At that time Sullivan was a place of small size and importance. There was only one other lawyer beside himself in Moultrie County, and he was fortunate in getting an excellent start. He secured the good will and friendship of some of the elder and prominent members of the bar in the neighboring counties, and at their suggestion in 1856, became a candidate for the position of prosecuting attorney for the seventeenth judicial district, which then comprised the nine counties of Macon, Piatt, Moultrie, Shelby, Effingham, Fayette, Bond, Christian and Montgomery. Previous to this event his acquaintance had been confined mostly to the counties of Moultrie and Shelby. His four years' service as prosecuting attorney brought him in contact with the people of the different counties composing the district, while the position was one which, of necessity, was of great value in developing his talents as a lawyer. In the trial of important criminal cases he was frequently opposed by such able lawyers as Linder, Thornton, Moulton and Ficklin, who tested his abilities to the utmost.

In his politics he had always been a Democrat, and in 1860 he received the Democratic nomination for representative in the legislature. The District was strongly Republican, and he was defeated by a few votes. In 1862, the Democrats of the seventh congressional district, comprising the counties of Iroquois, Ford, Vermillion, Champaign, Piatt, Macon, Moultrie, Douglas, Edgar, Coles and Cumberland made him their candidate for representative in Congress. These counties in 1860 had given a Republican majority of about sixteen hundred, but Mr. Eden was elected with fourteen hundred votes to spare, and in March 1863 he took his seat in the thirty-eighth Congress.

The war of the rebellion was then in progress. The Democratic members of Congress formed only a small minority. He was placed on the Committees on Accounts and Revolutionary Pensions. He supported the measures necessary for the suppression of the rebellion. In 1864, he was re-nominated by the Democrats without opposition, but a Republican was returned from the district. He then gave his whole attention to his law practice until 1868, when he was made the Democratic candidate for governor against Palmer. He thoroughly canvassed the state, making speeches in almost every county, but was defeated with the balance of the ticket.

In June 1872, though he made no efforts to obtain the nomination, nor was present at the convention, he received the Democratic nomination for representative in Congress in the present fifteenth district. He was elected, and in 1874, and again in 1876, was re-elected. His services in the house are well known to the people of the district he represented. In the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses he took a particularly active part in the general business of the house, and the vigor of his opposition to all kinds of subsidies, and the various schemes for depletion of the treasury attracted general attention.

During the last four years of his service he was chairman of the Committee on War Claims. This position threw on him a vast amount of labor, the numerous claims which came before the committee requiring the closest scrutiny. He was a member of the special committee appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate the presidential election in 1876, in South Carolina, and with other members of the committee visited that state.

Since the expiration of his term as a member of the Congress, he has been engaged in the practice of the law in Sullivan and in farming. During the years 1870 and 1871, he was a resident of Decatur. His marriage took place on the seventh of August, 1856, to Roxana Meeker, daughter of Ambrose Meeker. He has five children living.

He has always taken an active part in politics, and in every important political campaign since 1856, has been a ready and earnest advocate of the principles of the Democratic party. In his election to important positions he has been honored, but in every instance has justified the confidence placed in his ability and integrity. He has passed through his years of public service without the smell of corruption on his garments and whether a private citizen or in public life has always been the same honest, plain and unpretending man of the people.

# V

## FROM PORTRAIT AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF SHELBY AND MOULTRIE COUNTIES, 1891



**John R. Eden**

HON. JOHN R. EDEN, who resides in Sullivan, was born on the banks of the Licking River, **eight miles from Owingsville**, Bath County, Ky., February 1, 1826.

His father, **John Paul Eden**, was born in **Baltimore. Md.**, in 1796, and died 1835.

**Jeremiah Eden, the grandfather** was a native of England, who came when a young man to America and settled in Maryland. From that State he removed to Kentucky about the year **1800, and became a farmer in Bath County**. There he bought a tract of timber land, which he cleared and turned into a rich and productive farm, making it his home until death called him away.

**John Paul Eden**, The father of our subject was reared and married in Bath County, and resided there until 1831 when with his wife and four children he removed to Indiana. The removal was made with teams and the far-famed prairie schooners, in which



were all their household goods. Traveling by slow stages and camping by the way, the family reached Indiana and settled in Rush County. Having entered a tract of Government land, they built a cabin in the wilderness and commenced to clear a farm.

The maiden name of the mother of our subject was **Catherine Can**, and she was born in Kentucky in the year 1800, being a daughter of **Joseph Can**. In 1835 she was left a widow with six children to care for and she had a hard struggle to maintain them and keep them together. In 1852 she removed from Indiana to Illinois, and spent her last years here with a son Joseph, dying in 1870.

The subject of our sketch commenced when very young to assist upon the farm where his services were much needed. In his younger days there were no railroads, and Cincinnati was the nearest market and depot for supplies. The products of the farm formed the principal living of the family, and the mother made all the cloth which was used in the family, carding, spinning and weaving the raw material into the needed fabrics.

The first school which Mr. Eden attended, was in a cabin built of round logs. The chimney was made of sticks and clay, and the fireplace occupied nearly one end of the building. The only window was produced by a log being taken out through nearly the entire length of the building, and it had no covering of glass, but in cold weather greased paper was used to cover the aperture to keep out the wind. The benches were made of puncheon with wooden pins for legs. Holes were bored in the logs under the window, and pegs supported a smooth puncheon which served as a writing desk for the older scholars. He was very studious, making the most of the opportunities afforded him and at the age of eighteen commenced teaching, receiving the usual salary of \$20 a month and his board. He taught during the fall and winter for seven years, occupying the remainder of the year in farming, and using every fragment of time not otherwise absorbed, to study law.

In 1852 Mr. Eden came to Illinois, traveling by railroad to Terre Haute, Ind., and thence by stage to Shelbyville, and a few days later was admitted to the bar and commenced practice. He practiced there until the fall of 1853, when he came to Sullivan and since that time has made this place the main field of his work except when absent upon official duty.

A happy and congenial matrimonial alliance was made by our subject in 1856, when he chose as his wife Roxanna Meeker, a native of Bennington Township, Delaware (now Morrow) County, Ohio. This lady is a daughter of Ambrose and Hannah (Hartwell) Meeker, and a sister of the Hon. Jonathan Meeker. The family of Mr. and Mrs. Eden comprises five living children, namely: Emma, Rose, Walter, Belle and Blanche, Rose is now Mrs. J. Martin, of whom a sketch will be found elsewhere in this volume.

Ex-Congressman Eden has always espoused the political views which had their ablest advocate in the author of the Declaration of Independence, and he cast his first vote for Lewis Cass. Ever since he came here he has been a prominent man in his district, as his natural abilities and well cultured mind have given him a commanding influence. In 1856 he was elected States Attorney for the Seventh Judicial District, which office he filled for four years. He represented the Seventh District in the Thirty-eighth Congress, being elected thereto in 1862. This was followed by his re-election, and service in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth and Forty-ninth Congresses. During this long period the boundaries, and numbers of the Congressional Districts were changed, and he represented the following counties: Moultrie, Macon, Piatt, Champaign, Ford, Iroquois, Vermillion, Douglas, Coles, Edgar, Clark, Cumberland, Effingham, Shelby, Jasper, Crawford, Lawrence, Fayette, Montgomery and Macoupin.

The most important committees of which this honorable gentleman was a member during the various sessions, were as follows: During the Thirty-eighth Congress the Committee on Accounts and Revolutionary Pensions; in the Forty-third the Committee on Claims and the Freedmen Affairs; in the Forty-fourth he was Chairman of the Committee on War Complaints, and a member of the one appointed to investigate the Presidential election; during the next Congress he was again Chairman of the same Committee, and during the Forty-ninth he belonged to the Committee on the Judiciary and Revision of Laws. In 1868 he was a Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois.

In every sphere of life, either professional or as a public servant, the Hon. John R. Eden has proved himself well-equipped and able to meet the serious emergencies which come before a man of affairs. As an attorney he has been successful in his practice, and has built up an extensive clientage, and as a member of Congress he worked honestly and honorably for the prosperity of the entire country and the interests of his constituents.


# VI

## OUR PICTURE GALLERY — FROM *Sullivan Progress*

**OUR PICTURE GALLERY.**  
**LIFELIKE PORTRAITS OF SOME OF OUR PROMINENT CITIZENS.**

Brief Biographies of a Few of Moultrie County's Representative Men; Prominent in Business and Political Life.

Believing that our readers would be interested in reading the biographical sketches of a few of our prominent citizens, we made arrangements some time ago for engravings to be used in our Christmas number. We believe the following cuts are unusually accurate, and the biographies, though necessarily brief, are intended to contain the most important incidents in the lives of the subjects:



JOHN R. EDEN,

Who is now serving on his fifth term in the lower house of Congress, was born in Bath county, Kentucky, on the first day of February, 1826. His father's name was John Eden, whose grandfather emigrated from England and settled in Maryland. The maiden name of Mr. Eden's mother was Catherine Cann, and she was a native of Kentucky, but her father was a Virginian. The subject of this sketch was but five years old when his parents moved to Rush county, Indiana, where his father died four years later, leaving the family in somewhat limited circumstances, in a rough frontier country with very meager educational advantages. Mr. Eden worked on the farm in the summer and attended school in the winter until at the age of eighteen he began teaching in the same neighborhood, which he continued to do for several winters. He then studied law in the office of Bigger & Logan, at Nashville, Indiana, and in the spring of 1852 moved to Shelbyville, this state, and was admitted to the bar in May of that year. He moved to Sullivan in the fall of 1853, and in 1856 was elected prosecuting attorney for the seventh judicial district, which was composed of nine counties. In 1862 he was nominated for

Congress in the Old Seventh district, which in the previous election had given a republican majority of sixteen hundred, but Mr. Eden was elected by a majority of fourteen hundred. In 1868 he was a candidate for Governor against Gen. Palmer, but was, of course, defeated with the rest of the democratic ticket. In 1872 he was elected to Congress, and was re-elected in 1874 and again in 1876. He is now serving out his fifth term, having been elected in the fall of 1884. Mr. Eden has been married thirty years, his marriage with Roxana Meeker occurring on the seventh of August, 1856. He has five children living, one son and four daughters. Since his marriage he has lived either in Sullivan or on his farm near the city, with the exception of the years 1870 and 1871, when he was a resident of Decatur. We cannot close this sketch in any better way than by quoting the following extract from his biography in the History of Moultrie and Shelby counties: "Mr. Eden has always taken an active part in politics, and in every important political campaign since 1856, has been a ready and earnest advocate of the principles of the democratic party. In his election to important positions he has been honored, but in every instance has justified the confidence placed in his ability and integrity. He has passed through his years of public service without the smell of corruption on his garments and whether a private citizen or in public life, has always been the same honest, plain and unpretending man of the people."



JOSEPH EDGAR EDEN

Was born in Bath county, Kentucky, September 10, 1830. His father's name was John Paul Eden and his mother's maiden name was Catharine Cann. At the age of eleven, he moved with his father to Rush county, Indiana, and lived in that locality twenty-one years. This was at that time one of the frontier counties and was settled by the hardy, hardworking class that did so much for the developing of the great West. He assisted his father to clear up a farm in this densely wooded country and four years after, when his father died, he was for a while the main support of the family, his brother, John R. Eden, being several years younger. Notwithstanding the demands upon his labor, all of which he discharged, he did not neglect the improvement of his mind, few as his opportunities were. His mother was a talented and cultured lady, and with her encouragement and his own efforts, on which he mainly relied, he succeeded in obtaining a good education. He spent several years in teaching school and he has a traditional reputation yet in that county of being one of the very best of teachers. On the 14th of May, 1846, he was married to Matilda Bussel. In 1853 he moved to Sullivan and engaged in the mercantile business, in which he continued for a great many years. He served as county judge from 1863 to 1867. He had been postmaster at Sullivan for eight years or during Pierce's and Buchanan's administrations. He established himself in the hotel business in 1864, in which he continued until in 1880, when his hotel was burned together with all his furniture. It was a severe loss, as the property was not insured for anything near its real value. During the summer of 1883 he erected one of the finest three story brick hotels in central Illinois, and he is now running one of the best hotels in the state. It is a

of the best  
pleasant, home like establishment, which is due to the Judge's dignified hospitality and to Mrs. Eden's careful and zealous interest in seeing that their guests are well cared for. They have four children, three sons and one daughter, Sosie, who is married to Dr. O. C. Link, and resides at Lincoln, Nebraska



JUDGE J. MEEKER

Is a native of Delaware county, Ohio, where he was born on the 35th of July, 1831. His father, Ambrose Meeker was a native of New Jersey and emigrated to Ohio in 1821, making the entire journey on foot. There he was married to Hannah Hartwell, who was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and who was, through her mother, connected with the famous Ripley family of New England. Jonathan Meeker, the subject of this sketch, was the third of a family of four children. Two died on reaching the age of eighteen, and two, Judge Meeker and his sister, Mrs. John R. Eden, are now living. When Judge Meeker was about a year old the family left Delaware county and afterward lived at Etna, Ohio, and at Marysville in Union county, where he was principally raised. In 1846 they moved to Hancock county, Illinois. They remained there one year and moved to Clark county, and in February 1848 became residents of Sullivan. Judge Meeker attended school two or three winters in Sullivan, securing a mere

father was a blacksmith and he learned the trade and worked in the shop until he was twenty-five years old, when he began the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1858. On the 20th of November, 1860, he married Nancy, daughter of Robert Parker. She was a resident of Jasper county, Indiana, where the marriage took place. They have five children, one son and four daughters. From 1862 to 1864 he acted as deputy circuit clerk, and had entire charge of the office. In 1867, on the adoption of township organization, he was elected the first supervisor of Sullivan township. He was chairman of the board for three years. He was also a member of the board in 1876 and 1877. In 1870 he was elected to represent Moultrie county in the twenty-seventh general assembly. This was the first session of the legislature after the adoption of the new constitution. An entire revision of the laws was necessary and the legislature was in session the greater part of the term of two years and Judge Meeker's legal talents made him an influential representative. In 1877 he was elected county judge and served in that capacity for nine years. In politics he has always been an active democrat.

# VII

## RECOLLECTIONS OF RUSHVILLE, INDIANA, IN THE 1840'S

Typed document written by John R. Eden, 1892, badly faded, in the Eden/Martin files.

John Rice Eden was born February 1, 1826, so he would have been 14 years old during the campaign of 1840. From the pagination it appears that the text below is part of a longer document, the rest of which has apparently been lost. It also appears that the text was a speech prepared by John R. Eden to be delivered to an audience in Rushville in 1892.

\*\*\*\*\*

Some of the most exciting incidents that occurred here during my residence in Rush County had a bearing on party politics, and such events I must touch lightly or I will stand on forbidden ground. I venture to mention one of the events of the campaign of 1840. I was present in Rushville at a two day joint discussion of the political issues of that day between Caleb B. Smith and John L. Robinson. There may be some old settlers here who attended that discussion fifty-two years ago. If so they may remember it was a very interesting occasion, and great excitement prevailed. I also attended the meetings in Rushville called for the purpose of raising volunteers for the Mexican War. I was present when a company of one hundred men was raised for that service, and N. Haydon was elected captain. Q.C. Hackleman first Lieutenant, and John W. Hilligross second Lieutenant. It was a period of great excitement, but the company was not mustered in because the quota of the state was already full.

Sometime in the 40's, a movement was set on foot for the promotion of the cause of temperance in the form of organizations, the members of which were called Washingtonians. The cause was pushed with great vigor and these societies became numerous and powerful in Rush County. They were not confined to the towns and villages, but invaded the country districts and found a home in the school houses and churches. Everywhere you went you were met with a pledge of total abstinence (sic) from all intoxicants, and invited to put down your name as a recruit in the grand army being organized for a war of extermination against King Alcohol. You were not to enlist for a term of years but during life. The war is not yet over and the recruits to the Washingtonian army are nearly all dead.

But in their day they did much in the way of correcting the evils of intemperance by showing its disastrous effects upon its subjects.

The last public meeting I remember attending, as a citizen of Rush County, was the one at which the preliminary steps were taken to organize the Rush County agricultural society. Gov. Wright and Mr. McCarty, who were opposing candidates for Governor, were present, and both made speeches. At that meeting the steps were taken, the result of which has made it manifest at your annual fairs, that in agricultural resources Rush County has few equals.

Ladies and gentlemen, the work of the first pioneer settlers of Rush County has all been done. After a few more of the annual reunions of the old settlers, you will have with you only their memory. I do not look upon the old times and the old ways as superior to the present time and the ways of today. The present generation has more light than their predecessors had. Improvements in machinery have lightened the burden of labor, and brought within the reach of all more of the necessities and comforts of life. A more general diffusion of knowledge under our system of free schools, tends to bring the standard of civilization up higher. People are growing wiser and better. There will be struggles and drawbacks, but under the stimulus of increasing knowledge, and the power which knowledge gives to its possessors, the mass of mankind will learn to guard against injustice and wrong, until the practices of wrong and injustice will cease for the want of victims. In this grand and rich county of Rush, the present generation have a fine field in which to put in force that higher and better civilization which is bound to .....  
[here document stops]

# VIII

## JOHN R. EDEN'S RECOLLECTIONS OF SULLIVAN IN 1853

### I.

[First of three articles not yet located.]

### II.

John R. Eden, article reprinted in *Moultrie County News*, June 5, 1973.

In a former article I gave a general view of the buildings in Sullivan, and their surroundings, when I located here in the summer of 1853. In this I propose to show, in a general way, who resided in the village at the time, and the business in which they were engaged. And in future articles I expect to give some account of the men with whom I became associated, in addition to their mere employment.

In the brick building, heretofore referred to, where the Odd Fellows building now stands, John Perryman was engaged in the business of a merchant; he resided on the west side of Main street, where Gauger's Lumber Yard is now located. In the frame building east of the Perryman building fronting the public square from the south, Bushrod W. Henry and David Patterson, as partners, carried on mercantile business. William B. Porter was their clerk. Dr. W.B. Duffield had his office in a room of the same building in the upper story, and resided in a building now owned by George W. Hoke at the corner of Adams and Washington street. I occupied the room with Dr. Duffield as my office, which was my first office in Sullivan. William G. Haydon carried on a store in the two story frame building, then standing at the southeast corner of the public square. Across the street north of this, where Cawood's hardware store is now located, east of the public square, Lafayette Stewart carried on a general store in a one story frame building. On the same street north of Stewart's and fronting the public square from the east, Orange C. Martin carried on a mercantile business in a small frame building. About that time Dr. William Kellar established his office in a one story frame building immediately north of Martin's store. The doctor resided in a two story frame building in Kellar's addition on Monroe street, where the Byroms now reside, which was the best residence property in the village.

On the north side of the street and north of and fronting the public square, was located at the east end, where Cummins hardware store now stands, a small frame building in which Keedy & Brown carried on a saloon. There was a small building Keedy & Brown's, fronting the public square, in which some one made or mended shoes; and where the opera house now stands there was a tavern, kept by . . . . At that time the village had no policeman, and some of the rougher element, that usually gets out as soon as civilization becomes established, still remained in the county. This part of the population when in town made the saloon their headquarters. They at times indulged in fist fights and other disorderly conduct, as a result of which the north side of the square then, and for a long time subsequent, was called "Sod corn row."

At the northeast corner of the square Thomas Randol was engaged in the manufacture of furniture. Peter Smith was also a cabinet maker, and W.P. Corbin was then in the furniture business as he is now. The difference being that then he and his employees manufactured the furniture he sold, whilst now he buys it at the factory.

At the northwest corner of the public square James Elder was in the mercantile business. Simon Kearney, who afterward became sheriff, was his clerk. Judge Elder then lived in a two story frame house where the First National Bank is now located.

Eden (J.E.) & Hilligoss carried on a store in a little one story building on the west side of the square, south of Elder's residence. J.E. Eden was then postmaster and kept the post office in the store room. He resided in a little building on the north side of Harrison street, about opposite the present residence of T.H. Scott. Hilligoss resided on the same street, about where Dr. Miller's office is now located. J.J. and W.L. Haydon carried on a store on the west side of the public square in a two story building, on the ground floor, where Albert Wyman's building is located. William L. Haydon lived in the upper story of the same building. Ambrose Meeker carried on a blacksmith shop where Craig's blacksmith shop is now located, on the west side of Van Buren street, and lived in a little one story frame house still standing, just south of the shop. Owen Seaney carried on a blacksmith shop at the corner of Harrison and Van Buren streets, immediately west of the Eden Furniture store. F. P. Hoke carried on a blacksmith shop in the southeast part of the then village. David L. Pifer manufactured buggies on Jefferson street at the place where Merritt & Woods Implement Store is now located. He manufactured the first buggy I ever owned. R. B. Wheeler, Andrew Shortess, Mr. Higginbotham, the father of John T., and A. Bankson were carpenters here at that time. Shortess lived at about the same place where his widow now resides. Dr. J.W. Hitt at that time had an office on the west side of the public square and resided at the place where T.H. Scott now resides. Dr. Wilhite then practiced medicine here and resided on the west side of Main street, on the next block north of Gauger's lumber yard. Dr. William and John Stevens and Dr. Burch also practiced medicine here at that time.

Joseph Thomason resided and kept tavern in the old house still standing on Monroe Street, west of Dunscomb's livery barn, now owned by E.O. Dunscomb. Homer Gibbs, the father of N. Gibbs of Mattoon, then resided at the corner of Jefferson and Madison streets, where Mrs. Harris now lives. John Reese, Sr., I think, had a carding factory in the west part of the village. William Taylor had a harness shop in town. E.D. Cleveland was then a justice of the peace and resided on Adams Street in the southeast part of the village. Amos Waggoner then resided in town, and I believe, he was associate judge. His younger sons, E.E., Joseph H. and F.M., resided with him. His oldest son, Isaac, also resided here, and afterwards held a number of minor offices. Beverly Taylor also resided here. Wm. R. Lee was a resident and frequently held minor offices. Allen M. (Mote) Brown was a resident and successful business man, and was afterwards sheriff of Coles county. Daniel D. Randolph, a school teacher and afterwards county surveyor, made his home here. The late Judge Meeker, then a young man, resided with his father, Ambrose Meeker, and worked in his father's blacksmith shop and Samuel Brooks, who was a blacksmith, worked in the same shop.

Moses Underwood was a resident here and handy to do most any kind of work. Rev. James Freeland was a well educated Presbyterian preacher and an ardent teacher. The first sermon I heard preached after locating in Illinois, was preached by Mr. Freeland in a school house on Sand Creek. He was engaged in organizing a school and erecting a seminary building in town. When his work had been but partly done, he died, when yet young. Thomas M. Barber was the only lawyer here when I came. He was a college bred Pennsylvanian and an able man. His health soon failed and he went back home and died, and for one or two years I was the only lawyer in the county.

In 1853 James Elder was County judge. J. Wilson Lloyd was circuit clerk, John A. Freeland was county clerk, Joseph Thomason was sheriff, John Perryman was master-in-chancery. Parnell Hamilton was county surveyor and Arnold Thomason, assessor and treasurer. It may be supposed that in so small a town and sparsely settled county, we had a surplus of doctors and merchants and mechanics. It must be remembered, however, that at that time Windsor and Mattoon were not competitors in business with Sullivan, for at that time neither Windsor nor Mattoon were in existence. With the exception of Ellington's store on Whitley Creek and John Love's store at Lovington, the nearest competitors the Sullivan merchants had were at Charleston, Shelbyville and Decatur. With the exception of Dr. Everett, located at Nelson, Dr. Williamson at Lovington and a "root" doctor on Whitley creek, the Sullivan Physicians were no more cramped by competition than the merchants. We then had no separate clothing store, hardware, boot and shoe or grocery store, nor even drug stores. Each of the merchants in town undertook to

supply his customers with everything now on hand in our special commodity stores. The doctors had a very wide range of practice. To give some idea of the distance to their patients, I will relate how I first met Dr. Everett, then located at Nelson. I was visiting a sick relative on Sand Creek and Dr. Everett came as the attending physician. The doctors had a wide range in which to practice. They furnished their own medicine and instead of giving a prescription to a drug store, they carried the medicine in the medicine case as they went their rounds.

The blacksmiths made their own horse shoes and nails and many other implements now supplied at the factories. We had no barber in town and every man had to shave himself or let his beard grow. These were pioneer ways in pioneer days.

It might be inferred, as at that time the county had been recently settled, the village having been established but about six years and the county having been organized about ten years, that civilization was in a crude state, that the rough element predominated and overrode law and order. Such was not the situation. My impression is that a large majority of the adult population of Sullivan in 1853 were members of the church. This, however, is merely an opinion based on memory alone, and might be contradicted by church statistics. This much is true, that without ordinances or municipal officers and with but few police officers of any kind, the people of Sullivan were as orderly and law abiding in 1853 as they have been at any time since.

### III.

John R. Eden, writing in *Sullivan Progress*, May 25, 1905. "Sullivan in 1853."

I find, upon reflection, that there were so many men here in 1853 with whom I afterwards became acquainted that I can refer to but few of them, except in a very general way.

Lafayette Stewart was a successful merchant here for a number of years. He was from Indiana. In politics he was an active and influential democrat. In religion he was a Methodist. At one time he was in partnership with Judge Eden. He sold out here many years ago and returned to Indiana, where he died.

Orange C. Martin became financially embarrassed here, and emigrated to Minnesota where he became prosperous and served as a member of the legislature of that state. He was a democrat in politics. In religion he was a Baptist. He was related to a very large number of Martins, who have resided in this and adjoining counties. He married a daughter of John Roney and thus became related to the influential families of Roneys who remain in the county.

James Elder, in that early day, was readily the leading merchant in the county. He served the people long and well as county judge. He also became a banker. He was a man of strict integrity and of large business capacity, in whom the people of the county had great confidence. No man in Moultrie county, during his day, exercised more influence over the people of the county than James Elder. In politics he was a whig and later a republican. In religion he was Methodist. He has many relatives still residing in the county. Whilst Judge Elder and myself differed in politics, we were warm personal friends up to the time of his death. When the end was drawing near he sent for me and I went to his farm, where he resided, and prepared his will, by which he disposed of his large estate. His son, William, now deceased, succeeded him in the banking business, which he continued for many years.

Dr. William Kellar was the leading physician in the county in 1853, but he died in 1855. He was also a leader in promoting the growth of the town and county, and in all benevolent and good works. He was a son of Abram Kellar who came here from Kentucky, and located near Lovington. The Kellar family was very prominent in the early [paper slightly torn.] The Dr.'s father was a member of the first county court established in the county. His brother, Henry Y. Kellar, was long a leading preacher of the Christian church. Dr. A.L. Kellar, now of California, so long and so favorably known here, is a younger brother of Dr. William Kellar. Dr. William Kellar was a democrat in politics. In religion he was a member of the Christian church. My office and his was in the same room on the east side of the public square. He was taken sick in the office and went to his home where he died the next day of cholera.



William L. Haydon remained in Sullivan but a short time after I located here. He and his brother, J.J. Haydon, established a store at Shelbyville and carried on a large business there until the death of his brother. W.L. Haydon continued the business alone after the death of his brother and was very successful. He finally sold out at Shelbyville and located at Texarkana, Ark., with his family and there carried on a very prosperous business until his death a few years later. William L. Haydon was a son of W.G. Haydon. He has a brother, B.B. Haydon, living at Sullivan and a sister of Mrs. John B. Shepherd, living at Texarkana, Ark. W.L. Haydon was a republican in politics. In religion his preference was the Christian church. I became intimately acquainted with William L. Haydon. My business relations with him consisted of a settlement I made as administrator of J. Wilson Lloyd, deceased with W.L. Haydon as surviving partner of Haydon & Lloyd. This was a very intricate settlement and I found Mr. Haydon to be a fair and just man. The Haydons came here from Kentucky. In one of my contests for a nomination for congress, where the nomination was equivalent to an election, though we differed in politics, Mr. Haydon rendered me very efficient support.

Joseph Thomason served the people of Moultrie county many years as sheriff. In politics he was a democrat. During his active business life he was the most popular man in Moultrie county. Joseph Thomason was a genial companion, benevolent and hospitable. His popularity resulted from these qualities. He was everybody's friend.

# IX

## THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS SPEECHES IN SULLIVAN - 1858

(From *Fragments of Martin Family History*, Chicago, 1990, edited by R. Eden Martin)

I.J. Martin wrote several versions of his recollections of what he had been told about the Lincoln-Douglas speeches in Sullivan. One of these was published in the *Moultrie County News*, Centennial Edition, July 5, 1973, p. 12A. These several sets of notes have been edited to form the single account that appears here.

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On September 20, 1858, occurred what was sometimes later referred to as the Lincoln-Douglas “riot” in Sullivan. It was a very small affair; and only the light-minded observer would have called it a riot.

I had many sources of information about this affair. My father was there; he was then 25 years of age, and had a way of keeping his eyes and ears open. He did not engage in the so-called “riot”, but he thought he saw and heard it all. My father-in-law, John R. Eden, was Chairman of the Douglas meeting, and made a short speech of introduction. He was also on the reception committee, and was with Douglas from the Senator’s arrival at the Eden House until the close of the public meeting. He did not leave the speakers’ stand, but could see the affair, and he talked with many who were closer. I talked too with Captain Lee, who was a participant, and who later served as a soldier through the War and became a very partisan Republican. Also, I discussed the events with Henry M. Minor, who was a great admirer of Douglas. He listened to the Senator’s speech, and then ran to the Grove to hear Lincoln. He saw much of the disturbance around the crowd at the Douglas meeting, and he once told me what he saw and heard. His story tallied well with what my father related of what he saw.

The Lincoln and Douglas meeting at Sullivan was not a real debate. There had been a joint discussion or debate between the two candidates at Charleston on Saturday before the Sullivan gatherings on Monday.\*

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\*Editor’s note: The substance of the remarks of Lincoln and Douglas at Sullivan has not been preserved. Perhaps their statements were not too different from their speeches at Charleston two days earlier, on September 18, 1858 – the fourth of the seven debates during the fall campaign – which are set forth in *Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas*, Columbus, 1860. For the newspaper accounts of these speeches, see *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, III, Lincoln Series, 1, edited by Edwin E. Sparks, Springfield, 1908.

Lincoln’s remarks in Charleston on the subject of social and political equality of the races show how differently people thought and spoke about such matters a hundred and thirty years ago (Sparks, at 267):

“While I was at the hotel today, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject, yet as the question was asked me, I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.”

Some weeks before, when the joint debates were scheduled, the Douglas slate committee arranged meetings for the Senator for the times between the joint meetings. It was then that the Sullivan meeting for Douglas was announced.

Lincoln fixed his own dates and usually arranged them to follow closely after the Douglas dates, sometimes for a night meeting after a Douglas speech in the afternoon. So far as I know, there is now no record of when the Lincoln meeting in Sullivan was first advertised, but it was probably but a short time before the meeting.

John Ginn, a farmer living a few miles east of Sullivan, attended the Charleston meeting, and on Sunday brought Senator Douglas in his carriage from Charleston to his home, where the Senator remained until Monday morning. Judge James Elder met Mr. Lincoln at Mattoon and conveyed him to his farm home, which has since been enlarged and is now one of the good homes on East Jackson Street.

Felix Ashworth, then a boy in his early teens living on the North Okaw in Coles County, related an incident connected with the Lincoln-Douglas visits to Sullivan. Felix belonged to a family which was Democratic before the War.

He was riding along the dusty roadway when he was overtaken and passed by John Ginn's carriage. He and his horse were covered by a cloud of dust, and for mischief he decided to retaliate. He passed the carriage and for a while trotted along just ahead of the carriage. His steed was of the heavy footed plow horse variety, and his steps raised plenty of dust. After a while the driver called to him that Senator Douglas was in the carriage, and asked him to follow them. The boy at once complied, for as he said, he "thought Senator Douglas was next in dignity to the Ruler of the Universe."

On Monday morning, Senator Douglas came to the Eden House in Sullivan, and held a reception for his friends and supporters in the forenoon. While he was at the Eden House, Douglas was handed a note written and signed by Mr. Lincoln proposing that he would begin his speech at 3 o'clock in Freeland's Grove if Douglas would so inform his audience at the beginning of his address in the Court House yard at 1 o'clock. In this way, the two meetings would not conflict. Also, Lincoln was a shrewd campaigner, and here as usual he sought the advantage of holding his meeting following that of Douglas. Douglas accepted these terms, and it appears that both Lincoln and Douglas adhered to the agreement.

Douglas was to speak on the east side of the square, a stand having been erected among the trees near the street line, which allowed the crowd to occupy wagons and buggies in the street as well as the seats around the stand. Seats for a thousand or more people were laid under the shade on the north, west, and south sides of the stand. By the time the meeting began, the street was nearly filled with buggies and spring wagons, leaving only a narrow passage on the east side of the street. Hundreds of men stood around the stand and among the vehicles. It was a very large crowd, numbering perhaps 2,000.

John R. Eden, my father-in-law, was chairman of the meeting and introduced Senator Douglas with a short complimentary speech. Douglas, after making the announcement of the Lincoln meeting for 3 o'clock, began his address about 20 minutes past 1 o'clock. Those were the days of much oratory and long speeches, two hours being required for a great speech. However, Douglas was nearing the end of his speech, and would have finished before 3 o'clock if he had not been disturbed.

The Lincoln supporters had hired a Terre Haute band and brought it over for the Sullivan meeting. About 1:30 p.m., the band began playing on a vacant lot at the intersection of Jackson and Hamilton Streets, near where the Powers School building now stands. The purpose, of course, was to keep the Lincoln partisans away from the Douglas meeting.

About an hour later, a parade was formed on West Harrison Street, and it started to move eastward. When Main Street was reached, instead of turning north to the Grove, a turn to the south was made. Headed by the Terre Haute band and led by a young Marshal, George Lynn [or Lynch?], the procession moved along the west side of the square to Jefferson Street, and then to the east along the south side of the square, the band playing all the while.

Douglas, who was nearing the end of his speech, stopped speaking, remarking that he was used to that sort of courtesy in Northern Illinois but had not expected it here.

The parade, which was not really a very big affair – perhaps two or three hundred people – was made up largely of men from the Marrowbone and Todd's Point settlements. No one from Sullivan was in the procession.

Judge Anthony Thornton was a prominent lawyer of Shelbyville, and he had been invited to address the meeting after

Douglas' speech. Thornton and Lincoln had been associated as leaders of the Illinois Whigs. Both of them supported General Scott against Franklin Pierce in 1852, and both regretted the movement to abandon the Whig party and organize the new Republican Party. But when the new party was organized, Lincoln joined it and Thornton became a Democrat. On the day of the Sullivan meeting, the local Republicans were more bitter against Thornton than against Douglas. He had many old Whig friends, and they feared his influence over them. Their strategy was to get as many as possible of the Douglas hearers to leave the meeting and hear Lincoln at the Grove and thus reduce the size of Thornton's audience. John R. Eden later said he doubted if the Republicans intended any discourtesy to Senator Douglas.

The Douglas crowd expected that the parade would move on eastward to Madison Street, where it could turn and march north directly into the Grove where Lincoln's meeting was to be held. But instead, a turn was made north on Washington Street, and the procession started along or through the crowd that was waiting for Douglas to resume his speech. This provoked an angry outcry. A young lawyer, Alose B. Lee, who was then a Democrat, shouted an Old Hickory oath, "By the Eternal, you can't do that," and jumped over the fence, followed by perhaps twenty men.

Douglas urged the Democrats to allow the procession to pass peaceably. Also, Judge Thornton left the speakers' stand and asked Lee and others to allow them to pass. While Thornton was making his plea, a Marrowbone farmer – Azel Younger, whom I knew as a fine old gentleman many years after – seeing Thornton shouted, "What are you doing in that crowd, you traitor." At that, Thornton started to climb the fence too, but his friends kept him back.

It did not take long for Lee and the others to turn the band wagon at the head of the procession back to Jefferson Street, where the march continued to Madison Street, and then on to the Grove. The Republicans offered no resistance, and there was no riot or any personal encounter. In the excitement, some foolish man or boy threw a brick that hit one of the band boys, who was slightly injured.

At the Grove, a stand had been erected under the elms that are still standing at the entrance of Wyman Park. There Lincoln made a speech said to have been two hours long.

It was later charged that Lincoln was in the procession that disrupted the Douglas meeting, but that was not true, and none of those best informed thought so. Lincoln at that time was trying to compete with Douglas in personal appeal, and he had gone quietly with Judge Elder to the meeting in the Grove. It is clear that Lincoln did not know of the interruption of the Douglas meeting; and, if course, neither he nor any of the leading Republicans had anything to do with it.

A.B. Lee, who led in the move to turn the parade away from the Douglas assembly, was a great admirer of Douglas as long as he lived. He took the advice of Douglas and supported the Union cause, commanding three different companies, one of these being in the famous 41st regiment of Illinois Volunteers. Still later a Republican politician, he never regretted his action. He said no one was to blame except the young parade marshal. He also said that the marshal, George Lynn [Lynch?], admitted that it was a mistake to try to march north on Washington Street instead of going on to Madison. George Lynn also led a company in the War, and some of us yet remember his erect figure and armless sleeve in the years after the War.

The affair was regretted by all sensible people, and no effort was made to exploit the event to the help or injury of either side.

Efforts have since been made to make this small disturbance at Sullivan match the so-called riot at Charleston a few years later. A St. Louis newspaper published a partisan report from a Douglas supporter, and the Quincy *Whig* had one on the other side even more unfair. The St. Louis reporter had been assigned to the Douglas campaign, and he witnessed the melee, such as it was. The man who made the report to the Quincy *Whig* had been a Moultrie County sheriff. He may have been in town that day, but he was said not to have been near the place. He was sure that the Democrats who turned the procession were "border ruffians", using a phrase applied to Missourians and other Southerners who tried to settle in Kansas.

There was no riot and no fight. Neither Captain Lynn, nor Captain Lee and those who supported him, should be slandered as "border ruffians" by newspaper accounts that were biased and partial, or by anonymous "historical letters."



# X

## EXCERPTS FROM *The Sullivan Express*, 1857 – 1860

The excerpts from the *Sullivan Express* which appear below consist of articles by John R. Eden or relate to events in which he was or may have been involved. They have been selected by the compiler of these papers from the digital version of the newspaper that recently became available and may now be found in Sullivan at the offices of the *News Progress* and also the Moultrie County Historical and Genealogical Society.

It is both disorienting and embarrassing to read some of these news accounts and editorials. The disorientation is due to the fact that modern readers cannot read the old newspaper accounts without the benefit of hindsight, including the modern view of Lincoln as perhaps our greatest President, the man who held the Union together and freed the slaves. The embarrassment is due to recognition of the pre-Civil War racial prejudices that infused so much of the 1858-1860 political debate and supplied its epithets.

But the newspapers reflect facts – what people at that time thought and said and wrote. And those facts will not change, whether or not we are embarrassed.

History is not well served by sugar-coating.

So here are the excerpts.

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1857

From the *Sullivan Express* digital files

September 24, 1857 Vol. I, No. 3.  
[third issue of the newspaper]

J.R. EDEN. J. MEEKER

EDEN & MEEKER,

*Attorneys and Counsellors at Law*

Having formed a partnership will attend to all professional business trusted to them. Particular attention will be given to the collection of claims.

Office next door East of Perryman's store, where one of the firm will always be found.

Sullivan Ill. Sept. 17, 1857. 1 tf.

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October 8, 1857

Tolono and Pana  
RAILROAD  
Meeting !!

In pursuance to previous notices, the commissioners of Moultrie county, for the Tolono and Pana R.R. called a meeting on Saturday the 3d inst. at the court house in Sullivan, for the purpose of ascertaining the feeling manifested, by the citizens of the county in the construction of the road; now in contemplation to be built between Tolono and Pana.

John R. Eden called the house to order, and moved that Major Mepheeters be appointed President of the Meeting; which was unanimously adopted; John R. Eden also moved that Newton Smyser be appointed

Secretary which was adopted.

The President then moved that the house proceed to business, when R.W. Henry moved that Dr. A. L. Collar state to the audience the object of the Meeting. The Doctor in his usual happy way stated why the meeting was called, and briefly discussed the advantages resulting from a rail road to the people of this county, and strenuously urged that immediate action be taken in its construction. John R. Eden moved that Mr. Chandler Chief Engineer, give a detail of the probable expenditures, necessary for its construction, which was adopted. Mr. Chandler then arose and made a few preliminary observations, respecting the availability of the route, and gave an estimate of the outlays necessary to prepare the road for the rail, and the profits accruing from it when completed. He also drew a parallel between this and other roads by which he showed, that this can be constructed much cheaper and with less outlay than the same distance on other routs.

John R. Eden rose and made a strong and forcible speech, which was well received by the audience. During his speech he discussed, the great inconvenience and draw-back to the prosperity of this county, owing to the want of a rail road. That nothing could have a greater tendency, to enhance the value of land and further the interests, both of the mechanic and farmer more than a rail road in our midst. He showed very clearly that emigration, only flows to those localities where rail roads are in operation, or where they have a prospect of being built, and contrasted the price of lands, in

counties where they do, and do not run, showing that the prices range from five to ten dollars higher in the former, and in concluding urged the people of this county to subscribe liberally towards an enterprise, so vitally important to their welfare and future prosperity.

Mr. H.Y. Kellar arose and made some remarks in confirmation of Mr. Eden's statements, and said if the road were once constituted, and in operation it would diminish the county ....

Mr. John Perryman rose and made a few brief remarks according with the preceding speakers, and pledged himself to the building of the road, provided that two hundred thousand dollars stock be subscribed, and that no person will be called on for a greater amount, of his subscription at a time than five per cent.— That promissory notes will be received by the company, payable if the Road is completed within two years.

The meeting adjourned and all seemed well pleased with the prospect of having a rail road shortly running through Moultrie county.

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October 29, 1857

Sullivan Literary Association

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This Society met on Friday night Oct. 23d at the Court House and was called to order by H.Y. Kellar who moved that Thos. Wooton be appointed President, which motion

was adopted; on motion of A.L. Kellar, A.N. Smyser was appointed Secretary.

A.L. Kellar and A.N. Smyser, were appointed to draft constitution.

The following question was then agreed upon to be debated next Friday night, viz. Would it be good policy, for the people of this county to vote a tax for the building a Rail road?

Whereupon H.Y. Kellar and A. N. Smyser, were appointed disputants, Kellar affirmative, Smyser negative.

The following speakers chosen upon each side, viz:

Affirmative.	Negative.
H.Y. Kellar,	A.N. Smyser,
J.R. Eden,	A.L.Kellar,
T.P.Wooton,	A.B.Lee,
J. Meeker,	E.E.Waggoner,
M.N. Vanfleet,	Willis Snyder

On motion of A.L. Kellar, ordered that the minutes of this meeting be published in the Sullivan Express. Adjourned to meet next Friday night. A.N. Smyser, Secretary

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November 5, 1857

From a letter of "An Old-Fashioned Farmer."

... Sir, when we look at matters thus mathematically, and see that one tenth of our resources is not developed, we ask the grave question, what in the name of common sense is the need of any man having to go to Kansas, Texas, or any other



new country, to find a field for operation?

There is but one thing that lies in the way of a hasty development of our resources, and that is a rail-road, running transversely across our country. We see this is our position, that the Chicago branch of the C.R.R., will develop our east, the Terre-Haute and Alton will develop our south, the Illinois & Indiana C.R.R. when finished, will develop the north; So we see that the only thing then wanting will be a rail-road through our centre, to fully develop our powers. Then will we see Moultrie standing forth as a brilliant star in the grand starry archway of the great Prairie State.

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November 19, 1857

Cheering News!!  
Immense Success!!

The citizens of Sullivan are alive to a sense of their duty.

The Tolono & Pana Railroad has been located making Sullivan a point. The amount of Stock subscribed is sufficient to pay for the grading of the road, The work will be commenced and some six or eight miles will be graded this Fall.

Three times three cheers for the RAIL ROAD, and the citizens of Moultrie!!!

#### Stockholders Meeting

... the Tolono & Pana rail road ...

Mr. J.R. Eden then made a few remarks desiring those who had subscribed stock in the road to express their sentiments in regard to the assessment to be made upon the stockholders by the Directors.

...

On motion of J.E. Eden the proceedings of the meeting was ordered to be published in the Express.

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#### Directors Meeting.

The Board of Directors of the Tolono & Pana R.R. Co., met at Sullivan Moultrie county Illinois, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, A.D. 1857, pursuant to notice. Present, J.R. Swift, President, James Elder, A.L. Kellar, John R. Eden, and J. Ondit Smith, and J.B. Calhoun, by proxy. J.R. Eden was appointed secretary pro-Tem.

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#### Notice!

A call of 5 percent on the subscription to the stock of the Tolono & Pana Rail Road is now made payable to John Perryman of Sullivan, and J. R. Swift of Tolono.

Subscribers are respectfully requested to come forward and pay up promptly so as not to retard this very important enterprise.

By order J.r. Swift, President  
Sullivan Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1857. 11tf

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December 3, 1857

Sullivan Lyceum

This society met last Friday night at the M.C. Academy; Mr. W.H. Garrett from Whitley's Creek in the Chair. We had quite an animated discussion again, on the Dred Scott Decision. The question for next Friday night, Dec. 5<sup>th</sup>, is, "Do the Signs of the Times indicate the downfall of our present Government?"

Disputants,

Affirmative.	Negative
T.P. Wooton,	A.N. Smiser,
Dr. Vanfleet, Dr.	A.L. Kellar,
H.Y. Kellar	J.R. Eden,
Chas. Steele,	J. Meeker, Esq.,
B.W. Henry,	N.W. Branson,
Jas. D. Moudy,	A.B. Lee

Due attention paid to warming and lighting the room. The Ladies are particularly invited to attend.

By order, A.N. Smiser, Sec.

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December 10, 1857

Sullivan Lyceum

This society met last Friday night at the M.C. Academy; more persons present, than at any previous meeting, including several ladies. – This is quite an improvement in the prospects of our society. The question for next Friday night is one that will elicit as much interest any other perhaps. It is the "Dred Scott Decision," called up a-

gain, to give some new hands a chance – that is, some who were not present at the previous discussion of that question.

Q. "Is the Dred Scott Decision right?"

Affirmative,	Negative
J.R. Eden	T.P. Wooton
B.W. Henry	M.N. Van Fleet
A.L. Kellar	H.Y. Kellar
J. Meeker,	N.W. Branson
A.B. Lee	R.B. Rutherford
A.N. Smiser	J.D. Moudy

A full attendance of the friends of the society is solicited.

Ladies particularly invited to attend. Warm room and brilliantly lighted.

A.N. Smiser, Sec'y.

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Eden & Meeker have moved their Law office to the second story of Perryman's brick, in the room east of the Printing office.

\*\*\*\*\*

1858

January 14, 1858

Sullivan Lyceum.

Will meet on Friday Evening Jan. 15<sup>th</sup> at the M.C. Academy.

Question: Resolved. That the interests of the United States require the annexation of the island of Cuba as a State.

Disputants

Aff.	Neg.
Johnathan Meeker	A.B. Lee
J.R. Eden	T.P. Wooton
H.Y. Kellar	R.B. Rutherford
A.N. Smiser	A.L. Kellar
B.W. Heney	N.W. Branson

A full attendance of the friends of the society is solicited.

Ladies particularly invited to attend. Warm room and brilliantly lighted.

A.N. Smiser, Sec'y.

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February 4, 1858

Plank-road Meeting.

At a meeting of the citizens of Sullivan held at the court house pursuant to public notice Saturday evening Jan'y 30<sup>th</sup>, 1858:

On motion B.W. Henry was appointed chairman and A. Thomason secretary. After which, the object of the meeting was explained by the chairman, to be to devise ways and means to construct side walks in the town of Sullivan. On Motion, J.E. Eden, J.Y. Hitt and Thomas Davis were appointed a committee to superintend the letting out and manner of constructing said work. On motion H.F. Vadakin, John Thomason and T.N. Henry were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for the completion of said work. On motion a resolution was passed, asking the former Trustees of the Incorporation in Sullivan, and requiring them to advertise an Election for filling said board. On motion, resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Sullivan "Express."

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February 19, 1858 – new publishers (replacing James Moudy), Joseph H. Waggoner and Benjamin B. Haydon

February 26, 1858 – reports voters voted to incorporate the town of Sullivan.

March 5, 1858 –

"Washingtonians."

On Friday evening last the friends of temperance met at the Christian church in this place according to previous notice, for the purpose of organizing a "Washingtonian"

temperance society.

On motion F. Bridwell Esq., was chosen President of the meeting.

Capt. A.B. Lee, being called for arose and explained the object of the meeting in a very nice little speech, and was followed by H.Y. Kellar, A. Buckner, John R. Eden, and others: who made short but forcible speeches on the subject of temperance, or rather the effects of intemperance. ... On motion the meeting then adjourned to meet this evening at early candle light. The meeting tonight will be addressed by John R. Eden Esq., and Dr. A.L. Kellar.

The ladies particularly requested to attend.

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Reports names of candidates elected Trustees of the incorporated Sullivan: A. Thomason, 71, A.L. Kellar 56, E.E. Waggoner 51, P.B. Knight 48, A.G. Snyder 41.

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March 11, 1858 –

By casting our eyes out at the window we see that the sidewalk enterprise is succeeding better than was expected. The work is going on at a rapid rate, and will, we have no doubt, soon be completed. There is nothing like an enterprising spirit. – "Go it boots."

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The election ordered by the Town Trustees, and held on Friday last, to ascertain the feelings of the citizens of this place, on the License question, to sell liquors, resulted as follows:

For License 64.

Against License 52.

Maj. For license – 12.

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March 26, 1858

... If Tolono and Pana [railroad] will do nothing, we can find willing hands and hearts

in Decatur and Mattoon.

Town Ordinances.

No. 1. Be it ordained by the President and Trustees, of the Town of Sullivan, Moultrie county, Illinois, that no person shall sell any spirituous, or intoxicating liquors, in a less quantity than one Gallon, unless they first take out license from the board; said license to be issued by the Clerk; the price to be fixed by the board, between the sums of fifty, and three hundred dollars; said license to be valid for the space of twelve months from the date hereof. Any person so violating this ordinance shall be fined in a sum not less than ten, nor more than fifty dollars for each offense.

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April 9, 1858 – B. B. Haydon announces withdrawal as publisher of *Sullivan Express*, leaving it in the hands of Joseph H. and Dr. E. Edward “Ned” Waggoner

April 23, 1858  
Railroad Meeting

There will be a meeting of the citizens of Sullivan and vicinity at the Court house in Sullivan, tomorrow (Saturday the 24<sup>th</sup>) instant at 2 o'clock p.m. for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of building a “Farmers’ Rail Road” from Sullivan to one of the adjacent Rail Road points.

The above Rail Road notice explains itself, and it is unnecessary for us to say anything about it except to ask our citizens to attend the meeting, which we believe they will do for they are all aware of the disadvantages under which we labor in this county, on account of not having better rail road facilities, and they also know that our county, surrounded by rail-roads as it is, is being “chisled” out of its riches. They also know that we have tried to obtain two through rail-roads through our county town – Sullivan – and have failed on both. It is now proposed to take into consideration the expediency of building a “Feeder” to the St. Louis, Alton & Terre-haute R.R. from Sullivan to Windsor, a

distance of only eleven miles! And over a very level country, with the exception of the Okaw hills, which are not very great impediments to the enterprise.

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Reports meeting of County democrats to select two delegates to attend a State Convention in Springfield. Object of the meeting was stated by J.R. Eden. Delegates selected were Judge D. Patterson and Dr. E.E. Waggoner.

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April 30, 1858 –  
Rail Road Meeting

Pursuant to previous notice, the citizens of Sullivan and vicinity met at the Court House, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of building a Farmers’ Rail Road from this place to Mattoon.

On Motion J.E. Eden Esq., was chosen Chairman, and Dr. M.N. Van-Fleet Secretary of the meeting.

The meeting was then addressed by several of our citizens, in short and appropriate speeches.

On motion, John Perryman and Dr. A.L. Kellar were appointed a Committee of Conference to visit Mattoon, and ascertain the feeling of the citizens of that place, in regard to this enterprise.

On Motion – Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Sullivan Express and that the Mattoon “Gazette” be requested to copy.

J.E. Eden, Chair. M.N. Van-Fleet, Sec’y.

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Publishes list of lands and town lots for which taxes remain due and unpaid.

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May 14, 1858

Notice

During my absence on the circuit, (commencing Monday next,) my clients may leave business for me with J. Meeker Esq., at my office, and the same will receive my prompt attention.

I will be at home the latter part of each week.

John R. Eden

Sullivan, April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1858

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July 23, 1858 –

Democratic Meeting.

Pursuant to previous notice, a meeting was held by the Democracy of Moultrie county, at the court house in Sullivan, on Saturday, July the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, for the purpose of appointing delegates from this county to attend the Congressional Convention, to be held in Decatur, Macon county, on the \_\_\_ of next month, for the purpose of nominating a suitable candidate for this congressional district.

On motion, A.N. Smyser was appointed President, and Dennis Coakley Secretary.

Bushrod W. Henry arose and explained the object of the meeting in a brief and pertinent manner, and offered a resolution that a committee of three be appointed to select four suitable persons to attend the convention.

On motion, David Patterson, R. H. Shary and Arnold Thomason were appointed. The committee then withdrew, during the absence of which J.R. Eden made a short, but effective speech, in which he pointed out the leading principles of the democratic party, and exhorted his hearers not to remove the landmarks which their fathers have set. Before he could finish his remarks the committee returned, and reported names of John H.B.E. Warren, John R. Eden, David Patterson, and A.B. Hostetler as suitable persons to attend the convention; which report was adopted.

It was moved and seconded that the delegates appoint delegates should exigencies arise to prevent their attendance.

The following resolutions were read by

Bushrod W. Henry, and unanimously adopted. Resolved. That we re-affirm the Cincinnati platform as being the only correct creed of the democratic party.

Resolved, That our delegates to the congressional convention be instructed to cast their votes for J.S. Post, as our first choice for congress.

Resolved, That we regard Harvey B. Worley, of Coles county, as a suitable candidate for the State legislature.

Resolved, further, That we abide the decision of the democratic convention, should there be one called, for the purpose of selecting a candidate for the State legislature.

Resolved, That our distinguished Senator, the Honorable Stephen A. Douglas, be requested to address the people of Moultrie county, at his earliest convenience; and that B.W. Henry, John R. Eden and A.B. Lee be appointed to correspond with him to that effect.

Resolved, That a County Committee of the following named persons, to-wit; E.E. Waggoner, John R. Eden, David Patterson, R.H. Sharp, Stephen Cannon (Lovington) George Anbert, (Marrowbone,) Isaac Kinney, (Lark Fork), and W.H. Garrett, (Whitley's Creek,) be appointed, whose duty it shall be to call meetings of the party, when necessary, and to take steps for a thorough organization of the party; and that they shall have the power to fill vacancies in their body, and shall hold office until superceded by a regular democratic meeting.

Resolved, That the editors of the Sullivan "Express" and all the democratic editors in the district be requested to publish the above proceedings.

Resolved, That the meeting adjourn sine die.

A.N. Smyser, Pres. Denis Oakley, Sec.

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August, 6, 1858 –

The "Little Giant" is coming!

Hon. S.A. Douglas will address the citizens of this county, at Sullivan, on Monday, September 20<sup>th</sup>, at 10 o'clock A.M.

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September 10, 1858 –

Remember.

Hon. S.A. Douglas will be in Sullivan, on Monday, the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, and will address our citizens on the political issues of the day.

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September 17, 1858 –

Speaking!

Senator Douglas and A. Lincoln will appear before our citizens, on next Monday, to address them on political matters. Let everybody be in town at an early hour, for we expect to have a glorious time.

The Ladies are especially invited.

Two Brass Bands expected!

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New Volume.

With this issue we enter upon the second volume [second year] of the “Express,” and would say to our friends that this paper is in a flourishing condition ....

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October 1, 1858 –

Douglas in Sullivan!

A. LINCOLN NEAR TOWN!

*The Douglas Procession over Three Times the Length of Lincoln's!*

MOULTRIE SURE FOR DOUGLAS !

It having been announced to the citizens of this county that the “Little Giant” would address them on Monday the 20th of September, there was a general desire, among the

abolitionists as well as the democrats, to hear him; and at an early hour on that day, our usually quiet little place was densely crowded, not only by the citizens of Moultrie, but a large number from Coles, Shelby and Macon counties, all anxious to see the “Little Giant,” and hear him expound his favorite doctrine of State Rights and Squatter Sovereignty.— At 9 o'clock A. M., a very large procession was formed to go out and meet the great Champion, two miles and a half east of town, and conduct and welcome him to our town. The procession was headed by the Shelbyville Brass Band, followed by 32 young Ladies on horseback, dressed in uniform “Douglas hats,” each one bearing a flag, on which was inscribed the name, “Douglas.” Following these thirty-two Ladies, came ladies and gentlemen on horseback, then carriages, buggies, wagons &c, till the procession was considerably over a mile in length. After arriving at the place designated to meet our Senator, the procession was placed in proper position for his reception, where it halted and awaited his arrival. After waiting a short time the Judge's carriage, accompanied by the Mattoon Brass Band and a number of the citizens of Coles county, was discovered in the distance, making its way toward the “spot” where the procession was in waiting. Every person in procession kept perfectly still until the “Little Giant” was conducted to his place in the procession, when a tremendous cheering commenced, and was continued unremittingly for about half an hour, when it partially ceased, and the procession moved for town.

In passing the residence of Judge Elder, half a nine east of town, A. Lincoln was espied standing upon

the porch, when another tremendous cheering for Douglas took place.

Arriving at town the procession passed through some of the principal streets, and at every corner there was exceeding hearty cheering done for 'Douglas,' 'the Little Giant' and 'the next President,' and occasionally there could be heard the discordant voice of some benighted individual, howling in a tremulous voice 'hurrah for Lincoln,' which very much reminded us of the doleful music of some forlorn screech owl. While the procession was passing the stand erected for Douglas to speak from, on the east side of the square, there were three cheers for Douglas, three for the Constitution and three for the Ladies, proposed by John R Eden, Esq., of this place, and responded to by the assembled multitude, by real old-fashioned "Harrahs!" The Judge was then conducted to the 'Eagle House,' to partake of refreshments, and the procession disbanded and followed suit.

Lincoln having an appointment to speak in Freeland's Grove, a short distance *north* of town, on the same day, and having arrived in town it was arranged between him and Douglas that Douglas would speak at one o'clock, and that Lincoln would not speak until three.

At 1 o'clock p. m., Judge Douglas was conducted to the stand, and was welcomed to town, and introduced to the assembled thousands by John R. Eden Esq., and was received by tremendous and continued cheering. The Judge then feasted his fellow-Citizens to one of his ablest speeches of near two hours' length, which we are unable to give to our readers, not having taken notes at the time.

During the delivery of Senator Douglas' speech the audience kept very good order, until a short time

after two o'clock, when, as the Judge was making a point on Mr. Lincoln, which struck terror to their hearts, the abolition part of the audience hurried off, and with full band playing and all the discordant vocal noise that they could muster, assembled at the 'Eagle House,' north-west corner of public square, where they kept up the din a short time, when the procession, (excepting the respectable portion,) moved directly north toward Freeland's grove, but did not go far when they were ordered to turn about; and round the square, with full band playing and drunken men exercising their lungs in a very violent manner, they passed down the west and south sides of square, and the band wagon was turning down the east side, when a Douglas marshal met them and asked them not to pass that street but go another square and then turn north. But it seems, as brute force is the most prominent characteristic of their argument against the Democracy, and the disturbance of Democratic meetings the only way to supply the place of numbers at their shabby meetings, that they heeded not the request of the Douglas marshal, having, no doubt, resolved before hand, to carry out this particular part of their principles (!) to the very letter. At this stage of the affair Judge Douglas took occasion to notice their manoeuvring, and entreated his audience to remain still, and let the howlers pass by unnoticed; "for," said he, "I can speak louder than their noise." By this time the procession (!) had turned north intending to pass within a few feet of the Douglas stand, with all their noise. This was too much, and a large number of Douglas' friends, contrary to his desire, rushed into the street, and told the Lincolnites

that they could not pass that street. In a few minutes the confusion was general; coats were drawn, clubs flourished in the air, and everything seemed favorable to a general melee; however nothing very serious occurred. The driver for the Lincoln band was knocked from his seat, and some others were knocked down. We believe the band wagon passed through, but the majority of Lincoln's friends thought it profitable to take the back track. Soon this crowd of Lincolnites was compelled to disperse; and the thousands of Douglas' friends gathered around the stand to hear something of this outrageous affair. After briefly stating the facts respecting his and Lincoln's arrangements, he resumed his speech, and spoke a short time, when he retired and shouts of deafening applause, not to be misunderstood; and which will have a telling influence at the November election.

Senator Douglas was succeeded by A. Thornton, of Shelbyville, an old Henry Clay Whig, and a prominent character in the muss a little while before, who made a short stirring speech, sustaining the principles of Henry Clay; showing the harmony that exists between the principles of Clay and those of Douglas. When he concluded, a number of Old line Whigs present, (before, for Lincoln,) declared for Douglas, the Constitution and the *whole* Union.

Soon after the close of the day's exercises, the immense assemblage broke up and departed; each Democrat, and true old line Whig left town, assured that the Hon. S. A. Douglas will be returned, in triumph, to the United States Senate.

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### Douglas' Opinion of Lincoln's Charleston Speech

The following extract from Senator Douglas' Sullivan speech, will give our readers an idea of his opinion of Abe. Lincoln's Charleston speech:

Up at Charleston, on Saturday, Lincoln played a good yankee trick upon me—at least it was a good yankee trick for a man born in Kentucky and raised in Indiana, to get off.

We had a meeting over there for joint discussion. Now it is, I believe, the universal rule of debate that the man who speaks first shall bring forward all the points that he is going to discuss, that his opponent may reply to them, and that the first speaker may reply on them again. Hence, I have always brought forward all the matters that I was going to discuss and I expected him to pursue a similar course; but when he got into Coles county he found that it was a difficult place for him to speak in. I sympathised with him, for I knew that he was dodging between rook and buzzard, for I had notified him that I intended to bring him down into Egypt, and then when I got him to Coles county among the Old Line Whigs, he did not know what to say. He could not say a word about politics. (Cries of "that's so," and "hit him again.") Our speeches were going to be published, and if he said any thing against the Abolitionists it would go up to Chicago and be published, and play the deuce up there, and if he said anything for Abolitionism it would kill him down here. The question then was how could he conduct the joint discussion and not say anything. Well how do you think he got along? He said that Lyman Trumbull had made a speech against Judge Douglas, and had proven certain charges against



Judge Douglas, and he was then going to show that Trumbull's charges were all true! (Cries of "Oh my!" and "hit him hard," and "give it to him.") Well he began and read nearly the whole of Trumbull's speech. (A voice, "That's so, I heard him.") Then he said he would hand over the balance of the speech to the reporter and have it printed, and then he said he was going to take one of my speeches and have it printed, and then he talked on again, and then he looked at his watch. Well, said he, my time is almost out, and I will quit, and then he quit (Voices, "That's so," and "Hurrah for Douglas.") And he never uttered a word about the politics of the day, nor did he define his principles on any one question; he did not touch upon anything that is at issue between us. Indeed, he tried to occupy the whole of his time and say nothing, in order that the old Whigs of Coles should not find out that he had turned Abolitionist. (Applause.)

Now, he thought that was very smart, I thought, on the contrary, that it was a very silly thing, because, I think, the people at Charleston were men of sense, and if they be so, they will be disgusted with such trickery. (Applause.)

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October 8, 1858 –

J.H. Waggoner announces that he is withdrawing from his role in co-publishing the Sullivan Express, leaving the paper "in Ned's (E.E.) hands."

Democratic Club.

The Democracy of Sullivan and vicinity, will hold a meeting at the court house in Sullivan, this evening at early candle light, for the purpose of organizing a Democratic Club. All

white men thinking themselves better than negroes are invited to attend.

J.R. Eden, Esq., will address, the meeting.

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The Negro Question – Mr. Lincoln's Position. [Unsigned column]

Under our grand but peculiar form of national government, nearly every question that affects either directly or remotely the interests of the people of the various subordinate governments, or State, springs different definitions applied to different stipulations of the constitution, by men differing in will, inclination or conviction. Not more than half a dozen times in the whole history of the country have the several parties been ranged on one side or the other of written propositions or specific legislation. It is true, the Federal Government is one of forms, to some extent, but it is more truly a compact resting on theories. But theories are not necessarily subject to incessant, or even considerable, mutation. In the United States, at least, all men claim —except a few avowed traitor abolitionists – to adhere to the original theories of the fathers" as to a sheet-anchor. We do not propose to inquire, at this time, how far and by whom "the fathers" are represented in the present day; but let it be observed, in passing, that the Democratic party, in our opinion, belongs the most of the credit of having kept the government of the confederacy so long in the true republican course designed in the beginning.

We desire that the course of the Republic may be still onward. That is the chief wish of the people of Illinois, as it is of all the other States.

And if we remain an united people we must advance; but if not, we shall sink, suddenly and hopelessly, into the wretchedness of civil war and the vices of poverty. Our destiny is in our own hands; we have only to abide by plain and just principles, in the conduct of national affairs, and to select wise and honest and national men to enact laws and to administer them – we have only to do these things to preserve unaltered and hand down to posterity undiminished the legacy of free institutions which we received from the framers of the Constitution. Lincoln has been presented as the most suitable man – indeed, the only man in the Republican party – to occupy a seat in the United States Senate. Is he fit for that exalted place? Not unless he is a statesman. And has he that character? Not unless he understands the theories, before mentioned, of the government. Here is a test that, properly applied, will reveal the statesman in Lincoln if it exists in him; and it lies in the question – Has he definite and proper notions of politics and government? It is our purpose, in this article, in a straightforward way, to show up his quibbles and shifts since the opening of this campaign in such a manner—observing the strictest truth meanwhile—as will convict him of gross carelessness, at least, as a politician, and of an utter want of statesmanlike qualities. And to do this we cite his various speeches on the negro question—especially his last speech on that subject.

There is not before the people, either of this State, or of the country at large, any question so tangible, on which so much has been said, on each side and all sides, as that of the proper and equitable settlement

of the long and bootless controversy over the negro,—or, in other words, over the demand of those citizens who own land and work negroes in the slave portion or the Union. And this question has been discussed with such thoroughness in the last ten years, that one would think that not only every man, but every woman and child ought to be familiar with it and have an opinion made up in regard to it. Every honest person has an opinion so made up; and all who are determined to adhere to and strive to maintain the constitution in its integrity, are likewise determined to push to a crowning and permanent triumph the principle of popular sovereignty. The other class of honest men—for there is another class—we mean that composed of Abolitionists from conviction of the iniquity of the system of slave labor and boldly asseverate their preference that the Union perish rather than that slavery continue, and require that Congress shall prohibit that institution in the territories, and then cut the free States loose from the slave States. That is an infamous demand; but those who make it, are sincere, and therefore honest. They are better than the other class of opponents of popular sovereignty, and not half so dangerous—that which counts in its numbers such fluctuating demagogues as Abraham Lincoln, and his compeers and supporters in Illinois. But this man Lincoln really has no opinion on the negro question,—if we are to judge by his published speeches. For while he has spoken twenty times, more or less, and each time proclaimed views which he professed to endorse, as touching this matter, he yet has chosen to modify and adopt those views to the prejudices of the peo-

le of the several localities which he has visited.

At Springfield he had no doubt of the civil equality of the negro with the white citizen, and was willing that the negro should mount to the same elevation of social privilege occupied by white citizens. In other words, he expressed entire willingness that the negro should be eligible to any position—in the halls of legislation, on the judicial bench, or in society—that now is the exclusive privilege of white voters and white women and children. The revolting doctrine is not inferred from that speech, but it is shamelessly avowed in it; the same doctrine, at that time, and subsequently until, within the last few weeks, was defended and promulgated from the Black Republican press of the State, without an exception.

Did not Lincoln avow the same odious principles in his Chicago speech in reply to Senator Douglas? Certainly. Besides, his organs *then* held the same views, and when Lincoln was accused of favoring the doctrine of negro equality, these same organs acknowledged that he was fully in favor of that doctrine, said the doctrine was right, and defended it with as much fervor as, now, when the disgust of the people is aroused toward him, they palliate Lincoln's previous avowals, and aver that negro equality is not advocated by Black Republicans, never has been, and never will be!

These fellows are agile enough in bounding from one position to another but agility without the attribute of prudence is a dangerous if not a useless function. And what is the track that Lincoln has described in his greater than Sam Patch leap from the platform of negro equality to

that of perpetual negro subordination? What did he leave behind? – How is the gulf between spanned? On what does he rest now? These questions alone will suggest to the reader the whole catalogue of inconsistencies of which in his course on the negro question he is guilty. Lincoln in his former speeches, sought to rely on the simple creed of the Abolitionists, and from thence appeal to the sympathies of the masses. – But soon he found that he could not reach the Senate in that way; the people understand the condition of the negro in slavery, and, too, his condition free, as well as Lincoln understands it. He was not long in finding that out; and in a few days he was seen to sidle off from his original hobby: he attempted to construct, for himself, at Freeport, a sort of national platform. But even in his new position he did not satisfy his would-be friends in central and southern Illinois – while, by assuming the new position, he drove from him many supporters in the northern districts. However, as only one in ten of his speeches are printed, he hopes to re-attach his negro worshipping friends, in this upper section of the State, by withdrawing, to them particularly, just before election, all he has said or will say in Egypt.— That is the plan. In other words, as his speeches do not see the light through the public press, he is attempting to play a double—yes, a treble game, claiming in the North to be for negro equality; in the centre of the State, insisting that he does not favor negro equality, but goes for congressional intervention on the subject of slavery in the territories; in the south holding that he is opposed to negro equality, not only, but to endowing the negro with any civil

privilege whatever! This latter is a fair statement of his position on this question, as seen in his speech at Charleston. He therein asserts that by a law of the Supreme law-giver, the negro is the inferior of the white man and that, in his opinion, should be held perpetually in subordination!

It is seen, therefore, that Lincoln could not, if he were honest, or if his supporters were so, claim any longer the votes of the Republican party,— he has formally abandoned their platform. And if there is as much difference in the sentiments held respectively by the opponents to the Democracy in the northern portion of the State and those in the southern portion, as there is in the sentiments of Lincoln's different speeches, and if they finally vote together, then, indeed, shall we have exemplified the Happy Family!

But the most important part of this matter remains to be considered:— We can dispose of it in a few words. Lincoln, by leaping from his original platform on to another, has killed outright the Dred Scott hobby. Let us hear not another bit of cant about the decision, in that case, of the Supreme Court. That court arrived at the just conclusion, and published it, that negroes are not and cannot be citizens of the United States. Lincoln said, at Springfield,—he made the same remark there in two different speeches,—that that decision was an outrage almost too grave to be even temporarily endured. He asserted the same thing at Chicago, last July; and all the papers in his interest said, Amen! What said Lincoln at Charleston? Why, that the negro was created by the Almighty the inferior and subordinate of the white man; that he should not be made even a voter in Illinois; that he ought

to be kept in the condition of subordination and servitude so long as he shall wear a black face! Honest citizens, look upon the demagogue! Look upon the man who seeks to represent you in the Senate of the United States! And you, Republicans, what think you of your leader? of your “first, last, and only choice?”

The Democracy only insisted that that the law as expounded by the Supreme Court, relative to negro citizenship, should be observed. We have never claimed that the curse of Heaven rests upon the negro. Lincoln does make that assertion; and has given us the authority of the Almighty (we write it without levity) in addition to that of the Supreme Court, for the position taken by the Democratic party on this question.— No person, after this, certainly, will say that the Dred Scott decision does not accord with legal justice, and Christian principle.

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October 15, 1858 --  
Who was Drunk?

Next we proceeded to Sullivan Ill. in company with the Charleston and Mattoon people, to again listen to Douglas and Lincoln. At this place the crowd was not so large as at Charleston, neither was there so much harmony; at the same time there was an unmistakable evidence of morality and intelligence being in the ascendancy at Sullivan, and we desire no better treatment than we received from a number of the citizens of this place.

At the above place, and on the same occasion a number of intoxicated men perpetrated an assault, or *mob* on the Lincoln procession as it

was passing the stand where Mr. Douglas, was then speaking—for about five minutes it rained brickbats intermixed with hats, coats and vests to an alarming extent, but luckily the *mob* was quelled before any serious damage was inflicted.—The driver of the band wagon and his team received the most serious wounds, and next comes various members of the Band who received bruises and bumps from all manner of weapons such as brickbats, stones and fence rails. The Band was from our own town and we venture the assertion that all who know them will at once determine the treatment unmerited and unwarrantable. We become heartily ashamed of our intoxicated friends engaged in this transaction and hence turned our back upon the “Giant” and “Giant killer” and returned home by the fastest possible mode of conveyance.—[*Clay County (Ind.) Democrat. (?)*]

Inasmuch as this subject is getting to be quite stale we will content ourselves by stating, for the benefit of the Local editor of the Democrat, that to our certain knowledge the principal actors in this “assault, or *mob*” were not drunk, on that occasion, nor do they indulge in the use of anything which when taken to excess will intoxicate.

We think it quite likely that there were some men in the company who were intoxicated, but we have inquired for such and have the first yet to hear of.

We are told by those who have tried it, that when a person is drunk he thinks everybody else is drunk and himself the only sober man in the crowd. Wonder it this was Mr. C. M. Thompson’s fix when he was at Sullivan?

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Correspondence of *Press & Tribune*

The Persecution of the Douglasites in Moultrie County.

An Authentic Account of the Sullivan Roorback.

Sullivan, Moultrie Co., Sept. 20, 1858

Having been a resident of this place twelve years, and believing this to have been the most memorable day of the whole twelve, I take the liberty of sending you in brief the particulars of our two political demonstrations, and the events growing out of the same which were not wholly in accordance with programme. Hon. S A. Douglas made an appointment to speak here a short time since, but caused it to be published in a local paper in this place. Mr. Lincoln seeing there was no appointment for Douglas in the Chicago Times or State Register, and not being aware of his hocus-pocus arrangement at this place, announced that he would speak at “Sullivan, Monday, September 20th,” and caused it to be so published in his regular list of appointments. Mr. Douglas’ appointment was at ten o’clock. Consequently Mr. Lincoln’s friends fixed his hour at two, so that the people might have the opportunity of hearing both. No sooner did the Douglas men learn of this arrangement, than they persuaded Mr. Douglas to postpone his hour till one o’clock, thinking to get the crowd around him and keep them so they could not hear Mr. Lincoln.

Accordingly at one o’clock Douglas took the stand and commenced. I shall not attempt to tell what he said, farther than that I listened to him fifty minutes, and heard, him vociferate “Black Republican” twenty one times and “Abolitionist” or “Abolitionism” thirty four times. The balance was a dish of foolish and harmless blackguardism.

At two o’clock the Republican band started for the grove where Mr. Lincoln

was to speak. The crowd began at once to disperse, and being more than half Lincoln men, the Little Giant began to beg them not to leave him all alone. His appeal to our charity had no perceptible effect; so his friends thought they would adopt more potent measures. The first man who jumped into the street to stop the crowd is notorious in our community for two events. The first is that he tried his hand, a short time ago, at whipping his wife. In this he was successful—turning the poor woman into the street with her eyes discolored, and her person otherwise badly bruised. He afterwards bragged of the exploit. The other distinguishing performance of this character was his getting himself appointed a deputy officer to acquire the shelter of the law in shooting one of his neighbors, with whom he had had a fight in which he did not triumph as gloriously as when he fought his wife. This man and a few more of his political faith and social standing undertook to stop the crowd. The Lincoln boys knocked down three of them and the rest took to their heels.

We then passed on to the grove and heard Old Abe make one of his most telling speeches. His audience was much larger than Douglas' crowd and his speech infinitely superior in logic, manner and morals. OLD PICK.

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We copy the above letter from the Springfield Journal, it from Press & Tribune, Chicago, both abolition papers. Notwithstanding the lies that characterize the abolition party and press, all over the State, this communication from "Old Pick," of Moultrie county, to the Chicago Press & Tribune, is the basest fabrication of false

hood that has ever been our privilege to read. Every Democrat knows it to be false, and every truthful Republican, though prejudiced, will never swallow such stuff. "Old Nick" – beg pardon – "Old Pick" abuses one of our honest citizens, by alluding to his (citizen's) private family matters, which is an exaggeration beyond all truth, as our citizens can testify.—and if we are not very much mistaken, "Old Pick," in this particular, lives in a glass house, and, consequently, had better not throw stones.

After this communication appeared in the daily Tribune, the black republicans of this place thought it would injure their cause for it to appear in the weekly—which has considerable circulation in this county—for all our citizens would know that it contained little else but lies, from beginning to end; and, consequently, a Republican dispatched a letter, *by express*, to the editor, requesting him not to have it appear in the weekly; but unfortunately for abolitionists the letter came to hand too late, and the communication did appear, and now, it and its author stands condemned before our citizens. This communication, and the scene it so falsely describes, have and will make from seventy-five to one hundred votes, in both counties, for Worley, the Douglas candidate for the Legislature. Do so again, "Old Pick," "if you think there's no hereafter."

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1859

January 14, 1859 – announces Douglas re-elected to the Senate over Lincoln by 54 to 46.

January 21, 1859 – J.E. Eden announces he will no longer do business on credit; will only do business on cash basis.

February 11, 1859 -- -- now publishers are stated to be J.H. & I.V. Waggoner

To our Readers,

Friends – stop – I take that back, for if you had been friends you would have paid up better.

Dear readers: I have sold my entire interest in the Sullivan Express office to J.H. & I.V.

Waggoner. The reason I did so was, you wouldn't pay your little bills, and I am too poor to publish a newspaper without receiving some remuneration.

You will please pay to my successors fifteen hundred dollars – the amount of your indebtedness to this office – and oblige,

Your Ob't Serv't, Ned Waggoner

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June 17, 1859 –

Celebration. June 15<sup>th</sup>.

Meeting called to order by P.B. Knight being called to the chair, and J. Meeker elected secretary.

The object of the meeting having been stated by the chair to be to make arrangements to celebrate the national anniversary,

J.R. Eden moved that the citizens of Moultrie celebrate the Fourth, and that a general invitation be extended to everybody and his wife.

On motion of Wm. Menefee, J.R., Eden, A.L. Kellar, E.E. Waggoner, P.B. Knight, J.W. Kendall, J.M. Ashworth, J.W. Snyder, R.P. McPheeters and J. Meeker were appointed a committee of general arrangements.

On motion of A. L. Kellar, Wm. Menefee, J. W. Snyder and J. W. Kendall were appointed to select a suitable place for the occasion.'

A. L. Keller moved that a committee of three, including the President, be appointed as a committee of entertainment. Motion carried. The chair appointed David Pifer and S. Green.

On motion the general committee on arrangements were authorized and instructed to appoint a number of ladies to assist on said committee.

On motion of J.R. Eden, the proceedings of this meeting were ordered to be published in the *Express*.

On motion the meeting adjourned until Saturday evening next, at the court house, and that the special committees be requested to report then and there. J. MEEKER, Sec.

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June 24, 1859 –

#### FOURTH OF JULY!

Pursuant to adjournment, there was a meeting of the citizens, at the court-house in Sullivan, on Saturday evening the 18<sup>th</sup> inst. to make further arrangements to celebrate the approaching anniversary of Independence. P.B. Knight, Pres., J. Meeker, Sec.

The committee on entertainments reported that they had elected Rev. Joel Knight and Rev. J.W. R. Morgan as Chaplains, J.R. Eden to deliver an oration, O.B. Steele, A.E. Kellar, J. Meeker and A.B. Lee to deliver toasts and responses, and Dr. A Birch to read the Declaration of Independence. Report received and adopted.

Committee to select ground for meeting, also reported; which report was received, and amended by substituting Washington Smith Grove, on the south side of Sullivan.

The committee of arrangements were instructed to prepare the programme of exercises, and to invite the people of the county generally to participate, and such as convenient can, to bring provisions,– Proceedings

ordered to be published in the  
“Express.” Adjourned.

P.B. Knight, Pres.  
J. Meeker, Sec.

In pursuance of the instructions of the foregoing public meeting of the citizens, the committee of arrangements respectfully submit the following programme to be observed in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of American Independence:

On the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, at 10 o'clock A.M., procession will be formed under the direction of J.E. Eden, Chief Marshall, in the following orders:

- 1<sup>st</sup>. The Ladies will meet at the Christian church, in Sullivan, where they will be formed in procession.
- 2d. The Gentlemen will meet at the Court-house yard, when they will be formed in procession, after which the Ladies and Gentlemen will be formed in one procession, and march to Smith's Grove, on the south side of town.

#### ORDER OF EXERCISES AT THE GROVE.

- 1<sup>st</sup>. Prayer by Rev. Joel Knight.
  - 2d. Music.
  - 3d. Reading the Declaration of Independence, by Dr. A. Birch.
  - 4<sup>th</sup>. Music
  - 5<sup>th</sup>. Address, by J.R. Eden.
  - 6<sup>th</sup>. Music.
  - 7<sup>th</sup>. Toast by C.B. Steele, responded to by A. L. Kellar.
  - 8<sup>th</sup> Music.
  - 9<sup>th</sup> Toast by J. Meeker, responded to by A. B. Lee.
  - 10<sup>th</sup> Music.
  - 11<sup>th</sup> Refreshments.
- The committee are further instructed to extend a general invitation to the citizens of the county to meet with us on the occasion, and participate in the celebration; also, that such as conveniently

can, bring provisions already cooked, as they will not be personally waited on by the committee.

The following named Ladies have been appointed a committee on refreshments, and are requested to assist the committee of arrangements in procuring provisions, viz.:

Mrs. C.B. Steele, Mrs. J.E. Eden,  
J.B. Shepherd, A.N. Smyser,  
Miss Jennie Cade, Miss Ann Kellar  
Lizzie Perryman, “ Mary Lynn  
and Miss S. F. Edwards.

P.B. Knight,  
A.L. Kellar,  
A. Birch,  
J.E. Eden,  
J.B. Shepherd,  
J.W. Snyder,  
R.P. McPheeters,  
J.W. Kendall,  
J.M. Ashworth,  
E.E. Waggoner,  
John R. Eden,  
J. Meeker.  
Committee.

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July 8, 1859

#### T H E F O U R T H .

The morning of the fourth opened glorious and fair, bringing a bright promise of a beautiful day for the national jubilee – the air cool and bracing, the heavens cloudless, and the face of nature joyous.

Early in the day the good people were aroused by the sound of the tocsin heard far and near. Soon after could be seen crowds of the native sovereigns wending their way to the point named as the place for convening to celebrate the Anniversary of American Independence.



dence. patriots from far and near, north, south, east and west, were rep- in the persons of, the sturdy yeomanry attended with their wives, and the scions of independence follow- ing in their wake.

At half past nine o'clock the bell on the Christian Church announced the forming of the procession, under the direction of J.E. Eden, Chief Mar- shall, assisted by E.D. Cleveland, Esq., and Capt. A.B. Lee. The gen- tlemen were formed in procession in the Court Yard, by A.B. Lee, and marched to the Christian Church where the ladies fell into the process- ion under the supervision of E.D. Cleveland, from whence the procession marched to the Presbyterian Church, where the members of the Sunday School, under the Superintendent, Mr. Riggs, formed in order, and proceeded to the square, where the order of Oddfellows first, and then the Masons, clothed in their appropri- ate regalia, fell in rank; and to the notes of martial music all marched to the stand near the Sullivan Academy.

After quiet was established the ex- ercises of the day were introduced by a very eloquent and appropriate pray- er, by the Rev. Joel Knight, and after music by the choir, the Declara- tion of Independence was read by Charles L. Roane. The choir then discoursed sweet music in a very suit- able piece; a very spirited, eloquent, appropriate address was delivered by John R. Eden, Esq., with which eve- ryone was pleased, and by which the orator did credit to himself, and hon- or to his county. [Music.] Next in order J. Meeker, in a calm, deliberate and eloquent style, delivered a short sensible speech, concluding with a toast, which was responded to by Capt. A.B. Lee, who evinced that he was neither unacquainted with his subject, nor unused to public speak-

ing. [Music.] C.B. Steele, then in his usually eloquent and patriotic style, delivered a short pithy speech, in which was displayed an account of talent, creditable even to older heads, which was also concluded with a toast and was responded to by Dr. A.L. Keller, in a most eloquent and excel- lent speech.

The exercises being ended, dinner was announced and eaten, after which the crowd dispersed, without any dis- turbance to mar the harmony of the occasion. Seldom have we witnessed so large a convention with so little confusion – there being from 2500 to 3,000 persons present. All seemed well pleased, and the citizens of Sullivan and Moultrie, generally, have nothing to be ashamed of in the eighty third anniversary of our country's In- dependence.

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July 15, 1859 –  
Retiring! [advertisement]

Having concluded to quit the Goods business I am desirous of disposing of my entire stock of goods, at wholesale prices, or EVEN LESS than first cost for CASH. Now is the time to get cheap goods. This is no humbug; come and see. J.E. EDEN

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August 12, 1859 –  
[Advertisement by J.E. Eden]  
DISSOLUTION!

The copartnership heretofore existing between J.E. Eden and the Credit System is this day dissolved. This result was brought about by the failure of the Credit System. That failing, the whole Firm come very near, if not quite, "going under." I will continue the Goods business at the Old

Stand, and “Go it Alone” Exclusively for Cash,  
and merchantable produce.

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[adjacent to above ad appears this note]:  
Retiring!

Having concluded to quit the goods business  
I am desirous of disposing of my entire stock  
of goods, at wholesale prices, or even less than  
first cost for CASH. Now is the time to get  
cheap goods. This is no humbug; come and see.

J.E. Eden

July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1859.

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September 9, 1859 –

The Board of the Moultrie County  
Agricultural Society met at the Court House  
on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September 1859. On motion that  
the ... Society hold their Second Annual Fair  
on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> days of October next. ...  
On motion that a premium of one dollar be  
awarded to the Slowest sound Mule. no man  
to ride his own mule. Awarding Committee,  
Moses Underwood, Elihu Welton and J.R. Eden.

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September 23, 1859 –

We have made arrangement to have an able  
assistant in the editorial department for the  
next volume, whose name will be announced in  
due time. [Volume refers to one year’s worth  
of weekly papers. “One more number closes  
the second volume of the Sullivan Express.  
Those who subscribed at the commencement  
of this volume, are notified that their term of  
subscription closes with next week’s issue. Now  
is the time to renew.”]

October 27, 1859 – reports insurrection at  
Harper’s Ferry.

J. R. EDEN will make his bow next  
week, as political editor of this paper.  
Business in the courts has engaged  
all his time recently.

November 3, 1859 –

INTRODUCTORY.

To *the Democrats of Moultrie  
County* :

I have long been anxious to see a  
Democratic paper established upon a  
firm basis, in Moultrie county; and am  
ready to make any reasonable sacrifice  
to accomplish that object.

About one year ago the *Express*  
hung out Democratic colors, since  
which time it has continued to advocate  
Democratic principles. The great  
Presidential struggle of 1860 is now  
near at hand, and every Democrat  
should begin to burnish up his arms  
for the fight.

Every close observer of political e-  
vents has noticed, that the press is a  
potent engine in every political contest,  
and is every year becoming more  
powerful. Our political opponents  
have not failed to avail themselves of  
this means of disseminating their peculiar  
tenets ; and not having any fixed  
principles upon which to stand,  
have, also, by the same agency, succeeded  
in poisoning the minds of many  
against the Democratic party, by a  
steady and persevering misrepresentation  
of their principles. In this work,  
they have not confined themselves to  
the newspaper press, but have thrown  
broadcast, all over the North, partizan  
speeches and tracts, under cover of  
Congressional franks. Whilst the  
Democratic party have always been  
ready to meet their political opponents  
on the stump, and at the polls; they  
have not used the same industry in the  
way of circulating documents and  
newspapers as have the Republican  
party. Our friends are aware that the  
Opposition have a secret organization

throughout the State, and that they have been collecting off the members of the party a large amount of money, mainly for the purpose of circulating political documents.

In order to contribute what I can toward the success of the *Express*, a Democratic newspaper, I have consented to write political articles as often as time and opportunity will permit. As this labor on my part is to be wholly gratuitous, I cannot promise to devote any of my time to it when my profession, or other business, may require my attention. But when my services are not required in the courts, I will endeavor to write two or three articles, upon political subjects, each week.

Before I close this article I wish to appeal to the Democrats in this county to lend a helping hand in extending the circulation of the *Express*. It ought to be in the hands of every man in the county. Should each man, who feels an interest in the success of Democratic principles, use reasonable exertions to extend the circulation of the paper throughout the county, I have no doubt but that it will exercise a wholesome influence in maintaining Democratic supremacy in the county. It would be useless for me to add, that so far as the political character of the *Express* shall be shaped by me, that it will plumb the Democratic line,—yielding, at all times, a hearty support to Democratic men and Democratic measures; and opposing, as dangerous to the liberties of the country and to the stability of our institutions, the secret and avowed doctrines of the so called Republican party. As I do not wish to be held responsible for anything I do not write, all my articles will have a mark to distinguish them.

JOHN R. EDEN.

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We take great pleasure in presenting to our readers this week, John R. Eden, as political editor of our paper; and as our citizens are satisfied of his ability to fill this position, we need not tell them so. In the close, of his introductory he makes some very sensible remarks concerning our subscription list. Let every Democrat respond.

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November 10, 1859 – On page 2 J.R. Eden is identified as Political Editor. The Mission of the Democratic Party.

In these perilous times, when the country is environed with difficulties and dangers on account of the machinations of domestic traitors, it behooves the honest men of the country, who only become partizans when they believe that they thereby advance the welfare of the country, to scrutinize with care the tendencies of political parties. Should this class of men adhere to the fortunes of party merely through blind zeal, and the country be involved in ruin on account of the success of such a party, then, not they alone, but their children after them, would mourn on account of the infatuation under which they acted. The man who takes a candid survey of the present condition of our beloved country must see that we have fallen upon evil times, and that a single false step may precipitate a crisis upon the country fraught with the greatest danger to the permanency of our institutions. When the mind's eye has taken in the danger, we think it requires no great skill to detect the cause, and when that is ascertained, the way is pointed

out to the haven of safety.

The agitation of the slavery question, and crimination and recrimination between the North and the South about slavery, have been, and now are, the bane of the country. Under this state of facts, the South, being the weaker party, and also being endangered by the presence of the servile population, are naturally sensitive to any sort of interference on our part, and irritable, perhaps to a fault, when they see a disposition in this quarter to bear down upon their peculiar institutions. When the public mind of the two sections is at fever heat upon this very question of slavery, and when the wild fanaticism of the Abolitionists of the North has reached that point where they are ready to arm the slaves of the South and lead them against their masters, and bearing in mind that our southern brethren, and not we of the North, are menaced with present peril, what is our obvious duty if we wish to preserve peace and harmony between the two sections? Is it to arm with power that party which is built up upon hostility to slavery alone, and the leaders of which have hurled their anathemas at slavery and slaveholders until they have nerved the arm of desperadoes to attempt to force the slaves of the South into a war, not only upon slaveholders, but upon the innocent mother and the sleeping babe upon her bosom? Clothe a Seward, a Chase, a Banks, or one who acts in unison with them, with the powers of the Executive of this great nation, and may not the men of the South at least with a show of truth assert that the whole powers of the national government will be brought to bear against their section of the Union! May they not well fear, that when another Ossawatimie Brown attempts to trample down the institution of slavery, that the arm of

the national government will be invoked in vain for the suppression of domestic insurrection? It strikes our mind, that any person not blinded by prejudice, may see that when the North, merely through the force of numbers, organizes a party solely as the enemy of slavery, and after having urged on the crusade to the shedding of blood, and shall seize hold of the government upon the strength of this sectional prejudice, that our Constitution will no longer hold the country together. The Abolition fanatic may say, with a sneer upon his lip, that we will force the South to submit to our dictation. We admit that this may be done. But when our Union can only be held together by the arm of military power, and nearly one-half the States shall have lost all faith in the justice and integrity of our government, and look upon it only as an oppression, there will be little, very little, left for a patriot to admire. And should the minds of the people become so crazed as to induce them to ruin the South by turning loose a vagabond negro race upon that section of the country, we need not think that we can look on complacently without being involved in their calamity. Philanthropy is cheap while it does not reach the pocket. Hence we may indulge the largest sympathy for the poor negro; but to attempt to emancipate him and leave him in this country would be the signal for the ruin of both races.

The only safe solution of this question lies in this: to give to the people of the South all their constitutional guarantees. Let them work out their own destiny and that of their peculiar institutions. Whilst slavery shall exist in any of the States, let the people of each State and each organized Territory regulate the status of the negro.

Let us do no violence to popular rights upon a supposition that the people may establish institutions that we believe to be wrong. If they keep within the bounds of the Constitution of our common country, there is no danger. If they go beyond that, then there are checks and balances to bring up every thing to the constitutional standard—and herein lies our only safety. When we depart from the constitutional landmarks established by our fathers, we are like a vessel at sea without a compass.

In short, the Democratic doctrine of non-intervention is the only safe one. Here the North and the South can meet upon common ground, and neither feel the sting of defeat. Let the country settle down upon this doctrine, and scourge from the high places every man who seeks to embroil the country in strife over the slavery question, and the country will be at peace. Prosperity will again dawn upon our land, and happiness and kindly feeling will be kindled in the hearts of our people. To bring about these glorious results is the mission of the Democratic party.

E.

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#### Harper's Ferry Again

Many of the Black Republican presses whilst palliating the conduct of Brown and his confederates, in their attempt to incite an insurrection among the negroes of Virginia, deny with much apparent indignation, that the leaders of that party are in any way responsible for the murders and bloodshed, consequent upon this desperate effort to get up a civil war in our country! Such papers as the *Chicago Press and Tribune* and *New York Tribune*. whilst they indirectly take the part

of Old Brown, by palliating and excusing his conduct on the ground of real or imaginary injuries received by him in his marauding expeditions in Kansas, are well aware that if they were to come out openly and give utterance to their real sentiments in favor of his lawless conduct, that the effect would be to drive many conservative and good men out of the Republican party. Hence they throw a thin veil over their true feelings in the premises. At the same time they lose no opportunity and reproach upon the people of Virginia, whose citizens have been butchered in cold blood by this Abolition invasion, because they do not treat these desperadoes with that degree of forbearance, suited to the tastes of their Abolition confederates, who had the wisdom to keep their precious carcasses out of danger. They take great pains to misrepresent the conduct of the court whose duty it is to try these criminals and even the counsel who defended them, in order that an unjust prejudice may be engendered in the minds of the people of the North against the people of Virginia, and that a corresponding sympathy may be aroused in favor of old Brown. We might inquire the reason of these efforts upon the part of the leading Republican journals to get up a feeling in the country in Brown's favor, at the expense of truth and justice! And we know of no reasonable answer that can be given, unless they have that fellow-feeling, which their former political associations with old Brown would naturally inspire them with.

Many of the most earnest Republicans, however, who will not smother up their true principles, even if the party should be injured on account

of their indiscretions, occasionally give vent to their feeling about this Harper's Ferry affair. As a sample of these we give an extract from the *Reformer*, an Abolition paper published at Aurora, Illinois, under the caption of "Patriotic Traitors." The following is the extract:

E.

Brown's attempt may seem the act of a madman; but a few facts indicate that he was far from being alone in the conspiracy. It must be remembered that the American people are unused to rebellions. None of them would take such a step without serious pre-arrangements, and some hope of success. The Harper's Ferry affair may be a "lame and impotent conclusion," in the opinion of the multitude; but it takes no prophet's eye, we think, to see that it is but the beginning of the end. He that robs his fellow-man of freedom nourishes a basilisk in his bosom, and he is in danger, any moment, of being bitten. The time for talking about "contented" slaves is past. If they ever were contented, theirs was the contentment of despair. But they are fast learning that they have friends, and the increase of escapes proves that they appreciate sympathy. Hope once awakened, they will risk what other human beings have risked for liberty—everything. Change in the administrative policy can hardly prevent, but will rather serve to precipitate these events. Until slavery has licked the dust at the feet of freedom, rebel patriots must bleed and die, and we, the people, must murder them. O, shame!

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November 24, 1859 –  
Harper's Ferry Again.

As we predicted sometime ago, the leading Republican journals of the country, begin to take their position on the side of old Brown. When we saw the persistent efforts that were made from the start by the New York Tribune and kindred prints, to create a sympathy in favor of Brown and his fellow-murderers, we felt certain that they were only preparing the minds of their followers, to seize hold of the execution of these condemned criminals, as another pretext to fan the flame of sectional excitement between the North and South, and thus hold the Republican party together for the next Presidential election. We are well aware that without the excitement and bad feeling engendered during the last Presidential canvass, by the murders and other outrages perpetrated in Kansas, mainly through the instigation of demagogues in the East that the Republican party would have suffered such an overwhelming defeat, as forever to have put at rest all hope of the success of a political party built upon the prejudices of the Northern people against the institution of slavery. And notwithstanding the irritation growing out of the Kansas difficulties has left many wounds to heal before the people of the North and South can again live together upon the amicable terms that formerly subsisted between them, yet the political desperadoes who have staked their all upon the continuance of the "irrepressible conflict" between the two sections, dreading the reaction that must follow if the public mind is suffered to cool down to the reasoning point, seize upon every

pretext to open afresh the bleeding wounds. Virginia seizes upon a desperate, band of murderers, taken in the very act, upon her own soil, which is still wet with the blood of her citizens; she gives the criminals a fair trial according to the laws of the common wealth, and as everybody could easily foresee, they are condemned to death. Does any man honestly believe them to be innocent? We suppose not. Yet every act of the court, jury, and counsel, as well as of the excited community in which the daring outrage was committed, is criticised with the greatest severity by leading Black Republican journals, with a view to bring our Southern brethren into contempt. Because the authorities of Virginia have been prompt to punish the violators of Virginia law, they are denounced as worse than Jeffries —because the people of Virginia have not kept perfectly cool, with their murdered brethren weltering in their blood before them, they are denounced by such pinks of perfection as Greely, as the merest barbarians. There is a cause for all this. The negro excitement will die out unless it is fed, and those who fed it on murder and bloodshed in Kansas, will try the same in Virginia, as far as they safely can.

When we hear men of intelligence smoothing over rough places in old Brown's career, and severely criticising the conduct of Virginia in her conduct toward him, we set them down as Brown Republicans. E.

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The Fall Elections.

The Ossawatomeites have done a deal of crowing over the fall elections.

They are only whistling to keep their courage up. Iowa, which at the recent election went Republican by 3, 000, gave Fremont a majority of 16, 000. Wisconsin, where their majority at the late election is less than 1,000, gave Fremont, if we remember rightly, about 8,000 majority. But they have crowed loudest and longest over the State election in New York. But as the smoke of battle clears away, we find that the Democrats have elected all the most important State officers, by majorities ranging from 300 to 2, 500. Our readers will remember that Fremont led Buchanan in that State, 80,000 or 100,000.

The only States in which the Democracy have been wonted are Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and in these States our enemies have taken advantage of foolish divisions in our ranks by running a people's ticket, composed of a mixture of Republicans, Americans, and sore headed Democrats, thus achieving a temporary victory.

The pressure of the Presidential election to come off next year will drive the traitors in those States into the camp of the enemy, where they will no longer have the power to foment divisions in the Democratic party; and when the Democratic column moves in a compact body in those States, they will scatter the Brown Republicans like chaff before the whirlwind. When the Democratic party ceases to quarrel about rival candidates for the Presidency, and puts a quietus upon an unprofitable discussion of abstractions and impracticable issues, the great old party will again stand erect and bid defiance to every foe. E.

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December 8, 1859 – “Extra”  
Democratic Meeting

The Democracy of Moultrie county are requested to meet at the Court-House in Sullivan, on Saturday the 21th day of December, 1859, at 1 o'clock P.M., for the purpose of appointing two delegates to the Democratic State Convention to be held at Springfield on the 4th day of January next. A general attendance from all parts of the county is requested.

By order of the Comity Executive Committee.

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Our Criminal Law a Failure.

No person who has given the slightest attention to the subject, has failed to notice, that as a means of punishment to offenders, our criminal law is almost a failure. Our courts are weak nets that catch *honest violators of law*, but out of which rogues with hardened consciences, force their way. A man who has committed an offense, and will not perjure himself, stands a fair chance to be punished; but one who is ready to add the crime of perjury to the catalogue, can, as a general rule, escape conviction. This state of facts is owing to the facility of changing the venue of causes from one county to another. A man who will swear, that the minds of the inhabitants of one, two, or three counties, not one of whom ever heard of him, are so prejudiced against him that he cannot receive a fair trial, can easily wear out a prosecution, and thus go scot-free. From our observations upon this matter we are led to believe that there is a fearful amount of perjury committed in procuring changes of venue, and that the interest of the

public imperatively demand a repeal of the law allowing changes of venue at all. Whatever reasons may have existed for allowing changes of venue when the country was scarcely settled, have ceased to operate. In every county there are plenty of men, fully competent to try any person who may be indicted within the county for any offense committed therein. In criminal practice a change of venue has become the most important means of escape for criminals; and to such an extent has the thing been carried, that the public mind has become disgusted with it. If the Legislature does not furnish a remedy, the courts will soon be treated with contempt, and Lynch law will be administered in all the more glaring cases of crime. We say wipe the whole thing out — abolish the law, entirely, allowing changes of venue, that honest men and dishonest men may have equal rights in our courts of justice. E.

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BE AT ONCE UNDECEIVED!

IF any person, indebted to me, has come to the conclusion that I do not need the money, I will say to all such be undeceived—I must have all the money due me. If you cannot raise the money, I shall be compelled to try to raise it for you. As I shall be absent during Christmas-time, B. B. Haydon is authorized to receive and receipt for me in my absence. If you cannot raise the money, you can save cost by calling and confessing judgement

J. E EDEN.

December 8th 1859

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December 15, 1859 –  
Democratic Meeting!

The Democracy of Moultrie county are requested to meet at the Court-House in Sullivan, on Saturday the 24th day of December, 1859, at 1 o'clock P. M., for the purpose of appointing two delegates to the Democratic State Convention to be held at Springfield on the 4th day of January next. A general attendance from all parts of the county is requested.

By order of the County Executive Committee.

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How to Cure Hard Times.

Our country seems at present to be weighed down with debt, and little prospect ahead of any early relief. There are many erroneous opinions as to the cause of the hard times, and the best means of avoiding them. Those who have not yet learned that our Government has nothing to give, save what it extracts from the people in some shape or other, are expecting some law to be passed that will aid in the premises. Some doubtless have vague hopes that the old exploded doctrine of a protective tariff will be resuscitated, thereby giving the farmer the great privilege of paying to the manufacturer, from thirty to fifty per cent more for his iron, his domestics, &c, than he now pays.— These privileges, however, would be slightly compensated by the manufacturer, who would perhaps reduce the price of flour, beef, pork, etc., twenty or thirty percent, after the foreign customer had been repulsed by our high protective tariff. We are led to believe that there are some politicians nursing this bantling, from the formation

of Cameron and Lincoln Clubs in the north part of the State. This Cameron, whom the Ossawatomieites propose to run for President, with Abe Lincoln for a tail, is a Pennsylvania Protectionist, notorious for his corruption and rascalities generally, and hence has all the qualification for a Black Republican candidate. Abe Lincoln, one of the “irrepressible conflict” men, would represent Sambo, whilst Cameron, a renegade Democrat, would suit such traitors as Trumbull, Wentworth & Co.; and, as Cameron bought his seat in the United States Senate with *gold*, the Corruptionists will flock to his standard like buzzards around a dead carcass. Whilst this is the programme of demagogues, they seek to deceive the people, that political scoundrels may be elevated to office.

The true remedy for ‘hard time,’ is, for every man, in debt, to sell what he has to spare, the first opportunity, and pay his debts with the proceeds; and accumulate more as fast as he can.— Then vote for honest men for office, who will let the n\_\_\_ alone, reduce the taxes, and then let the people take care of themselves. E.

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December 29, 1859 –  
Moultrie County Democratic  
Convention.

Pursuant to a notice given in the *Sullivan Express*, the Democracy of Moultrie county met in Convention at A.N. Smyser’s Store, in Sullivan, on the 24th day of December, for the purpose of appointing Delegates to the Democratic State Convention to be held in Springfield on the 4th day of January next, at which time Delegates are to be elected to the National Convention at Charleston, S. C.

B. W. Henry Sr., was called to the chair, and W. Menefee appointed Secretary.

On motion of A. B. Lee, the chair appointed Denis Coakly, A. N. Smyser, A. B. Lee, J. Meeker and David Patterson a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the Democracy of Moultrie county.—

The committee, after retiring a short time, returned and presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Cincinnati Platform of '56 is a full and sufficient embodiment of the doctrines and principles of the Democratic party, now as then; and we hereby re-affirm our strict adherence to it as a whole, without interpolation or change.

*Resolved*, That we deprecate any movement, either North or South, calculated to sever the fraternal ties of friendship and fellowship which bind us together as a nation; and that we consider all such persons as traitors and enemies to our beloved country.

*Resolved*, That the people of the States and Territories regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject, however, to the Constitution of the United States.

*Resolved*, That we fully indorse the able and patriotic course of our U. S. Senator, the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, upon all questions of national interest or State policy now at issue in the Congress of the United States, or before the people.

*Resolved*, That our Delegates to the State Convention to be holden in Springfield, January 4th 1860, be and are hereby instructed to use all proper efforts to secure the election of true and national men to the National Convention.

*Resolved*, That we have no sympathy with Northern fanatics, nor

Southern disunionists; but, on the contrary, true, conservative men, alone, should be appointed as Delegates to the National Democratic Convention to be holden at Charleston, S. C , April 23d, 1860.

*Resolved*, That we have full confidence in the integrity, patriotism and ability of J. R. EDEN Esq., and therefore recommend him to the State Convention as a suitable man to represent the 7th Congressional district of Illinois, in the National Convention.

*Resolved*, That the *Sullivan Express* and the other Democratic papers in this district be requested to publish the above resolutions.

On motion the Convention then proceeded to the election of Delegates, which resulted in the choice of the following:—

John H. B. E. Warren and A. N. Smyser, Delegates; J. W. R. Morgan and D. Patterson, Alternates.

On motion the Convention proceeded to elect a Central Committee, which resulted in the choice of Isaac Kinney, S. Cannon, John H. B. E. Warren, J. B. Anderson and Thos. Dalton.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

B.W.HENRY, Ch'm  
W. Menefee, Sec'y.

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1860

January 5, 1860 –  
John R. Eden is absent this week, being in attendance at the State Convention at Springfield.

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January 12, 1860 –  
Democratic State Convention.

We had the pleasure of attending the Democratic State convention, held at Springfield on the 4th instant, and were highly pleased with the enthusiasm and spirit of harmony manifested by the representation of the Democracy there assembled. It was much the largest delegate convention we ever witnessed; and the spirit and determination to uphold and carry out the true principles of the party, seemed to pervade the entire assembly.-- The resolutions reported by the committee, and which were unanimously adopted, have the ring of the true metal. Every tenet of the party is fully endorsed, the Cincinnati platform, without, erasure or interlineation, is to be the true creed of the party; and the fidelity of the Democratic party of this State to the Democracy of the Union is freely and fully avowed. There is no equivocation or prevarication upon any point, —and, finally, the emphatic endorsement of STEPHEN A DOUGLAS as the choice of the Illinois Democracy for the nomination at Charleston, came as an echo to the unanimous voice of the party in this State, and, we might add, of the entire North-West. The convention did the business for which it met, in order and with dispatch; and adjourned with nine rousing cheers for Senator DOUGLAS, and three for honest John Moore, the President of the convention.

There were so many able and eloquent speeches delivered during our stay at Springfield, that we will not stop to notice them in detail; we think, however, that Don Morrison's withering *expose* of the rascalities of the Republican State administration, wounded the Ossawottomieites worse than

anything that was said or done. He showed, in an unmistakeable manner, the whole of the well-matured scheme by which they attempted to swindle the people of the State out of some two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and that too by documents from under their own hands.

If Don don't mind how he shows up the corruptions of the Black Republican officials, Bill Usrey will get after him and use him up! We suppose he never heard of Bill, or he would be more cautious.

E.

#### Black Republican Tactics.

Judging from what we see around us, we apprehend, that if there are any conservative men among the leaders in the Republican party of this county, that they intend to surrender at discretion to the Abolitionists. So far as the good of the Democratic party is concerned we certainly have no objection to this course, but we know there are many men who have been acting with the Republican party under an assurance that the Abolition element in the party should be kept in check. Now we see that one or two ultra Abolitionists have placed themselves at the head of the party in this county, and are straining every nerve to extend the circulation of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, a paper that devotes its columns to the publication of Abolition sermons glorifying old Ossawotamie Brown as a saint and martyr, and by way of variety trying to brow beat courts and juries when it becomes their duty to sit in judgement upon some Abolition rioters of Ottawa, who have got themselves in limbo, for rescuing a fugitive slave from legal custody. This filthy sheet, which the Abolitionists are

now placing in the hands of moderate Republicans devotes itself to a constant abuse, vilification and misrepresentation of the Southern people, and every body else who does not worship at the shrine of the Abolition Mollock. It believes that the men of the South when they drive from their States a villain engaged in circulating a document in their midst which advises the slaves to cut the throats of their masters and mistresses, have been guilty of a crime against the liberty of speech. And when such a thing occurs, they generally draw on their fancy for facts, and thereby manufacture a great outrage, which they dish up to their readers for the laudable purpose of fomenting sectional jealousies.

We repeat that we have no objection to these Abolition gentry indulging themselves to their hearts content, in circulating their favorite paper. We think, that whilst some Republicans, who always follow the cue of the leaders, will become Abolitionized by this paper, others who think for themselves will become disgusted and abandon a party, the life and soul of which consists in stirring up and keeping up strife between two sections of our glorious Union.

E.

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Notice

All articles signed thus, (E), are written by J.R. Eden, and he is not responsible for anything else that may appear in the *Express*.

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January 19, 1860 –

Since the disruption of the

Whig party, time and experience have demonstrated, that no party save the Democratic party can carry on our national government. In 1854 by the excitement engendered in the minds of the people, by political demagogues of the Anti-slavery stripe, the Whig party was entirely destroyed, and the Democratic party was overwhelmed with defeat. In the Congress succeeding that memorable canvass, the opposition to the Democracy, all of whom were elected because of their hostility to the Democracy, had a majority of fifty or sixty in the national Congress; yet it took them two or three months to organize the house by the election of a speaker. At the present time the opposition again have a majority of about forty, and the same disgraceful spectacle is again to be seen. They can't elect a speaker. The wheels of the Government are stopped. The honest creditors of the Government are swindled out of their dues. And the country is filled with alarm lest our institutions should be brought to total ruin. And this is all brought about [omitted words] the teachings of the fathers of our country. If Washington and Jefferson and Jackson had never warned their countrymen against parties founded on geographical lines, the present situation of the country is sufficient to satisfy every one, save those who are so blind that they will not see, of the dangerous tendencies of such a party. In time past the people of all parties were governed by patriotic motives. An honest desire for the prosperity of the whole country. Now, the leaders of the so called Republican party are trying to marshal their forces in numbers sufficient to seize upon the reins of Government upon the principle of hate

toward their brethren of fifteen of the States of the Union. Every act of the Southern people which can be so tortured as to increase the prejudices of the people of the North, toward those of the South, is seized upon by an unscrupulous press, and held up to the people in every form that ingenuity can suggest, or falsehood invent, to add fuel to the flame of sectional animosity and hate. If a horse thief and negro thief, like old Brown invades the soil of a slave State, and adds the crime of murder and treason to the black catalogue, and then ends his career upon the gallows, he forthwith becomes a martyr to the holy cause of Abolitionism and the New York Tribune fills its columns with the sermons of infidel clergymen, who strive to place his gallows alongside the cross of Christ. The little Tribunes follow in the footsteps of their masters, and men who are not *Abolitionists* (whew!) labor day and night to place such sheets in the hands of the people, that their minds may become familiarized with the beauties of Abolitionism. And the sixty-eight members of Congress who have endorsed a book that teaches insurrection as a means of getting rid of slavery – that really points the knife of the slave to the throats of men, women and children as the blood red road to freedom, are in the eyes of these immaculate papers, (we mean the big and little Tribunes) the most innocent souls! And if the people of Kentucky, or some place else, conclude that there is danger that some men might practice upon them, their wives and little ones, the teachings of the Helper book, and through such fear become excited, and perhaps act a little rash, why they are very devils incarnate, and their conduct furnishes a fresh outrage for the Tribunes to dream up in the most ap-

proved style of Abolition hyperbole to poison the minds of their readers to a still greater degree against their brethren of the South. Go on, gentlemen. Unless we mistake the temper of the people, who are as honest now as ever they were, they will hold you accountable. And if you are not then stopped in your career, you will soon reach the end in another way. So, go ahead. E.

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[Article publishes list of delegates selected by state democratic convention to the Charleston Convention. List does not include John R. Eden.]

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January 26, 1860 –  
Why can there be no Speaker  
Elected?

We answer, because the Black Republicans persist in voting for Sherman, a man who has rendered himself offensive, not only to Southern men, but to the moral sentiment of the country, by endorsing and approving the contents of a book, and aiding its circulation, that directly advocates revolution, insurrection and bloodshed in order that slavery may be abolished. The Republicans have a larger number in Congress than any other party, but not a majority, and if they would act like reasonable men and true patriots, they could elect a Speaker any day. They have been informed time and again by the Democrats, that if they would drop Sherman and take up Tom Corwin, or some other of their numbers who did not endorse the Helper Book, that there would be

no obstacle thrown in the way of the plurality rule, or some other practical mode of affecting an organization. As no party have a majority, we submit in all candor, if the Republicans do not manifest a factious spirit in insisting on a man who must be offensive to a majority of the house, when they have others equally well qualified who are not so objectionable? We maintain that the fault of non-organization rests wholly with the Republican party. E.

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#### Black Republican Bullies in Congress.

Mr. Haskins, of New York, and Mr. Hickman, of Pennsylvania, have taken it upon themselves to do the bullying for their Black Republican masters. In this labor of love they are likely to obtain an unenviable notoriety. Hickman has been permitted to indulge in his insolence toward the Democratic members until forbearance is no longer a virtue. The other day Col. McClernand, the gallant member from the Springfield district, took occasion to rebuke this tool of Abolitionism in a way that will probably serve to check his overbearing and ungentlemanly deportment.

Bully Haskins got into an altercation the other day with Mr. Clark, of New York, a gentleman who seems to conduct himself with great decorum toward his brother members. A few sharp words between these members in the present state of feeling in the house, produced great excitement; whereupon the brave Haskins dropped his pistol upon the floor of the house. We think that when the Black Republicans arm their bullies they ought to select

such as have nerve enough to hold a weapon. A pistol in the hands of a coward is as likely to wound friend as foe. Hickman and Haskins are pretended *Democrats*, and as they are desirous of securing the confidence of the Helperites, they have a deal of dirty work to do.

E.

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#### The Galled Jades Win.

There has been a good deal of fluttering in certain quarters, over our article of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst., in regard to the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. In order to draw off attention from the pure doctrine of Abolitionism inculcated by that paper, they turn to misrepresenting our article. They charge us with dictating to the people what they should read, &c. Now the men who make that charge know they assert a falsehood, for we stated expressly, that we did not care how much they circulated their favorite paper. We only called attention to the fact that that paper published sermons glorifying old Brown, denounced the proper authorities for attempting to bring men to punishment who had rescued a fugitive slave from legal custody, and persistently misrepresented the sectional hostility. From these premises we predicated our opinion that it was an Abolition sheet. Knowing these things, they seek to break their force by misrepresenting us. In our article we expressly said that there were conservative men in the Republican party, and only denounced as Abolitionists, those who engage in the circulation of Abolition documents.

We repeat that there are Aboli-

tionists in the Republican party of this county, who are seeking by the circulation of the *Press and Tribune*, to Abolitionize the conservative elements of the party. A man may subscribe for and read any paper he chooses without becoming responsible for its teachings, but where he uses every effort to extend its circulation, he should be held accountable for the doctrines it inculcates. — E.

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Hon. James C. Robinson.

Our able member of Congress is conducting himself in a manner that is certain to win the approbation of his constituents. Amid the confusion that has necessarily prevailed during the protracted struggle for the election of Speaker, Mr. Robinson has pursued the even tenor of his way, and whilst he has uniformly voted with the Democracy, and taken part in every reasonable and proper effort to secure the organization of the house, in such a way as to defeat Sherman, the Abolitionist and endorser of the infamous Helper book, he has done nothing to kindle the fires of animosity in the house, or to divide and distract those who should be united in the perilous contest now pending between the Democracy and the sectional Black Republican party.

Neither has Mr. Robinson forgotten his constituents. We are under obligations to him for the Daily Congressional Globe and many other favors. We also learn that he has supplied every Democratic paper in the District with a copy of the Daily Globe. We have no doubt but the course of Messrs. McClernand, Logan and Foulke will also commend

the approbation of their constituents.

E.

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February 2, 1860 –

Democratic Club.

All persons who are in favor of the Constitution and the Union of the States as formed by our fathers, and who are opposed to sectionalism as inculcated by the Republican party of the North and the Fire-eaters of the South, are requested to meet at the Moultrie County Academy, in Sullivan on Wednesday Evening, Feb. 8<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 1860, at 6 ½ o'clock, for the purpose of organizing a Democratic Club.

Joseph Thomason,	Jno B Shepherd,
Wiley Rose,	M.T. Shepherd
J B Jones,	J. Meeker
J R Eden,	A N. Smyser
WE Davis	George Purvis
F M Waggoner,	J R Anderson
J E Eden,	B W Henry
J L Aubert,	Levi Patterson
Ben B Haydon,	G W Stovall
John Stovall,	A B Shorties
John Perryman,	Daniel Pifer
David Pifer,	W P Corbin
T Y Lewis	J A Ham
A J Gardner,	David Patterson
H Gibbs,	J R McClure
Richard S. Tichenor,	A B Lee,
Arnold Thomason,	J A Livers,
J H Snyder,	Dan'l Morrison,
J H Waggoner,	G W Hoke
W. Menefcc.	J W R Morgan.

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We understand that a certain big Black Republican, not a thousand miles from this place, threatens to annihilate the "Sullivan Express." Go it, Mr., when you get through just let us know. We have no war to make

upon the great body of the Republican party; we believe them, and especially those residing in this county with whom we are best acquainted, generally to be honest conscientious men, and when they become fully satisfied of the treasonable designs of the sectional leaders of the party, that they will abandon the faithless and corrupt men, who have attempted to lead them into the Abolition camp. So far as Abolitionists are concerned, at home and abroad, in a political point of view, we have no concessions to make. From this time until the Presidential election, we intend to “cry aloud and spare not,” avoiding at all times, personalities, and will be neither intimidated nor overawed. E.

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Mr. Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, a German Republican, who is so void of self-respect as to affiliate with the Republicans of Massachusetts, who have placed his countrymen down below the level of the negro, has been making a speech at Springfield, Massachusetts. In that speech he undertakes to “kill Douglas” again; and the *Press and Tribune* has given the precious document to its numerous readers. To show the beauty of the thing we wish to call attention to a single matter. This beautiful specimen of a Republican leader undertakes to correct Douglas on a point of history, and then displays his own ignorance and mendacity by misquoting from the Declaration of Independence. He pretends to quote from the Declaration, “All men are created free and equal,” whereas there is no such doctrine contained in the instrument. He interpolates the word “free,” and predicates an argument thereon.

We do not admire the taste of our Republican friends in taking for their oracle a man who meekly bows to the insult of being placed below the negro, and who is so ignorant or malicious as to make false quotations from the Declaration of Independence.

E.

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Senator Douglas has offered a resolution in the Senate of the United States, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to report a bill for the protection of the States and Territories from invasion from other States and Territories, and to punish persons who may form conspiracies in one State or Territory to steal and run off property of neighboring States.

The object of this is to prevent a repetition of the Harper’s Ferry raid. It does not require the skill of a prophet to foretell the result that would follow, a few more such outrages upon the rights of the people of any of the States. The Constitution of the United States devolves the duty upon the general government, of protecting the States from hostile invasion, and when ever it fails to perform that duty the injured parties have good cause of complaint. The States having surrendered this power into the hand of the general government, and stripped themselves of the right to maintain an army and navy in time of peace, if the proper authorities fail to extend protection, the States lie powerless and unarmed at the mercy of ruffians and desperadoes.

The cause which produced the lamentable affair at Harper’s Ferry and which is a constant source of irritation between the free and slaveholding States, still operates in full force. The political demagogues, such as



Seward, Lincoln, Giddings, Chase, and others, who taught the doctrine of the irrepressible conflict, and who are constantly indoctrinating the minds and hearts of their followers with feelings of hatred toward the people of the slave States, are still at the head of a great political party; and whilst they are permitted to remain in that position, and continue to teach the doctrine of hate as the ruling sentiment of their partisans, the bold bad men of their party will still make incursion into the slave states for the purposes of stealing negroes and inciting them to arise up against their masters. Hence the necessity of some legislation to punish all violators of the domestic peace of the States, if we wish, peaceably to maintain our Union. The great speech of Judge Douglas made in the Senate on this resolution, has furnished a fresh pretext to Greeley, and the whole pack of Abolition agitators, to pour forth their vials of wrath upon the head of the "Little Giant." Fessenden, of Maine, made a very weak effort at a reply, but this does not satisfy Greeley, who is the dictator of the party, and cracks his whip over the backs of refractory members, until they meekly succumb.

E.

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#### SHERIFF'S SALE

By virtue of an execution to me directed and delivered by the clerk of the circuit court of Moultrie county, in the state of Illinois, in favor of John R. Eden and against Ambrose Meeker I have levied upon the following described lands, to-wit: nw qr of sw qr of sec 11 T 13 NR 5 east, 40 acres, ne qr of nw qr of sec 11 T 13 NR 5 east, 40 acres, sw qr of nw qr of sec 11 T 13 N R 5 east, 40 acres, nw qr of

nw qr of sec 15 T 13 NR 5 east, 40 acres, and sw qr of nw qr of sec 15 T 13 NR 5 east, 40 acres, as the property of the said Ambrose Meeker, which I shall offer at public sale at the court house door in Sullivan, in said state, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of February AD 1860, between the hour of 9 o'clock a.m. and sunset of said day, for cash in hand to satisfy said execution.

Joseph Thomason, sheriff.

By B. B. Haydon, deputy.

Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup> '60

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February 9, 1860

A New Dodge!

The Republican party having been the first that ever threatened the integrity of the American Union, and the first time they ever obtained the power in the United States House of Representatives, having shown their contempt for that Union, by the election of an avowed disunionist to the Speaker's chair, in the person of the "Union-sliding Banks," now pretend to be the peculiar conservators of the Union. We have heard of certain characters who were guilty of "stealing the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in," and we think that patriotic men will look upon these pretended Union lovers, as occupying about the same relation to the State, that the first named individuals do to the church. This conglomeration of isms, called the Republican party, which takes to its bosom, and clothes with official power, the old guard of Abolitionism, whose battle cry has ever been "Down with the Constitution and the Union," and which recognizes as its great leader, the author of the higher law doctrine, and the instigator of the "irrepressible conflict"

between the opposing and enduring forces of the free and slave States, now hoists its flag, with one half the stars of our glorious constellation of States blotted out, and sets up a faint cry for the Union. And the adherents of this sectional organization have the effrontery, to charge upon Democrats, whose life long devotion to the constitution and the integrity of the Union, has heretofore subjected them to the taunts and sneers of the whole Abolition hoard, as “Union-savers,” that they are wanting in fealty to the Union—that they are disunionists. Now before any Democrat stops to answer this silly and malicious slander let him call upon these modern apostles to answer a few plain questions! Let them answer why it is that they have enrolled themselves in the ranks of a party so purely sectional that it entirely ignores the existence of fifteen States! Let them answer, if a party thus constituted is not precisely what Washington warned his countrymen against, in his Farewell Address?

Since the inauguration of the Republican party, eight of the States which have fallen under the control of this model *Union party*, have nullified the fugitive slave law, a law passed during the administration of Washington, and amended during the administration of Fillmore, and which has been pronounced to be Constitutional by each one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. We have heard a great deal said by these Republican gentry against South Carolina, because that State once talked of nullifying an act of Congress, the constitutionality of which was questioned. Now we are not the apologist of South Carolina, or any other State that may even attempt nullification. But we do submit that

a party which has engaged in such wholesale nullification of a law, passed in obedience to an express mandate of the Constitution, and which has received the sanction of so high authority and such great names, ought to receive the unqualified condemnation of every Union-loving man.

We are glad to see our Republican friends coming out, even at this late day, in favor of the preservation of the Union. So far as the rank and file of that party, within the range of our acquaintance is concerned, we have nothing to say. We have always acknowledged that as a general thing they were actuated by patriotic motives. Having been ourself an old soldier in the good cause, we claim the right however, so far as the leaders are concerned, who have been instrumental in bringing about the present deplorable state of feeling between the sections, to give the new recruits a little wholesome advice. And first if you are going to act in good faith, you must abandon your sectional organization – take a place in the ranks of the Democratic party, and when you have shown your faith by your works, if found worthy you may be advanced a little. This is only intended for the leaders. The honest masses we expect to see fall into line at the first tap of the drum and they will receive our cordial greeting. When the Democrats get the power in the Northern States, they will wipe out all nullifying, and give to every section of the Union their full rights under the constitution, and all the ill feeling between the North and South will speedily subside. E.

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“A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.”

The *ultras*, North and South, seem to play into each others' hands to a perfection. There are some half dozen fire-eating gentry from the South in the halls of Congress, who only get there on account of the ultraism of the leaders of the Republican party. This little squad of southern ultras furnish the principal capital upon which the success of the Republican party depends. If there were no Iversons, Keitts, and Milses sent to Congress, from the south, there would be no Lovejoys, Farnsworths, Shermans, and others of a like ilk, from the North. Hence, the Honorable Mr. So-and-so says, “we of the North are going to make the South submit to our good will and pleasure, about slavery and every thing else in general; and if you cut up about it, we will march eighteen millions of Northern men down South and compel you to yield, &c., &c.,&c.” Up pops Mr. Iverson, or Mr. Keitt, and swears that he is *some at that game*; and that they will dissolve the Union, and form a Southern confederacy. Mr. Lovejoy *et-als*, frank the disunion speeches of Iverson & Co. all over the North, for the purpose of getting up a counter feeling here, upon which these honest Republican gentlemen may be re-elected. Mr. Iverson *et-als*, send the speeches of the Hon. Owen Lovejoy & Co., to the South, to show their constituents that the North is going to make war upon their constitutional rights; and these Abolition harangues engender heat enough down there to keep Mr. Fire-eater in his seat. 'Tis thus that the honest conservative sentiment, which predominates in both sections, is smothered

out, and corrupt demagogues ride into office, and will finally override the liberties of the people, unless the thing is speedily checked. The great body of the people South, in and out of Congress, are conservative, Union-loving men. The Republicans, however, do not circulate the speeches of that class. Owen Lovejoy, the filthiest Abolitionist in the State, is franking the late disunion speech of Senator Iverson, among the people of Illinois. “Birds of a feather flock together,” &c. E.

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February 16, 1860 –

Democratic Club Meeting.

All persons who are in favor of the Constitution and the Union of the States as formed by our fathers, and who are opposed to sectionalism as inculcated by the Republican party of the North, and the Fire-eaters of the South, are requested to meet at the Moultrie County Academy, in Sullivan, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, FEB. 8TH, A. D. 1860, at 6 1/2 o'clock for the purpose of organizing a Democratic Club.

Pursuant to the above call, published in the “Express,” a large number of Democrats and other conservative men assembled at the M. C. Academy, to form a Democratic Club.

On motion of A. B. Lee, B. W. Henry was called to the chair, and A. N. Smyser appointed secretary.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Henry addressed the meeting in a very felicitous and appropriate manner, explaining the objects of the meeting, and the necessity and propriety of united action of all conservative men

opposed to the sectional tendencies of Abolitionism.

On motion to enroll names, sixty-six names were enrolled as members of the Club.

On motion of Jno. Perryman,

Resolved, That any person may become a member by giving his name to any member who shall have it enrolled upon the list.

On motion of A B. Lee, the chair appointed a committee of five to draft a constitution, to be submitted to the Club at its next meeting. The chair appointed J. R. Eden, A. B. Lee, Dennis Coakley, John Perryman, E. D. Cleveland, as committee.

On motion of Dr. Kellar, a committee of three, consisting of Arnold Thomason, H F Vadakin and David Patterson, were appointed to select speakers for each meeting of the club.

On motion of Dr. Kellar, agreed that all signers of the call for this meeting be considered members of the Club.

J. R. Eden being called, addressed the meeting in a very able speech of about an hour's length, showing, beyond controversy, the corrupt tendencies of sectional parties.

Resolved, That the proceedings of each meeting be published in the *Sullivan Express*.

Adjourned to meet in the lower room of the M. C. Academy, on Thursday evening, Feb. 23d, 1860.  
A. N. SMYSER, Sec'y.

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March 15, 1860 –  
Call for Republican Convention.

It will be seen from the call published in this week's issue that our Republican friends are going to have a public meeting at the court house on next

Monday. We are pleased to see this and have been greatly amused at the reading of the call itself. It will be seen by reference to this document that they are not going into any contest with the Democracy here, upon the questions dividing the Democratic and Republican parties. They propose to enter the lists against the Disunion Democracy! Well, if they can find any of that stripe, we shall be much pleased to witness the battle between them, and will have about the same sympathies that the old woman had upon witnessing the contest between her husband and the bear – we don't care the "toss of a copper which whips." As we suppose the Republicans of Moultrie are acting in concert with the republican party of the north, as led on by Giddings, Chase, Lovejoy and Seward, and we know of no party so essentially Disunion as the one with which they co-operate, hence it is wise in our Republican friends to decline a contest with the Democracy of Moultrie County, and search diligently for an enemy whose principles are as odious as those inculcated by their party leaders. One thing strikes us as remarkable in the call, and that is that we look in vain for the everlasting N\_\_\_\_. The N\_\_\_\_, the chief corner stone of the Republican party, is to be ignored by the brethren of this county. That divinity at whose shrine Seward, Lincoln, and other leaders of the party bow themselves in humble submission, is no longer enshrined in the hearts of their followers here. Here is a field for missionary labor. But seriously we look upon this as a very thin veil. We have no doubt but a number of the gentlemen who signed the call are opposed to the Abolition proclivities of the republican party. But we suppose the majority of them intend to

support the republican nominee for President, whether it is Giddings, Seward, Chase, Garret Smith or Lloyd Garrison. And some of the cunning ones got up the document in order to bind as many as possible in advance, and to throw dust in the eyes of the wavering. E.

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#### Club Meeting

On Tuesday evening Feb. 23 ult. the Democratic Club met as per adjournment; called to order by the president; minutes read and approved of; ten additional names taken.

The committee on constitution reported the following preamble and constitution which were received. [Text of constitution here omitted.]

On motion of Dr. A. Keller, J.E. Eden was elected President, David Patterson and E.D. Cleveland vice Presidents, Dennis Coakley Recording Secretary, A.N. Smyser Corresponding Secretary, and John Perryman Treasurer.

J.R. Eden addressed the Club on the various topics at issue between the Republican and Democratic parties in a bold and masterly manner. His denunciations against Abolitionists and Fire-eaters were alike pungent and pertinent, and both parties received no favor from his hands.

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May 10, 1860 – reports Charleston Convention adjourned without nominating Douglas or any other candidate for President.

May 17, 1860 –  
Time of Holding the Vandalia Convention.

At a meeting of the Democratic Executive Committee for the seventh congressional district of the State of Illinois, held at Mattoon, on Friday the 11<sup>th</sup> day of May 1860, it was *Resolved*, That the Democratic Convention, for nominating a candidate for Congress in the 7th congressional district, be held at Vandalia, on Wednesday the 18th of July 1860.

*Resolved*, That notice thereof be given in all the Democratic papers, in the district.

JOHN R. EDEN, Ch'n pro tem.

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Humbug to be the Order of the Day!

We attended the great black Republican pow-wow at Decatur, on the 9<sup>th</sup> inst, in order to get a closer view of the institution. An incident occurred during the session of the convention which illustrates very fully the system of humbug resorted to by the leaders, in order to arouse the enthusiasm of their followers. A couple of rails were brought into the wigwam, and the faithful were informed that the great Abe Lincoln was once a mighty rail maker, and that the two identical rails there produced were made in 1830 by the aforesaid Abe.— Whereupon all the brethren fell down at the feet of Abraham! (Lincoln!) and cried with a loud voice, to know the “identical spot” where the miracle had been performed. And one of the chief men arose up filled with the spirit, and said, Men and brethren, behold the handiwork of “Old Abe,” he is not only learned in the law, and skilled in the mysteries of Ethiopia, and a great light to the feet of the sable sons of Africa, but lo! he is a running worker in wood, and hath hewn

out to us, with his own hands, two rails, wherewith we can paddle our rickety vessel safely up Salt “River!” And they all cried with one voice, “That is the spirit!” And there was great rejoicing among the followers of Sambo! E.

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Lincoln’s Rails.

Whilst at the Decatur convention we learned a funny circumstance which our Republican friends may excuse us for telling. Two rails made by “old Abe” in 1830, were exhibited to the admiring gaze of the representatives of the great Republican party of the State of Illinois, and after having answered the purpose of getting up a great blow off in the convention, the same rails were cut up into very small pieces and peddled out to enthusiastic Republicans as precious relics thereby, no doubt, enabling some shrewd Republican from Yankee land, to turn an honest penny. Upon inquiry, we learned on what we deem reliable authority that those two thirty-year old rails were made about three years ago, by a man named Reedy, who lives in Decatur, or in that neighborhood; and that some one living in Decatur went out about three miles from town, brought the rails in, and palmed them off on the Convention as a genuine article! Whew! How our Republican friends love to be swindled! E.

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May 24, 1860 –  
Time of Holding the Vandalia Convention.

At a meeting of the Democratic Executive committee for the seventh

congressional district of the State of Illinois, held at Mattoon, on Friday the 14<sup>th</sup> day of May 1860, it was

Resolved, That the Democratic convention, for nominating a candidate for Congress in the 7<sup>th</sup> congressional district, be held at Vandalia, on Wednesday the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1860.

Resolved, That notice thereof be given in all the Democratic papers in the district.

JOHN R. EDEN, Ch’n pro tem.

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Good News for Democrats!

At the Republican Convention held in Chicago last week, Abraham Lincoln of Ill., was nominated for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice President, of the United States. This is the most glorious news – with the exception of Douglas’ nomination at Baltimore -- that we have heard or expect to hear, during the campaign of 1860. Rejoice, O ye Democrats, and be exceeding glad!

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May 31, 1860 –  
The Position of the Democratic Party.

We have no doubt but every Democrat in Moultrie county regrets that the Charleston convention failed to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. And we know that each one would have felt especially gratified had that nominee been our own gallant Douglas. Whilst these things are not as we would wish them, there is one thing of which we may all be proud, and that is, that our delegates, and, in fact, all the friends of Stephen A. Douglas, stood up so nobly

for the right, under very trying circumstances. It was mainly through their able efforts that the principles of the Democratic party were preserved in their original purity; and the efforts of the Fire-eaters to demoralize and disunite our grand old party were defeated. We know that our enemies are counting largely upon defections from our ranks on account of the withdrawal of Yancy and his act of disunionists from our National Convention. In this, we may as well notify them, that they will be disappointed. This Black Republican party and the Yancyites are operating in different latitudes for the same common purpose, namely the defeat and overthrow of the Democratic party, and more especially the annihilation of Stephen A. Douglas, in order that this great country of ours may be divided into two hostile, sectional parties, and ultimately that the Union itself may be dissolved

Whilst the great national Democratic party stands by its ancient principles, and Stephen A. Douglas is able to wield his ponderous blows against the enemies of the Constitution and the Union, the plotters of sectionalism and incipient treason, both North and South, have in their way an impregnable barrier between them and all their hopes. Hence the Fire-eaters and Abolitionists vie with each other in their abuse of Douglas and the Democracy of the Union. If the ultras of the South have become more sectional, the Black Republicans are none the less so; and if we wish to preserve our institutions as made by our fathers, the greater becomes the necessity for all true patriots to discard both the Fire-eaters and their Black Republican allies, and to join hands in a compact body around the altar of our country, in order to pro-

tect it from the hands of the spoiler. The fact that the Democratic party in national convention assembled has defeated the disunionists of the south, as they had before met and vanquished the Black Republicans at the ballot box, serves to strengthen the faith of the people in the excellence of Democratic principles. Democrats do not fear to stand by the men who dared to do right at Charleston. – When they lead, there is no danger in following. Our hearts will be with them when they meet again at Baltimore on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June. And in the great contest that is to follow, whatever may be the fate of our party, we will look to the gallant men who uphold the Democratic banner, all untarnished, at Charleston, as the beacon lights to guide us to the haven of safety. No Democrat – no truly national man – will for a moment think of taking shelter on the piratical Black Republican boat, where no man can go unless his heart is burning with hate against the land that holds the ashes of Washington, of Jackson, and of Clay. A party that makes war upon the institutions of nearly one half the States of the Union, and those institutions having constitutional guarantees, has no charms for a Democrat or a true patriot.

E.

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Black Republican Consistency.

The Black Republican party is the great moral reform party. They are opposed to all manner of sin and iniquity, and they look especially upon dueling, as one of the relics of barbarism, that ought almost to be classed with the twins, one of which, namely Polygamy, died at Chicago a few days ago. To show their con-

sistency they nominated Abe Lincoln for President, who some years ago accepted a challenge from General Shields, to fight a Duel, and chose broad swords for the weapons. (Lincoln is a large man and Shields a small one.) If we mistake not the parties actually repaired to the field of battle and were only prevented from fighting by the intervention of friends. This took place in Illinois, where public opinion did not require such an exhibition of bravery. "Oh, consistency thou art a jewel." E.

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June 7, 1860 –

County Convention.

At a meeting of the Democracy of Moultrie County, held at the courthouse in Sullivan, on Monday the 4<sup>th</sup> day of June, H.Y. Kellar was called to the chair, and A.N. Smyser appointed secretary.

The object of the meeting stated by J.R. Eden to be the appointment of Delegates to the State Convention at Springfield, June 13<sup>th</sup>, to the Congressional at Vandalia July 18<sup>th</sup>, and to the Representative at Mattoon.

On motion of A.L. Kellar, a committee of five, A.L. Kellar, A.B. Lee, Jas. Bennen, J. Meeker and John Rhodes were appointed to report to the meeting suitable persons to act as Delegates to the above conventions. In the absence of the committee, J. R. Eden being called, responded in an able and effective speech, in which he traced the history of the Charleston and Chicago Conventions; and that of Lincoln, in company with Ashman, Corwin, Trumbull, & other Republican lights, to the interest and amusement of the audience, amid the blinking and blushing of Republicans present.

The committee on delegates reported as follows: to the State Convention, J.R. Eden and D. Patterson; to the Congressional Convention, Jno. Ginn, Geo. Purvis, J. Meeker, J.w. Kendall, W.T. Wren and Jno. Rhodes; to the Legislative, at Mattoon, Benj. Freeman, A.N. Smyser, and John Taylor; allowed to appoint substitutes, and those present to cast the whole vote of the county.

The following resolutions were offered by J.R. Eden and adopted:

Resolved, That we approve the course pursued by our State Delegation at Charleston, in voting for Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, as a unit, during the ballot, for which we tender our unfeigned thanks; and that we recommend them to pursue a similar course at Baltimore, and urge, by unity of action, the nomination of the distinguished Statesman of the North-West.

Resolved, That we indorse the Cincinnati Platform and the principles of the Democratic party as enunciated therein, and that we re-affirm its doctrines as has recently been done at the Charleston Convention.

Resolved, That we look upon the efforts of the Republican party of the North to create sectional animosity, and of the Disunionists of the south, who, in a like manner operate upon the passions and prejudices of their people, as equally tending to the overthrow of our political institutions; and that both parties alike meet our unqualified condemnation.

On motion, T.H. Carter, J.B. Shepherd, Jas. Bennett and A.Hagerman were added to the Central Committee.

Resolved, That the Sullivan Express and Coles County Ledger be requested to publish the above proceedings.



H.Y. Kellar, Pres.  
A.N. Smyser, Sec.

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June 14, 1860 –

Democratic State Convention.

We attended the Democratic State Convention at Springfield on the 15th inst; and had the pleasure of witnessing the largest and most enthusiastic delegate convention that ever assembled in our state. The utmost harmony characterized the entire proceedings; and if a similar feeling would pervade the Baltimore Convention now in session, the Democratic hosts would march forward to an easy and certain victory. Every county in the state, save one, was represented, and the Democracy there assembled seemed to be actuated by one common purpose, namely: the success of Democratic principles, and the dislodgment of a corrupt dynasty, which, for the last four years, has had control of our State government. The ticket presented to the people, by this Convention, is one worthy of the support of every man who desires to see our state government cleansed of the frauds and impurities which have grown up as ugly excrescences on the body politic, under the present Republican State Administration.

We have not the time this week to speak of each candidate. Suffice it to say, they are all honest men. The Hon. JAMES C. ALLEN, our nominee for Governor, is known to most of our readers as an able and unflinching Democrat; one who has filled many responsible positions, and against whom even the breath of slander has never dared to whisper aught. His nomination gives entire satisfaction to the Democracy of this region, and, we

think, to every man in the state, who co-operates with the Democratic party. Jim is certain to be elected. -- E.

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Hypocrisy

The Republican party have put into their platform a resolution in favor of a Homestead bill, and pretend to be the best friends of the poor man; at the same time pretending that the Democrats are opposed to the measure. The truth is, that Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, a Democrat, is the father of the Homestead principle, and has done more in bringing about a state of public opinion favorable to it than all the Republican politicians in the United States. The truth is, that these pretended friends of the poor man waited until Senator Johnson and other Democrats had succeeded in bringing the policy of granting Homesteads to actual settlers prominently before the public, before they ever raised a finger in favor of it; and then they took it up and tried to make an issue of it, because they thought they could make some capital out of it.— They charge the Democrats with being opposed to Homesteads to actual settlers, notwithstanding every Democrat in Congress, from Illinois, voted for the Homestead bill, and a Democratic Senate, through the influence of Senators Johnson, Douglas and other prominent Democrats, passed the bill through that body. And now where stands the Republican candidate for Vice President on this question? Mr. Senator Hamlin, of Maine, the nominee of the great Republican party for the Vice Presidency, voted against the Homestead bill in the senate of the United States during the present session of Congress; and this he did in

the face of the Platform of his party  
pledging him to the Homestead principle!  
Fellow citizens, this is the way  
the Republican leaders try to cheat the  
people. Put no trust in them! E.

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### A Sharp Game!

During the present session of Congress  
Owen Lovejoy, the noted Abolitionist,  
has made two speeches: one  
a short speech in favor of the Homestead  
bill, the other a long one in favor  
of the most ultra and violent Abolitionism.  
The latter speech has been  
commented on and condemned by the  
Democracy; the former one they have  
made no objections to. Now the Republicans  
are circulating the speech  
on the Homestead bill, and pretending  
that that is Lovejoy's speech about  
which so much has been said. This  
is honesty (?)! Gentlemen, why don't  
you send for Mr. Lovejoy's Abolition  
speech, and take a whole dose?— [E.

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June 28, 1860 –  
The Democracy Triumphant!

BOGUS REPUBLICANISM  
GONE UP!!

—  
DOUGLAS IN THE FIELD!!

—  
LINCOLN DISTANCED ON THE  
FIRST ROUND!!

—  
Sectionalism Rebuked!

—  
DISUNION SQUELCHED!!

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY  
THE BATTLE CRY!!

—  
Reception of the Glorious News  
at Sullivan.

—  
On Saturday evening the glorious  
news came on the wings of lightning  
that STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, the Hero-  
Statesman of the Northwest, had re-  
ceived the nomination of the Demo-  
cratic National Convention, for the  
Presidency. As the gratifying intel-  
ligence passed along the line the Dem-  
ocratic hosts sent up a shout that gave  
the adherents of a sectional policy a  
foretaste of the overwhelming defeat  
that awaits them. The nomination of  
Douglas excites a degree of enthuse-  
asm among the masses such as has  
never before been witnessed in this  
country! We have not time to en-  
large upon the theme this week. The  
Democracy are jubilant everywhere.  
Upon the reception of the news at  
Sullivan, all the Democrats in town  
came together in less than no time as  
a band of brothers, and we had the  
grandest jollification ever known in  
Sullivan, which was kept up in the  
most kindly feeling till about twelve  
o'clock at night. Seven short speeches  
were made on the occasion. E.

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July 12, 1860 –  
The Nomination of

DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, as the can-  
didates of the Democratic party for  
President and Vice-President, excites  
a degree of enthusiasm among the  
people which has not been equaled  
since the days of Andrew Jackson.  
Everywhere within the circle of our  
acquaintance the Democracy are a-  
roused, active, vigilant, whilst the

moderate men of every shade of opinion are constrained to admit that Douglas is the ablest Statesman in the United States, and that the bold and fearless manner with which he has sustained the true principles of the Constitution, merits the approval of the American people.

If this spirit continues to animate our friends until the election, Stephen A. Douglas, the champion of the rights of the people, will be carried into the Presidential chair by a larger popular majority than any Presidential candidate has received in the last 20 years. The pitiful attempt of our Republican friends to stem the tide of popular opinion which is rolling on in an irrepressible flood in favor of the Little Giant, by carrying around on the shoulders of the faithful some old rails, broken wedges, and battered mauls; and singing doggeral rhyme composed by one of the crazy Abolition Hutchison family, will be treated with the contempt it deserves. To see a young upstart, who is too *dignified* to labor himself, his delicate hands encased in kid gloves, and his countenance just beginning to be shaded with a fuzzy moustache, going around to political meetings with a maul and wedge in his hands hollowing for the Rail-splitter, is decidedly disgusting. Abe Lincoln has been known in this country for twenty-five years as a lawyer, and if previous to his contest with Douglas in 1858, in which he was badly beaten, he has ever been distinguished either as a rail splitter or a Statesman, our people were ignorant of the fact. Messrs. Republicans, humbug has had its day. You may as well save your money and valuable time! The people intend to elect Douglas. E.

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J.R. Eden will speak on the political issues of the day, at the Weeks School-house, south of town, on next Saturday at 3 o'clock P.M.

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Give him a Dictionary.

We think that the "Society for the dissemination of useful Knowledge" ought to present Hon. R.J. Oglesby with Webster's unabridged Dictionary. We understand that in his speech at Lovington he undertook to analyze the Democratic Platform, and when he came to the term "domestic relations," in one of the resolutions, he declared that that term was so ambiguous, that the resolution could not be understood, and he gave it up in despair. Now, for a grown up man, who has been an aspirant for congress to undertake to humbug the people in that way seems to us wholly unaccountable. We admit that every one cannot give a technical definition of the term "domestic relations," but we venture there are not three sane persons in the county arrived at the age of accountability, who do not have a very fair idea of the meaning of the term. We advise the Democratic National Committee to publish a sort of glossary, giving the meaning of each word successively as it stands in the platform and to present Mr. Oglesby with a copy. E.

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LOVINGTON is wide awake. The Republicans there had a great time last Saturday – much bigger than the Douglasites had here; had a longer procession; had better speeches and did more good generally. Hon. R.J.

Oglesby delivered a powerful address over two hours in length. We understand he made several Lincoln votes by it, too. Hurrah! for our Dick. — *Decatur Chronicle*, 5<sup>th</sup>.

From the above flourish we take it that the Lovington meeting is a fair sample of the tremendous Lincoln ratification meetings spoken of in all the Republican newspapers. The truth is, that this thing at Lovington was so insignificant that we never thought it worth while to notice it editorially. —

After two or three weeks' drumming over the county, we have the most reliable data for saying that there were not two hundred and fifty voters there, of whom at least one-half were Democrats, who went merely through curiosity. Of the forty-three voters who went from Sullivan, we heard an actual count made, and twenty three of them were strong Douglas men. As to the speeches we understand that one of them was so vulgar that the ladies present had to retire, and that the drum was beaten near the stand to prevent delicate ears from being offended. Another was so stupid that leading Republicans tried to get a friend of the speaker to request him to desist. Col. Oglesby, no doubt, delivered an able speech, but if he made any Lincoln votes he must have made them out of the whole cloth, for no one has changed from Douglas to Lincoln. But Usrey is great on omens, and there were some attending the Lovington meeting:

1<sup>st</sup>. They entirely failed to hoist their flag on the pole.

2d. The pole was blown down that same evening.

3d. One of the orators of the day killed a horse in going to the meeting.

4<sup>th</sup>. The brethren had to make up a portion of the money to pay for him, and that hurt the pocket.

In conclusion, we would say, that the Democracy of Lovington precinct are all right; and, that, if every other part of the county does as well, Moultrie will give Douglas a very large majority. E.

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#### Lovington Club.

In pursuance of previous arrangement the Democracy of Lovington precinct met on the evening of July 7th, '60, at the Lovington school house, for the purpose of organizing a Democratic Club.

Jas. P. Craig was called to the chair, Stephen Cannon appointed secretary; a club was formed—thirty members signed their names to their organization. A committee of four were appointed to draft constitution and by-laws to be presented at the next meeting, Saturday, 21st inst. J. R. Eden addressed the meeting in a short and pointed speech which was received with much applause. The prospects of the Democracy here are as good as the most sanguine could wish. By a strict adherence to true Democratic principles this precinct will give a rousing majority for every Democratic Candidate in the field, from President to Coroner. Resolved, the *Sullivan Express* be requested to publish the action of this meeting.

Adjourned to meet Saturday evening July 21<sup>st</sup>.

S. Cannon, sec JAS. P. CRAIG, pres.

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July 19, 1860 —

The nomination of Stephen A. Douglas has spoiled a deal of ammunition that the Republican lead-

ers had laid up to be used in the Presidential canvass of this year. All that cry about the Democratic party being doe faces, slavery extensionists, disunionists, has been spoiled. The Republican politicians could not be brought to see, prior to the meeting of the Democratic National Convention that it were possible for Douglas to receive the nomination. Because the fire-eaters, office holders and the more unscrupulous of the Republican leaders, had banded together for the purpose of killing Douglas, they all flattered themselves that the doom of the Little Giant was sealed. Ever and anon some one of the coalition would make an attack upon Douglas, and in this labor of love, the coalition seemed to alternate; one day it was Lincoln, Fessenden or Trumbull; and the next Yancy or Jeff. Davis, on behalf of the nullifiers, then again Mr. Attorney General Black, as the chief spokesman of the officeholders, would throw in a broad side. And no matter which one of the conspirators lead the attack, each faction of the coalition echoed and re-echoed from one end of the Union to the other, that Douglas was killed. There seemed to be a common understanding among the whole of the trained band, that Douglas must suffer martyrdom before the meeting of the Democratic National Convention. The Republican part of the coalition deemed this necessary, because they knew that Douglas had a stronger hold on the hearts of the American people than any other man in the nation. The nullifiers were anxious to lay out the Little Giant because he seemed to be the only insurmountable obstacle to their darling scheme of a southern confederacy. And the office holders, poor souls, knew that

as soon as Douglas reached the Presidential chair, that he would turn out every one who had joined in the unholy combination, and appoint honest men in their places. And hence the whole crew went yelping at the heels of the great Statesman of the North-west for months and months prior to the National Democratic Convention, and they flattered themselves that the people would not dare to arise above their dictation and place in nomination the man of their choice. But the people triumphed over factionists and traitors, and vindicated their man from the false, foul, and negligent abuse which had been heaped upon him, by the most unscrupulous set of political assassins that ever played a desperate game upon the arena of politics.

Having failed in their first scheme, to defeat Douglas in the Convention, they now effect to believe that there is no chance for him before the people. This is the same old game. They contended all the time that there was no possible chance for Douglas to receive the nomination. Brag is their game! And they are determined to pursue it to the end! Gentlemen, it will not win. Douglas will be elected by the unpurchasable votes of The American people. A faithful public servant will be sustained, and a coalition of corrupt politicians will be defeated in a well laid scheme to smother the voice of the people. [E.

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We like to meet a bold, open, manly foe in politics as in everything else. Such an one, however much we may differ with him upon principle, we honor and respect. For an opponent of the opposite character, one who will not meet us face to face

and announce his political sentiments in a manly way but who sneaks around and secretly misrepresents everything we say or do, we have the most supreme contempt. We suppose that every community is cursed with some men of the latter class, who glory in their own shame, and who hold to the position that all is fair in politics. Now in our humble opinion political questions should be treated with candor. Everything should bend to the public good. We have been led to these remarks, partly from the consideration, that we have been taking some part in the political discussions of the day, and a few very unscrupulous men, belonging to the Republican party, have seen fit to circulate falsehoods in regard to what we have said, for the purpose of injuring us before the people. With that class of small fry politicians, who deal in falsehood, and whose minds have not the capacity to retain an honorable sentiment, in regard to a political opponent, we have no controversy. We hold ourselves ready at all times to meet any honorable political opponent, and discuss the questions of the day. We do not fear that any candid man of any party will be misled by the falsehoods entailed against us by malicious persons. E.

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July 26, 1860 –

GRAND MASS MEETING  
AT MATTOON.

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Between 15,000 and 20,000 people present.

Early on the morning of Thursday

July 19<sup>th</sup>, the unterrified Democracy began to pour into our little town en route for Mattoon, where the masses of the Democracy, or the people – which now implies the same thing – of Coles and the adjoining counties by previous notice, were called to meet to hear the political issues of the day fairly discussed. By 7 o'clock our town was thronged with the Union loving voters of little Moultrie, accompanied by their wives and daughters. (How certain the ladies are to be ready when any good thing is to be done.) A procession was formed at the Eagle Hotel, headed by the Mattoon Brass Band – who, by the way, are an excellent Band of young men, and whose visit to our town, and whose music were certainly a credit to Mattoon and to themselves. Next in order came the Hickory wagon, containing twenty voters, with the finest flag and highest pole that were at Mattoon; then wagons, carriages, buggies and horsemen, several hundreds strong. After marching around the public square, the line of march was taken up toward Mattoon, the nucleus for the most magnificent political demonstration ever witnessed in this part of the great Democratic Prairie State. As we proceeded on our route, crowd after crowd fell into rank – cheer after cheer rose echoing and re-echoing for Douglas, the Little Giant of the West, till when we reached Mattoon our procession from Moultrie numbered about 1,000 persons. The Democratic masses continued to pour in until 15,000 to 20,000 persons were on the ground; when all marched in one grand procession to the Fair Grounds, where the masses were addressed by speakers from two stands: A. Thornton, of Shelbyville, A. Green, of Paris, from one; J.R. Eden, Hon. John A. Logan, Hon. J.C. Allen, and

Dr. Roe, from the other, in a most powerful and masterly manner. The meeting at the Fair Grounds was one of the best and most successful efforts we have ever witnessed in vindication of the great Democratic doctrine of the rights of the American citizens to govern themselves as well in territories as in the states. At night the crowd was addressed by Hon. J.C. Robinson, Gen. W.F. Thornton, Hon. John A. Logan, and others from the Essex House and Pennsylvania House. Then – oh crackee!! – such a torch-light procession, 1500 torches and transparencies! This surpassed anything ever seen in Central Illinois. And then the fire-works. This part of the show exceeded anything ever seen by “the oldest inhabitant.” The whole firmament seemed in one continuous blaze of meteors. These combined with the booming of cannon and the shouts of the multitude, produced by a genuine, heart-felt enthusiasm for the “Little Giant,” the defender of our own reserved rights, was truly the most stirring, elevating and sublime spectacle ever witnessed by those present. Who can doubt when men, women and children all determine to effect the same important result, and that result the protection of their rights as American citizens, to be secured by the election of Douglas to the Presidency, that it will as surely be effected as that the Tuesday after the first Monday in November arrives. With such men as Allen, Logan, Robinson, the Thorntons, Ficklin, Richardson, Merrick, McClernand and a host of others, how can we fail. Why we will know no such word as fail, we must succeed. Democrats we have a standard bearer whose very name is the prestige of victory – unless he should unfortunately fall into the hands of “Uncle Jimmy” Cunningham or Smith Nichols!!

Three cheers for the citizens of Mattoon, and nine for the “Little Giant.” This is certainly a race between Bones and Brains, Rails and Principles, Federalism and Democracy. Let the ball roll, we are all right. S. [not E]

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August 2, 1860 –

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Mattoon, Ill., July, 26, 1860.

The Convention met at 2 o'clock at the Democratic Head-quarters, in the city of Mattoon. The Convention was called to order by the appointment of Mr. A.N. Smyser, as chairman, and T.H. Macoughtry, secretary. Upon motion, a committee upon credentials was appointed who reported as delegates present:

From Coles county – John Monroe, J.I. Brown, Jesse Veach, Dr. A.W. Dora.

From Moultrie county – John H.B. E. Warren, Joseph H. Snyder, Benjamin Freeman, John Taylor and A.N. Smyser.

From Douglas county – John Chandler, T.H. Macoughtry, Jno. Kigore.

John M. Kastin, Reg, proposed to the Convention the name of John R. Eden, of Moultrie, as a suitable candidate for Representative from the 25<sup>th</sup> Representative District of the State of Illinois.

Upon motion of Mr. Chandler, of Douglas, John R. Eden, of Moultrie, was by acclamation declared the Democratic nominee for Representative from this Representative district.

A.N. Smyser, in the absence of Mr. Eden, returned thanks in an eloquent address for the honor conferred upon Moultrie, and pledged the acceptance of Mr. Eden.

Upon motion of J.I. Brown, a Dem-

ocratic Central Representative Committee was appointed for the 25<sup>th</sup> Representative District, composed of J.I. Brown, Dr. R. Bridges, Camp Knight, George Monroe, from Coles; and A.L. Keller, John H.B.E. Warren, Arnold Thomason, from Moultrie, and John Chandler, and W.H. Spence, from Douglas.

After addresses from several members of the Convention upon the political topics of the day, the Convention adjourned.

A.N. Smyser, Ch'n.  
T.H. Macoughtry, Sec'y.

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August 9, 1860 –  
SULLIVAN::::: ILLINOIS.

*For President,*  
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,  
Of Illinois

*For Vice President,*  
HON. HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,  
Of Georgia.

*For Governor:*  
JAMES C. ALLEN,  
Of Crawford County

*For Lieutenant Governor:*  
LEWIS W. ROSS  
Of Fulton County

*For Secretary of State:*  
GEORGE H. CAMPBELL  
Of Logan County

*For Auditor:*  
BERNARD ARNTZAN,  
Of Adams County.

*For Treasurer:*  
HUGH MAHER,  
Of Cook County.

*For Sup't of Public Instruction;*  
EDWARD R. ROE,  
Of McLean County.

*For Congress, 7th District*  
JAMES C. ROBINSON,  
OF CLARK COUNTY.

*For State Senator 26th Distrust,*  
W. N. COLER,  
Of Mcclean County.

*For Representative,*  
JOHN R. EDEN,  
OF MOULTRIE COUNTY.

*For States Attorney,*  
R. W. HENRY,  
OF FAYETTE COUNTY

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“Hickory” Club meeting.

According to previous notice the members of the “Hickory,” and others, filled the court-house in Sullivan jamed-full, on Saturday evening the 4th inst. The enthusiastic crowd was called to order by the President, Eden.

On motion, J. H. Waggoner was elected Secretary, to act in the absence of Judge Coakley, the regular Secretary of the Club.

Upon suggestion, the Secretary proceeded to take the names of persons desirous of becoming members of the Club, which resulted in the addition of the names of sixteen more sovereigns to the already large list.

After the taking of names, J. R. Eden, our candidate for the Legislature, being loudly called for, came forward, and in his usually forcible style, entertained the audience in a telling speech of more than an hour's length. He handled the speech de-



livered by Trumbull last Thursday, in a most masterly manner, showing up the falseness of his (Trumbull's) positions and statements against the Democratic party. It was decidedly the ablest speech that has been made in Sullivan this campaign. At the close of his speech, three rousing cheers were given for J. R. EDEN, whom the Democracy intend to send to Springfield to assist in putting an end to the corrupt political life of Lyman Trumbull.

On motion, the meeting—the largest and most enthusiastic since the Club was organized—adjourned.

J.E. Eden, Pres.

J.H. Waggoner, Sec.

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J.R. EDEN,

Having accepted the nomination for Representative in the State Legislature his time will be so taken up with the canvass that our readers need not expect anything more from his pen, during the canvass.

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August 16, 1860 –

Democratic

Mass

Meeting

There will be a

Grand Rally!

of the friends of

DOUGLAS

and

JOHNSON!

At Sullivan

Thursday Aug. 23d.

Hon. John A. Logan,

Hon. J.L.D. Morrison,

Hon. R.T. Merrick,

Gen. W.F. Thornton

Hon. J.C. Robinson,  
Hon. O.B. Ficklin,  
Hon. A. Thornton,  
Hon. William N. Coler,  
and other distinguished  
Speakers have  
been invited and are  
expected to be present  
to address the people.  
Arrangements have  
been made to make  
this the LARGEST  
Political Meeting ever  
held in this portion  
of the State.

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August 30, 1860 –

GRAND DEMONSTRATION AT  
SULLIVAN.

DOUGLAS & JOHNSON  
RATIFICATION MEETING!

People On The Grounds.

Another significant demonstration of the friends of Douglas and Johnson was held here on the 23d day of August. From the best judges of the number present we estimate this meeting at Eight Thousand persons.

Early in the morning the people began to pour in to town in wagons, on horseback and on foot, alone and in crowds, till about 11 o'clock when the large delegations began to come in from the surrounding country and towns—

A splendid delegation from Mattoon and Charleston amounting to near 2,000. One from Lovington numbering near 1,000, with a magnificent ladies wagon – a perfect palace, containing 38 beautiful young ladies dressed in white. A large concourse from Shelbyville of, perhaps, 1,000 persons with another ladies wagon which with its freight

of 33 handsome young ladies, was a thing of real beauty. And numerous smaller delegations from neighboring communities, made up as large a meeting as this town will ever see. The most beautiful thing of all was the ladies wagon gotten up here under the direction of David Pifer & Co. It was the most elegant and exquisitely tasteful thing of the kind we have ever seen. And then the ladies – little Moultrie can't be beaten by any county in 33 charming fair ones to fill a wagon representing the 33 sovereign States. and then several wagons made of green hickory branches, a perfect bower of beauty, filled with little girls in white. Upon the whole this was the grandest and most beautiful display we have ever seen.

This vast crowd after passing through most of our principal streets repaired to Dr. T.Y. Lewis' grove near town where they were addressed by a number of able speakers from two stands. The most prominent speakers were Hons. J.C. Robinson, A.Green, of Paris, Anthony Thornton, J.S. Post and O.B. Ficklin. These gentlemen displayed much ability in the treatment of the political topics of the day. We have long been placed upon the defensive by our opponents but now the tables are turned. We are crowding upon them the issues of their own making with marked success and telling effect. Now, the longer the race the more power will be concentrated in the Democratic party. Victory is ours if we will continue as we have begun, which we will surely do.

The fire-works and torchlight procession at night were magnificent. Everyone seemed well pleased with the meeting and its glorious accom-

paniments, except our Republican friends, a few of whom got close enough to the wit and sarcasm of Robinson and Thornton to get a little out and scorched. One gentleman particularly that we observed got himself handsomely scalped by Jim Robinson, but not content with that, tried Thornton, who had even less mercy than Jim. We will only add to Democrats to stand to your arms and victory is ours. S.

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JOHN R. EDEN

Will address his fellow citizens on the political topics of the day, at the Spring near Ed. Alexander's, on the West Fork, on Tuesday September the 4<sup>th</sup>, at 8 o'clock P.M. Mr. Nichols, the opposing candidate for the Legislature, has been invited to be present and participate in the discussion.

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October 11, 1860  
SMITH NICHOLS!  
Facts for the People.

We copy the following from the *Cynthiana News*, published in Cynthian, Ky., the place where Smith Nichols, the Black Republican candidate for Representative, hails from. Our readers and the public generally, can form some idea of the man that is foisted upon them for their suffrages. No man that has any regard for truth dare deny one syllable in the article we copy. The facts can be substantiated by over one hundred living witnesses. Read it and hand to your neighbors. *Coles County Ledger*.

.....

... We shall see how this "honest, consistent party" will

sustain such a man [Smith Nichols] as their proper Representative against such a man as John R. Eden, than whom no truer man lives any were — just the man to represent the Douglas Democracy —Hurrah for Eden, we say. S.

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November 1, 1860 –

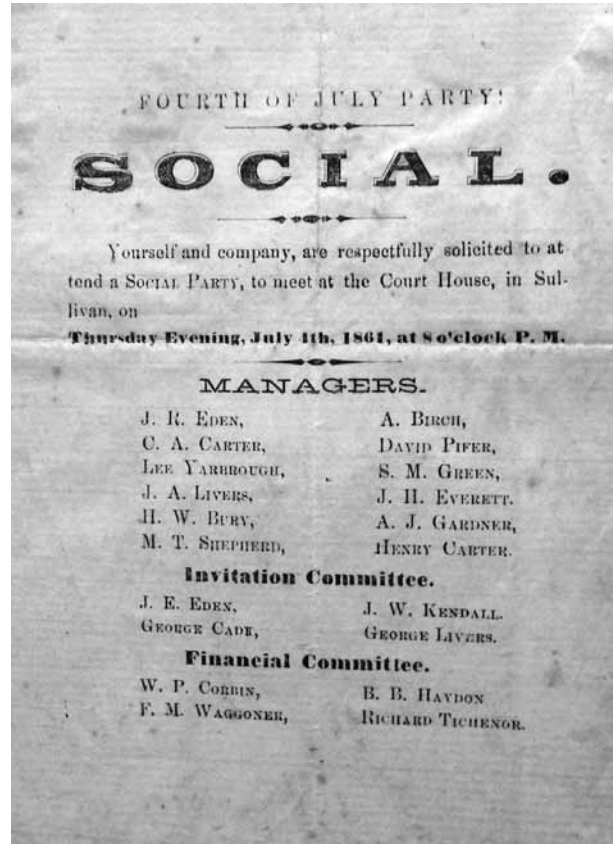
Attention, Patriots!

J.R. Eden will address the people at the court House on next Saturday evening at early candle lighting on the political question now before the people of this country. As it is probably his last, and doubtless will be his greatest effort for this campaign, let anybody [blurred] ...

aside that old foggy, Prejudice, and “come up to the scratch” like patriots and lovers of your country!

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[ John R. Eden was defeated in the 1860 race for the position of State Representative. In 1862 he was elected to Congress.]



# XI

## THE CHARLESTON RIOT, MARCH 28, 1864 – JOHN R. EDEN'S LETTERS; NEWSPAPER AND MILITARY REPORTS

### JOHN R. EDEN'S LETTERS

John R. Eden to J. Meeker, March 29, 1864

Clark Co. Illinois

March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1864

J. Meeker Esq.

Dear Sir –

I left Charleston yesterday during the riot because I did not deem it safe for me to remain there. After I had left I did not return because I thought from the best information I could get that it would not be safe for me to return during the excitement. I expect to go on immediately to Washington.

Tell the people to remain quietly at home and if possible let this excitement pass away.

The affair at Charleston was terrible. From the best information I can get, six or seven persons were killed and twelve or fifteen wounded, part of both being citizens and part soldiers. I will write again soon.

Yours truly,

John R. Eden

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John R. Eden to Roxa Eden, April 13, 1864

Washington City

April 13<sup>th</sup> 1864.

My Dear Roxa,

Your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> inst. was received by me this day. It was the first word I had heard from you since I left home. I was very anxious indeed to hear from you and I feel truly grateful that I have been permitted to receive this letter and one more, by the silent words of the pen to hear that you are well. My health is good and my spirits much better than when I wrote you from Wheeling. I still however have a dread on my mind lest my friends may suffer at the hands of cowardly and brutal men, for no other reason than that they are my friends and felt a deep interest in my welfare when I was supposed to be in danger. I do hope that they will act wisely and prudently so as if possible to avoid the persecutions of those who have it in their power to do them a very great injury.

As I suppose that neither you nor my friends at home have the remotest idea as to what actually did occur at Charleston, none of the accounts that I have seen being true, I propose to state to you what I saw and heard and what I believe to be substantially the truth. I reached Charleston between one and two o'clock and stopped there, no more apprehensive of danger than I now am. When at Mattoon I heard from citizens and soldiers that the soldiers at Charleston were to come to Mattoon on the next train, which would leave Charleston between two and three o'clock. I think that Cols. True and Mitchel both went to Charleston on the same train that I did. When I went up to the Hotel at Charleston I saw that there were a good many people in town and a very considerable number of soldiers, many of whom were drunk. The word there also was that the soldiers were to leave there on the next train going west. As soon as I got my dinner I went over to the court house. On my way I saw that there was a good deal of excitement and heard that a number of citizens had been badly abused by the soldiers during the day. When I went in to the court house, the court being in session, I told my friends that owing to the excitement I did not deem it prudent to speak. In this opinion they concurred and so I declined speaking. After remaining in the courthouse a short time, I went out in company with Mr. Scofield to the south side of the court house square, and walked half way round on the east to the opposite point on the north side. During the time we were taking this walk, the soldiers were very noisy and boisterous on the west side of the square. About this time the train came in from the east. We saw a crowd of soldiers coming up from toward the Depot. They were very noisy but we could not tell what they said. At this point we met a friend coming up from the same direction who remarked to us, "There is going to be trouble, the Colonel has countermanded the order for them to leave on this train, and they are coming up here swearing that they are going to clean out the Copperheads." We went in to the court house. The west door was fastened on account of the wind blowing very hard from that direction. In about five minutes after we went in, I heard a fierce yell just west of the courthouse, followed almost immediately by a single pistol shot. After an interval of perhaps a half a minute, there was a volley and a great many shots fired in rapid succession. The balls came in at the windows of the court house, rattling against the walls of the house and the bunches like hailstones in a hail storm. No one in the house could see the persons engaged in the fight. Everybody rushed out at the East door. Mr. Scholfield and myself crossed the street together. From what we had heard when out a few minutes before, we supposed that an attack had been made upon the court house because it was supposed that I would commence speaking about that time. We had not the remotest idea that any resistance was being made to the soldiers. We saw one man as we rushed out who was shot in the leg before leaving the house. With what light we had on the subject, we deemed it prudent to leave, which we did. We walked out two miles East where we waited perhaps two hours to get news from town. We sent a young man in who reported to us for the first time that some of the citizens participated in the fight and that several soldiers had been killed. He also reported that two citizens had been shot and killed by the soldiers since the fight, that there was great excitement in town, and that he did not deem it safe for us to return.

We then hired a man to take us in a wagon out to Mr. Robinson's house where we staid that (Monday) night. We remained in that neighborhood until two o'clock on Tuesday. We then started to Marshall on horseback, reached there that evening and I remained there all night. On Wednesday morning, I took the Hack for Terre Haute and that evening took the train for Washington and arrived here on Friday evening. And now you have all that I saw. I however heard the evening of the fight how it commenced and all about it from four or five gentlemen who saw it from the beginning. I have not time to give their story. Suffice it to say that their account is entirely different from what is published and puts the blame almost entirely upon a few drunken soldiers. I will not vouch for the truth of anything that I did not see. Of one thing however I am certain, and that is that the various accounts which have been telegraphed to all parts of the country are total perversions of fact.

I do hope that our people will be permitted to attend to their peaceful avocations without military interference. And to this end they ought to use caution and prudence; ready at all times to submit to and \_\_\_\_\_.

You may show this to any of the friends to whom you may desire to make known my sentiments. Give my love to Mother and the children and my respects to Jane and all the relatives and friends.

I remain as heretofore.

Yours,

John R. Eden

Do not fail to write immediately.

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### NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS

Late News by Mail -- Special Dispatch to the *Chicago Times*, Mattoon, Ill., March 31, 1864

Great efforts are being made to give the recent troubles at Charleston, in this county, a political significance to which they are not entitled, and to this end the wildest exaggerations and grossest misstatements are industriously circulated and telegraphed all over the country. From a visit to Charleston this afternoon, and a conversation with many who participated in or were witnesses of the unfortunate affray, I have been able to arrive at the correct facts in the case. For some time past there have been affrays at Charleston and in different parts of Coles county between the citizens and the soldiers, to which liquor contributed quite as much, if not more, than politics. Some citizens from O'Hair's settlement had been quite roughly handled by the soldiers, several of whom, it is reported, on one or two occasions assist each other in beating citizens.

The people of this neighborhood became much incensed, and determined upon revenge, which they designed inflicting by the same means they claimed the soldiers had resorted to, that is, in superior numbers.

Last Monday was the commencement of the spring term of court in Coles county, a day on which many citizens are accustomed to visit the county seat. Hon. John R. Eden, the Democratic member of congress from this district, was also advertised to address his constituents. The two events would necessarily bring together a large number of people on that day, and Mr. Eden's promised address make the assemblage largely Democratic. The people of O'Hair's settlement were aware of the advantage they would have on that day, above all others, in an affray with the soldiers. They believed all the Democrats present would participate and give the soldiers a sound drubbing. They conceived that some interference would be made with Mr. Eden, when he attempted to speak, and accordingly, about thirty of them prepared themselves for the defensive or offensive, as circumstances should require. Some of them had pistols, and others had guns under the straw. Mr. Eden arrived about 2 o'clock. He quickly saw that both soldiers and citizens had been drinking quite freely, (as they were using intemperate language and laboring under quite a degree of excitement,) and that a speech would necessarily result in a disturbance. He accordingly revoked his appointment. The excitement was not to be allayed, and the leading democrats of the county induced many of the people to return to their homes, and over two-thirds of those who came out to hear Mr. Eden left town before 3 o'clock, and some hopes were entertained of preventing any disturbance.

About 4 o'clock, however, a soldier named Oliver Salee, in passing a citizen named Arlson Wells, ran against him, asked if there were any copperheads in the county, said he could whip any copperheads in the county, etc., etc., and finally asked Wells if he was a copperhead? Wells replied in the affirmative. Salee put his hand on Wells shoulder, who stepped back and said, "If you lay your hands on me I will shoot you." Salee said he would "shoot back." A minute after, it is said, Wells fired his pistol, whether at Salee or not, is not known. Revolvers were drawn at once and used with terrible effect, as were also the shot guns with which the people from O'Hair's neighborhood were provided. Some of the soldiers were armed with revolvers, and some had their muskets where they soon got hold of them. In two or three minutes Major York, Surgeon of the 54<sup>th</sup> Illinois, and

Alfred Swain, James Goodrich, and Wm. G. Hart, of the same regiment, and Nelson Wells, were mortally wounded and have since died. Col. Mitchell, Oliver Salee, John Neer, Wm. Decker, George Ross, I.J. Brooks, soldiers, were wounded, as were also William Gilman, John Trimble, and Sanford Noyes, republicans, and Geo. J. Collins, John W. Herndon, democrats. The men from O'Hair's settlement then left town. About half an hour afterwards a prisoner named John Cooper attempted to escape by running into the store of John Jenkins, a very estimable citizen and a republican. A volley was fired, which killed both Cooper and Jenkins, making the total number of killed seven, and of wounded eleven.

Col. Mitchell telegraphed to Mattoon, and 250 of his regiment came up to Charleston, and squads were sent out and many persons were arrested.

John R. Eden left town as soon as the affray commenced, which, with other democrats, he had been endeavoring to prevent.

Rumors were prevalent that some 300 men were congregated at Goliday Mills, seven miles from Charleston. Col. Mitchell visited that place, where, he was informed, the camp was located at Nonniken Point, some twelve miles further, and which he deemed so mythical he did not visit. Rumors fixed another camp near Windsor, seven or eight miles west of this place, but the 17<sup>th</sup> Indiana and 41<sup>st</sup> Ill. visited the place before daylight this morning and failed to discover traces of there having been a camp in that vicinity. Rumors of democrats marching on Mattoon and Charleston originated either in the fears of some people or circulated by others for effect. No danger is apprehended, and the 47<sup>th</sup> Illinois has already left, as has also a detachment of the 6<sup>th</sup> Mo., commanded by Lt. Galva. The 41<sup>st</sup> Ill. will probably leave in the morning, and with the withdrawal of troops, the excitement will subside, fears will gradually die out, and the usual quiet will be restored.

Democrats and Republicans deplore the matter equally, and hold that the conduct of those from O'Hair's settlement was highly reprehensible.

The following is a list of prisoners: John P. Keller, R.J. Brooks, John Reynolds, John Tracy, E. Crowder, Andrew Kinger, J.V. Jones, A.F. Snowdon, J.W. Murphy, J.F. Richardson, Hiram Ranshaw, H.P. Dichner, Minor Shelburne, William G. Beatly, James Davidson, B.F. Rairdon, Vincent Cromwell, Wm. Hardwick, Micheal Murphy, Lewis Burns, Wilson O'Hair, Ferdinand, McGill, J.W. Ryndon, A.B. Fouts, R.W. Dawson, Deserter Miles, – Murphy, W.F. Hawks, Thomas McGire, J.S. Handwick, J.L. Reardon, David Reardon, James O'Hair, Washington Dunn, Daniael W. Jones, Isaac Cook, Stephen G. Hawks, Green McGuire, George J. Colins, John Taylor, John F. Redwan, James M. Howe, John W. Herdon, Isaac Hoggin, James Brown.

Many of these prisoners are simply reported as accessories, and will be examined by Col. Mitchell tomorrow, and such as are not directly implicated will be discharged.

Too much credit cannot be given Col. True, of the 62d Illinois, and Col. G. M. Mitchell, of the 54<sup>th</sup>, for the manner in which they have acted. Both of them sought to allay the excitement, and have prevented a still greater effusion of blood. The 54<sup>th</sup> Illinois is under orders to remain on duty in this vicinity.

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Springfield, March 31.

I have just called on the different military authorities here to learn, if possible, further particulars in regard to the Coles county difficulty. I am informed that all is now quiet there.

An officer who was at Charleston during the trouble states that the affair did not originate from any speeches made, in fact, that no speeches were made. The report concerning the speeches was circulated here by a preacher, who pretended to know all about the matter, having recently arrived from Charleston. The officer mentioned gives this version of the affair which is published in the republican papers here.

Monday was the first day of the Coles Co. Circuit Court, and a large number of the people of Coles county were in attendance. In the afternoon a number of soldiers went to the Court House. One of their number jostled a citizen named Elisa Wells who warned him not to do so again. Wells was again pushed, when he stated that he would kill anybody or hit any one who molested him. It is stated, however, that Wells was killed, and was the first one killed. Firing then became general, when Dr. York went to the door of the Court House, and discharged his pistol several times. Somebody that was near shot and killed him. Col. Mitchell was wounded in the hand slightly. As soon as the difficulty commenced, the 54<sup>th</sup> regiment, at Mattoon, was

telegraphed for. The regiment reached Charleston in thirty minutes after the dispatch was sent. The killed and wounded are reported as follows: Killed – Maj. S. York, Surgeon, 54<sup>th</sup>; Jas. Goodrich, Co. C, 54<sup>th</sup>; A. Turner, Co. G., 54<sup>th</sup>; Wm. Hart, 63<sup>rd</sup>; John Jennings, Union citizen, by accident. Wounded – col. Mitchell, 54<sup>th</sup>; Oliver Salee, C., 54<sup>th</sup>, mortally; a private, unknown, G, 5<sup>th</sup>; Secter, 64<sup>th</sup>; Geo. Ross, C, 54<sup>th</sup>; O. Noyes, I, 54<sup>th</sup>; Wm. Gernan, citizen; C. Jefferds, citizen. Copperheads killed – Nelson Wells and John Cooper. Wounded – a man named Winkler, and a number of other copperheads.

The foregoing is the statement of the republicans, as you will perceive by the free use of the term copperhead.

After making due allowance for the partiality of partisans, it can be readily perceived the soldiers commenced the affray. It is the inevitable result of the teachings of Gov. Yates, who said that democrats had no rights which a nigger was bound to respect.

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Mattoon, March 31.

There is nothing of importance to communicate tonight. Everything has resumed its usual routine, and the rebels have no doubt dispersed. The 47<sup>th</sup> Ind. Has left for New Orleans. The 41<sup>st</sup> Ill. Has gone into barracks, and will remain until Col. Oakes returns from Charleston, where he now is. A soldier was found this morning on the railroad track, shot through the head, supposed to have been the work of copperheads. Prisoners are still coming in.

## TELEGRAPH NEWS.

### FROM SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

**The Difficulty at Charleston, Coles Co.  
Another Row at Ramsey--Recruits--  
The 11th Missouri--Soldier Shot--  
The 21st Illinois--Gen. Cook.**

Special Dispatch to the Chicago Times.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., March 29.

The difficulty in Coles county is the topic of conversation here to-day. It is impossible to arrive at the facts from what we have heard, although several telegrams have been received by the military authorities here. It is stated that John R. Eden, member of Congress from that district, made a speech in Charleston yesterday. He was replied to by Dr. York, Surgeon of the 54th regiment, and a violent Abolitionist. A row was gotten up and Dr. York was shot and killed. By order of Col. Mitchell, of the 54th, Mr. Eden was arrested and confined under guard in the Court House.

The 54th regiment, most of whom were at Mattoon, was sent for during the row. It is said that six Republicans and two Democrats were killed and twenty wounded on both sides, among whom was Col. Mitchell. It is said that all is quiet to-day, though I doubt this. If anything further is received this evening I will add it.

It is also stated that a row occurred at Ramsey, on the Central Railroad, and the military were sent for, but nothing serious occurred.



## Military Accounts

630 KY., SW. VA., TENN., MISS., ALA., AND N. GA. [CHAP. XLIV.]

no further disturbance. The strength of the Fifty-fourth [Illinois] is not known here, as it has lately been recruited, but it is not less than 500. There is no further information from Moultrie County. I think now that the Fifty-fourth will be able to maintain peace.

J. WHITE,  
Brigadier-General.

Major-General HEINTZELMAN.

No. 3.

Reports of Lieut. Col. James Oakes, Fourth U. S. Cavalry, Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General of Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., March 29, 1864.

There has been a serious disturbance at Charleston, Ill. Captain Montgomery, an experienced officer whom I sent to that place last night, reports as follows:

MATTOON, March 29, 1864.

Lieut. Col. JAMES OAKES,  
Superintendent Volunteer Recruiting Service:

The disturbance at Charleston was quite serious: 6 killed and 20 wounded. It is now quiet. I do not think you need come. I go to Charleston this morning. Will report further from there.

D. L. MONTGOMERY,  
Seventeenth Infantry, Mustering and Disbursing Officer.

I will keep you fully informed in case of first outbreak.

JAS. OAKES,

Lieut. Col. and Actg. Asst. Provost-Marshal-General of Ill.

Major-General HEINTZELMAN,  
Commanding.

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,  
Springfield, Ill., April 18, 1864.

COLONEL: I have the honor to report that information of the disturbances in Charleston, Coles County, Ill., on the 28th of March last, reached me on the afternoon of the same day.

Captain Montgomery, U. S. Army, being about to proceed to Mattoon on mustering duty, I directed him to repair to the scene of the outbreak, ascertain the posture of affairs, and telegraph me if my presence was deemed necessary.

About 8.30 p. m. the next day I received a dispatch from Captain Montgomery requesting me to come down without delay, and left by the next train for Mattoon, where I arrived on the morning of the 30th. Finding the town in a state of great excitement from rumors, apparently entitled to credit, that the insurgents meditated an attack in force to rescue the prisoners which had been sent up from Charleston, I deemed it prudent to order forward the Forty-first Regiment, Colonel Pugh commanding, from Springfield.

Taking a freight train I then proceeded to Charleston. Colonel Mitchell, of the Fifty-fourth Infantry, was absent with a mounted detachment of his regiment in search of the insurgents, who had left the town and were reported to be collecting in large bodies in various directions in the surrounding country.

In the afternoon (30th) I received a dispatch from Colonel True, Sixty-second Illinois, on recruiting duty at Mattoon and command-

CHAP. XLIV.] RIOT AT CHARLESTON, COLES COUNTY, ILL. 631

ing post, representing in urgent terms the need of more troops at that point. I therefore asked for 500 men from Indianapolis, and returned by next train to Mattoon, finding the place in a state of the most intense excitement, over a hundred citizens being organized and under arms, the prisoners lodged in a secure place and strongly guarded, pickets posted, and every preparation made to defend the place, an attack upon which was confidently anticipated.

The Forty-first Illinois, Colonel Pugh, and Forty-seventh Indiana, Colonel Slack, arrived about midnight, and both regiments, under the command of Colonel True, proceeded to points some 12 miles west and southwest of Mattoon in search of the rebels, who were believed to be there collected in considerable force. Finding that the insurgents, small parties of whom had been assembled at the designated places, had dispersed upon the advance of the troops and made good their escape, the command returned to Mattoon, arriving on the morning of the 31st, when the Forty-seventh Indiana was permitted to proceed on their way to Cairo en route for the field.

Leaving the Forty-first at Mattoon, I again repaired to Charleston, where I found the excitement subsided and confidence partially restored, the people feeling secure in the protection of the troops, consisting of the Fifty-fourth Illinois, and Company E, Twenty-third Veteran Reserve Corps, which had been stopped by Captain Montgomery on the 29th while on its way from Paris, Ill. After making such arrangements for the protection of the place and the maintenance of order as circumstances seemed to require, I returned to Mattoon and thence to Springfield, arriving on the morning of the 2d instant.

On the 8th instant, I again visited both Charleston and Mattoon, and found those places and the surrounding country quiet and confidence generally restored. The Forty-first was furloughed on the 11th instant, and the Fifty-fourth left for the field on the 12th, leaving one company of the Veteran Reserve Corps at Charleston and another at Paris, which I deem ample for the present.

A large number of prisoners were taken by the military and citizens, most of whom were released for lack of evidence. The proof against 29 was, however, deemed sufficient to warrant their being held for further examination, and I ordered them to be forwarded, under guard, to Camp Yates, near this city, until the necessary testimony could be obtained and examined, to enable me to determine what further disposition should be made of them. After careful examination of the evidence received, consisting of affidavits, reports, letters, &c., and which is very voluminous, I have discharged 13 of the 29, and 1 has since died, leaving 15 yet to be disposed of. I have forwarded all the testimony, together with an elaborate report, to Maj. Gen. S. P. Heintzelman, commanding Northern Department, with request that the prisoners might be tried by military law, if consistent and expedient, and requesting early instructions or suggestions for my further action in the premises.

It is much to be regretted that the ruling spirits and chief actors in this treasonable insurrection have not as yet been captured. O'Hair, the sheriff of Coles County and the ringleader of the insurgents, is not to be found; and others who were prominent in the murderous assault have made their escape.

It is impossible to doubt that this outbreak was premeditated and preconcerted, and that its immediate purpose was the murder of the soldiers, to be followed by such other movements as circumstances

might warrant, and it is this fact that gives special significance to the whole affair. The occasion was favorable. The circuit court of Coles County, Judge Constable presiding, was to open on Monday, the 28th of March, and Mr. Eden, member of Congress from that district, was to make a speech. It was known that the Fifty-fourth Regiment was about to return to the field, and that a number of soldiers belonging to that regiment would take the cars on that day at Charleston for the rendezvous at Mattoon. There was thus an excellent pretext for a large gathering without exciting suspicion, while the number of soldiers would be comparatively small and in no condition for defense.

On the appointed day the court convened. Sheriff O'Hair was present attending to his official duties; the court-house square was thronged with people, including notorious secessionists from the adjoining county of Edgar, whose sheriff is brother to the sheriff of Coles County. Mingling with the crowd, and unarmed with one or two exceptions, were some 12 or 15 soldiers of the Fifty-fourth, who were residents of Charleston and vicinity, quietly conversing with their acquaintances while waiting for the train for Mattoon. Presently, without cause of provocation, a desperado named Wells fired upon and mortally wounded a soldier. Sheriff O'Hair instantly rushed from the court-room, marshaled the insurgents, put himself at their head, and directed all their subsequent movements. Every man of the assailants was found to be armed. Pistols were drawn and fired in all directions. When these had been discharged they rushed to wagons near by and brought forth guns and ammunition, which had been lain concealed beneath the straw, &c. In one minute, as Colonel Mitchell reports, 100 shots were fired and nearly every soldier was either killed or wounded, although scattered about over the whole square; every blue coat or brass button, without distinction, became a target for the assassins.

I think all this admits of but one solution, a deliberate plot on the part of the leaders to murder the soldiers of the United States. This view is confirmed by several witnesses, who swear that the purpose of "cleaning out" the soldiers and Union men on that day had been avowed by the ringleaders several days before, and preparations had been extensively made to execute the threat; and I am satisfied that but for the timely action of Colonel Mitchell in ordering up his regiment from Mattoon, and the prompt measures subsequently taken to check the progress of the insurgents and thwart their designs, it would have proved the beginning of an extensive and dangerous emente in that part of the State.

I have direct personal knowledge that some at least of the gang were members of a treasonable secret society, kindred in its character and objects with that known as the "K. G. C.," or Knights of the Golden Circle, and I have little doubt that the outbreak was planned and executed in great part by and through that organization. There is also reason to apprehend that through the same agency an extensive and formidable conspiracy is being formed against the Government, and that it is only awaiting a fitting opportunity for development. It is therefore not so much on account of the intrinsic importance of these disturbances, desperate and bloody as they were, as from a sense of their revelation of and bearing upon future and more daring machinations against the Government, that I am desirous that these prisoners and the leaders, should they hereafter be taken, may be tried and (if found guilty) punished by the military

authorities. I fear it would be useless to turn them over for trial by the civil tribunals, whether State or Federal, to whose jurisdiction they would belong. Prompt and rigorous dealing by military law could not fail to be of salutary and lasting effect. It is scarcely necessary to observe that many of the insurgents were without doubt merely the dupes of others and were inveigled into the scheme without apprehending or approving the real purpose of the chief conspirators. It is proper to add that the opinion of the origin, character, and purpose of the insurrection, herein expressed, is concurred in by every loyal man of the counties concerned with whom I have conversed.

Herewith I have the honor to transmit the report of Col. G. M. Mitchell, Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES OAKES,

*Lieutenant-Colonel Fourth U. S. Cavalry,  
Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General, Illinois.*

Col. JAMES B. FRY,

*Provost-Marshal-General, Washington, D. C.*

[Inclosure.]

HDQRS. FIFTY-FOURTH ILL. INFTRY, VET. VOLS.,  
Mattoon, Ill., April 8, 1864.

COLONEL: In pursuance of instructions from you, I have the honor to report my proceedings during the recent disturbances in Coles County, as follows:

The furloughs granted my men having expired they were ordered to rendezvous at Mattoon, Ill., March 28. As many of the men lived at, or would pass through, Charleston on their way to camp, I remained there Monday to see them all on the train and to prevent any disturbance.

Before the afternoon train left for Mattoon about 3 p. m., Nelson Wells, a so-called captain of a company organized some 7 miles north of Charleston, whose object in drilling was only known to themselves, commenced firing at Private Oliver Sallee, Company C, Fifty-fourth Illinois, so far as I can learn without the slightest provocation, lodging a ball in Sallee's breast, which has since caused his death. Sallee fell, but partially rising shot Wells dead. This was in the court-house yard, near the west door. Immediately firing became general, the sheriff of this county, John H. O'Hair, leaving his seat and taking the lead in the attack upon the soldiers. Some 16 of my men were present on the square, nearly all of whom were killed or wounded. Some 75 men, after firing wherever they could see a blue coat, collected at a grove about one-quarter of a mile from the square east of town, under the lead of the sheriff, held a consultation, and learning the Fifty-fourth Illinois were on their way from Mattoon, moved out in the country.

Immediately on the report of Wells' pistol I stepped out of the west door of the court-room, when 3 men with revolvers drawn, apparently expecting me, commenced firing, 2 of them running by me into the room. I caught one named Robert Winkler by the wrist as he was attempting to shoot me, turning his revolver down until he discharged all his loads.

Maj. Shubal York, surgeon of the Fifty-fourth Illinois, was shot from behind as he was leaving the court-room, expiring almost instantly.

The attack could not have lasted over a minute, during which one hundred shots must have been fired, nearly all of my men being either killed or wounded. The fact that my men, scattered as they were over the square, were instantly shot down, and the systematic manner in which the sheriff rallied and drew off his party, together with affidavits of reliable citizens forwarded, leaves no room to doubt that a party of men came to Charleston armed with revolvers and shotguns with the knowledge and consent of Sheriff O'Hair, with deliberate intention of killing the soldiers.

As soon as the firing was over I telegraphed to Colonel Chapman at Mattoon to bring men and guns. He arrived at 4.30 p. m. with 250 men. I immediately mounted 75 men and scoured the country in all directions, arresting several parties implicated, and releasing Levi Freesner, private Company C, Fifty-fourth Illinois, who was confined in a house under guard 7 miles from town. He was arrested by Sheriff O'Hair some distance from the square while on his way to the station to take the cars for Mattoon, and knew nothing of the affray. His gun and accouterments have not yet been secured. As the regiment arrived in the court-house yard a man named John Cooper, living in this county, who had been in town all day intoxicated, wearing a pistol in sight and swearing he came to kill soldiers, was accosted by a patrol, but turning to run was immediately shot down, citizens and soldiers firing without orders. Unfortunately a ball passed through the residence of John Jenkins, citizen, wounding him and since causing his death.

Captain Montgomery, mustering and disbursing officer, arrived from Springfield, Ill., Tuesday morning, and examined several witnesses, instructing me to remain at Charleston with my command until you arrived.

A company of the Invalid Corps, Lieutenant Baker commanding, passing from Paris, were detained by Captain Montgomery and ordered to report to me.

On your arrival Wednesday you instructed me to continue to arrest individuals implicated in the murder, procure affidavits of reliable witnesses, and to keep the peace, which has been done.

Hearing of large bodies of rioters of the country, I left Charleston with 100 mounted men at 9 p. m., April 2, proceeded south through Martinsville, to within 5 miles of Marshall, county seat of Clark County, from thence to Auburn, and north to the Terre Haute, Alton and Saint Louis Railroad at Kansas, and thence to Charleston, arriving at 7 p. m., April 4. I found bodies of men from 25 to 100 had been seen, but had dispersed; one squad of 16 I arrested but released. At present all is quiet.

I forward herewith lists of killed and wounded; also lists of prisoners forwarded.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. M. MITCHELL,

Col. Fifty-fourth Ill. Vet. Vol. Infly., Commanding,

Lieut. Col. JAMES OAKES,

Superintendent Recruiting Service, Springfield, Ill.

[Sub-inclosures.]

The following is the list of killed and wounded during the disturbance at Charleston, Ill.:

Killed: Maj. Shuball York, Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry; Privates Oliver Sallee and James Goodrich, Company C, and John Neer

and Alfred Swim, Company G, Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry; Private William G. Hart, Sixty-second Illinois Infantry; John Jenkins, citizen (loyal); Nelson Wells, citizen (sheriff's party); John Cooper, citizen (sheriff's party).

Wounded: Col. G. M. Mitchell, Fifty-fourth Illinois; Privates William H. Decker, Company G, Landford Noyes, Company I, and George Ross, Company C, Fifty-fourth Illinois; Citizens Thomas Jeffers, William Gilman, Young E. Winkler, Robert Winkler, John W. Herndon, George J. Collins, and — Reardon.

Summary.—Killed: Officers, 1; soldiers, 5; citizens, 3. Wounded: Officers, 1; soldiers, 4; citizens, 7.

List of prisoners taken in Coles County by Col. G. M. Mitchell, and forwarded to Mattoon, Ill., from April 1 to April 8, 1864: Jacob L. Reardon, Benjamin F. Reardon, David Reardon, John P. Keller, Nelson O'Hair, Michael Murphy, Miles Murphy, J. W. Murphy, James S. Hardwicke, William P. Hardwicke, S. G. Hanks, H. P. Tichnor, James O'Hair, jr., Blueford E. Brooks, Miner Shelborne, William C. Batty, James [Jordan?] E. Hardwicke, John Reynolds, John T. Taylor, John F. Redmon, John W. Herndon, John Galbreath, Henry Stevens, George Jeff Collins, James M. Houck, Aaron Bryant, Young E. Winkler.

G. M. MITCHELL,

Colonel Fifty-fourth Ill. Vet. Vol. Infly.

No. 4.

Report of Maj. Addison A. Hosmer, Acting Judge-Advocate-General,  
U. S. Army.

WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE,

Washington, D. C., July 26, 1864.

In the case of Coles County prisoners, in custody at Fort Delaware, and charged with a murderous assault upon Union soldiers at Charleston, Ill., in March last, I have the honor to submit the following report and summary of evidence:

The facts in regard to this striking episode of the rebellion are as follows: For about a year before the occurrence in question there had been formed in Coles and Edgar Counties, Ill., an organization which comprised a considerable number of farmers and other citizens, all strongly in sympathy with the rebels. It would seem that a portion, at least, of them were associated as "Knights of the Golden Circle," but that which rendered their organization formidable was its military character. They appear to have formed an irregular regiment of companies, which met for frequent drill, which was under military discipline, and the members of which were tolerably well armed. Between this body and the loyal citizens there was of course a decided opposition, but it was against the Union soldiers that their hostility was principally expressed. Whenever they came in contact with the latter much taunting and threatening language was interchanged, and now and then personal collision took place as in the cases of Dukes and Toland, leaders of the "Butternuts" (as these men were sometimes called), who are said to have been severely handled on the part of the soldiers. Besides, however,

these occasional altercations, rendered inevitable by the disloyal conduct and utterances of these parties, they had as yet engaged in no general outbreak.

On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th day of March last, a dozen or 15 soldiers of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers were collected at Charleston, the county seat of Coles County, Ill., in the neighborhood of which they resided, and from which place they were about to proceed by railroad to Mattoon, where the regiment (which had re-enlisted as veteran volunteers) had been ordered to rendezvous preparatory to its return to active service.

The day in question was the one appointed for the opening of the circuit court of the county, and it had also been given out that Hon. J. R. Eden, who represented the district in Congress, was to deliver a speech on the same day. A large number of persons had therefore gathered together, and had assembled mostly in the court-house square. Among these were distributed the soldiers, who were generally unarmed. The court had entered upon its regular business; the grand jury had been sworn, and had retired to its room; the sheriff of the county, John H. O'Hair, who had thus far been quietly engaged in his usual duties, was proceeding to impanel a petit jury. At this moment, about 3 p. m., a citizen named Nelson Wells, apparently without cause or excuse, suddenly drew a pistol and shot a soldier (Oliver Sallee) of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, who was standing near him in the square, inflicting a mortal wound. In falling, Sallee, who was armed, shot and fatally wounded his assailant.

The act of Wells was a signal for a general and evidently preconcerted assault upon the soldiers. The latter were at once fired upon from different directions and shot down by a large number of men armed with pistols, who, as soon as these were discharged, hastened to their wagons, which were near at hand, and in which had been carefully concealed guns and ammunition. With these the firing was continued, and in a very few minutes nearly every soldier in the square had been killed or wounded. One of the official reports sets forth that 100 shots were fired in the space of one minute, so fierce and summary was the assault.

Meanwhile, at the first fire, Sheriff O'Hair hurried abruptly from the court-room, placed himself at the head of the assailants, whose acknowledged leader he at once appeared to be, directed all their movements, and himself participated conspicuously in the murderous attack.

Meanwhile, also, the court-room had been invaded by the same band; Major York, the surgeon of the regiment, had been assassinated and killed, and Colonel Mitchell, of the Fifty-fourth Regiment, set upon by 3 armed men, with whom he had a desperate struggle, from which he barely succeeded in escaping with his life.

All this, as has been said, occurred in a very short space of time. One officer, 5 soldiers, and 1 loyal citizen had been killed; the colonel and 3 soldiers wounded. Of the assailants 2 were killed and 1 wounded.

When the first fury of the onslaught had expended itself Sheriff O'Hair collected his men, who were nearly 100 in number, and presently marched them off to a grove, about a quarter of a mile from the court-house. Here they remained till they learned that a considerable body of troops, for which Colonel Mitchell had at once telegraphed to Mattoon, were on the way to Charleston, whereupon they moved out into the country. With them they took 1 soldier as a prisoner.

At 4.30 o'clock 250 men of the Fifty-fourth Regiment arrived in a train from Mattoon, 75 of whom were mounted by Colonel Mitchell. By these the country was scoured for some distance, and in the course of the next day or two about 30 prisoners were captured. Lieutenant-Colonel Oakes, the acting assistant provost-marshal-general of the State, also took immediate and vigorous measures for the protection of the country, and assembled strong bodies of troops not only at Charleston, but at Mattoon and at Paris (in Edgar County), which places were supposed to be threatened with attack. It is principally from the full and detailed official report of this officer that the circumstances above narrated have been derived.

The insurgents, after leaving the scene of their crime, separated, but assembled on the same night at a rendezvous which had been indicated by their leaders. Thence they moved still farther south, separating as before, but assembling from day to day at some fixed point until Saturday of the same week, when the main body, which had become less and less, finally disbanded at a rendezvous near the town of Martinsville, Ill. At each place of meeting the more violent were in favor of pressing guns and ammunition, returning to Charleston, and again making an attack upon the troops and loyal citizens. These, however, were overruled by the majority.

In regard to this remarkable outbreak, it was quite evident at the moment, and still more so when the evidence now presented came to be taken, that it was the result of a preconcerted and carefully arranged plan. The parties who had long been associated in a political and military organization, who had frequently drilled together under their chosen leaders, who for some time had indulged in significant threats of "cleaning out" the soldiers and those who opposed their traitorous designs, and many of whom had been noted for their openly avowed and bitter disloyalty, expressed even while holding civil offices of trust and importance, were the same who assembled at Charleston on the 28th of March with carefully-concealed weapons, and who suddenly commenced a murderous assault upon every individual whom they saw dressed in the uniform of the United States.

The fact that they selected for this assault a period most opportune for their plans, when the presence of an unusual crowd would render their gathering less suspected, and when at the same time those who were the objects of their attack would be dispersed and disorganized; the character of their firing, which appeared to be in a single volley or very rapid succession of shots, and which followed instantaneously upon the given signal; the implicit obedience which they gave to the orders of their chief, or so-called "colonel," who would appear to have been awaiting the right moment to assume command, and whose appearance on the scene of action was evidently expected; the manner in which they rallied, marched off together, and held together until a dread of the increasing force of the U. S. troops induced them to disband—all these are circumstances which show most conclusively that this insurrection was no casual effort of lawless men, but the act of a body of conspirators, determined to effect, and by the most violent and summary proceedings, the overthrow of the military authority of the Government in that region of country.

That the insurrection was not more widely extended, and did not assume more threatening proportions, is doubtless owing to the vigorous measures taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Oakes and Colonel Mitchell to crush it at its inception. Of this rebellion *in petto* of traitors but

few of the leaders were apprehended. Of the rioters who were captured, about 30 in number, all were released but 16 little or no proof being found against the others. Of the 16 1 died, and 15 therefore remained and still remain in the hands of the military authorities. Their names are as follow: Bryant Thornhill, George J. Collins, John F. Redmon, G. W. Reardon, B. F. Reardon, B. E. Brooks, John Galbreath, Aaron Bryant, John Reynolds, John T. Taylor, John W. Herndon, John W. Murphy, Michael Murphy, Miner Shelborne, William P. Hardwicke.

In regard to these men, instructions were conveyed from this Bureau, under date of the 27th ultimo, to Major Burnett, judge-advocate, to the effect that their cases were triable by a military commission. It was ruled that while they might be charged (as proposed) with "conspiring to kill soldiers of the United States contrary to the laws and customs of war," they were chargeable with "murder" also. "Not" (as was remarkable) "murder in the common acceptation of the term of which, when committed by a citizen in a State where the ordinary criminal courts are open, a military tribunal would not have jurisdiction, but the murder of soldiers of the United States, for the disloyal and treasonable purpose of resisting and defeating the Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. Such a crime (it was said), when perpetrated in time of war, might well be held to be a military offense, and, as such, triable and punishable by a military court." It was added that "the circumstances thus conferring jurisdiction should be indicated in the charge and distinctly set forth in the specifications."

Pursuant to these instructions the trial of at least 4 of these prisoners has, as it is understood, been entered upon at Cincinnati. These 4 are supposed to be Thornhill, Collins, Redmon, and George W. Reardon, being the same who were indicted by the grand jury of Coles County, the two former for riot and the two latter for murder.

It may be added here that the grand jury ignored bills of indictment against the other prisoners now held by the military authorities. They, however, found indictments of murder against John H. O'Hair and a number of the leaders of the insurrection who have never been captured.

As it is understood to be the desire of the President to come to a just conclusion in regard to the criminality of these prisoners, especially of those who are believed to have not yet been put on trial, the mass of affidavits and other written testimony, including the sworn statements filed in their defense, have been carefully examined. The following is a brief summary of the evidence in all these cases, including those of the first four:

*Bryant Thornhill.*—Two female witnesses testify that at the time of the commencement of the firing he was at the house of one of them, situated a quarter of a mile from the court-house. They, however, do not state that he remained there during all the firing although they add that when he left he went toward his home, which was in a direction opposite to the square. One of these witnesses is the wife of Dukes, a notorious insurgent; the other, her next neighbor. There is other testimony, mostly, however, on the part of men implicated in the riot, that he left the square just before the firing and advised others to leave, on the ground that there was about to be a difficulty. On the other hand, it is testified by Mullen, a soldier, that he saw Thornhill present at the attack and engaged in firing upon the soldiers. Two others, H. N. Turner and Robert Smith,

testify that they saw him around and in company with O'Hair and his sons, and that he assisted them in taking prisoner one Freesner, the soldier mentioned as having been captured. One of these witnesses states that Thornhill would have shot Freesner if his companions had not prevented him. Lewis Hevell states that on the evening of the 28th Thornhill told him that he was present at the assault and that he shot Jeffries (a soldier), and saw him fall. Richard Stoddard testifies that he saw him counseling with the leading rioters just before the firing; and B. F. Wells and W. T. Wells represent that they were present at a copperhead drill in June, 1863, at which Thornhill made a speech in which he counseled resisting the draft "to the death," and made use of highly disloyal and treasonable language. He is spoken of as the "lieutenant-colonel" of the "Copperhead regiment."

*George J. Collins*, commonly called "*Jeff Collins*."—No evidence whatever is submitted in behalf of this man. Several witnesses, V. K. Curd, J. A. West, D. P. Morris, and A. N. Graham saw him present at the assault with the other rioters. West testifies that he saw him armed and apparently in the act of shooting at the soldiers. Morris saw him strike a soldier with a club. Graham saw him throwing brickbats. Upon his arrest he admitted to the officer making the arrest, as well as to Colonel Mitchell, that he threw brickbats. In the riot he was slightly wounded.

*John F. Redmon.*—In the defense of this party is introduced the testimony of his brother and two of his friends, who state that they all came into Charleston together on the day in question and returned together to their homes at night. Two of these state that Redmon was sitting with them in the court-room before the riot, and that he went out a little before the firing commenced. These witnesses admit that he was armed and they were also armed with pistols. Other witnesses say that they saw him running into the court-house, as if for refuge, a very short time after the commencement of the firing, and that he remained there during the firing. Between this time, however, and that of his first leaving the court-house he is not accounted for. On the other hand, it is testified by William Ricketts, John W. Reat, J. E. Taylor, George McNutt, William A. Basleton, Felix Sanders, Robert Kimball, and Samuel Bowser that they saw him present at the firing, and McNutt, Basleton, and Bowser state that they saw him in the act of shooting at the soldiers. Basleton adds that a soldier who was fired at by Redmon appeared to be hit, whereupon the latter exclaimed, "By God, I got him." Bowser says that after seeing him shoot with a pistol he saw him go to a wagon and take out a gun and shoot with that. Sanders also saw him take the gun from the wagon and load it.

*G. W. Reardon*, commonly called "*Wash. Reardon*," and *B. F. Reardon*.—No affidavits are presented in behalf of either of these prisoners. The testimony of Colonel Mitchell, George Ross (a soldier), James B. Campbell, Charles Fleming, James F. Feeney, and Samuel Bowser is to the effect that both were present and actively engaged in the firing. The former was seen by Bowser to shoot "several times" at soldiers. Fleming says that he had a soldier's coat on, and that one of the Reardons shot at him "five times." It is fully established that one of them was one of the assailants of Colonel Mitchell, and that the same one attempted to shoot Ross when he came to the colonel's assistance. The weight of the evidence is that this one was G. W. Reardon, but Rose swears that it was the other.

*B. E. Brooks.*—Several witnesses, principally neighbors and friends of this party, who were at Charleston with him on the 28th, state that about the time the firing commenced he mounted his horse and went away peaceably homeward with several others, and that at this time he expressed himself as desirous to get away, since he had no arms. It is added, however, that after riding some distance he returned to Charleston alone with the avowed purpose of getting his saddle, which had been left behind. A large number of citizens, principally of Hutton Township, subscribe a testimonial in which they say that he has always been a man of good and peaceable character. Three witnesses, however, H. G. Green, G. P. Smith, and J. B. Hutchason, state positively that they saw him present and acting with the rioters on the occasion of the attack. These did not see him engaged in the firing, but Smith testifies that when the principal firing was over he saw Brooks on horseback with a revolver in his hand, and heard him ordering or urging his associates to "go back and give them hell." Green testifies that he saw about 30 of the insurgents collected and formed in a line by Brooks, and that he heard him whoop, and cry out, "Bully for you, boys; we gave them hell this time;" and further, that he heard him issue orders to them.

*John Galbreath.*—It is testified by one witness on the part of the defense that very soon after the firing commenced he saw this man run out of the gate on the north side of the square, mount his horse, and ride away. One of his neighbors states that he saw him at his house on the evening of the 28th, and on the next two days; and both this witness and another (the father of the accused) allege that they never knew him to have or carry fire-arms or to engage in any "copperhead" drills, and that his character is that of a quiet, peaceable man. On the other hand, Marcus Hill swears that he saw Galbreath present during the principal firing; that the latter approached and addressed some conversation to him, and did not leave his neighborhood till the firing was about over. David Johnson testifies that just before the firing he saw Galbreath run to the west door of the court-house, and heard him ask two men who were there if they had their pistols ready; that they replied, "yes." That two more men then joined them, and that the five then went rapidly and excitedly to the west side of the square, where the firing commenced almost immediately after; that when the principal part of the shooting was over, he saw Galbreath in a line of some forty of the rioters which had been formed by their leaders east of the court-house.

*Aaron Bryant.*—In behalf of this man it is stated by a neighbor that on the 28th, about 2 p. m., he saw him about 2 miles from Charleston, going with a team toward the residence of one Parrish, and that he informed the witness that he was going there for oats. But another witness, who accompanied Bryant, states that it was about 4 o'clock when the latter started for Parrish's. Members of the Parrish family say that he came to the house "as late as 4 or 5 o'clock," and remained till late in the evening. On the part of the Government a witness, Robert Kimball, clearly identifies Bryant as having been present at the riot and engaged in firing upon the soldiers. He says that he saw him fire "once or more." John Gossett states that on March 23 Bryant invited him to "join their order," and told him that they were about to "clean out" the soldiers and Union citizens. He adds that the latter urged him to go to Charleston on or about the 28th and carry arms with him, stating at the same time that he was then traveling about the country on "that business."

*John Reynolds.*—It is testified by three witnesses that they saw this party run out of the square at the south gate, at the commencement of the firing, as if trying to get out of the way. One of these, however, mentions that he was armed with a pistol. A fourth witness testifies that at the time of the firing he met the accused outside of the town, mounted, with some 15 or 20 others, and heard him advise that they should not go into the town on account of the shooting, which he thought was not yet over. Three other witnesses, however, David Johnson, F. Brown, and J. B. Hutchason, testify that Reynolds was present at or about the time of the firing, and Johnson states that he was armed with a pistol. Brown describes him as seen in consultation with O'Hair before the assault, and as afterward falling into line with others under O'Hair as their leader. He adds that he has often heard Reynolds threaten to resist and "fight against" the draft, and to express his determination, if drafted, to "shoot our own boys." Henry Dittimore testifies that in riding home in company with R. on the evening of the 28th, he heard him state that he had "let one load off."

*John T. Taylor.*—The testimony offered on behalf of this party is quite immaterial upon the question of his participation in the riot. One witness says that he saw him about 4 p. m. run from the court-house square, go to his horse, which was fastened at a little distance, and mount him and ride away. Another states that he loaned his pistol to Taylor in the morning; and a third, that the pistol was picked up in the square after the firing, covered with mud, with all the barrels loaded and with the appearance of not having been discharged. On the other hand, the prisoner is fully identified by N. L. Wyeth as having been present at the attack. This witness says that he "saw a man by the name of Taylor, whom we took as prisoner. He had a pistol in his hand, and seemed to be in the act of shooting; was pointing toward the soldiers." B. F. Wells states in his affidavit that Taylor, on being arrested by him, at first denied, but afterward admitted, that he was in the fight, and that he had lost his pistol there. He also made a similar admission to Colonel Mitchell.

*John W. Herndon.*—No testimony is offered in his defense. N. L. Wyeth identifies him as having seen him "in the crowd with a pistol in his hand." V. K. Curd states that he saw him in Charleston on the morning of the 28th, in company with Collins and a number of others, who were indulging in hostile language in regard to the soldiers. At the time of the firing he "saw Herndon raise a pistol and fire at some person in the court-house yard." When arrested by Wells, Herndon first denied and then admitted that he was present at the fight, and was himself wounded there. A similar statement was made by him to Colonel Mitchell.

*John W. Murphy and Michael Murphy.*—(With these prisoners was captured also their father, Miles Murphy, who died while in confinement at Camp Yates.) In behalf of the former, it is endeavored to be shown by members of his family, &c., that he was either at home or at a neighbor's house during all the afternoon of the 28th. But the witnesses do not agree in their statements; one representing that he was at a certain house from 1 till about 5 p. m. of that day, and another that he was there only till 3 o'clock, when he returned home and presently went to another house, and did not again return till dusk. His mother testifies that he had no arms of

642 KY., SW. VA., TENN., MISS., ALA., AND N. GA. [CHAP. XLIV.]

any kind in his possession. In behalf of Michael Murphy no evidence is presented. On the part of the prosecution, it is deposed by Robert Kimball, a soldier, that he saw "one of the Murphys" (whose first name he does not know) fire "twice" at himself. George McNutt (a soldier) further testifies as follows:

Saw three of the Murphys engaged in the fight; one of them was Miles; the other two were his sons. These two young Murphys had guns in their hands. I saw them draw their guns up to their faces as in the act of shooting. They seemed to be pointing at me. I was then trying to get out of their way, and could not say whether they fired at me or not. The old man Murphy seemed to be engaged in loading the guns and handing to others to shoot. These guns seemed to be taken out of a wagon; also saw the old man have a pistol in his hand.

Another fact which goes to establish the participation of the Murphys in the assault is that Freesner, the soldier who was detained as a prisoner by the insurgents, was confined under guard, on the night of the 28th, at the Murphy house.

*Miner Shelborne.*—There is no testimony in regard to the active participation of this man in the firing. On the morning of the 29th he was captured at the house of the Murphys while engaged in guarding Freesner, the soldier taken prisoner by the insurgents. Freesner states that when going toward the railroad station, just after the firing, he was arrested by a band of about 20 rioters and forced to accompany them till late at night, when he was placed under guard of Shelborne and others and confined as aforesaid. Mrs. Murphy represents in her affidavit that when the prisoner was brought to her house, Shelborne said that Freesner was "put in his charge till morning," and that he "seemed to be the one in control."

*William P. Hardwicke.*—In behalf of this party it is represented that on the 28th he was traveling at some distance from Charleston, on his way from Edgar County, Ill., with a company of persons who were starting for the Nevada gold mines; that he staid that night at the house of one Davis; and that early the next morning he visited the house of his uncle, Samuel Hardwicke, which was in the neighborhood, and was there arrested; further, that he was not at the house of the Murphys before his arrest. This testimony, however, is somewhat confused, and Freesner testifies positively that when he was released by the Union soldiers, early on the morning of the 29th, Hardwicke was engaged with Shelborne in guarding him. His language is: "William Hardwicke and Miner Shelborne were on guard when the Union soldiers came up and took them, and released me." He adds also that James Hardwicke and Jordan E. Hardwicke were at the house at the same time, and were arrested by the soldiers. These two men were afterward discharged. Their relationship to the accused is not set forth.

Upon a review of the testimony in these several cases, it seems quite clear that all the above-named prisoners (except the two last) were implicated in the murderous assault which has been detailed, and it is urged that all of them (with these exceptions) be forthwith brought to trial upon the charges mentioned in the letter of instructions from this office of the 27th ultimo.

It is not merely because these men have engaged in murder, assassination, riot, and brutal assault that their prosecution before a military tribunal is thus urged. It is because they have conspired to aim a most deadly blow at the supremacy of the Government at a time when it is engaged in a struggle for its life, and when the villainy of the traitor at home is as fatal and as keenly felt as the hostility of

[CHAP. XLIV.] RIOT AT CHARLESTON, COLES COUNTY, ILL. 643

the open enemy in the field. Their crime was not committed against individuals merely, but directly against the military authority of the nation, and whether viewed as a domestic insurrection *en rapport* with the rebellion, or as a vindictive and treasonable assault upon the soldiery to whom the suppression of that rebellion is intrusted, their act must be regarded as one of momentous public importance, and in the fullest sense a great military crime.

Moreover, it is to be remarked that these prisoners have been for four months in confinement, and that a writ of habeas corpus, issued by the U. S. circuit court, requiring them to be delivered up to the civil authorities, has been disregarded, and the prisoners retained in the hands of the military by the express order of the President. The Government would seem, therefore, to have committed itself to a prompt and special adjudication of their cases as those of offenders against military law.

In regard to Shelborne, it may be said that testimony other than that at present submitted may probably be obtained by the judge-advocate, to the effect that this man personally participated in the riot, but in the absence of such evidence both he and Hardwicke may be brought to trial upon a separate charge of violation of the laws of war in illegally imprisoning a soldier of the United States.

It remains only to add that, though many of the more prominent actors in this bloody revolt have thus far escaped, they should be deemed as public enemies, and if the capture of any of them be hereafter consummated by the military authorities, that they should be brought to immediate trial with a view to their summary punishment in case of conviction by a military court.

The names of those alluded to are as follows: John H. O'Hair, James O'Hair, Jesse O'Hair, Henderson O'Hair, B. F. Toland, Ellsbury Hanks, Benjamin Dukes, B. F. Williams, John Frazier, Robert McLain, Robert Winkler, Alexander Rodgers, Calvin Rice, Joseph Carter.

With these may also be included as present and concerned with the foregoing in the assault and riot: Young E. Winkler, G. W. Toland, George Thomas, Dick Robinson, Harry Ray, John Cooper, James Houck, — Wetherall.

Respectfully submitted.

A. A. HOSMER,

*Major and Acting Judge-Advocate-General.*

To His Excellency A. LINCOLN,  
*President of the United States.*

[Indorsement No. 1.]

NOVEMBER 4, 1864.

Let these prisoners be sent back to Coles County, Ill., those indicted be surrendered to the sheriff of said county, and the others be discharged.

A. LINCOLN.

[Indorsement No. 2.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
November 5, 1864.

Referred to the Adjutant-General to cause the execution of the order of the President.

By order of the Secretary of War:

C. A. DANA,  
*Assistant Secretary of War.*

# XII

## NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND CLIPPINGS ABOUT JOHN R. EDEN

1867 (relating to events that year):

The first couple married in the new county were David Stain and Mrs Susan Ball by Amos Waggoner, Esq. April 12, 1843. Township organization was adopted at an election held Nov. 8, 1866. At this election a total of 1,602 votes were cast, 862 being for township organization and 643 against, and 97 defective ballots not counted. The county was then divided into eight townships by commissioners appointed by the county court, of which Arnold Thomason was presiding judge and John Rhodes and W. H. Noble associate judges. The commissioners appointed were John R. Eden, Benjamin S. Jennings and Samuel P. Earl.

The first board of supervisors convened in special session June 10, 1867, and Jonathan Meeker of Sullivan was elected the first chairman of the board. The first board consisted of the following members: East Okaw (now East Nelson township), James T. Taylor, Sr., Jonathan Creek township, Benjamin Freeman, Lovington, Alexander Porter, Marrow Bone township, John A. Freeland, Sullivan township, Jonathan Meeker, Taylor township (now Lowe township), George W. Winn, West township (now Dora), William Weakley, Whitley township, Alvin



**Waggoner.**

1868:

May 11, 1868, Quincy Whig

**John R. Eden.**

The Charleston *Plaindealer*, published near the residence of John R. Eden, Copperhead candidate for Governor, gives the following biographical sketch of that individual:

"In this city Eden is known as the man who, on the 25th day of March, 1861, the day of the never-to-be-forgotten raid, had to leave town afoot and alone, skulking through the woods eight miles to Ashmore, and thence by rail and across the country, in the night time, to escape the wrath of the friends of soldiers and our then distressed country. He is known as a man who, in a measure, was responsible for that raid, by forming companies and arming them to assist in opposing the draft; as the man who made speeches all over this part of the State, at every cross-road and every school house, declaring that the war was a failure, an Abolition crusade against the rights of his "Southern brethren," and that the men engaged in it were "Hessians," "Lincoln hirelings," "nigger thieves," "dogs," etc.; as the man who did all in his power to discourage enlistments, urging the people not to give another man or another dollar for the prosecution of the war. As such a man he is well known to the people of Coles county, and as such the people of Illinois will know him when his reputation is thoroughly ventilated. May God save our noble State from the disgrace of elevating such a man to the highest office in her borders."

1868 – Campaign for Governor – Incident in Sullivan

After a Democratic meeting at Sullivan, in Moultrie county, last week, which was addressed by John R. Eden, the Democratic candidate for Governor, an attack was made on the Republican office, with brickbats and eggs, smashing the windows and battering the door.

1868 – Illinois Election for Governor

## POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

### Illinois Politics—The Democratic State Nominations.

John R. Eden, the democratic nominee for Governor of Illinois, is a native of Bath county, Kentucky, where he was born February 1, 1826. When he was quite young his parents removed to Indiana, and it was in the latter State, we believe, where he received his education. After finishing his studies in the common branches of tuition, he read law and began his practice in Illinois. He was accounted an excellent advocate, and from 1856 to 1860 he held the office of State's Attorney for the Seventeenth district. In 1862 he was the democratic nominee for Congress in the Seventh district, composed of the counties of Champaign, Coles, Cumberland, Douglas, Edgar, Ford, Iroquois, Macon, Moultrie, Platt and Vermilion. Though Lincoln had carried this district by a majority of more than two thousand, Eden reversed the whole thing, and defeated his opponent by a majority of one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight, thus making a gain of over three thousand.

William H. Van Epps is credited to Lee county as the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Van Epps has been a member of the Legislature, though not representing the people where he now resides. He is believed to possess great influence and popularity in the northern portion of the State.

The candidate for Secretary of State, Mr. Hornbeck, of Clinton, is represented as every way qualified, for the duties he has been designated to fill. He will command great strength among his German fellow citizens.

For State Treasurer Jesse L. Phillips, of Hillsborough, is the nominee. General Phillips is a veteran democrat as well as a veteran soldier. He entered the Union army as a captain in the Ninth Illinois, and was soon after elected major, and during the war received rapid promotion. He was in the thickest of the fight at Fort Donelson. At Shiloh he was wounded three times and had his horse shot from under him. At Tupello, at Florence, at Wyatt, at Kesaca, &c., &c., he bore himself like a brave and gallant hero. He is full of honorable scars.

William W. O'Brien, of Peoria, is the nominee for Congressman at large. He was defeated by only a few votes for the same nomination two years ago. The *St. Louis Republican* says:—Mr. O'Brien is one of the most ready and eloquent debaters in the State of Illinois—perfectly at home on the stump, quick and apt at rejoinder or repartee, witty, forcible, sensible and sound.

1870:

**Painful Accident.**—Last Sunday evening Hon. John R. Eden and his wife were driving about town in their buggy, when the horse made a short turn into a cross street, near the first ward school house, upsetting the buggy and throwing its occupants violently to the ground. Mr. Eden's right leg was broken, near the thigh joint, and he was otherwise bruised and scratched. A litter was prepared by persons who saw the accident, upon which Mr. E. was conveyed to his residence, where the fracture was reduced by Drs. Brown and Parker. He is getting along as well as could be expected. Mrs. Eden was not seriously injured.

December 1, 1870, Decatur Review

...We are pleased to see the familiar face of Hon. John R. Eden again in the court room. He is still unable to walk without the aid of crutches, but is in a fair way to recover the use of his broken leg.

1871:

June 15, 1871, Decatur Review.

JOHN R. EDEN. H. L. ODOR  
**Eden & Odor,**  
**ATTORNEYS AT LAW—Office over**  
Newell & Hammer's grocery store, Decatur, Illinois. Jan. 20, 1870.

July 6, 1871:

**MOUNT ZION.**

A very large celebration was held in the grove near Mt. Zion, which was participated in by the people from a large scope of country. Hon. John R. Eden was the orator of the day, and those present inform us that he delivered a very able and interesting address. Other gentlemen made short speeches, and the day passed off pleasantly to all.

August 10, 1871, Decatur Review

***The Cars in Sullivan.***—The first train of cars was run into Sullivan Tuesday morning, over the Decatur, Sullivan & Mattoon Railroad. This being the first road to run a train of cars into Sullivan, the contractors, Messrs. Tuttle, Matheny & Co., will receive the bonus of \$30,000 offered by that town to the first company running a train into that village. We understand that there will be a grand jollification in Sullivan some time next week in honor of this event.

August 10, 1871, Decatur Review:

The most important trial of the present term of the Circuit Court—Miss Ada Fisher vs. The City of Decatur, for alleged injuries received by her in falling through the sidewalk in front of Ullrich's block, in July, 1868,—terminated on Tuesday evening, in a verdict for the plaintiff for \$3,483 33. It lasted five days, every inch of ground being energetically contested by both sides, from its opening to its close. The Hon. A. B. Bunn, appearing for the plaintiff, exhibited great legal attainment and extraordinary power as an advocate. He was ably assisted by Dr. J. Brown, who contributed very eminently, by his legal and medical attainments, to the successful termination of the case. The interests of the city were very ably defended by Hugh Crea, Esq., Hon. W. E. Nelson and Hon. John R. Eden. An abler trio of lawyers could not have been employed in the State, each one of whom possesses peculiar and rare gifts in his profession.

December 28, 1871. Decatur Review.

## OFFICIAL.

### STATE, COUNTY AND CITY DI- RECTORY.

#### State Officers.

Governor.....John M. Palmer  
Lieut Governor.....John Douglaerty  
Secretary of State.....Edward Rummell  
Auditor of State.....C. E. Lippincott  
State Treasurer.....E. N. Bates  
Sup'tPublic Instruction.....Newton Bateman

#### Congressmen.

Senators...Lyman Trumbull, John A. Logan  
Representative at Large.....  
" 7th Dist.....Jesse H. Moore

#### Legislators.

State Senator, .....Michael Donahue

#### Judicial Officers.

District Judge.....A. J. Gallagher  
District Attorney.....M. B. Thompson  
Clerk Circuit Court.....E. McClellan

#### County Officers.

County Judge.....S. F. Greer  
County Clerk.....H. W. Waggoner  
County Treasurer.....W. M. Boyd  
Sheriff.....Geo. M. Wood  
Deputy.....I. D. Jennings  
Superintendent of Schools.....O. F. McKim  
County Surveyor.....Geo. V. Loring  
Coroner.....M. Y. Givler

#### City Officers.

Mayor.....E. M. Misner  
Aldermen—1st wd Joseph Mills, J. W. Myers  
" 2d " .....Benj Dill, E McNabb  
" 3d " M Forstmyer, W H Bramble  
" 4th " E Harpstrite, Wm. Gabler  
Register.....Charles H. Fuller  
Treasurer.....M. K. Hatch  
Assessor.....Fred. J. Smith  
Collector.....H. H. Brown  
Attorney.....J. R. Eden  
Engineer.....G. V. Loring  
Supervisor.....A Martin  
Marshal.....Jno. Haworth  
Deputy Marshal.....J. S. Hewes

1872:

1872 Congressional Nomination

**To the Associated Press.**

CHICAGO, July 19.—The Democratic Convention of the Fifteenth Illinois District on Thursday nominated John R. Eden, of Moultrie, for Congress.

Aug 1, 1872:

Hon. John R. Eden has been nominated for Congress by the Democracy of the Fifteenth Illinois District.

November 1872, Election Results

**THE NEW CONGRESS.**

As the returns are now at hand the next Congress will stand substantially as follows:  
[Grant in Roman; Liberals in Italic.]

State	Senator whose term expires	Senator or Legislature Elected
Alabama	Spencer,	Opposition.
Arkansas	Rye,	Administration.
California	Lole,	Aaron A. Sargent.
Connecticut	Ferry,	Orris S. Ferry.
Florida	O-born,	Opposition.
Georgia	Hill,	Opposition.
Illinois	Tyndall,	Administration.
Indiana	Morton,	Administration.
Iowa	Harlan,	William B. Allison.
Kansas	Pomeroy,	Administration.
Kentucky	Nachen,	Thos. C. McCreery.
Louisiana	Kellogg,	Opposition.
Maryland	Vickers,	George R. Dennis.
Massachusetts	Blair,	Opposition.
Nevada	Nye,	Administration.
New Hampshire	Pattee,	B. Wadleigh.
New York	Conkling,	Administration.
North Carolina	Pool,	Opposition.
Ohio	Sherman,	John Sherman.
Oregon	Corbett,	John H. Mitchell.
Pennsylvania	Cameron,	Administration.
South Carolina	Sawyer,	Administration.
Vermont	Morrill,	John B. Morrill.
Wisconsin	Howe,	Administration.

1873:

1874:

1874 Election results

**POLITICAL.**

**Additional Official Returns for Congressmen in Illinois and Wisconsin.**

**Official Canvass of the Vote for Secretary of State in Iowa.**

The Republican Majority 23,202—A Net Gain of 7,500.

McDill (Republican) Elected in the Eighth Wisconsin District.

Speaker Blaine Declines to Accept a Maine Senatorship.

**ILLINOIS RETURNS.**

**Additional Official Returns for Congressmen by Districts.**

SEVENTH DISTRICT.		Alex. Campbell, Op.
F. Corwin, Rep.		
LaSalle.....	3,437	4,549
Greedy.....	1,314	910
Kendall.....	829	614
Will.....	9,485	4,259
Total.....	7,905	10,332
Majority.....		2,427

TENTH DISTRICT.		J. C. Bagby, Op.
H. Ritchie, Rep.		
Mercer.....	1,315	1,313
Henderson.....	918	723
Warren.....	1,616	1,423
Hancock.....	1,832	2,594
McDonough.....	2,255	2,231
Schlyer.....	846	1,677
Total.....	8,627	9,982
Majority.....		1,355

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.			
D. A. Beatty, Rep.		Scott Wike, Op.	
		Scat.	
Adams.....	2,332	2,523	222
Edwards.....	517	969	.....
Pike.....	1,420	2,659	19
Greene.....	1,207	2,254	.....
Calhoun.....	869	704	.....
Jersey.....	1,313	1,529	21
Total.....	7,429	11,579	.....
Majority.....		4,150	.....

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.			
J. Mc Bull, Rep.		A. E. Stevenson, Op.	O. W. Miller, Pro.
Mason.....	524	1,352	4
Tatewell.....	2,219	1,834	10
McLean.....	2,512	4,040	.....
Logan.....	2,053	1,917	10
Dewitt.....	1,279	1,949	74
Total.....	10,579	10,732	.....
Majority.....		400	.....

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.		
Job R. Eden, Op.		J. W. Wilkin, R.
Egger.....	2,251	2,110
Clark.....	1,102	1,354
Cumberland.....	1,002	507
McGuffie.....	1,228	609
Richy.....	2,274	1,577
Edwards.....	1,428	842
Jasper.....	580	250
Lawford.....	1,105	807
Lawrence.....	547	861
Total.....	12,084	10,689
Majority.....		1,395

**THE STATE TICKET.**

Special Telegram to the Inter-Ocean.  
 SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Nov. 14.—The following is the vote of the entire State for State Treasurer and Superintendent of Schools, as shown by the official returns in the Secretary of State's office to-night: State Treasurer—Ridgway 163,421; Carroll, 126,705; Case, 4,622; a majority of Ridgway over Carroll of 36,716, and over Case of 87,749. State Superintendent of Public Instruction—Powell, 164,842; Eiter, 197,013, a majority for Eiter over Powell of 32,171.



FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

	John R. Eden, Op.	J. W. Wilkin, R.
Edgar.....	3,251	2,110
Clark.....	1,102	1,254
Cumberland.....	1,002	907
Moultrie.....	1,228	600
Shelby.....	2,272	1,827
Efingham.....	1,428	942
Jasper.....	880	580
Lawford.....	1,105	867
Lawrence.....	947	861
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>12,034</b>	<b>10,689</b>
<b>Majority.....</b>	<b>1,395</b>	

THE CONGRESSIONAL CANVASS IN ILLINOIS. PECULIAR POSITION OF THE OPONENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION—A POSSIBLE UPRHEAVAL IN THE STATE—PROSPECTS OF THE VARIOUS CANDIDATES. (FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.) CHICAGO, Oct. 31.—Illinois has 19 members of Congress, and the delegation in the present House stands 14 Republicans, 5 Democrats. The nominations by the Opposition are somewhat peculiar. In Districts I, II, and III, the candidates are avowed Democrats, and are supported as such, and, if elected, will act with the Democratic party. The 1st and 1st Districts are mainly in this city and county, but each has a small county attached. The 11th District is wholly within the city. The candidates are:

Republican.	Democrat.	Rep. maj.
I., S. B. Smith.....	B. C. Cook.....	6,750
II., J. D. Ward.....	H. Harrison.....	3,800
III., C. B. Farwell.....	V. Le Moyne.....	4,000

The prospect at this writing is that all these Democrats will be elected and that this county will give anywhere from 5,000 to 10,000 Democratic majority. In the IVth District, Stephen A. Hurlbut is the Republican candidate and J. F. Farnsworth, Independent Republican, opposed to Grantism, and in favor of revenue tariff, will be supported by the united opposition. Grant had 11,450 majority in the district in 1872. The chances are in favor of Farnsworth.

In the Vth District, both candidates are Republicans, H. N. Burchard, Regular, and D. J. Plaknev, Independent. Republican majority in 1872, 6,423. Burchard will no doubt be re-elected. In the Vth District, the "Farmers' movement is visible. The Republican majority in 1872 was 2,900. Both candidates are Republicans—Thomas J. Henderson, Regular, and J. H. Elliott, Independent, and opposed to the Administration, and is supported by the combined opposition. The VIIIth District presents an extraordinary state of affairs. The Republican majority in 1872 was 4,111. Cowley, the present member, is a Republican nomination, but the opposing candidate, Alexander Campbell, a Democrat, while an honest man, is so extravagant that he is generally regarded as insane on that subject. He unites all the opposition, and may be elected. In the VIIIth District the "Farmers" are strong, and they have united to support J. G. Bayne, an out-and-out Democrat, against Fort, the Republican member, who had 5,097 majority in 1872. The result depends upon how far the Grangers adhere to their ticket, and is therefore uncertain. In the IXth District the candidates are W. H. Whiting, a regular Republican, and Leonard F. Ross, a Liberal Republican, who will not affiliate with the Grant party. The Republican majority in 1872 was 1,800; the present chances are in favor of Ross. In the Xth District both candidates are Republicans. Henderson Ritchie, a Methodist preacher, is the regular. The opposition of all shades support John C. Bagby, an anti-Administration Republican, and the chances are in his favor.

In the XIth District Scott Wilke is the regular Democratic nominee and will have perhaps 2,600 majority over his opponent. The XIIth District has three candidates; Springer, Democrat; Simpson, Independent Democrat, supported by Republicans, and J. B. Turner, Farmers'. This is a Democratic district, and Springer will probably be elected. The XIIIth District is much "torn" by the Farmers. McNutta, the Republican candidate, had 2,610 majority two years ago. The Opposition now unites upon A. E. Stevenson, who, if elected, will act with the Democratic or Opposition party. The same state of affairs exists in the XIVth District, where Cannon, the Republican candidate, who had 3,758 majority two years ago, is now opposed by a Democratic armer named James H. Pickrell. The result is uncertain. In the XVth District John R. Eden, the present Democratic member, will probably have 2,000 majority. The XVIth District has three candidates; Martin—present member—Republican; Sparks, Democrat, and Henry, Farmers'. The chances are in favor of Sparks. The XVIIth District will no doubt reelect W. M. Morrison, present Democratic member, over Rinkner, Republican, by 2,800 majority. In the XVIIIth District there is a square fight between Clements, Republican, and Hartzell, Democrat. Clements had 1,700 majority two years ago, but his reelection is doubtful. Though there are three candidates in the XIXth District, it is conceded that S. B. Marshall, Democrat, will be re-elected.

1876:

February 22, 1876, Shelbyville, Illinois

**Politics in "Egypt."***Editor Pomeroi's Democrat:*

SHELBYVILLE, ILL., Feb. 22.—Away down here in "Egypt," where the light of God's sun never shines except in happiness for the people, we are free from whisky rings and all other rings for which the Republican administration has become so celebrated. Blessed with good crops, the people of the shire town of Shelby county would be happy, were they not hourly in fear of a visit from Tax Collector Silvers. Not that they wish to evade the law, but just at present the times are "so hard" that, as the farmers say, it is hard to make both ends meet.

But my purpose in writing this letter is not to speak of the farmers, the times or of the county seat. I wish to write about this Congressional District (the fifteenth), and about the election of a successor to Hon. John R. Eden. There are many candidates for nomination (which means election), but the most prominent ones are Mr. Eden and Hon. A. J. Hunter, of Paris, and of these only shall I speak.

Mr. Eden, of Moultrie, is at present serving his third term in Congress. He is a good, honest, true Democrat, who has ever labored for the interest of the party and always raised his voice and cast his vote in favor of honest government. In Congress he has served his constituency faithfully, opposing steals of every kind. He was one of the sixty-five who voted in 1864 against subsidizing the North Pacific Railroad, which law enabled the company to steal \$40,000,000 from the Government. On the election of Speaker Kerr, Mr. Eden was appointed chairman of the Committee on War Claims, which is the first time, I believe, that the representative of the Egyptian District of Illinois has ever been honored with a chairmanship. Mr. Eden also represents Illinois on the Democratic National Consultation Committee.

Of Mr. Hunter I know nothing, except that he is a Democrat and that as an orator he has few superiors in Central Illinois. His friends urge, as a reason for his election, that as he has always labored for Democracy, that it is now time the Democrats should give him some compensation for his services. I am in favor of rewarding him, but not by the displacement of Mr. Eden. Higher motives other than personal esteem prompt me in this.

It is an undisputable fact that when an average Congressman copes with men like Blaine, Hale and Garfield, he is no more than a babe in their hands. Why is this? Because they have had years of experience—they have gone "through the mill." The great difficulty with the present Congress is because, though the Republicans are in the minority, they have nearly all served in Congress from four to ten or twelve years, while most of the Democrats are new members, who know little or nothing of parliamentary law, and who when debate is going on, sit in the House with a vague knowledge that some one is talking, but what he means they know not. In finances they appear to be at sea; and all they can do is blindly to follow the lead of some one whom they credit with knowing all about it. While Mr. Hunter may be a man of ability and learning, it is obvious that he could not serve the people so acceptably as Mr. Eden, who has the advantage of long experience as Congressman. The Democrats of the Horse-Shoe District will do well to re-elect him.

VERITY.

July 13, 1876 Congressional nomination – 8<sup>th</sup> District

**POLITICAL.**

**CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS—THE CHICAGO  
MAYORALTY—RATIFICATION AT NEW YORK,  
ETC.**

[Special Dispatch to the *Quincy Whig*.]

LACON, Ill., July 13.—The Democrats of this, the Eighth District, yesterday nominated John R. Eden for Congress. The district is composed of Ford, Iroquois, Kankakee, Livingston, Marshall, and Woodford counties, and is now represented in Congress by the Hon. G. L. Fort, of this city, who was elected to the present Congress by a vote of 9,755, against 9,495 for Leonard F. Ross, who ran on a combination ticket of the Liberals and Democrats.

October 8, 1876 – John R. Eden Campaign speech and reply

**SOUTHERN CLAIMS.**

SULLIVAN, Ill., Oct. 8, 1876.

To the Editor of *The Inter Ocean*.  
In the report of the speech of the Hon. John R. Eden, made at Effingham, as published in the Democratic paper there, are the following statements:

That when the Democratic House of Representatives met there were pending, in the Court of Claims, claims against the government amounting to over \$50,000,000; pending before the Commissioners of Claims over \$10,000,000. There had been pending before the committee of the Forty-third Congress over \$23,000,000. In addition to this, there were over \$30,000,000 war claims either pending or acted upon by the Quartermaster General. "By the side of these enormous sums which the policy of the Republican party had brought into life the claims introduced into the Forty-fourth Congress shrink into insignificance."

Mr. Eden said that the claimants all claimed to have been loyal, or the claims were introduced as loyal. That the claims were mainly from Northern men. Now I wish to ask if it was true that at the time the Democratic House met the sums pending were \$120,000,000, and \$30,000,000 war claims which were pending, or had been acted upon? And is it true that, beside the sum of \$170,000,000, the claims introduced into the Forty-fourth Congress *shrink into insignificance*? Is it true that the claims are all introduced as loyal claims, and is it also true that a large majority of these claims are from the people of the North?

GUY.

(continued next page)

Gur.

## REPLY.

The Court of Claims at Washington is a court for the adjudication of miscellaneous claims against the government, but at present has nothing to do with Southern claims growing out of the war. The amount pending in that court is no indication of what the government owes. Under the act of Congress of March 3, 1871, the Southern Claims Commission was created, and empowered to "receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of such claims as should be brought to them by those citizens who remained loyal adherents to the cause and the government of the United States in States proclaimed as in insurrection against the United States during the rebellion." Since that date 22,298 claims have been presented to the commission for allowance. Of this number 9,222 have been examined, and about half thereof reported favorably to Congress, leaving 13,076 claims unadjusted. The total gross amount of all claims filed is \$60,250,000. The claims allowed will fall short of \$2,000,000. Most of the amount represented as being before the committee of the Forty-third Congress is the same as that reported by the Claims Commissions. That before the Quartermaster's Department may, if disallowed, go before the Court of Claims, and is made up of amounts for army supplies not furnished upon contract, and for materials furnished upon contract and rejected. They grow out of the army, regardless of who administers the government. So all there is of the speaker's \$120,000,000 settles down to the claims before the Southern Claims Commission yet unexamined,

Claims Commission yet unexamined, which may possibly amount to \$40,000,000, not one-thirtieth part of which will probably be allowed. On the other hand, one bill alone introduced in the Confederate House asking the repayment of the cotton tax calls for \$68,072,088 in one lump. One hundred and fifty-five claims were presented at the last session of Congress, and under Mr. Riddle's bill it is estimated that claims aggregating more than our national debt would be presented. The claims allowed under our present laws are only such as are valid and legal demands against the government, and must pass through the most rigid scrutiny of the courts before payment. At most the amounts allowed cannot exceed a few millions, as the result of those already adjudicated proves. But the claims introduced in the House and now pending may be passed upon and paid by a *simple vote of a majority of Congress, approved by the President*; and here lies the great danger. Mr. Eden and other speakers may attempt to deceive the people, but it will be their own fault if they do not discover their peril and take measures to avert it.

November 1876 Congressional election results (reported in 1878)

**Mr. FORSTNER**, the Greenback candidate who defeats Declus, Democrat, in the Fifteenth District for Congress, is an old Republican. He was elected by Republican votes. The district is at present represented by John R. Eden, Democrat, who two years ago was elected by about 2,800 majority.

November 1876 Election results

**FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.**

Compiled from Returns Received up to date of issue.

**SENATE.**

The terms of twenty-six Senators expire in March next, and their successors have been, or will be elected as follows:  
Democrats marked thus \* or †

State.	SENATOR & PARTY term expire.	SENATOR BY LEGISLATURE.
Alabama.....	*Goldthwaite.	Democratic.
Arkansas.....	Clayton.	Democratic.
Colorado.....	.....	Republican (2).
Delaware.....	*Saulsbury.	Democratic.
Georgia.....	*Norwood.	Democratic.
Illinois.....	Logan.	(Doubtful.)
Iowa.....	Wright.	S. J. Kirkwood.
Kansas.....	Harvey.	Republican.
Kentucky.....	*Stevenson.	*Jas. B. Beck.
Louisiana.....	West.	(Doubtful.)
Maine.....	Blaine.	Republican.
Massachusetts..	Boutwell.	Republican.
Michigan.....	Ferry.	Republican.
Minnesota.....	Wingom.	Republican.
Mississippi.....	Alcorn.	*I. C. Lamar.
Nebraska.....	Hitchcock.	Republican.
N. Hampshire..	Cragin.	Ed. H. Rollins.
New Jersey.....	Freunghyusen.	Republican.
North Carolina.	*Ransom.	Democratic.
Oregon.....	*Kelly.	*D. H. Grover.
Rhode Island...	Anthony.	H. B. Anthony.
South Carolina.	Robertson.	(Doubtful.)
Tennessee.....	*Cooper.	Democratic.
Texas.....	Hamilton.	*Richard Coke
Virginia.....	*Johnston.	*J. W. Johnston
West Virginia	{ *Davis.	Democratic.
Wisconsin.....	{ (Vacancy.)	Democratic.
	Howe.	Republican.

**RECAPITULATION.**

The Senators holding over number: Republicans, 27; Democratic, 19. The new Senate will stand: Republicans, 40; Democratic, 32; doubtful, 31 vacancy (Louisiana), 1; total, 76.

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.**

Democrats marked thus (\*).

<b>ALABAMA.</b>	
1. *F. G. Bromberg.	5. *R. F. Ligon.
2. *Hilary Herbert.	6. *G. W. Hewitt.
3. *J. N. Williams.	7. *W. H. Florney.
4. *C. M. Shelly.	8. *W. W. Gath.
<b>ARKANSAS.</b>	
1. *L. C. Gause.	3. *E. Craven.
2. *W. F. Simons.	4. *Thos. M. Gunter.
<b>COLORADO.</b>	
J. B. Bedford.	
<b>CALIFORNIA.</b>	
1. Horace Davis.	3. *John K. Luttrell.
2. H. F. Page.	4. R. Pacheco.
<b>CONNECTICUT.</b>	
1. *G. M. Landers.	3. John T. Wait.
2. *James Phelps.	4. *Levi Warner.
<b>DELAWARE.</b>	
*James Williams.	
<b>FLORIDA.</b>	
1. Wm. J. Purman	2. H. Biscoe.
<b>GEORGIA.</b>	
1. *Julian Hartridge.	6. *J. H. Blount.
2. *Wm. E. Smith.	7. *W. H. Dabney.
3. *Philip Cook.	8. *A. H. Stephens.
4. *H. R. Harris.	9. *Benj. H. Hall.
5. *M. A. Chandler.	
<b>ILLINOIS.</b>	
1. Wm. Aldrick.	11. *R. M. Knapp.
2. *C. H. Harrison.	12. *W. M. Spruiger.
3. Lorenz Brentano.	13. Thos. F. Tilton.
4. Wm. Lathrop.	14. Jas. G. Cannon.
5. H. C. Burchard.	15. *John R. Eden.
6. P. J. Henderson.	16. *W. A. J. Sparks.
7. P. C. Hayes.	17. *W. R. Morrison.
8. G. L. Fort.	18. *Wm. Hartzell.
9. T. A. Boyd.	19. *R. W. Townsend.
10. B. A. Marsh.	

ILLINOIS.	
1. Wm. Aldrick.	11. *R. M. Knapp.
2. *C. H. Harrison.	12. *W. M. Springer.
3. Lorenz Brentano.	13. Thos F. Tipton.
4. Wm Lathrop.	14. Jas. G. Cannon.
5. H. C. Burchard.	15. *John R. Eden.
6. T. J. Henderson.	16. *W. A. J. Sparks.
7. P. C. Hayes.	17. *W. R. Morrison.
8. G. L. Fort.	18. *Wm. Hartzell.
9. T. A. Boyd.	19. *R. W. Townsend.
10. B. A. Marsh.	

Election results Congressional election 1876 – Composition of House

**CONGRESS**

The Members of the Forty-Fifth Congress as Prepared by Clerk Adams, Chief Clerk.

Following is the unclassified list of the members of the new House of representatives as prepared by Clerk Adams. \*Republicans are in italics and democrats in roman, there being 139 of the former and 152 of the latter, with no name on the roll for Colorado and the third Missouri district.

\*\*\*\*\*

ILLINOIS.	
1. <i>William Aldrich</i>	11. Robt. M. Knapp.
2. <i>Carter H. Harris.</i>	12. Wm M. Springen.
3. <i>Lorenz Brentana</i>	13. <i>Thomas F. Tipton.</i>
4. <i>William Lathrop.</i>	14. <i>Joseph G. Cannon.</i>
5. <i>Horace C. Burchard.</i>	15. John R. Eden.
6. <i>Thos. J. Henderson.</i>	16. Wm. A. J Sparks.
7. <i>Phillip C. Hayes.</i>	17. Wm. R. Morrison.
8. <i>Greenbury L. Fort</i>	18. W H. Hartzell.
9. <i>Thomas A. Boyd.</i>	19. Rich. W. Townshen
10. <i>R. F. Marsh.</i>	

1877:

February 28, 1877 – The Disputed Presidential Election: Hayes vs. Tilden  
(Electoral Comm. report and objections of Senators and Representatives – incl.  
John R. Eden – taken from full report that appears below).

The following is the text of the commission's decision in the South Carolina case:

"ELECTORAL COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, Feb. 27.

"To the President of the Senate, etc.:

"The Electoral Commission mentioned in said act having received certain certificates and the papers accompanying the same of the Electoral votes from the State of South Carolina and the objections thereto, submitted to it under said act, now report that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act and has by a majority of votes decided and does hereby decide, that the votes of C. C. Bowen, J. Winsmith, Thomas B. Johnston, Timothy Hurley, W. D. Nash, Wilson Cook and W. T. Meyers, named in the certificate of D. H. Chamberlain, Governor of said State, which votes are certified by said persons as appears by the certificates submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked "No. 1 S. C.," by said commission and herewith returned are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that the same are lawfully to be counted as herein certified, namely: Seven votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President, and seven votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President."

"The commission has, by a majority of votes, also decided, and does hereby decide and report that the seven persons first above named were duly appointed Electors in and by the State of South Carolina."

"The brief ground of this decision is that it appears upon such evidence as by Constitution and law named in said act of Congress is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject, that the before mentioned Electors appear to have been lawfully appointed such Electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, A. D. 1877, of South Carolina and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States and the law."

"And commission, as further grounds for their decision, are of the opinion that the failure of the Legislature to provide a system of registration of the persons entitled to vote, does not render nugatory all elections under said laws otherwise sufficient, though it may be the duty of the Legislature to enact such a law. If it were otherwise all government in that State is a usurpation, it officers without authority, and the social compact in that State is at an end."

"That this commission must take notice that there is a government in South Carolina, republican in form, since its Constitution provides for such a government, and it is and was on the day of the appointing of the Electors so recognized by the Executive and by both branches of the legislative departments of the government of the United States."

"That so far as this commission can take notice of the presence of soldiers of the United States in the State of South Carolina during the election it appears that they were placed there by the President of the United States to suppress an insurrection at the request of the proper authorities of the State."

"But we are also of the opinion that under the papers before us it appears that the Governor and Secretary of State, having certified, under the seal of the State, that the Electors whose votes we have decided to be the lawful Electoral votes of the State, were duly appointed as Electors, which certificate, both by presumption of law and by the certificate of the rival claimants of the Electoral office, were based on the action of the State canvassers. There exists no power in this commission, as there exists none in the two houses of Congress in counting the Electoral vote, to inquire into the circumstances under which the primary vote for Electors was given. The power of the Congress of the United States in its legislative capacity to inquire into the matters alleged, and to act upon the information so obtained, is a different one from its power in the matter of counting the Electoral votes. The Electoral votes to be counted are those presented by the States, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authorities of the States they must be counted."

"The commission has also decided by a majority of votes, and does hereby decide and report that, as the cause of the foregoing and the grounds before stated, the paper purporting to be the Electoral vote of the said State of South Carolina, signed by Theodore R. Barker, S. McGowan, John W. Harrington, John Isaac Lugham, William Wallace, John E. Edwin and Robert Aldrich, and marked "No. 2," South Carolina, by the commission, and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and they ought not to be counted as such."

"Dated Washington, D. C., the day and year above written."

"SAMUEL P. MILLER. W. STRONG.

"JOSEPH P. BRADLEY. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

"O. P. MORTON. FRANK T. FREELINGHUYSEN.

"JAMES A. GARFIELD. GEORGE F. HOAR."

At 12:10 the Senate arrived.

The Senators having taken their usual seats, the decision of the commission in the case of South Carolina was read.

Mr. PHILLIPS presented the following objection:

"The undersigned Senators and Representatives do hereby object to counting the votes cast by C. C. Bowen, D. Winsmith, T. B. Johnston, Timothy Hurley, W. B. Nash, Nelson Cook, and W. F. Meyers, alleged Electors of the State of South Carolina, in conformity to the decision of the Electoral Commission, and, as reasons therefor, assign the following:

"First—Because no legal election was held in South Carolina on November 7, 1876, for Presidential Electors in compliance with Section 3, Article 3, of the Constitution thereof, requiring the registration of all electors of the State as qualification to vote.

"Second—Because in consequence of frauds practiced in said election, and interference with, and intimidation of, electors in said State by the Federal Government prior to and during said election, stationing in various parts of said State, near the polling places, detachments of the United States Army, full and free exercise of the right of suffrage was prevented, in consequence of which there was no lawful election held.

"Third—Because in violation of the Constitution of the United States the Federal authorities at several polling places in said State, on said day of election, stationed over one thousand Deputy United States Marshals, who, by their unlawful and arbitrary action in reference to the unauthorized instructions from the Department of Justice, so interfered with the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage of the voters of said States that a fair election could not be had in said State, November 7, 1876.

"Fourth—Because the certificates of election by said Electors on December 6, 1876, were not made by the lawfully constituted Governor of said State.

"Fifth—Because said Electoral Commission, contrary to its duty and authority vested in it by law, neglected and refused to inquire into the facts and allegations aforesaid, and their said decision is contrary to law and truth.

"Sixth—Because at the time of the pretended appointment of said Electors, the State of South Carolina was under duress from the power of the United States, unlawfully exerted upon it, and said pretended appointments were made under such duress.

"Seventh—Because the certificate numbered one, herewith, was, and is, void, for irregularity. In at first the Electors were not sworn, as by the Constitution of the State of South Carolina they were required to be; second, the certificate does not state that said Electors voted by ballot, as required by the Constitution of the United States; third, the certificate upon the envelope in which said certificate No. 1, and accompanying papers, were enclosed, was not the certificate required by the laws of the United States.

[Signed]

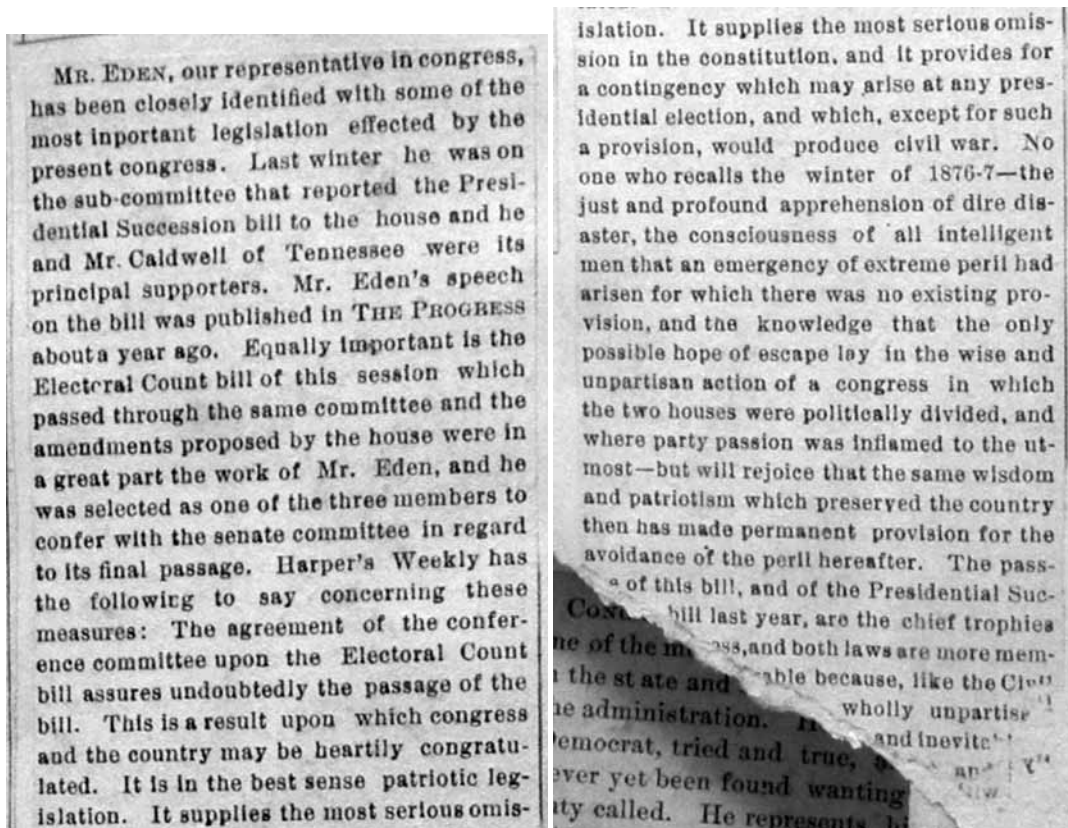
"F. M. NORWOOD,  
"J. K. KELLY,  
"HENRY COOPER,  
"S. B. MAXEY,  
"W. A. WALLACE,  
"Senators.

"J. F. PHILLIPS,  
"HEISTER CLYMER,  
"ERASTUS WELLS,  
"A. T. WALLING,  
"A. N. WADDLE,  
"JOHN R. EDEN,  
"THOMAS L. JONES,  
"J. R. TUCKER,  
"Representatives."

REPRESENTATION SOUTH CAROLINA (PART 3) OF 1876



Undated, probably 1877 – article on Presidential Succession bill and Electoral Count bill  
John R. Eden's role



1878:

1878 Democratic Nominating Convention – Eden defeated

**AFTER 182 ballots, John R. Eden, who wanted to be returned to Congress from the Fifteenth Illinois District, was retired with permission to work the Garden of Eden, or any other man's except Uncle Sam's.**

1879:

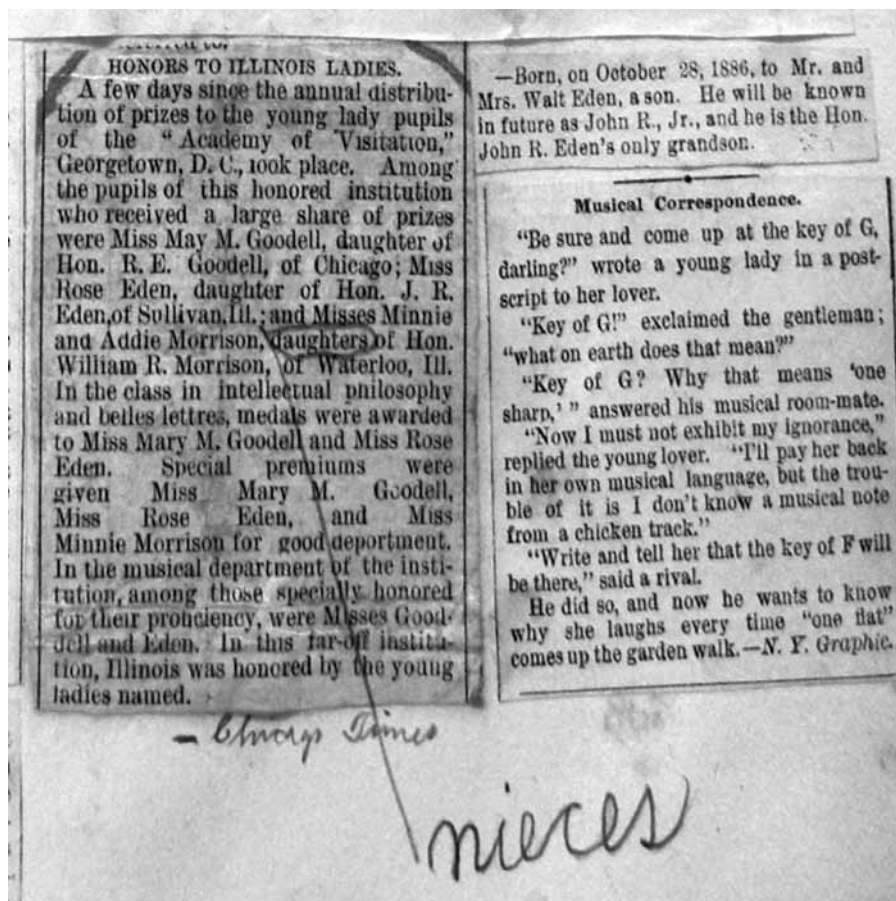
February 15, 1879, Decatur Daily Review

**CIRCUIT JUDGES.**

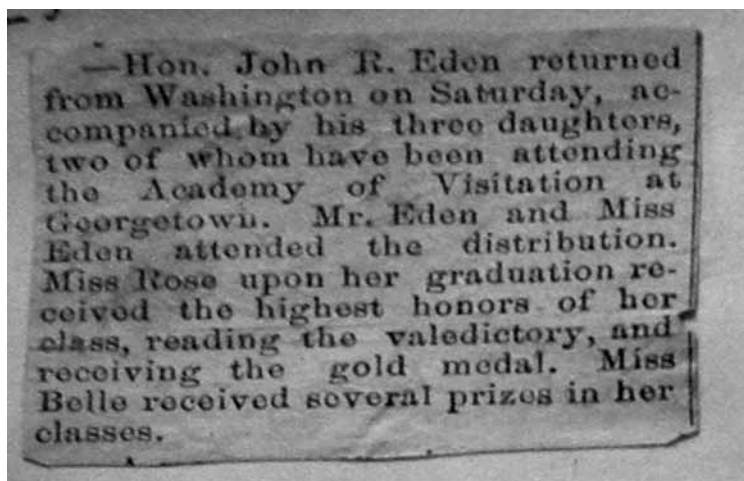
The Charleston Courier says the prospect now is that there will be no dearth of candidates for circuit judge next June. There is already in the field, Judge W. E. Nelson and A. B. Bunn, of Decatur; Judge O. L. Davis, of Vermillion; Judge C. B. Smith and F. M. MacKnight, of Champaign; James Steele and James A. Eads, of Edgar; John R. Eden, of Montrie; Wilkin, of Clark; Judge H. S. Clark, of Coles, and others not yet heard from. The indications are that it will be a free fight, without party nominations. The Courier takes occasion to add to the list of those named O. B. Ficklin, a veteran lawyer of Coles county.

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Rose Eden – 1879 awards for Belles Lettres, Department, and Music.



Rose Eden – graduation from the Academy of Visitation in Georgetown. Valedictorian.



## Valedictory.

BY MISS ROSE EDEN.

Pause, fleet-winged Time! smile once on mortal's prayer;  
Thy steps on youth's alluring threshold rest,  
As did the glorious King of Day forbear  
His chariot speed, at Israel's crowned behest.  
Unyielding Fate ordains this day the last  
Of loved, regretted years, now buried deep  
In memory's urn, where holiest treasures sleep.  
O, sadly mourn the harp-strings of the Past  
In minor tones, whose echo ne'er shall die,  
But lure me back like angel symphony.  
A low, sweet voice in each deep choral lay—  
A sadness stealing o'er the face of friends—  
Proclaim the knell of childhood's radiant day,  
And parting word with loving welcome blends.

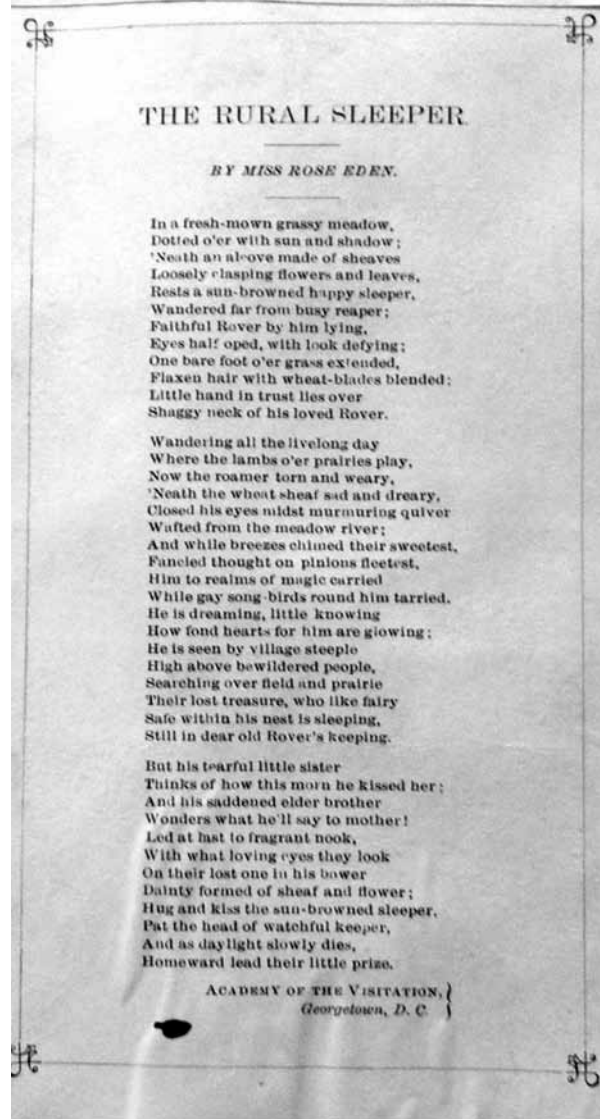
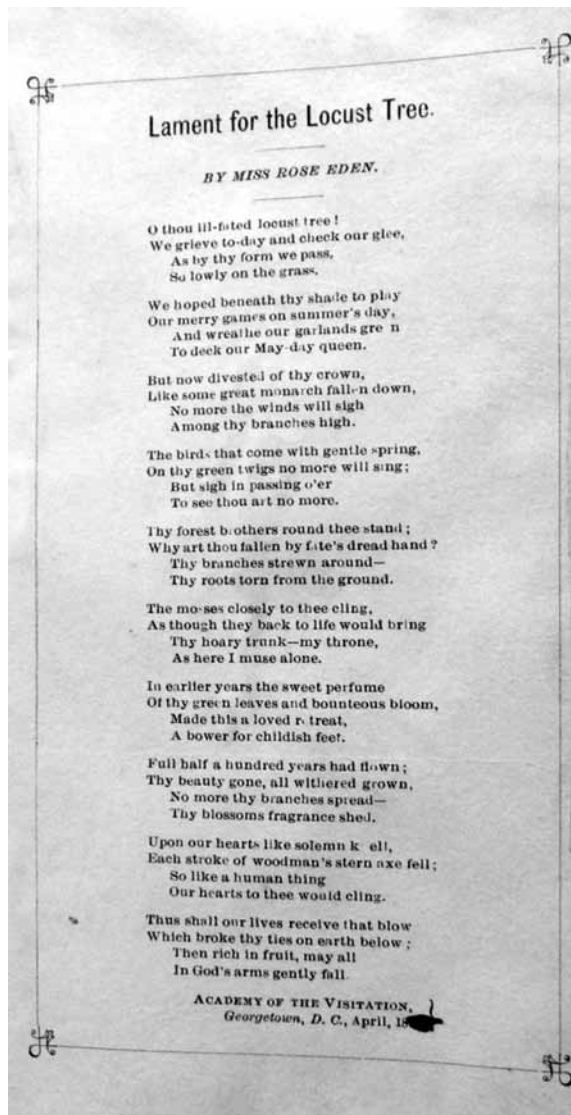
Adieu, fair woodland home—a long adieu!  
In rainbow tints of Spring and fragrant green,  
Thy cherished haunts are fading from our view;  
Ye giant oaks! beneath your shade serene  
No more shall we the bright-plumed warblers hear—  
No more in musing near your classic fount,  
Dream that we climb the steep Parnassian mount.  
St. Joseph's shrine! loved spot, without a peer  
In Nature's realm of vine-clad, leafy bowers—  
Each balcony nook—each paradise of flowers  
Enclosed within the dear old Convent wall—  
Green hills and glorious skies—farewell to all!  
Our hallowed Chapel! faith and hope and peace  
Lie treasured in thy precincts' holy calm;  
Departing memories come—they may not cease—  
But mournful none, as that last vesper psalm.  
As sinks spangled Cygnus in the West,  
So from my tear-dimmed gaze will fade thy Cross;  
Nor golden halo soothe my heart's deep loss,  
Throbbing mid all its joy with strange unrest.

Yet what are these but charms that call to mind  
The faithful friends long in our hearts enshrined?  
Soon, some will roam mid Southern orange bloom;  
Some hear the surging of Atlantic's tide;  
Others mid Western prairies sweet perfumes,  
Or in the ice-bound Northern climes abide.  
Companions, while we greet our loved ones near,  
The Past looks back, like vision veiled in mist,  
On us whose childish brows she oft hath kissed,  
And passing slow, invites one holy tear.  
Here have we pored with her o'er History's page,  
Roamed hand in hand through favored walks of Art,  
And worshipped all that Helicon can impart;  
Here soared on high with Albion's post-sage,—  
With honored sages of Columbia's tree,—  
And viewed with pride our nation's jubilee.

But these and stronger links to-day are broken;  
Classmates—our last farewell—it must be spoken!  
The floral wreath of this remembered day,  
Like all things earthly, soon must fade away;  
But friendship, constant, deep, and true as ours,  
Shall live and bloom amid celestial bowers.  
Devoted Sisters, thought and language fail!  
Can feeble thanks reward the dew of Heaven?  
Can we repay the sun for daylight given?  
No more could gold or priceless gems avail  
As offering for your life-long sacrifice,  
Farewell—farewell! although to-day we part,  
A golden chain which clasps beyond the skies,  
The chain of prayer and love, still heart to heart  
Shall bind us all; in joy or grief cast down  
Teach us to "bear the Cross and win the Crown!"  
And oft in dreams will rise on sea or land,  
Our ALMA of Potomac's proud old strand.  
Stay, fading Hours! I hear your solemn bell—  
One moment, only one—to breathe farewell!

ACADEMY OF THE VISITATION,

Georgetown, D. C., June 27, 1879



1880:

February 27, 1880, Decatur Review

Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan, visited the circuit court yesterday, and was cordially greeted by the members of the bar.

1880 Congressional campaign

**THE Springfield (Ill.) Register**, speaking of John R. Eden, one of the Democratic candidates for Congress in the Fifteenth District, says: "He will be elected by a large majority, despite the factious opposition of a squad of sorcheads, whose machinations two years ago were successful in getting the district misrepresented in the present Congress by Forsythe, a Greenback Republican. The Democracy of the district do not intend that this fraud shall be repeated." This paragraph will be especially comforting to those Democrats of the Fifteenth District who labored unsuccessfully to elect Decius, the Democratic nominee, two years ago, while John R. Eden's friends openly worked against him, and defeated him. They will enjoy being termed sorcheads, when they were really the regulars and the Edenites were the sorcheads.

March 30, 1880 Congressional campaign

**From Our Sister State.**

**Newton, Ill , March 30** — At a regular meeting of the Democracy of Jasper county, Illinois, it was ordered adjudged and decreed that Hon. John R. Eden be our next representative in Congress. Mr. Eden has successfully represented our interest in Congress for over eight years, and we boldly assert that no man to-day representing the Democratic interest of Illinois has been more judiciously looking after the interest of his constituents than he; and we furthermore say that, for honesty of purpose and true integrity, he has no equal. We met early and led the van in over the Fifteenth district. Hon. Geo W. Fithan, with his manly influence, and H. K. Powell, with his untiring efforts, have accomplished more for the Democracy of our county than any one else could do with the same element to work against. Therefore, *en homo*—I mean, as we term it, John R. Eden. Now, Mr. Editor, we are all working for one common interest, and that is the welfare of the people at large. We are antagonistic to no portion except the Republicans, and will fight them notoriously until victory crowns our efforts, which we hope will be before another celebration of the birth of Christ. The Democracy of Jasper is fully organized and will work in the traces well.

J B HARRIS

September 1, 1880 Congressional campaign report - from Sullivan

### THE FIFTEENTH ILLINOIS DISTRICT.

Special Telegram to The Inter Ocean.]

SULLIVAN, Ill., Sept. 1.—The Republicans of old Democratic Moultrie are well organized and hard at work, with more zeal and determination to win than ever before, and the prospect is cheering, since quite a number of Democrats have recently declared for the Republican ticket, prominent among which is Z. J. Frost, a life-long Democrat, and one of the wealthiest and most enterprising stock men of the county.

This is the home of John R. Eden, who, for thirty years, has molded and controlled the Democrats of this county, his word being law and gospel with each and every one. But just now he is having a mighty wrestle with one Colonel Filler, of Effingham, each believing that the Democracy of this, the Fifteenth District, has chosen him as candidate for Congress.

Eden may be seen any day on our streets with a gloomy and desponding appearance, as he cannot ascertain who has the greater number of supporters, he or Filler. Even here, Filler has quite a number of supporters—reasonable Democrats—who believe Eden obtained his nomination through force and trickery. Eden informed your correspondent to-day that his only remaining hope now is, that the Democratic State Central Committee will kick Filler off the track, which they promised him (last week in Springfield) they would do. And some of Eden's henchmen are offering to bet that Filler, Bishop, and others will be stamping the district for him.

The Republicans are looking on at this fight with some interest, and when the proper time comes will no doubt put in nomination a "stalwart" and elect him—at least this seems to be the prevailing sentiment all over the district. This county is intensely Democratic, and has been so for thirty years. We have the true Southern type of Democracy here, that hates the nigger, despises enterprise, loves Jeff Davis and his principles, and are in hearty sympathy with the recent utterances of Wade Hampton. It is a common occurrence to hear Democrats "Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" and only last Sabbath the people returning from church were disturbed by the loud yells for Jeff Davis and his principles by Jack Baker, a leading Democrat, who was a prominent candidate for State's Attorney on their ticket. Judge H. S. Clark, of Mattoon, is our candidate for State Senator. He is making a noble fight and winning hosts of friends by his brilliant campaign, and there is no doubt but that he will be elected (over the renegade Mal Jones) by a handsome majority.

October 27, 1880. Decatur Review.

**A Democratic Congressman Gained.**  
Special to the Review.  
MATTOON, Ill., Oct. 20. 5 p. m.—  
The democracy of the 15th district  
are united by the withdrawel of Hon.  
J. R. Eden and Col. J. W. Filler, and  
the nomination of Hon. S. W. Moul-  
ton. D. B. G.

1880 Congressional campaign – Eden loses Democratic nomination fight

**CONDENSED TELEGRAMS.**

Henry Frederic Scoopin, French  
painter, is dead, at the age of 78  
years.

Kings county, N. Y., republicans  
of the fourth district nominated Dan-  
iel W. Tallmadge.

The budget commission of the Aus-  
trian delegation has approved the  
ordinary war budget.

The democrats of the fifteenth Illi-  
nois district nominated S. W. Moul-  
ton for congress, John R. Eden and  
Col. Filer, previously nomirated by  
the opposing factions, having been  
withdrawn. The republicans renom-  
inated A. P. Forsythe.

1881:

April 30, 1881, Decatur Review

The Sullivan *Progress* reports Mrs.  
John R. Eden as being very sick.  
Her many friends in this city will  
be sorry to hear this announcement.



May 18, 1881, Decatur Review

**Hon. John R. Eden was in circuit court yesterday shaking hands with the brethren. He left for his home in Sullivan by the 10:40 train.**

1882:

January 2, 1882. Review (Decatur).

We direct the attention of our readers this morning to the card of Eden & Clark, attorneys-at-law, which may be found in another column. Messrs. Eden & Clark have established an office in this city, over Millikin & Co.'s bank. Mr. John R. Eden will remain in charge of the office at Sullivan, and Mr. C. C. Clark will be the representative of the firm in this city. Mr. Clark is one of the most prominent lawyers in central Illinois. For eight years he was the prosecuting attorney for Moultrie county, and won for himself the reputation of being one of the foremost prosecutors in the state. Mr. Eden is too well known to our people to need mention, as he was for a number of years a resident of Decatur, was the democratic candidate for governor of this state in 1868, and has served in congress for a period of eight years. We welcome Mr. Clark to a citizenship in the best and most promising city in central Illinois.

January 24, 1882, Decatur Review

Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan  
was in the city yesterday, and was a  
guest at the St. Nicholas hotel.

May 24, 1882. Review (Decatur).

A DISPATCH to the St. Louis *Re-  
publican* from Carlinville says, "the  
withdrawal of Hon. A. N. Yancey  
from the congressional race in this  
county leaves Senator C. A. Walker  
as Macoupin's candidate for congress  
for the new Seventeenth congression-  
al district. He has assertions of  
support from eastern portions of the  
district and will make an active can-  
vass for the nomination before  
the Democratic convention that  
meets at Vandalia August 10."

It would be well for Senator Walker  
and his friends to remember that  
Hon. John R. Eden is a resident of  
the 17th district, and will make  
it warm for any man who  
wishes to dispute the nomination  
with him. Mr. Eden is a man of  
ability and large experience in poli-  
tics. He has served several term in  
congress, with credit to himself and  
satisfaction of the people, and it is  
not likely that the people of the 17th  
district will neglect his claims to  
accept a new and comparatively un-  
tried man.

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May 31, 1882. Review (Decatur).

**The Macoupin county democracy held a convention Monday, nominating a full county ticket, and selecting delegates to the senatorial and congressional conventions. The delegates to the congressional convention are divided between Hon. John R. Eden, of the Moultrie, and Hon. S. W. Moulton of Shelby. The fight is beginning and soon will be warm all along the line. The democrats are working together earnestly and harmoniously, and the conditions for a sweeping democratic victory were never better.**

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November 6, 1882. Review. (Decatur).

## A ROUSING RALLY,

Hundreds of People Gather at the  
Tabernacle to Hear Democratic  
Doctrine Preached by Hon.  
J. R. Eden and Judge  
Wm. Nelson.

Enthusiasm at a High Pitch—Democ-  
racy On the Boom

A stirring rally was that held by the democrats at the tabernacle Saturday night. The meeting was in happy contrast with the republican fiasco of Friday night, when Governor Cullom, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Rowell, et al., addressed a handful of shivering people at the park. Hon. John R. Eden and Judge W. E. Nelson were the democratic orators Saturday night. There was a large attendance of people, hundreds of the hard-working, horny handed sons of toil having gathered with others to hear the living issues of the day discussed in an honest, straightforward and fearless manner. The addresses commanded the undivided attention of the masses present from commencement to close, and elicited the most enthusiastic applause. Hon. John R. Eden, the

democratic wheel horse of the old Fifteenth district, was the first speaker introduced by Hon. B. K. Durfee, chairman of the meeting. Mr. Eden commenced by referring to the importance of to-morrow's election, the result of which he declared determined in an important degree, even if it did absolutely not forecast the result of the coming campaign of 1884. He rebuked the republican party in forcible terms for the jobs it had fathered, and the excesses it had indulged in, since the corrupt element of the party had wrested the party management from the illustrious men who had made its success a possibility. He declared that it was no longer the party of Lincoln, Chase, Sumner and Wilson, but the party of Arthur, Cameron, Conkling and Dorsey. He denounced in scathing terms the farcical ending of the whisky ring prosecutions by the pardon of the thieves; of the disgrace brought upon the nation by the exposure of the Credit Mobilier, which flourished under a republican administration; of the electoral count of 1876, by which the will of the people was defeated by the most glaring knavery and fraud, and of the more recent Star route steal, which occasioned

the remark that the Star routers had now reached such a point that it is difficult to tell whether the government will put the thieves in the penitentiary or the thieves put the government there. Mr. Eden reviewed in an able manner the difficulties between the two wings of the republican party which led to Conkling's resignation from the senate, and the lamentable assassination of President Garfield. He also gave attention to the river and harbor steal, which was vigorously denounced, as were also the railroad land grants and the corrupt and demoralizing governmental supervision of elections by partisan inspectors. Mr. Eden closed his address by a strong appeal to the people to vote the democratic ticket, and thereby aid in purging the government of the corruption which was choking it.

JUDGE NELSON

closed the meeting by a speech

1883:

February 11, 1883. Review (Decatur).

Miss Rose Eden, an estimable and accomplished young lady of Sullivan, arrived in the city yesterday afternoon. She is the guest of Mrs C. C. Clark.

November 1, 1883. Review (Decatur).

HON. J. R. EDEN was in the city yesterday on his way home from Springfield. He has a lively faith in democratic success next year. He heartily indorses the views of the REVIEW in favor of an aggressive campaign in Illinois, and that the democrats should put forth their ablest men for candidates

December 6, 1883. Decatur Review.

The Eden hotel at Sullivan will be opened this evening with a grand complimentary banquet, tendered Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Eden by the citizens of that place. Wilhelmy's orchestra will go over and furnish music for the affair which will eclipse any former social event in Sullivan's history. Many persons in this city have received invitations, and several will attend. Tickets cost five dollars per couple.

December 11, 1883:

Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan, passed through this city yesterday on his way to Springfield.



December 21, 1883. Decatur Review.

**FIRE BUGS IN SULLIVAN.**

**The New Eden House Set on Fire,  
and is Saved only by  
Great Effort.**

SULLIVAN, ILL., Dec. 20, 1883 -- Between five and six o'clock this morning, fire was discovered between the ceiling of the third floor and the roof of the new Eden hotel. When discovered, it was burning in a circle of about twenty feet in diameter, but was so smothered that it charred rather than burned. Had there been a draft, nothing could have saved the house from total destruction; as it was, it took active measures to put it out. Upon examination after the fire was subdued, it was discovered that some fiend in human form had carried up about a peck of corn cobs, an armful of pine kindling wood, to kindle the fire. The wretch reached the attic by means of a room not occupied, and in which was a scuttle hole. At the side of this hole, he kindled the fire, but the attic being almost air tight, it did not burn as was anticipated, and probably smouldered from six to perhaps twenty-four hours, before being discovered. When found, it created the wildest excitement, as it was supposed that the loss of the old

created the wildest excitement, as it was supposed that the loss of the old hotel was the work of an incendiary.

No better work was ever done than in the putting out of this fire, the attic being filled with smoke, and a height of only about three feet in which to work; but the feat was accomplished at the expenses of much effort and many pairs of smoked lungs.

Could the devil be caught who set the fire, he would probably fare badly at the hands of the citizens.

1884:

January 10, 1884:

JOHN R. EDEN,  
Sullivan, Ill.

C. C. CLARK  
Deatur, Ill.

EDEN & CLARK,  
ATTORNEYS AT-LAW Office over Millikin's  
bank, Deatur, Ill Will practice in all  
courts, especially in Macon and Moultrie coun-  
ties

March 22, 1884. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

## The Herald.

### THE DEMOCRACY OF THE SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

We notice by our exchanges that Hon. John R. Eden is a candidate for congress in the seventeenth district. Mr. Moulton is the present member, but we understand he has in a published card declared not to be a candidate for renomination. Mr. Yancy, of Macoupin, "has his rod up." The latter has been, and we believe is now, a member of the Illinois house of representatives. He is a "solid man." That is, in avordupoise. He weighs nigh on to three hundred pounds. We have never heard of any other special qualification he may have to represent a fraction of the nation (with a large N) in congress.

Judge Phillips, of Montgomery county, was for a time named as an intending candidate. He is a sound jurist, and he was a gallant soldier during the late rebellion on the northern side of the struggle. He bears about his person more than one bullet shot from the confederate's muskets. Judge Phillips, however, has recently announced that he will not go before the approaching conven-

go before the approaching convention; that he will not be in the race.

This narrows the contest. So far as known Mr. Yancy is the only competitor with whom Mr. Eden will be called upon to measure his strength before the convention. Speaking from an independent standpoint there ought to be no real contest before Mr. Eden. The district is overwhelmingly democratic. The major is away up in the thousands. It would seem to an outsider that the "Kentucky district," as it is called, would make short work of Mr. Yancy.

John R. Eden has always been a consistent democrat. He has large experience in public affairs. He represented the district many years in congress. He there won the respect of the leading men of his own and of the republican party. He was recognized as a man of large ability and of irreproachable character. No jobs or attempts at jobs were ever laid at his door. He is one of the few men who have passed unscathed through a congressional career extending over a number of terms.

To persons outside the "Kentucky district" it appears as a matter of course that as between Mr. Eden and Mr. Yancy, and, indeed, as between Mr. Eden and any other man in the district, there can be no real contest. And, we may add, that in this part of the state, people of all shades of political faith would regard the renomination of Mr. Eden as evidence that the democracy of the seventeenth district are keeping up with the times.

May 31, 1884. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

#### **An Exciting Contest.**

**SHELBYVILLE, ILL., May 26.**—The contest between Judge Phillips and Hon. John R. Eden for Judge Moulton's seat in Congress from this district, is daily growing warmer. Effingham County having instructed for Eden, the fight is transferred to Shelby, Phillips leading with 33 delegates against Eden's 30. Shelby has 15 votes to draw from, and as 40 is necessary to a choice this is their last chance. The Shelby Democratic primaries will be held June 21.

June 28, 1884. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

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Eden the Man.

Hon. John R. Eden, of Moultrie country, will be the next congressman from the Seventeenth district. A nomination by the democrats in that district is equivalent to an election and that Mr. Eden will be nominated was made certain by the action of the Shelby county democrats last Saturday. Mr. Eden will go into the convention at Litchfield with the votes of the counties of Moultrie, Fayette, Shelby and Effingham, five more than are required to nominate. Judge Phillips as the fruits of a bitter warfare waged against Mr. Eden will receive the vote of his own county only.

Mr. Eden is a man of sterling worth and the democracy of the Seventeenth district have done well to select him for their standard bearer.

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July 5, 1884. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

### On to Litchfield.

The Seventeen district democratic congressional convention will be held July 17, at Litchfield. Three candidates will be before the convention--Eden, of Moultrie, Phillips, of Montgomery, and Yancey, of Maconpin.

Mr. Eden will go into the convention with a majority of the delegates instructed for him, and his nomination may be considered a foregone conclusion. He will be given a rousing reception at Litchfield, and his friends from Fayette, Effingham, Moultrie and Shelby counties--the counties which instructed for him, will attend the convention in large numbers. A special train bearing him and his Moultrie county adherent will be run to Litchfield on the day of the convention. The train will arrive here at 7 o'clock on the P. D & E., and will be run to Litchfield over the Wabash track. The party will be joined here by Goodman's band which has been engaged for the occasion. Special trains will also be run from Shelbyville and Effingham. The democracy of the Seventeenth district propose to give their favorite candidate a rousing send-off.

July 15, 1884 - Eden wins the Congressional nomination for the 17<sup>th</sup> District

**Electric Sparks.**

**NEW YORK, July 15.** Postmaster Pearson has been informed by telegraph from San Francisco that the steamship City of Sydney arrived at that port Monday, July 14, with mails from Australia and Hawaii. Latest dates are Melbourne June 18, Sydney, June 19, Auckland, June 24, and Honolulu, July 6. Due to arrive in New York Monday July 21. The next onward return mail for the above countries will close at the Post Office on Saturday, July 20, at 7 P. M.

**SUMMIT MOUNTAIN, N. Y., July 15.** The Ophthalmological and Otological Society of the United States met at the Grand Hotel to-day.

**NEW YORK, July 15.** The Executive Committee of the New York and New Jersey brick manufacturers to-day decided to shut down the yards for the season on the 20th of September. This will reduce the season's production about 120,000,000.

**ATLANTA, Ga., July 15.** At a meeting to-day of the Presidents of the largest cotton mills here, running chiefly on three yard sheetings it was decided to reduce the production at least 25 per cent.

**LITCHFIELD, Ill., July 15.** John R. Eden was to-day nominated for Congress by the Democrats of the Seventeenth District.



July 19, 1884. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

**Seventeenth District Democrats.**

The democrats of the Seventeenth Congressional district met in delegate convention at Litchfield Tuesday, and nominated candidates for congress and for member of the state board of equalization. Judge Gilmore, of Effingham county, was made chairman of the convention. There were three candidates for congressional honors—Hon. John R. Eden, of Moultrie, Judge Jesse Phillips, of Montgomery, and Hon. A. N. Yancy, of Macoupin. A majority of the delegates were instructed for Eden, and he was nominated on the first ballot, Phillips and Yancey receiving the votes of their own counties only. Every county in the district, except Moultrie, had a candidate for member of the state board of equalization, and the contest was a protracted one. Hon. William Gilmore, of Effingham county, the present member, asked a renomination, but he was defeated on the ninety-seventh ballot by Hon. Milton McClure, of Macoupin county. The democrats have a majority of nearly 5000 in the district, and a nomination for either office is practically equivalent to an election. The republican candidate for congress in the district is Hon. H. J. Hamlin, of Shelby county. He is a young man and an able lawyer, but he will hardly be able to reduce the majority of the opposition as Mr. Eden has all the elements which go to make a candidate respected and popular.

August 23, 1884 Saturday Herald. (Decatur).

### LOVINGTON.

Rev. W. G. Cochran attended the Sunday school convention in Lowe township last Sunday .. .... Rev. Sutherland preached in the Christian church last Sunday .. .... Mr. Arnold Thompson returned from Westfield last Monday.. .... Mr. Z. T. Banks returned home last Friday evening .... .. The democrats held a rally here last Saturday night. John R. Eden, democratic candidate for congress, and Samuel Smvser addressed the meeting .. .... Mr. and

September 4, 1884, Decatur Review

Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan, was in the city last evening, a guest at the St. Nicholas. He was accompanied by his nephew, E. B. Edm.

September 13, 1884. Saturday Herald. (Decatur).

On the old square in front of the St. Nicholas hotel Ex-Governor Palmer and Hon. John R. Eden addressed a crowd of many hundreds. There was much enthusiasm in the crowd during the speeches, and yells of delight and hearty cheers greeted the good points made by the speakers. The democrats believe that their cause is greatly strengthened in this locality.

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PEOPLE are curious to know of Cal-  
Harrison, and our full synopsis of  
afternoon speech is given to sat-  
isfy this public curiosity. To tell the  
of the processon and its make-up,  
marching and the speech of Mr.  
Harrison has been as much as we  
are able to do. We have not space  
to say anything of the speeches de-  
livered by ex-Governor John M. Pal-  
mer and by Hon. John R. Eden. The  
demonstration was the most imposing  
ever made by the democratic party  
in Decatur, and we very much question if it  
ever been equalled in the history  
of Decatur.

1884:

**HURRAH FOR HARRISON!**

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**Decatur Filled with Visitors  
Who Came to See and  
Hear Chicago's  
Best Mayor.**

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**A Torchlight Procession.—Speaking  
Afternoon and Evening by  
Ex-Governor Palmer and  
Next Governor Har-  
rison.**

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Yesterday was a bad day for the democracy of Macon county and republicans will have to hustle if they want to get up a meeting that will compare to it. Their meeting a week ago Saturday is not worthy of comparison to the Harrison demonstration yesterday.

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introduced to him.  
THE EVENING ADDRESS.

After the grand torch light procession in the evening, the crowd rushed for the tabernacle, it having been announced that Mayor Harrison would speak there. The building was tastefully decorated with evergreen and flowers. Over the center of the stage was the word "welcome" and underneath it "Our Carter." The tabernacle was filled to the overflowing, and consequently an overflow meeting was organized on the old square and addressed by Ex-Governor Palmer and Hon. Jno. R. Eden. These two gentlemen were listened to by a vast throng. During the meeting at the tabernacle some contemptible skunk, presumably a republican, cut the electric light wire and left the building in darkness. Mayor Harrison spoke on as if nothing had happened and torches were carried in and held by men during the rest of the evening. Hon. B. K. Darfee introduced Mayor Harrison but it was some minutes before he could speak on account of the enthusiastic applause. When quiet was restored he commenced the best speech that has been delivered in Decatur this campaign, a synopsis of which is given below:

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Blaine is a great financier. Twenty years in congress made him a millionaire. John R. Eden, was a member of congress, but he couldn't make enough out of it to pay his board and expenses. Blaine is worth millions. Like a little boy who was asked what he knew, said he knew the miller's hog was fat and when asked what he did not know, he replied he did not know whose grain made the hog fat. We don't know whose money made Blaine rich. I don't know him to be corrupt. I

November 14, 1884:

Hon. John R. Eden was in to see us the other evening. The fact that he got a majority of nearly 4,000 votes for congress does not change him in the least. He is always plain, level-headed John Eden.

November 1884 – Eden wins Congressional seat, 17<sup>th</sup> District

## THE NEW CONGRESS.

### REPUBLICAN GAINS IN BOTH HOUSES.

The whole number of United States Senators is 76. As the Senate now stands there are 39 Republicans, 36 Democrats and 1 vacancy. The next Senate will probably have 41 Republicans and 35 Democrats.

The present House contains 121 Republicans 197 Democrats and 3 Independents; and there are 4 vacancies. In the XLIXth Congress the Democratic majority in the House will be only about 29—as against 70 in the preceding Congress. The latest returns indicate that there have been elected to the next House 151 Republicans and 174 Democrats.

CONGRESSMEN PROBABLY ELECTED.

ILLINOIS.	
REPUBLICANS, 12.	
1. *Ransom W Dunham	10. Julius Starr
4. George E Adams	11. Alexander Petrie
5. *Reuben Ellwood	14. *Jonathan Rowell
6. *Robert R Hitt	16. James McCartney
7. *Thomas J Henderson	20. *John R Thomas
8. Ralph Plumb	
9. *Lewis E Payson	
DEMOCRATS, 8.	
2. Frank Lawler	15. John C. Black
3. — Ward.	17. John R. Eden
12. *James M Riggs	18. *Wm R Morrison
13. *Wm M Springer	19. *Richard W Towushend

1885:

April 16, 1885. Review (Decatur).

**CONGRESSMEN Eden, Neece, Riggs, Worthington, Ward and Morriscp were in consultation at Springfield vesterday, but the matters under discussion are not generally known. The question of Illinois appointments was considered.**

June 26, 1885. Review. (Decatur).

**Macon will celebrate the Fourth in grand style, and wants everybody to participate. Rev Bryant and Hon. John R. Eden will be the orators. Music will be furnished by the Macon and Elwin bands.**

On July 23 and 24th the Wabash

1886:

January 1, 1886 – Moultrie County News (in file 789)

S. W. WRIGHT, WALT EDEN  
WRIGHT & EDEN,  
- Make abstracts of title to any lands in Moultrie county, Illinois. Office southeast corner of court house. 1-1ly.

JOHN R. EDEN, J. B. TITUS.  
EDEN & TITUS,  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW.  
Office in Opera Building Sullivan, Illinois

~~Hon.~~ and Mrs. John R. Eden and daughter Blanche are expected home from Washington the latter part of the week as congress will adjourn until after the holidays.

March 6, 1886

THE National Tribune, of Washington, D. C., says: "The Hon. John R. Eden, representing the 17th Illinois district, is one of the most useful members in congress. The quiet and efficient manner in which he serves his district is another exemplification of the wisdom of constituencies which send experienced men to represent them in the house. Mr. Eden is now on his fifth term, and has therefore a training in governmental business that is of more practical advantage to his district than any other consideration to be urged. He is an industrious and earnest friend of the Union soldier, and may be relied on to vote to give the veteran his just dues every time.



Letter to the Editor, March 15, 1886  
St. Elmo, Illinois,

MR. EDITOR:—I see by reference to THE TIMES that the Hon. John R. Eden has announced himself as a candidate for re-election to congress from this district, and having known him for a long time I desire to say a few words in his behalf. Mr. Eden is well and favorably known throughout the state and his abilities are well known to the people of the district. He was born in Kentucky, was raised and educated in Indiana, and in 1852, in his early manhood moved to Illinois, where he has since resided. Mr. Eden's father died when the son was but nine years old leaving the family poor, and he was thereby thrown upon his own resources, and had to struggle for all he got. In 1856 Mr. Eden was elected prosecuting attorney, on the Buchanan ticket, in a circuit then composed of nine counties, including the county of Fayette. He served in that office four years. In 1862 he was elected to congress from a strong republican district, and was the democratic nominee in the same district in 1864 and was defeated. In 1868 he reluctantly accepted the democratic nomination for governor and made a thorough canvas of the state in the face of certain defeat. In 1872 he was elected to congress from the old fifteenth district, and served continuously for six years. During the last four years he was chairman of the committee on war claims, at that time one of the most important committees in the House. He was also on the select committee sent to South Carolina in the winter of 1876-7 to investigate the election in that state. Mr. Eden was elected to congress from the seven-

average of five for each place to be filled, and there is no way to do but disappoint all but one in each case, and it would be very unjust to go back on the democratic party because all who ask for an office can not get it. So as democrats let us forego all of these little disappointments and come out and stand by the old war horse, that we know is straight goods, all wool, and a full yard wide, and give him the nomination he so honestly merits at our hands.

FAIRNESS.  
St. Elmo, Ill., March 15, 1886.

March 17, 1886:

THE democratic congressional convention for the 17th Illinois district has been called to meet at Hillsboro on the 22nd day of June. The district is overwhelming democratic, and a nomination is considered equivalent to an election. Owing to this fact, candidates for congress are quite numerous. The present incumbent, Hon. John R. Eden, a tried and trusted representative, is a candidate and should be returned; but the position is a coveted one, and almost every county has a candidate, and some of them more than one. E. N. Rinehart is a candidate from Effingham county, and by a hastily called mass convention has secured the delegation from that county. Hon. S. W. Moulton, of Shelby, is working like a beaver to secure the prize. He is able, shrewd and made a good congressman, a few years ago; but is a cold sort of man and not over popular, although he would be elected should he be nominated. The ponderous Yancey, of Macoupin, is a standing, biennial candidate; and, of course, is on the track this time. There was some talk of E. S. Buck of the same county, but he is not a candidate, but is very naturally legging for Yancy. In Montgomery county there are two candidates, Senator Southworth, of Litchfield, and Judge Lane, of Hillsboro. It will be a

neck-and-neck race between these two. as to which will secure the county. Fayette is the only county in the district without an announced candidate: but Judge Henry is a dark horse, and is liable to bob up serenely at any time. Most of these men were candidates two years ago: but their aspirations melted away when the real canvass began and the people were found to be for the present incumbent. It is not at all unlikely that the canvass may result the same way again, but politics is an uncertainty.

March 21, 1886 – Decatur Morning Herald

**JOHN R. EDEN has announced that he is a candidate for re-election to congress in the Seventeenth district.**  
Geo. Hays has sold his horse and

March 27, 1886. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

**JOHN R. EDEN has announced that he is a candidate for re-election to congress in the Seventeenth district.**

April 27, 1886. Review. (Decatur).

CONGRESSMEN Eden and Worthington have gotten a bill through the lower house providing for holding terms of court for the Northern district at Peoria. The measure sub-divides the Northern district. The bill will probably pass the senate. It does not effect Macon county.

April 30, 1886:

THE delegates from Macoupin county to the congressional convention are instructed for A. N. Yancey for congress, but the majority of them are reported for John R. Eden, the present incumbent, for second choice. The delegates from Montgomery county are instructed for Judge Lane, but will be for Eden on second choice. These two counties with Moultrie will give Mr. Eden the nomination in case he gets any portion of Fayette.

May 26, 1886:

—Hon. John R. Eden, congressman from the seventeenth district, was in the city a few hours yesterday morning. He returned from Washington Monday morning. Mr. Eden is of the opinion that congress will adjourn some time in July.

June 2, 1886, Decatur:

**PERSONAL.**

—Hon. John R. Eden was in the city yesterday.

June 20, 1886:

—The Moultrie county democrats held a convention at Sullivan yesterday and selected delegates to the congressional convention of the seventeenth district, to be held at Hillsboro, on Tuesday. The delegation was instructed for Hon. John R. Eden.

June 23, 1886:

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# THE REVIEW

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W. J. MIZE & CO.

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WEDNESDAY MORNING, JUNE 23, 1886.

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## CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTIONS.

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**Judge Lane Nominated in the Seventeenth District.—Twelfth District.**

Special to THE REVIEW.

HILLSBORO, June 22, '86—The democratic congressional convention of the seventeenth district met here to-day, to nominate a candidate. There were seventy-six delegates in the convention, who came instructed as follows. From Moultrie and Fayette counties, Hon. John B. Eden; from Effingham, E. Rhinehart; from Macoupin, A. N. Yancy; from Montgomery, Judge E. Lane; from Shelby, S. W. Moulton. After several ballots Judge Lane was nominated. The district is democratic by a large majority.

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June 25, 1886:

WHILE THE REVIEW would have preferred the nomination of an old neighbor and friend, Hon. John R. Eden, for congress in the 17th district. yet it recognizes the fact that Judge Lane is a nice gentleman, a good democrat, and an able man. He will be elected and will make a good congressman.

June 27, 1886:

—Invitations have been issued for the marriage of Miss Rose Eden, second daughter of Hon. John R. Eden, congressman from the seventeenth district, to Mr. Ivory J. Martin, editor of the Sullivan Progress. The wedding will be a notable event and will be solemnized at the home of the bride's parents on next Wednesday evening at half past eight o'clock. One hundred and fifty invitations have been issued and quite a number have been received by parties residing in this city.

July 1, 1886:

**Weddings.**

The marriage of Miss Rose Eden, daughter of Congressman John R. Eden, to Mr. Ivory J. Martin, was solemnized last evening at the residence of the bride's parents, in Sullivan. The ceremony was performed by Elder Thomas Edwards, in the presence of two hundred invited guests. The attendants were Mr. F. M. Harbaugh and Miss Ella Lowe. The event was the most important that has occurred in Sullivan social circles for years, and has been looked forward to with a great deal of interest for some time. The groom is the editor of the Sullivan Progress, and THE REVIEW wishes himself and bride a full measure of happiness.

July 10, 1886. Saturday Herald. (Decatur).

will deliver the lecture ..... Mr and Mrs John Martin have moved from Betsey to Sullivan. Mr Martin has found a partnership in the livery business with J F Eden ..... Hon John R Eden has returned to Washington ..... A revival meeting will be com-



Undated, probably 1886 – News article on John R. Eden vote on the silver bill

—Where was the Hon. John R. Eden, congressman from this district, when the vote on the silver bill was taken? The Illinois delegation voted solid for it, except him. Report says he was sick. Will some one who knows please tell us where he was, and why his vote was not recorded among the "ayes" on the question that is nearer the hearts of the people of the west to-day than any other that congress has been called upon to decide? Our belief is that Mr. Eden is all right on this question, but many of his constituents seem to be in doubt. Will he rise and explain?—[*Livingston Free Press*. Taking it for granted that the above is an honest question, we shall endeavor to enlighten the *Free Press* and the "doubtful constituents" of which it speaks. When the Bland silver bill came up in the house, Mr. Eden was in his seat, and when the vote was taken, he responded "aye," as can be seen by the Congressional Record of that date. This bill covers all the ground of the Matthews resolution, and much more, and, as stated above, Mr. Eden not only voted for it, but worked for it with great vigor until it was passed by the house. About this time his son Hartwell was thrown from a horse and had his leg broken in two places, making a very dangerous wound, and causing serious anxiety in the family. Mr. Eden was at once telegraphed for, and he came home to see his son. He remained but three or four days, until Hartwell was supposed to be out of danger, when he returned to Washington. In his absence from the capital, the Matthews resolution, not a bill, but simply an expression, was voted upon by both senate and house. It was probably this resolution that befuddled the *Free Press* in regard to Mr. Eden's vote. The *Free Press* will do an act of justice by turning to the Congressional Record and publishing Mr. Eden's vote on the silver bill.

1887:

March 28, 1887. Saturday Herald. (Decatur).

**LOOKS LIKE MURDER.**

**A Case Which is Likely to Cause a  
Hubbub in the State.**

Sensational news comes from Monticello county. On May 1, D. B. Peadro, a former of Whitley Creek township, died at the state hospital for the insane at Anna. The superintendent of the asylum notified the unfortunate man's friends and his son, B. F. Peadro, superintendent of schools of Monticello county, who went to Anna, took charge of the remains and had them conveyed home, where they were buried. When Peadro arrived at the asylum the superintendent told him that his father had been very violent previous to his death, and that the guard had found it necessary to use force to control him. A bad discoloration on the side of the face of the deceased was accounted for in this way, and Peadro accepted the explanation in good faith. Thus the matter rested until a few days ago, when W. J. Bowman, of Windsor, an ex-preacher who had been at the Anna hospital for treatment, returned home. He gave it out as his belief that Peadro had been killed. He said it was the talk among the convalescent patients that Peadro had been brutally treated, and that the patients in ward U claimed they had seen him beaten badly enough almost to kill him. One of them stated he had seen a guard knock him down with a chair and then kneel upon his body and choke him. Upon this being reported

Rob't Peadro, an attorney who resides at Sullivan, and who is a son of the dead man, passed through Decatur Wednesday on his way to Springfield. The legislature will be asked to appoint a committee to investigate the matter. The family have already taken steps to have a legal inquiry instituted. Hon. John R. Eden has been employed to assist in bringing the perpetrators of the outrage, if any was committed, to justice. He went to Anna yesterday. The case is one in which every one must feel an interest. The inquiry should be pushed vigorously and without fear or favor. No guilty man should be spared.

October 15, 1887. Saturday Herald (Decatur).

this week ..... Mr and Mrs J H Baker and Hon John R Eden attended the reception of President Cleveland and lady in Chicago. Dr and Mrs Stedman and J J Martin are also in Chicago.... Mr Fletcher, Mr Carnes and Mr Brown exchanged residences this week.

1888

December 13, 1888

Sherman Williams, who is charged with having committed burglary, was arraigned in open court Tuesday and plead not guilty. Having no attorney to defend him the court appointed John R. Eden to look after his interests. It is needless to say his case is in good hands.

December 20, 1888

**J. R. EDEN,**  
**ATTORNEY AT LAW.**  
**Room No. 1, Opera Building, Sullivan, Ill.**

**1889:**

January 11, 1889:

Flick Ashworth and John R. Eden took the early train yesterday morning for Springfield. The arguments in the Corbin case will be heard by the appellate court today.

January 18, 1889:

The arguments in the Corbin case were made before the appellate court

at Springfield last Friday. Attorney General Hunt and H. J. Hamlin spoke for the prosecution and John R. Eden and T. M. Thornton for the defense. The court is not expected to render its decision before June.

February 25, 1889 – Letter to the Editor, John B. Harris Newton, Illinois

Correcting a Journal Correspondent.  
To the Editor of the Sentinel:

Sir—Having seen in yesterday's issue of the Journal a communication from Kansas, Ill., seemingly to me, unjustly misrepresenting men who were aspiring for congressional honors of the Fifteenth Illinois congressional district in 1878, I wish to state (1) that I was chairman of the delegation from Jasper county, and afterward elected secretary of the convention, and, as a matter of fact, would have some knowledge of the transactions before the convention, which was held at Shelbyville, in the month of July, 1878. The different candidates were placed in nomination by their respective friends. I think, from my best recollection, Clark county was called first, and placed before the convention Hon. Ed Harlan, of Cumberland, the residence of Judge Decius, who was afterward nominated and defeated, was placed in nomination by Judge Brewer, of the same county. Mr. Mize, of Sullivan, presented for re-election the incumbent, Hon. John R. Eden. Andy Hunter, of Paris, presented R. W. Bishop. After balloting unsuccessfully 187 times, by a strenuous effort the convention adjourned until after supper.

When upon reassembling and order restored, Hon John R. Eden addressed the convention in a very plausible manner, withdrawing his name at the conclusion of his speech, and urging harmony if such did not exist. Now, I really think that such an accusation of nominating Decius, and "packed convention," etc., is wholly ungenerous, as well as unjust, and we hope the writer will thoroughly investigate the matter, and then will be fully convinced of his error. Hon. George R. Wendling was not a candidate, and hadn't been for several months before the convention met. In conclusion, I wish to state that John R. Eden has represented us for four terms in Congress, and the people now have sadly regretted their course in not re-electing him, but have asked Divine pardon, and, if granted, will nominate him and elect him by the usual 5,000 majority, and lay the old Graeger in the political shades of the past.

JOHN B. HARRIS.  
Newton, Ill., Feb. 25, 1889.

March 18, 1889 - John R. Eden letter on changing the Civil Practice Act

**INSTRUCTIONS TO JURIES.**

**The Proposed Change of the Practice Act Discussed by Lawyers.**

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., March 18.—*Special Telegram.*—There is every prospect of a lively war in the House Judiciary Committee to-morrow over the bill repealing the provisions of the practice act, which requires judges of courts of record to give written instructions to juries. The bill provides that such instructions may be given orally by the judge, but that they must be taken down by a stenographer. The bill has already been discussed in the committee, and the sentiment seemed to be about equally divided as to the necessity of such legislation. Mr. Cochran warmly opposed the bill, and in order to fortify himself by the opinion of prominent members of the Illinois bar upon the question, he has sent copies of the bill to many well-known attorneys and requested their opinions as to the advisability of such legislation.

The Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan, Ill., who served many years in Congress and was once the Democratic nominee for Governor of Illinois, makes the following response:

SULLIVAN, Ill., March 18.—To the Hon. W. G. Cochran. My Dear Sir: Your query asking my opinion as to the propriety of repealing the sections of our practice act requiring that instructions given by the judge to the jury shall be in writing, is received. The objections to the proposed change are so many and weighty that I have only time to glance at them. The bare fact that the present law on that subject has been in force nearly a half century and has given almost universal satisfaction ought to be a sufficient reason for its continuance. I have not seen the pending bill and can not speak of its details, but assume it simply restores the common law rule relative to instructions. If so, it gives the judge entirely too much power over the jury in the determination of facts. It is the province of the jury to decide questions of fact independently of the opinion of the court, and no modification of the law should give to the judge any greater influence over the jury than he now has. The old system, under which the judge made the closing speech to the jury, commenting freely on the case, may have been well adapted to a time when jurors were much less intelligent than now. Where I was raised and studied law the judge made the closing speech to the jury. When I commenced the practice of the law I was fresh from a State where the other system prevailed, and I very soon came to the opinion that the Illinois practice was the best, and that opinion has strengthened with the experience of my many years' practice in Illinois. It is safe to assume that oral instructions will not be as clear and accurate as written instructions, hence they will not be so readily understood by the jury. The result will be to increase the business of the Appellate and Supreme Courts, and thereby add greatly to the costs of litigation. The proposed change in the law will add to the costs in the trial courts. Of course, parties litigant, in order to have the benefit of exceptions to the judge's charge, must have the instructions taken down by a shorthand reporter, and when necessary to make up a record have it written out in full. With some judges, who may be fluent talkers, the oral charge will add greatly to the size of the record. Should it unfortunately happen that a judge shall be prejudiced for or against one of the parties, his oral instructions will open to him a wide field in which he may operate on the minds of the jury for the side he favors or against the side he opposes. There are a great many reasons why in my opinion the sections of the statute to which you refer ought not to be repealed, but I have not time to go further into the subject. I know of no reason for the change. I have heard of none. If the instructions asked for by the opposing counsel do not clearly state the law, or if, in order that the jury may understand them, they need be explained the court, under the law as it is, has a right to make them plain. Truly yours,  
JOHN R. EDEN.

March 22, 1889:

Hon. J. R. Eden attended court at Effingham the first of the week.

April 19, 1889:

The Hon. John R. Eden is in Tuscola assisting in the prosecution of some of the ex-county officials for alleged shortage in their accounts.

April 26, 1889:

**The Centennial Celebration—Order of Exercises, Program, List of Speakers, Etc.**

The day will be ushered in by the ringing of bells and firing a salute of one hundred guns. Procession consisting of the various G. A. R. posts, Sons of Veterans, Military companies and other orders; also the pupils of the various schools, and all citizen are invited to march in the procession which will form at 10:30 and march through the principal streets. Returning to the square when at 10'clock the first inaugural address delivered by Washington will be read, after which the orations of the day will be delivered, by the Hon. H. J. Hamlin, Hon. Horace Clark, Hon J. J. Springer, W. G. Cochran, J. R. Eden and the Rev E. L. Prather. Chief Marshal, M. M. McDonald; Assistant T. F. Harris;

May 17, 1889:

**THEY CAN'T AGREE.**

The Judge so Notified at Noon Yesterday.

TEN FOR CONVICTION AND TWO FOR ACQUITTAL.

They Are Discharged After Being Out Twenty-two Hours. A New Trial Will be Had. In the Meantime an Effort Will be Made to Have the Defendant Admitted to Bail.

In last week's issue we were enabled to give the names of only ten jurors, the remaining two, Joseph Smith and Alfred Hidden, were accepted Friday forenoon, the former early in the morning and the latter just before the adjournment for dinner. When the doors were opened for the afternoon session a large crowd soon filled every available space in the court room, all anxious to hear the opening statements to the jury.

Judge Clark presented the case for the people occupying just forty-five minutes. J. R. Eden followed for the defense consuming one hour. The witnesses for the people were then called forward and after being sworn were assigned to the front seats on the west side. In the following account of the testimony we have only undertaken to give the substance of each individual's evidence and when no new features were developed in the cross examination it has been omitted. The first witness called was

DR. E. L. HARDIN.

As coroner of this county in May last I was called to Bryan's residence where I found the body of Cline. It was on a bed in a room in the north part of the house. The clothing had not been removed. Dr. Smith, of Lovington, made the post-mortem examination and by my orders took charge of the body. The cut in clothing was plainly discernible. Wound in body was on the left side above the nipple. Considerable blood on body and clothing. The wound had the appearance of having been made with a sharp instrument. Cut in clothing was about one half inch long. Could not determine whether the knife had been sharp on both edges. Course of wound between second and third ribs, downward and inward towards the heart. It was about three and a half inches deep. In my opinion the wound was the cause of death.

CROSS EXAMINATION.—In the treatment of wounds this character my experience has been that the size of the aperture will diminish considerably as time elapses. The size of lungs vary in different people. When the body is thrown forward the heart is also thrown forward. If the wound was received when the person was standing erect the distance from the outside garment to the lowest point of the wound would be about three inches. After death the muscles contract.

EMMA TEMPLE.

I worked at Frank Wacaser's during the summer of 1887. Have heard of the trouble at a charivari. I saw a knife in the barn while I was there. It was in a scabbard about five or six inches in length; both edges were sharp; it did not shut up; had a guard or handle; it was about one-half inch wide. Mrs. Wacaser was with me; she picked it up and took it to the house. I never saw it afterwards. Frank also had a revolver. Have heard him say he would "do him up."

CROSS EXAMINATION.—Am 17 years of age. Saw the knife not quite two years ago. Saw knife at the barn. Was at the barn several times with the children to amuse them. I did not touch the knife. It had two edges. Frank spoke John Cline when he said he "would do him up." It was at his house when he made this threat. Don't remember who else was there. He named Cline when he made the threat.

BELLE SMITH.

I lived at Frank Wacaser's in the fall of 1887. Saw a knife while there. It was sharp on both edges, four inches long and one-half inch wide. It was kept in a shield on a shelf, and was quite new. When I first saw it Mrs. Wacaser brought it out of the sitting room in a box and placed it on the sewing machine. I did not see it after that time. Wacaser sometimes carried a revolver when going away from home. I got it for him at one time. Carried it when he went to Hammond and also sometimes when going to church. He kept it in the bed. The knife was 6 1/2 inches in length. He did not speak of Cline in a threatening manner and made no threats against Cline's family.

CROSS EXAMINATION.—The box which contained the knife and which she placed on the machine was not a large one. It was a work-box. She finally replaced the revolver in the box and I did not see it again.

GEORGE CUNNINGHAM.

Am 16 years old. Was working for Frank Wacaser in May, 1888. I went up past Bryant's the morning of the difficulty. Was with Babb and Wacaser. We were going to plant potatoes. Left the house about 7 o'clock. Saw no one until we got inside the field. I was sitting in the rear of wagon. Babb and Wacaser were in front. Saw a team coming and it turned into the field. Wacaser called to the man, do not remember what he said. We drove about twenty-five yards and then stopped our team, and Wacaser got out and went back, telling me to hold the team. Babb got up and stood in the wagon. Wacaser walked rapidly back to the team which had just been driven into the field and I heard him call to the driver, who threw his lines over a post and walked back to where Wacaser was. They advanced towards each other and I saw Wacaser motion with his right hand. Cline seemed to be looking at Wacaser. My attention was now diverted and when I looked again Cline was picking up a board. They were then about twelve feet apart. Wacaser was facing Cline. Could not see his hands after he picked up the board which was about five feet long. Cline started toward Wacaser with this



board in his hands. He struck at Wacaser who dodged by stooping over. The board struck the ground. Wacaser then started off toward the wagon. Babb started back towards them going about twenty-five yards and called out "I don't allow no man to run over my boss." They both soon came back to the wagon and getting in drove on. Drove fifty yards before we stopped. I could then see Cline, he was walking down the fence and after going about fifty yards he crawled through. After walking some distance he staggered and fell. Wacaser told me to get out and go back. When Cline fell none of us said anything. I went back about fifty yards. When I first saw Cline he was lying down. Saw his sister running towards him. Wacaser then called for me to come back and we then drove on out to the field where Bryan was planting corn. I was sent back to the house to help in the garden. Worked a while and then went to Ike Fulton's. I was afterwards called back to the house and told to go to old man Woods in Lovington and tell him of Cline's death and request him (Woods) to meet Wacaser in Sullivan.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—When Cline entered the field Wacaser called to him and Cline looked up. During the trouble Cline's team got loose and ran off. I could not hear much that was said by them but did hear Cline call Wacaser a s— of a b—. I left Wacaser's house and went down to Fulton's. I was called back about one hour afterwards. Frank's father was there then. Frank told me to go to Mr. Wood's and tell him to go to Sullivan so Frank could see him there.

**DR. SMITH.**

Am a physician residing at Lovington. Did not know Cline. I was called there soon after the difficulty occurred. Found body at the house of Bryan. Upon removing clothing found a wound, two and one-half inches above and one-half inch to the left of the left nipple. Made an attempt to probe but could not. It seemed to be a clean cut on both sides. The chest contained an excessive amount of blood. The heart was punctured a little to the left of the center. The wound was sufficient to produce death. Necessary fatal. The course of the wound was downward and inward. Cannot state what position the heart was in when struck. It is impossible to determine the exact position of the heart in a living person at any stated time. The lungs were entirely free from air.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—I made the post mortem examination. When a subject is placed on its back the heart, as a rule settles back. His left arm was at his left side. The wounds made in the outer and inner muscle did not match, as it were, that is, they were not in line. I had to make an incision and raise a flap to determine the depth of wound. The position of the muscles would indicate that the arm was raised when the wound was received.

**ABEL SHARP.**

Knew Cline in his lifetime. Saw the wound on his person. It was about one-half inch in diameter. That part visible on the outside of the body seemed to be wider at one point than at the other. About ten o'clock when I got there.

**ROBERT BRYAN.**

Am a brother-in-law of the deceased. On the day of the difficulty I went to the field to plant corn. Had driven two rounds and had turned to make the third one when I saw three men in the corner of the pasture, also a boy. They were 100 yards west of the corner of the pasture. Noticed them moving. I still drove along, occasionally looking up, and afterward saw two men leaving in one direction and another taking a different course. The latter seemed to be stumbling and falling. Later I heard screams, and stopping the team I stood on the planter. Could not see Cline, as he had fallen. The boy had been to see Cline and then returned to the wagon. I started the planter, but again hearing screams I stopped and after unhitching the team I went over to where Cline was. His sister Mary was there and had his head in her lap and was applying camphor to his face. He was nearly or quite dead when I got there. The body was afterwards carried to the house and placed on a bed; I saw the cut, it was a short clean one, one-half inch in width. When the trouble occurred Cline had on a coat, blouse, vest and two shirts. I went back afterwards to the place of the difficulty and discovered a good many tracks there; saw a board there, had seen it there the day before. It was five or six feet long.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—Cline was my brother-in-law. I have been quite active in this case. Can't say that I have any great love for Wacaser. I did not tell anyone at the coronor's inquest that I was planting corn, and did not see the difficulty, as I was at the farther end of the field. Am acquainted with John Murphy. We were together when I looked over the place where the affair happened. Did not state that the first I saw was the team running away. Did not say I was over west of the hill and could not have seen it. Did not tell Marlon Waggoner that I did not see the difficulty.

**JOHN HUMBLE.**

Knew John Cline. Saw the body in pasture about 8 or 9 o'clock. I assisted in taking it to the house. Saw clothing removed from the body. Examined the clothing where out. Seemed to be a clean cut. Wound was on left side, to the left of the nipple. I did not go to the place of difficulty until the next day.

**J. S. ESKRIDGE.**

Knew Cline, saw body in room at Bryan's residence. The wound was about one-half inch in width. Had the appearance of being contracted.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—Assisted in washing the deceased. The wound was wider near the center than at the extremities.

**LEWIS FAIRBANKS.**

Was in the field harrowing when the trouble took place. Heard some one calling, but could not hear what was said. Saw motion of hand for boy to come back. Heard a scream and went

over to where Cline was. He did not speak after I got there.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—When I first saw Wacaser's wagon I was about six rods away. Saw several tracks at the corner.

**BARNEY FULTON.**

I knew Cline. Saw body and wound after death, but did not notice it particularly. Went out to the place of difficulty; saw tracks beside the fence. Saw place where some one had gone through the fence. Afterward saw a board there near the turning row. It was about five feet long.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—Saw two boards there, they were only a few feet apart.

The above testimony was concluded at noon Saturday and court adjourned until Monday at half past 1 o'clock.

The first witness called Monday was

**BRUCE MILLER.**

Knew John Cline. Saw body in house. Went out to look at track and boards. The witness here identified the boards. The small one was south of corner of the fence, about ten steps. Saw many tracks there.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—Went to look at place of difficulty about 4 o'clock. Saw many tracks there. Other people had been there before I went.

**ROBERT BRYAN**

Saw board the day before the killing. It was near the fence. I picked it up to use as a stake but found it was broken. The small piece was six or seven rows of corn south of the large piece.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—Have had the small piece in the house nearly a year. When found the pieces were five or six feet apart. Know Dan Sutter; yes, I had told him that I was over west of the hill planting corn and could not see the fight. Isaac Fulton asked me where the fight occurred and I answered "I was over at the far end of the field and did not see it."

**ISABELLA VANHOOK.**

Was at work at Bryan's last May. Remember of seeing Cline on day he was killed. The body was brought to the house before dinner. Saw his team running towards the house, lines were dragging. Mary Cline went out and took charge of them. Her brother then called to her and she ran to him. I saw him fall two or three times. I saw him motion with his hand. I held the team until she told me to bring the camphor. Then told me to tie the horses and go and tell Bob, which I did. Bob then unhitched his team and ran to Cline.

**CROSS EXAMINATION.**—When I first saw Cline's team Mary was in the house.

**WASH LINDER.**

Knew Cline. Saw a difficulty between him and the defendant in August, 1887 in reference to some trouble which had occurred at Charivari.

**MRS. BRYAN.**

Was at home on the day my brother was killed. Saw Wacaser and Babb go to the field. Saw team run into the yard. Also saw John running and falling. He fell four or five times. I was sick and did not go to the field.

## MARY CLINE.

Am sister of John. The running team first attracted my attention. I saw John falling and getting up in the pasture; fell two or three times. Took the camphor and ran to him. He could not speak when I got to him. He said, "I met Frank Wacaser out here, we had a little trouble, he has stabbed me to the heart and I can't live." Took his head in my lap. When Bob came up he put his coat under John's head. The body was brought to house about 10 o'clock. This closed the case for the people.

It was now half past three o'clock and at the request of the defense an adjournment was taken until the following morning at which time a large number were present, all eager to hear the evidence to be submitted by the defense. The first witness called was:

## J. P. ESKRIDGE.

Live in Lowe township. Am a farmer. Knew Cline. He was about six feet high and would weigh about 175 pounds. He was accounted a stout, active man, quick in his movements.

## FRANK WACASER.

Am 26 years old and have been married five years. Lived two and one-half miles from Hammond at time of difficulty, and for about four years previous. Bought this dirk knife in 1879 or 1880, I think, in Decatur. Kept it around the house and barn. Used it last summer a year ago for cutting cultivator pins at the barn. Do not know where knife was on day of difficulty. Bought a revolver in August after I was married in February, and have had it ever since. I seldom carried it. Did not have it on day of difficulty. Think it was at the house lying on the clock shelf. Left home that morning about six o'clock. After hitching up my team and putting a plow and three or four sacks of potatoes in the wagon, Owen Babb and George Cunningham, who were in my employ, and I, started north on the public highway. To get to my father's land west of Bryan's place, we had to go half a mile north and then half a mile east on the turning row. I was planting corn on the place. We drove west past the corner of the fence, when I looked around and saw a team going south down the turning row. Saw it was John Cline and halloed to him, and motioned him to go on south. He stepped out from behind his team and walked right on down the turning row. I stopped my team and said that there came a man I didn't want to cross my place. He was then from fifteen to twenty-five yards down the turning row. I walked back to within six or eight steps of the corner fence and waited until Cline came up. Returned his team south, threw the lines over a post, turned around and started towards me. As he came up he said: "You G— d— son of a b— if you want anything you can have it!" I said that I did not come there for any trouble, but just to ask him not to cross my place any more. His team got loose and started off. He started toward the team but turned back to me, drove me into the fence and said it was a disputed line. I told him it was not, that Bryan had run the line and that it was right all the way through. I motioned out the line with my hand and told him he could see that

the fence set out over the turning row two or three feet. He called me a liar and struck me a glancing blow on the right side of the face and nose, striking with his left hand as he turned around. This knocked me back against the fence and he stepped north of me and rushed me south, following me ten or fifteen steps, striking at me all the while. He said he had got me where he had wanted me for a long while and he expected to pound my brains out. I dodged one of his licks and got to the north of him. As he reached the turning row he made for me, but I got out of his way. Then he picked up a board, and I reached into my pocket for my knife. (Witness produced the knife.) As I went to open it I dropped it. As I stooped to pick up the knife Cline was right on to me with the board. I raised up and started west. Cline raised the board and struck at me. I dodged under the lick and struck him with my knife. The board broke in two and Cline followed me up with the small piece for six or eight steps, and struck at me twice. Then he walked southeast towards the house and I went to the wagon. When I turned around I saw Babb twenty or or twenty-five steps this side of the wagon in the turning row. I sent Cunningham home for a pistol. I saw Cline fall three times after he got into the pasture. I then called Cunningham back. When we reached the field I showed Babb how to plant the corn and sent Cunningham home to work in the garden. I then went to town, but went home again accompanied by my father. I then sent Cunningham to my father-in-law's to tell him that I had had trouble with and killed John Cline, and told him to meet me at Sullivan. I came to Sullivan and gave myself up.

CROSS EXAMINATION.—I gave the knife to my father at Hammond. Have lived in that neighborhood fourteen years. Turning row has been used five or six years. This land is not fenced in. I was not angry when I went down to where Cline was and did not expect to have any trouble. I was right on the turning row when he struck me. I fell against the wire fence. I made no move to strike him. I started off and he overtook me, chasing me down the fence. I had not struck him with the knife until he had chased me down the fence. He was about five or six feet from me when he raised the board to strike me. I then sprang towards him and struck him a downward lick. He struck at me twice afterwards, but did not hit me and still followed me west. I got out of his way as fast as I could. He followed me up striking at me, but I warded off his licks. I struck him with the knife to keep him from killing me. I could not catch his board. When I struck at him, did not strike at his heart, and at the time did not know that I had wounded him. Saw no blood, and now went back to my wagon. I afterward saw him fall and in a short time knew I had killed him. Did not render him any assistance. I sent the boy back for a pistol, because Cline had told me that he would come back and kill me. He said nothing when I struck him with the knife, only stopped a little. Saw Cline fall two or three times after I got in the wagon. Called Cunningham back because I had con-

cluded to go to Hammond and thought the boy would not have time to return before Cline did. Went to Hammond as I was afraid of Cline. Did not know he was so badly hurt. I went to fathers Did not call Cunningham back because I knew I had killed Cline. When I saw him fall I supposed he had turned a little sick from the effect of the hit. Saw Bryan going towards Cline but did not hear Mary Cline scream. I bought the dagger in Decatur ten or eleven years ago. Have not carried it since I was married. I struck at him just as he was in the act of hitting me with the board which passed my side and broke when it struck the ground. Did not say to him "you s— of a b— you shant go on my land." He applied the insulting epithet to me before I struck him. I was not angry when I went down there, but was after he used insulting language. The team did run through fright at our fighting. On my way home I stopped at my brothers and there learned of Cline's death, then I sent Cunningham to my father-in-law's I gave the knife to my father when in Hammond. He has had it ever since. I did not wash it as there was no blood on it. There was no my person.

## DAN BUTTER.

Am engaged in the grocery business at Lovington. Was at the place of the difficulty a few hours after it occurred. Examined the fence; the posts were about 1 to 1½ inches above the top of the fence.

## J. H. JONES.

Live in the north part of the county. Knew Cline ten or twelve years. He was a large man; would weigh about 175 pounds, and was six feet in height. He was stout and active.

## ISAAC HUGHES.

Am a farmer in Lowe township. Knew Cline for several years. Had worked for me on several occasions. Was strong and quick and would weigh about 180 pounds.

## SHELBY HOWELL.

Live in the northern part of the county. Was present at the coroner's inquest. (Several further questions were asked the witness, but objections were raised which were sustained by the court.)

## JOHN MURPHY.

Bryan and I were examining the turning row. He said to me: "I was planting corn and did not see the trouble."

## THOMAS LANSDEN.

Am sheriff of this county. I weighed Wacaser last week. He weighed 128 pounds. Think he is heavier than when first put in my charge.

The defense here announced the close of their case and after a short consultation it was agreed between the counsel that the arguments should begin at once. It was just 12 o'clock when Mr. Buckingham arose to address the jury on behalf of the people, and when court resumed at noon he not finished. Resuming at half past 1 o'clock he spoke fully an hour longer. Word had gone out that ex-Governor Palmer would address the jury in the afternoon, and as was natural to expect the presence of so distinguished a

gentleman draw a large crowd, many of whom were ladies, all eager to hear the remarks of an attorney possessing a national reputation. As he arose to address the jury he was the cynosure of all eyes, and his remarks were, perhaps, listened to with closer attention than those of any other speaker. He spoke for two hours, and when he concluded State's Attorney Jennings briefly addressed the jury, and an adjournment was taken until 7 o'clock in the evening, when it was understood that one speech would be made, and that by J. R. Eden. However, the court room was again packed, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Driver was to lecture at opera house. Mr Eden also consumed about two hours, when court adjourned until 8 o'clock the following morning. Before that hour arrived, however, and long before admittance could be had, an eager crowd had gathered about the main entrance to the court room, each and all anxious to be one of the first to enter, realizing from the experience of the two previous days that only those who were present at the opening would stand any show of gaining an entrance, much less a seat, and in less than ten minutes after the doors were opened the room was well filled. The entire morning session was occupied, first, by H. J. Hamlin, for the defense, and second, by Judge Clark, for the prosecution. Each made an eloquent appeal, and apparently their remarks made deep impressions on the jury. Upon the opening of the afternoon session the instructions were given the jury and they at once retired.

Few of the spectators, however, seemed disposed to leave their seats as long as there was any probability that a verdict would soon be reached, but the crowded condition of the room made it very unpleasant for those whose business compelled them to remain, and Judge Vail finally stated that he would give notice by having the ball rung when the verdict should be rendered. This had the desired effect and many left the room. The outcome of the jury's deliberations was about the only theme of conversation and many were the conjectures as to what it would be.

But the afternoon wore away without the judge having occasion to cause his promise to be executed. The failure of the jury to agree only served to increase the excitement, and it was now quite generally admitted that the result would be a hung jury. Yesterday morning brought no change in the situation until about 11 o'clock word was conveyed to the judge that an agreement was impossible. The defendant was sent for and just before the noon adjournment the jury filed into the court room and reported that they were unable to come to any agreement, and accordingly they were discharged, after having been out about twenty-two hours. They were instructed, however, to find one of the defendants, Babb, not guilty, which they immediately did, and he was therefore discharged.

Thus closed a trial which had occupied the attention of our circuit court for

nearly two weeks, and which, in some respects, was one of the most important ever held in this county. Each side had secured the services of some of the best legal talent to be had in this part of the state, and the faithfulness with which they guarded the interests of their respective clients can be attested by all who watched the progress of the trial.

The defendant will be granted a new trial, which will, no doubt, be had elsewhere on a change of venue as it will be almost an impossibility to secure another jury here after the publicity which has been given to the case. An effort will be made to have the defendant admitted to bail, and the question will be argued to-morrow.

#### NOTES.

Judge Vail's decisions have met with universal approval.

It is just a year ago to-day since the unfortunate occurrence took place.

The defendant conducted himself in a very creditable manner throughout the entire proceedings.

Four days were consumed in obtaining a jury, while the case was presented, the evidence heard and arguments presented in about three days.

The jury was composed of men whose appearance would seem to indicate that the term sometimes applied to that body would be an entire misnomer in their case.

It is difficult to determine who was the worse scared, the man who, in his eagerness to hear the proceedings, came near falling through the ceiling, or the jury and audience below.

The first ballot showed the jury a tie, 6 to 6. On the second, taken just at night, they stood 8 for conviction and 4 for acquittal. By morning the majority had gained two more and they finally stood 10 for conviction and 2 for acquittal, and from this result no change could be made.

#### LATE ARRIVALS.

At the election held last Saturday, it was decided by a vote of 125 to 25 to build the proposed addition to the school building.

John Goddard and W. J. Morrell went to Pana Wednesday morning, where they have positions in the clothing establishment of R. P. Cox.

The rain which fell in this section last week has greatly revived the growing crops. For two months past scarcely a drop had fallen and it began to be quite a serious matter with the farmer.

In the election for speaker which recently occurred in the state legislature on the occasion of the resignation of A. C. Mathews, the Hon. W. G. Cochran stood fourth on the list, which is a high compliment for a new member.

The delegates from this city to the State Sunday School Convention held at Mattoon this week are as follows: C. P. church, George Vaughn; M. E. church, W. A. Steele; Mrs. Mary Steele and Mrs. James Frazer; Christian church, J. T. Grider and B. F. McClelland.

1890:

January 18, 1890. Decatur Review

**The Wacaser Case.**

Hon. John R. Eden, of Sullivan, was in the city yesterday, enroute home from Springfield, where he had been arguing the celebrated Wacaser case before the supreme court. A decision will not be given probably until April or May.

October 23, 1890 – John R. Eden Campaign speech

**Eden in the Field.**

Special to The Republic.

VANDALIA, Ill., Oct. 23.—Hon. John R. Eden, ex-Congressman, addressed a large and enthusiastic Democratic mass-meeting at St. Elmo to day. He spoke to a large gathering in Utoga to-night.

1891:

February 24, 1891 – John R. Eden to defend client charged with murder.

**FOUGHT OVER TWO PIGS.**

**John Glorious Loses His Life in a Fight with His Neighbor.**

**SULLIVAN, Ill., Feb 24** —John Glorious, a farmer living six miles northeast of Sullivan, was shot and instantly killed by Lucas Seass. Mr Glorious was about fifty-four years of age and Seass twenty-five. Two shots were fired, one entering the head and the other the heart, producing instant death. The trouble originated in a dispute as to the ownership of two hogs which Glorious had fed for the past winter and which Seass claimed. Immediately after the killing Seass gave himself up to Sheriff Webb and is now in jail. He claims his action was in self-defense, as Glorious had throttled him, the marks still remaining on his throat when he came to the sheriff. Coroner Hardin held an inquest and the jury decided the deceased came to his death by a pistol shot fired by the hand of Seass. Seass will be defended by John R. Eden, of Sullivan, and H S Clark, of Mattoon, and will be prosecuted by State's Attorney J. E Jennings. Both men are among the wealthiest in this county.

March 11, 1891. Review (Decatur).

**Hon. John R. Eden has been indisposed the past week.**

**The German measles are prevalent here and it is feared the schools will be closed.**

**Walter Eden ex-mayor of Sullivan, who went to Fresno last fall, will return to Sullivan in the near future, and form a partnership with his father, J. R. Eden.**

Decatur Review, June 30, 1891

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**ARGUMENTS OF LAWYERS.**

**Belief that the Seass Trial Will End To-day—Two Speeches.**

In the Seass murder trial at Sullivan the entire forenoon was consumed by States Attorney Jennings for the prosecution and Hon. John R. Eden for the defense. A large crowd was waiting in the hallway and on the stairway when Judge Vail arrived on the 9 o'clock train. He immediately opened court and Mr. Jennings resumed his speech, among other things saying in substance

John Glorious met his death the 25d of last February at the hands of Lucas Seass. The indictment charges murder. The punishment is forfeiture of life or imprisonment. Judge Clark told you that in the abstract it was the law. The law not being your profession you do not know more than those giving a lifetime to it. The law does not justify a man in using a deadly weapon against an assault with naked hands or to resort to a deadly weapon in a common assault. Give Seass all the credit Eden and Clark desire, but we have proven that Lucas Seass could easily have stepped over that fence. The defense are resorting to two theories, self defense and accident. An active young man in danger of his life discharges his revolver in self-defense. Could he not have jumped the fence before the killing as easily as he did afterward? Glorious weighed 180 pounds and Seass 125. Glorious considered it necessary to force him to go. He was 20 steps from him when he ordered him to go, but he did not move until he was within three or four steps of him. He has no marks of violence on him but his throat to show. The court will instruct that in an assault with naked hands it is not justifiable to use a deadly weapon. Seass is here surrounded with relatives. Mrs. Glorious visits the grave of husband and father and weeps for a husband taken without preparation to meet his God.

John R. Eden in substance said the trial was a remarkable one and there was nothing in particular to distinguish it from homicide. It does not ordinarily take an array of counsel to convict a man of murder. In this it does. Formerly an accused had no right in court, but our forefathers wisely framed the constitution and allowed each man the right of trial by an unprejudiced jury and by the law must consider him innocent until proven guilty. The law is, if he reasonably fears bodily injury he is justifiable in taking life. A man does not have to wait until the harm is committed, there would then be no use for the law of self-defense. The witnesses were afraid of Glorious, were afraid they would become objects of his wrath. I have no defense to make for the young man carrying a revolver. The day is past for carrying weapons. We claim this as self-defense. They claim murder. Seass was backing to the fence in the hands of a powerful man, his breath gone, too weak to break his hold. He reached for his revolver and then came the struggle and John Glorious was shot through the heart. He did not intend to use it, only to escape from his life's peril. He, a young man, looking on the bright side of life, to have his whole life blighted. Who has regretted it more than he? Who can regret it more than he?

**NOTES**

The case will hardly go to the jury before noon today.

One of the jurors helped to while away the tedious hours Sunday by playing on a violin.

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December 15, 1891 – John R. Eden a Candidate for Congress again

**SHERMAN-FORAKER FIGHT.**

**'The Ex-Governor and Senator Both Backed by  
Nobly Lieutenants.  
Special to The Republic.**

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**Instructed for Judge Gilmore.  
Special to The Republic**

**EFFINGHAM, Ill., Dec. 15.—At the Democratic primaries in this county to-day Judge S. F. Gilmore received the unanimous instructions for Congress, no opposition being shown to him. Judge Gilmore will at once begin an active canvass for the nomination from the district. The other candidates are Congressman Lane, Judge Bell of Macoupin and John R. Eden of Moultrie. The contest promises to be a very close one.**

1892:

1892 Congressional campaign – 17<sup>th</sup> District

**CANNON NOMINATED.**

**Unanimous Choice of Fifteenth  
District Republicans.**

**MORE DELEGATES FOR FIFER.**

**Carroll County Falls Into Line  
for the Governor.**

**Judge J. N. Gwinn Receives the  
Nomination in the Seven-  
teenth District.**

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**SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.**

**MATTOX, Ill., April 27.**—The Seventeenth District Republican Congressional delegates met at Windsor to-day, and nominated J. N. Gwinn, of Effingham, for Congress; Wm. Bean, of Shelbyville, for member of the State Board of Equalization; D. H. Zepp, of Montgomery County, and James Gregory, of Moultrie County, for delegates to the National convention.

The candidate for Congress, Judge Gwinn, is one of the leading members of the bar in his district and stands high in the estimation of the people, regardless of party differences. He will make a lively race for the place and do zealous work for the party all along the line.

William Bean, the candidate for a place on the Board of Equalization, is one of Shelbyville's best citizens and will also add interest to the contest by vigorous efforts for the entire ticket.

The delegates to the National convention are representative gentlemen of their respective counties, and will respect the will of their constituents.

While the Seventeenth District was cut out with a view to giving John R. Eden about 5,000 majority to insure his re-election at the last apportionment, it might surprise the Democrats if some of the Republicans were elected this year, as no one is able to foretell what will happen under the lead of the McKinley bill.

May 11, 1892:

**Back from Sullivan.**

Attorney George F. Wickens and John W. Redman returned yesterday from Sullivan. Mr. Wickens was attorney for the defendant in the case of John W. Redman for the use of Charles C. Wood vs. J. W. Hammond, a suit to recover damages for the non-compliance of contract. John R. Eden represents the plaintiff. The suit was continued at the cost of the plaintiff.



June 10, 1892:

**TALKED ABOUT THE SITUATION.****John R. Eden Expresses Opinions About Democratic Possibilities.**

"It is my opinion," said John R Eden, a well known and influential Democrat of Moultrie county, speaking of the Chicago convention, "that the Cleveland men will nominate a candidate, but I am by no means sure it will be Cleveland. The factional fight in New York may make it impolitic to nominate him Hill, I think, is no longer in the fight. If these two are left out there remains to select from in the east Whitney, Flower, Patterson and Gorman Whitney seems to me to be the most available of these. Flower would be all right unless he is too much entangled with the New York quarrel Gorman may be strong four years hence.

"Patterson is much the same kind of a politician as Cleveland. There is no question as to his fitness for the place, but he is from the wrong state. No Democrat could carry Pennsylvania for president.

"If we come west the candidates who naturally suggest themselves are Campbell, Gray, Palmer, and Boies. These are all excellent men, but they were all formerly Republicans. So far as I am personally concerned this would make no difference. If a man is sound now I don't care what he has been. But when he is nominated for president he becomes a target for the entire United States. Republicans have a way of saying fool things and doubtless these men said them when they were Republicans, just as the others do. If one of them is nominated he will be found on record as having said a mean thing somewhere about the Democrats.

Gray, Campbell, and Palmer have only been Democrats since 1872 and Boies' Democracy is still more recent. We have no assurance that Campbell could carry Ohio, Boies Iowa, or Palmer Illinois Gray would be likely to carry his own state Vilas is not yet grown to be national enough for a presidential candidate "

June 18, 1892:

MISSOURI-  
A number of Sullivan Democrats will go to Chicago to attend the convention. James Frazer, H. A. Miller, John R. Eden, R. E. Nazworthy, W. P. Corbin, John Bowers, Sam Wright, Jr., Murray McDonald and Sam Cox will be of the party.

July 8, 1892:

ADDITION TO LEVINGTON ST.  
John R. Eden to Lee Grant Sentel, lots 11 and 12, blk 8, Meeker's addition to Sullivan: \$75.

July 15, 1892:

Ex-County Superintendent Pedro has just laid out the foundation for a new residence on a lot bought of John R. Eden, one of the most desirable business sites in the city.

August 6, 1892:

John R. Eden to B. F. Pedro, 85 ft. on part lots 1 and 2 blk 11, Sullivan: \$600.

August 9, 1892:

John R. Eden and J. E. Eden of Sullivan started yesterday for a visit to their old home in Kentucky after a thirty years' absence.

August 26, 1892:

Hon. John R. Eden and brother Judge Eden returned last Friday from an extended visit with friends and relatives in Kentucky and Indiana. While in Rush county John R. Eden delivered an address to the old settlers of that county, he having been a resident there for a number of years before coming to Illinois.

(See pg. 30, *supra*.)

September 23, 1892 – John R. Eden on the Stump

**John R. Eden on the Stump.**  
**Special to The Republic.**  
RAMSEY, Ill., Sept. 23. — Ex-Congressman John R. Eden of Sullivan addressed a large and enthusiastic Democratic meeting at Bingham, a People's party stronghold, this afternoon with telling effect.

Sept 25, 1892, Decatur

At 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon Hon. John R. Eden of Sullivan addressed the Democracy of Vandavia from the pagoda in the court house yard.

October 15, 1892:

## **GREAT DAY AT SULLIVAN.**

**DEMOCRATS HAVE A BIG AND GLO-  
RIOUS RALLY.**

**City Bright and Gay With Decorations.  
Crowds in the City—Procession—Gov-  
ernor Patterson of Georgia, W. B. An-  
derson, E. S. Lane, S. F. Gilmore Spoke.**

**SULLIVAN, Oct. 14.**—Notwithstanding the predictions of the Republicans that the long drought would cease, with a downpour of rain the entire day of Oct. 14, the morning dawned clear with just enough of that soft hazy glow to make the day a beautiful one

Early, the people were astir and the square soon assumed a most business like air. The artistic members of the many business firms were soon exercising their talents in that direction to the utmost. In fact, the night before the good work had received some attention, especially in the stores where such decorations were on sale. E. B. Trenner's windows presented a Fourth of July appearance all day Thursday and in the evening of the same day those of the City Book store began to take upon themselves the same aspect

A speedy return was soon made, bearing with them several speakers of the day, viz W B Anderson of Mt Vernon, Hon Edward S Lane, candidate for congressman, Judge S F Gillmore of Effingham Hon R W Patterson of Georgia had arrived on the early P, D & E train that morning

At 11 a m the Whitley township delegation arrived It was met in the south part of the city by the Sullivan band, drum corps and reception committee, among whom were Hon John R Eden, Judge Eden, Hon S W Wright, County Clerk Stocks, I J Martin, Frank Webb, S D Patterson, L B Scroggins, J V Burns, Walter Eden, Judge Purvis, G W. Vaughan and J E Jennings, with Aaron Miller as marshal of the day

## TWO MEETINGS AT NIGHT

### Opera House and Court House Were Both Filled

In the early evening the propriety of holding the concluding sessions in the court house yard was discussed, but it was finally decided that the best plan to pursue was to hold a meeting at the opera house and if need be another at the court house

Shortly after 7 the opera hall was densely packed and an overflow meeting arranged for the court house

The glee club was welcomed with undiminished fervor and not until three songs in succession had been given were they allowed to leave the stage. They then quietly made their way through the crowded aisles to give similar delight to the impatient audience waiting in the court house

### HON. F. S. LANE

was appointed to address the people collected in the opera house. He was introduced by Hon John R. Eden. His opening sentence "I should be dumb indeed, should I not enjoy speaking to this enthusiastic audience," showed the estimation in which he held his audience. In his own original way the issues of the day were discussed. Old questions always seem new when handled by competent orators. "Taxation is death," says Mr Lane, "death to our hopes. It is death to soul and body." The same interest shown in the afternoon was displayed at night

November 3, 1892:

### **HALLOWE'EN AT SULLIVAN.**

**Much Damage and Mischief and Some Parties—Items.**

The nights when witches, fairies and other mischief making beings are all abroad on their baneful midnight errands was duly celebrated in Sullivan.

### **SOCIAL GATHERINGS**

There were a number of social gatherings where mysterious games, dumb suppers, fortune telling, etc., were the amusements. A jolly crowd of school girls spent the night at Mrs. Carrie Smyser's. Another was entertained at the residence of Hon. John R. Eden by Miss Blanche Eden.

November 4, 1892:

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### **Dalton City.**

Hon. Edward Lane and John R. Eden will address the Democrats of this community tomorrow afternoon. Let everybody come.

November 7, 1892:

**WERE AT LOVINGTON**

The drum corps headed quite a large delegation who left on the 9:15 Wabash train for Lovington Saturday to attend the big Democratic rally there. Hon John R. Eden, Judge S F Gillmore and Hon Edward S. Lane were an attractive list of speakers and all spent an enjoyable day.

November 20, 1892:

**SULLIVAN'S RALLY.**

**A Big and Enthusiastic Crowd Hears Speeches**

Sullivan never does things by halves and the jollification last night was no exception. They have been jollifying more or less since the election, but all previous efforts dwindled into insignificance compared to last night's demonstration. The town had on its gala dress in honor of the occasion. Most business houses and many private residences between the square and the depot were handsomely decorated. The town was crowded with people. There was a parade with fireworks, noise and enthusiasm enough for a whole campaign. At the meeting at the opera house the crowd was immense. Walter Eden presided. The Shelbyville glee club sang several songs which were enthusiastically received. Hon. John R. Eden made a short speech. The address of the evening was made by Judge Ames of Shelbyville, who discussed the issues of the day ably and eloquently.



December 1, 1892:

## THEY GAVE HER \$4,500.

### SENSATIONAL END OF THE BREACH OF PROMISE CASE.

**The Principal Witness for the Defense Is Immediately Arrested for Perjury—Murder Trials—A Bad Fall—Institute—Other Mcaltrie News.**

The breach of promise suit at Sullivan, Luella Merritt vs Henry Dumond, was called Monday afternoon and a jury secured. The case occupied the entire day Tuesday and aroused considerable interest. Attorneys John R. Eden, J. H. Baker, and F. M. Harbaugh were secured by the plaintiff and Attorney Hamlin of Shelbyville by the defendant.

The greatest interest was taken in the case. The plaintiff sued for \$10,000 damages. A bastardy case tried several months ago resulted in favor of the plaintiff Miss Meritt was on the stand Monday. She made a good impression, told about their engagement, and other promises that the defendant had made. Three times the wedding day had been set Dumond always had some excuse for the postponement Miss Meritt's evidence was not shaken by a rigid cross examination.

Dumond's only witness, William Rogers, on leaving the stand was arrested for perjury and lodged in jail to await his trial, which was set for 2 o'clock Wednesday.

Wednesday morning the jury in the breach of promise case brought in a verdict which allowed the plaintiff \$4,500 damages.

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December 9, 1892: The Earp Case.

## THE ILLINOIS FRIDAY M

### EARP WAS ON THE STAND

HE TELLS A STRAIGHT-FORWARD  
STORY ABOUT THE MURDER.

He Claimed That He Was Attacked By  
Miller and Had No Intention of Killing  
Him—But Little Interest—Attorneys  
Making Arguments to the Jury.

The general interest shown in the Earp trial at Sullivan is not as great as is manifested usually in such trials. Few ladies beside those called as witnesses and relatives of the defendant have been in attendance. Earp's wife and his three sisters, Mrs. Nannie Cullison; Mrs. James Hoke and Miss Belle Earp have been with him during the entire trial. The fact that there is little circumstantial evidence to be put before the jury and the fact that the deed was committed upon a comparative stranger with no opportunity of provocation any length of time before its occurrence makes the trial move much more speedily than is usual in murder cases. The killing was quickly done and Earp was almost immediately taken into custody. The absence, too, of any relatives or near friends of Miller, the murdered man is the cause of less interest than would be manifested otherwise.

## THE STATE'S CASE.

The examination of the witnesses brought in by the prosecution occupied most of Wednesday afternoon. Among those who testified were James and Mike Ryan, Benson; Bob Drennan and Davis. Davis testified that he saw Earp walk up to Miller and strike him with the knife and exclaim, "Now I have you."

The substance, of course, of all evidence brought up by the prosecution was that the deed committed was unprovoked murder.

## FOR THE DEFENSE.

Among the witnesses called by the defense were Bob Harris, Brewer Russell, Andrew Baugher, Milt Morgan and Charles Nazworthy.

At about 10:30 Thursday morning Earp took the stand and told rather a straightforward story of the morning's occurrences. His testimony in substance was that he came up town from his home, two blocks west of the square, about 7:30 on the morning of July 4, 1891. He went home again, ate breakfast, returning to town about 8 o'clock, and going into Frazier's to pay a grocery bill. He inquired for butter but could get none and then went to Aaron Miller's on the corner. He met Luther Lawrence and went to Shepherd's saloon for a drink of beer.

~~Then his story is very much like be-~~  
fore reported in the history of the crime. He says that he went to Sentle's and took the knife and put it in his right coat pocket to be prepared to defend himself in case the railroad men should attack him. He then went to the saloon a second time with Brewer Russell and

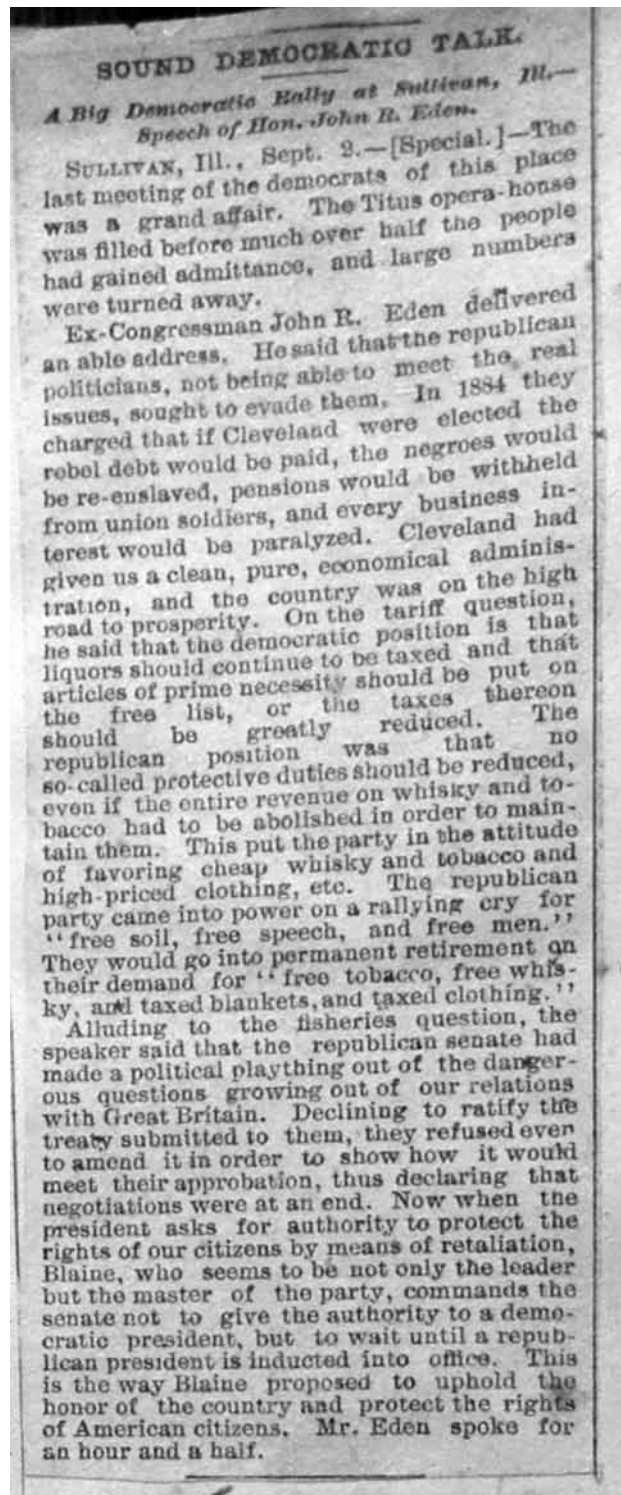
took another drink of beer, but had no idea of meeting Miller and his friends there. Miller pushed himself on him and in self defense he used the knife. In a rather rigid cross-examination by Horace Clark he kept to his story and was not much confused.

This completed the morning's work on the case. The attorneys began pleading Thursday afternoon.

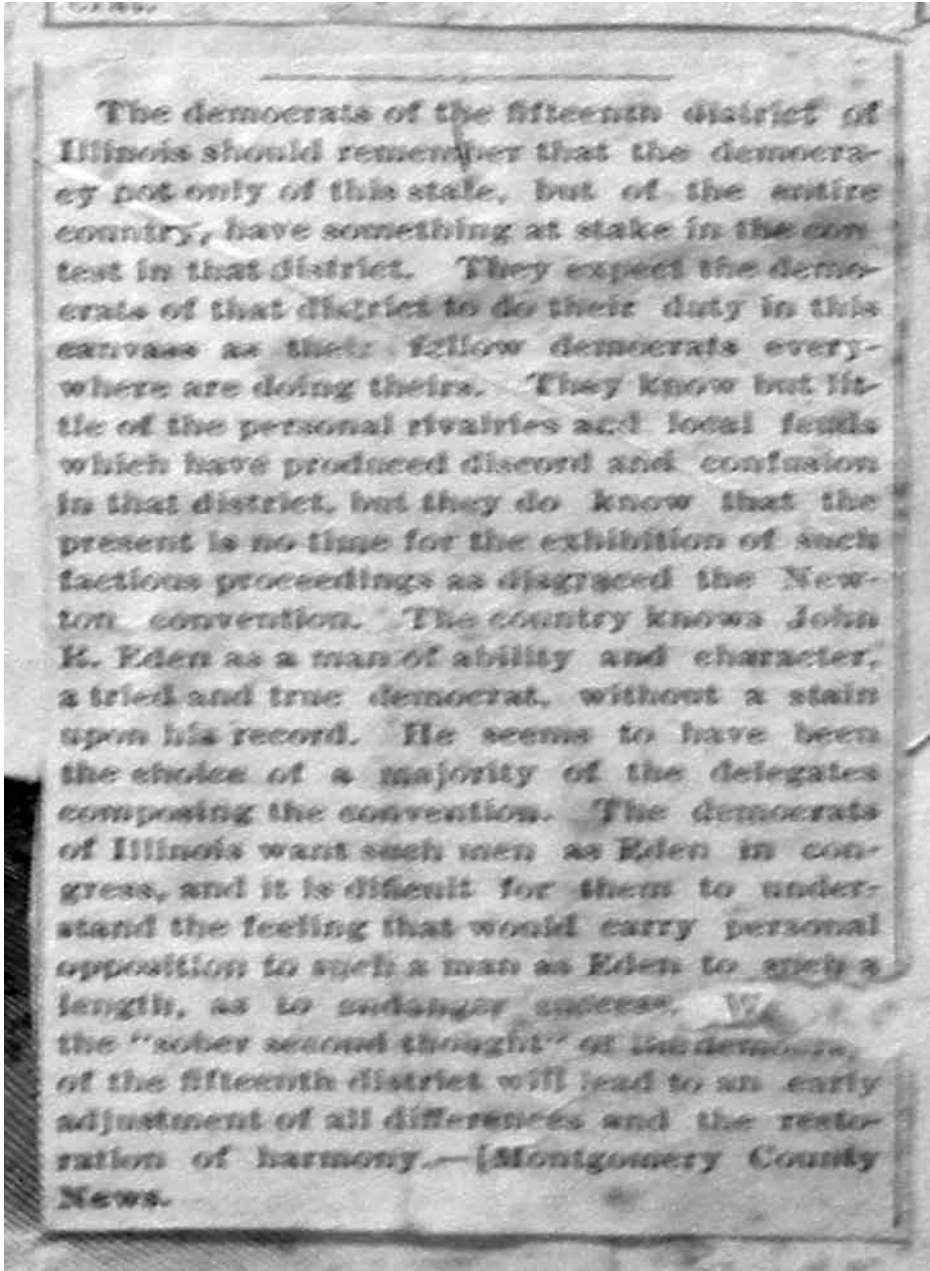
The attorneys' speeches were completed soon after 6 last night. They spoke in this order: Meeker, Walter Eden, John R. Eden, Clark. All the arguments were able and forcible. The court gave its instructions and the case was given to the jury about 7 o'clock.

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September 2, some year post 1884, re Sullivan, Illinois political rally

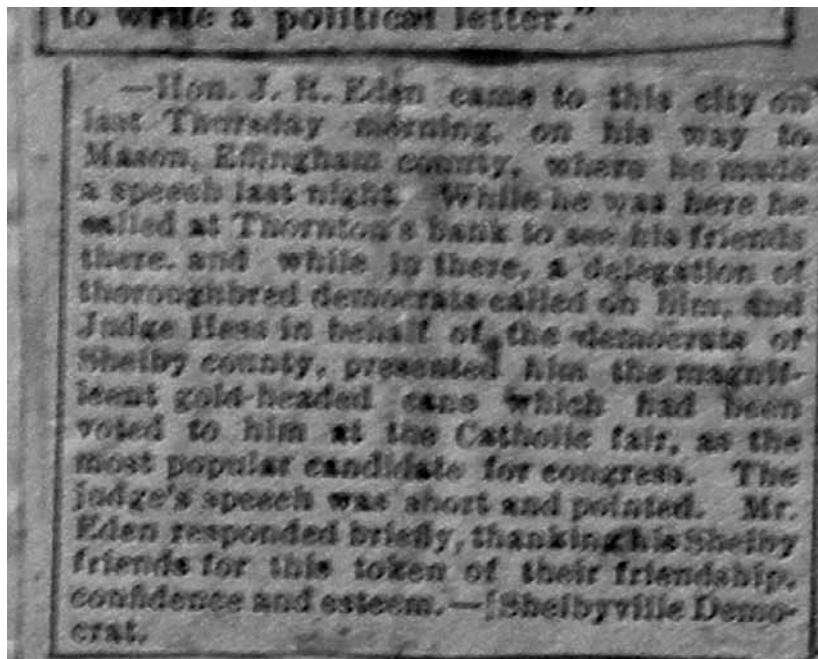


Undated – Montgomery County News clipping



The democrats of the fifteenth district of Illinois should remember that the democracy not only of this state, but of the entire country, have something at stake in the contest in that district. They expect the democrats of that district to do their duty in this canvass as their fellow democrats everywhere are doing theirs. They know but little of the personal rivalries and local feuds which have produced discord and confusion in that district, but they do know that the present is no time for the exhibition of such factious proceedings as disgraced the Newton convention. The country knows John R. Eden as a man of ability and character, a tried and true democrat, without a stain upon his record. He seems to have been the choice of a majority of the delegates composing the convention. The democrats of Illinois want such men as Eden in congress, and it is difficult for them to understand the feeling that would carry personal opposition to such a man as Eden to such a length, as to endanger success. We trust the "sober second thought" of the democrats of the fifteenth district will lead to an early adjustment of all differences and the restoration of harmony.—[Montgomery County News.

Undated – Shelbyville Democrat news article



Undated - Campaign report

Last Friday night John R. Eden addressed a large audience at Opera Hall in this city. His speech was in our judgment, the ablest, most logical, argumentive, earnest and convincing that we have heard during the campaign, and so far as we have heard an expression from those who heard it, it is recognized as the great speech of the campaign delivered in this city. This verdict is not by the political friends of Mr. Eden alone, but is also by democrats who previous to that time had been identified with the congressional bolt, and also by the republicans who heard. The speech was such a one as any statesman in America might well feel proud of having made, and we are glad to know that it will cause many democrats who were being lead astray to return to their party loyalty and vote democratic nominee.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and the further fact that the bolting demagogues in this place did all they could to prevent the people from turning out to an Eden meeting, there was a grand torchlight procession, comprising more than 400 lamps—nearly one-fourth of which were carried by the Hancock Veterans of this place. After the procession had marched through several of the principal streets of the city, the Hancock Veterans marched up to W. A. Cochran's office where Mr. Eden was, and conducted him to the Hall. The Shelby Cornet Band heading the procession and discoursing most delightful music. Right here we desire to thank our good citizens for giving Mr. Eden such a hearty welcome in the face of the contemptible opposition of a few demagogues.

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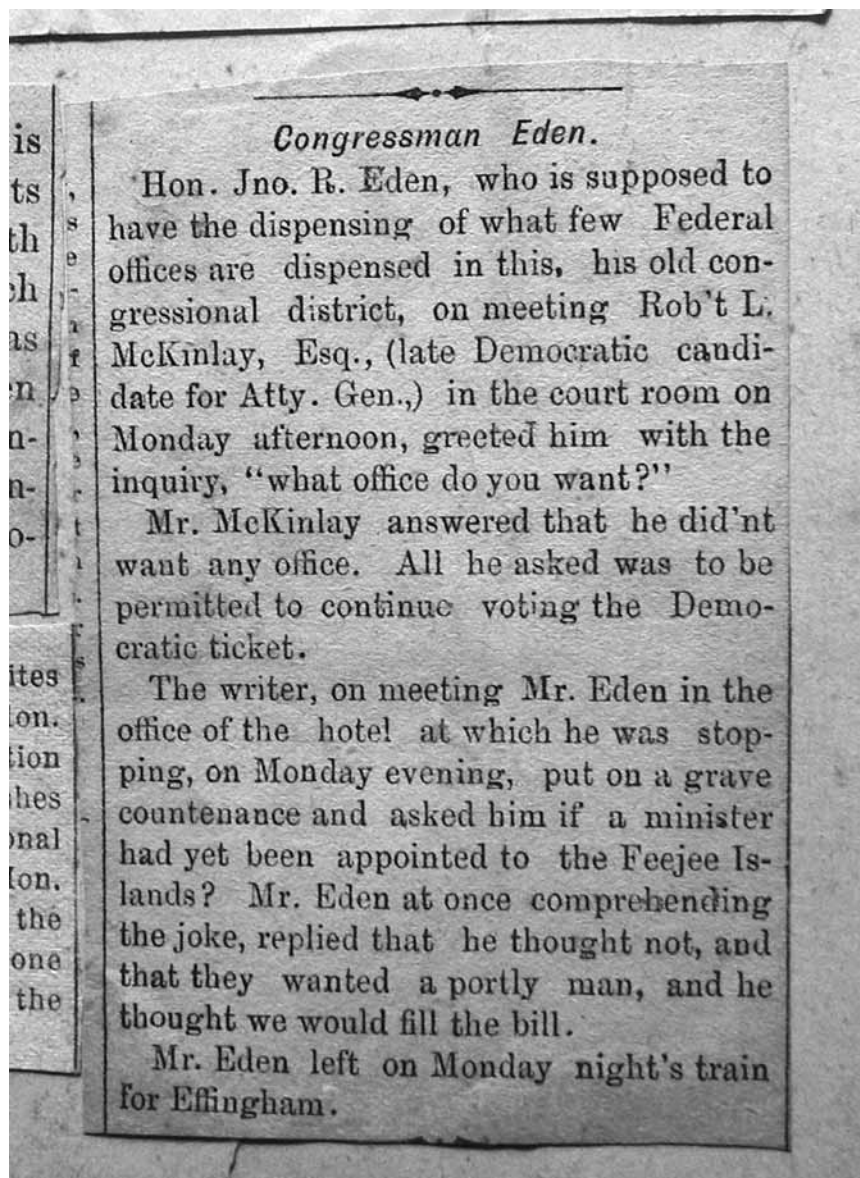
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Again we say that Mr. Eden's speech at Opera Hall last Friday night was the best speech we have heard this season, and it was most enthusiastically received by the large audience. At the close of the meeting the old democrats who have grown gray in the grand old party of the people grasped each other by the hand in joy and happiness. Why, it was almost like an old fashioned Methodist love feast during a revival meeting. Every body seemed full of enthusiasm and happiness. They felt that they had heard a statesman present the cause of democracy in their time. We are sorry to say that some of the party, spite and hate, have made a judgment and this political test in the canvass where at the which he in that d present l factious ton con R. Eden a tried at upon his the whole composit of Illinois gress, an stand the oppositio length, a the "sobe of the fifth adjustme ration of News.



Undated – News Account



1893:

January 9, 1893:

Hon John R Eden of Sullivan was  
in the city yesterday and went to  
Springfield last night

January 9 1893:

**SURPRISED WALTER EDEN**

One of the most pleasant social events of this season occurred Thursday evening at the residence of Walter Eden on West Monroe street. The occasion was a surprise on Mr. Eden gotten up by Mrs. L. B. Scroggins and Miss Emma Eden, with the knowledge and assistance of Mrs Eden. Some fifty of the friends of Mr Eden were invited and met at the residence of Hon. John R. Eden. Shortly after 8 the merry crowd proceeded to Walter Eden's home, a short distance away. Soon they were in possession of the entire house and Mr Eden and wife, who had gone to L. B. Scroggins', just across the street, presumably to spend the evening, were called home and came in shortly, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs Scroggins. Their arrival was the signal for festivities to begin.

Messrs Hollingsworth with clarinet and Scott with violin, accompanied by Miss Emma Thunemann at the piano, furnished excellent music the entire evening. The front parlor was given up to the dancers and the other rooms filled with tables containing various games.

At 11 an elegant supper in the dining room was served, to which all did complete justice. The wee small hours were lengthening into the longer ones when the last good night was uttered, amid most sincere expressions of delight and obligations for the pleasant evening just closed.

February 9, 1893:

Visitors yesterday: Mrs. Funston and daughter, Miss Louie, Lovington; John A. Connelly, Warrensburg; Hon. John R. Eden, Sullivan; M. M. Michaels. Cerro Gordo.

February 18, 1893:

I. J. Martin, of the Sullivan Progress, and Hon John R. Eden of that place have gone to Washington to attend the inauguration.

March 15, 1893:

Several of the Washington party returned the latter part of last week. Among them were Hon. John R. Eden and I. J. Martin. Mrs. A. N. Smyser and George Duncan came home Thursday to remain in Sullivan, after spending the winter in Washington.

April 25, 1893:

Hon. John R. Eden transacted business in Charleston last Friday.

May 14, 1893:

### SHORT MURDER TRIAL.

**It Lasted Only Three Days and the Sentence Was Light.**

**SULLIVAN, May 13.**—The jury in the case of the People against John Wallace of Chicago and Walter Price of Champaign for the murder of Frank Arthur brought in a verdict Saturday morning at 5 o'clock. Wallace, who is about 17 years of age, and who did the shooting, was found guilty of manslaughter, and will be sent to the reform school at Pontiac, while Price was cleared.

Not much interest seemed to be manifested in this trial as is usual in such cases, for the murderers were entire strangers here, and Arthur had but few relatives to take his part.

The case was very quickly disposed of. Beginning Wednesday noon the jury was secured by 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon, when the witnesses, numbering about twenty, were called up on the stand and examined. By Friday afternoon they had all testified and the attorneys began pleading. They pleaded in this order: John R. Eden, State's Attorney Meeker, Walter Eden, and the state's attorney closed the speaking.

All the arguments were very able and after the court gave its instructions the case was given to the jury at 9:30 that evening.

The verdict does not seem to give entire satisfaction to the people here by any means, as they are becoming disgusted with the light sentences given murderers in this county.

OTHER CASES

October 17, 1893:

Ned Eden is studying law in the office  
of John R. and Walter Eden.  
Will Taber has been appointed

1894:

January 12, 1894:

Miss Winnie Titus gave a dancing party at the Titus Opera house Friday evening. About fifty were present. There were sixteen numbers on the program and cards, crokinole and other games were furnished for those who did not dance.

Miss Emma Eden entertained about twenty five friends at the residence of her father, Hon John R. Eden, Wednesday evening, in honor of Miss Myers of Terre Haute. The time was pleasantly spent in music and parlor games. Delicaty refreshments were served at 10:30.

June 27, 1894:

ON TO THE CAPITAL.  
Delegates Depart for the Democratic State Convention.  
The Decatur and Macon county delegates to the Democratic state convention headed for Springfield yesterday, and they were about all on deck there last evening. Some departed on the morning train and did some of the figuring during the day. On the afternoon train I. A. Buckingham and J. M. Gray left for the capital city.  
The delegates from the southern part of the state arrived on the afternoon trains and changed here for Springfield.  
Ex-Congressman John R. Eden was at the head of the Moultrie county delegation, and Major A. Ricketts came up from Windsor and made a good report for Shelby county, where he said the Democracy was in good shape.

June 29, 1894:

The Progress' Printing company has leased its outfit to I. J. Martin, who will have exclusive management of that paper.

M. McDonald, Judge Elen, J. H. Baker, John R. Eden and George Edwards, good Democrats from Moultrie, attended the state convention at Springfield Wednesday.

August 30, 1894, report of Waggoner Reunion:

THE WAGGONER REUNION

The thirteenth annual reunion of the Waggoner family was held Thursday of last week at the Waggoner church in Whitley township, seven miles southeast of Sullivan. The attendance was enormous for an affair of this kind, there being fully 1,000 people on the grounds when the afternoon exercises began. Uncle Gilbert Waggoner, who stands at the head of this remarkable family, is now in his eighty-sixth year. He came to Moultrie county sixty-six years ago from North Carolina, a young man of 20, and made himself a home within a few miles from where this reunion was held. His first house was built of logs and had greased paper for windows. Forty-six years ago he moved farther north and built a more modern home within a stone's throw of where the picnic was held Thursday. During the sixty-six years of his residence here he has seen a large number of his descendants come up about him until today more than 500 souls in this county can lay a claim as his lineal descendants. And these descendants are good people, too, men and women worthy of esteem and trust, and that immense crowd assembled at their reunion was a substantial endorsement of their worth. The exercises of the day began at 11 a. m. with a song by the family glee club. Hon. T. W. Henry of Windsor then addressed the people with a few very appropriate remarks. The announcement for dinner precipitated a shower of invitations in all directions and the result was that folks who brought fine chickens from East Nelson township made a meal of yellow legged pullets raised in Marrowbone. Plenty of time was given for dinner. It was one of those old-fashioned affairs in the consumption of

dinner. It was one of those old-fashioned affairs in the consumption of which fingers were considered better than forks any day. Fun flowed in rivers among the feasters and the ground almost shook with the chuckling of the old fellows over the relation of some ludicrous episode of fifty years ago.

After dinner the singing and speech-making began again. Hon John R. Eden and W. G. Cochran made good addresses—just quiet, wholesome talks, such as you would be more likely to hear at the old firesides rather than at an open air celebration. The exercises lasted until 4 p. m., but many lingered long after that time to make sure the good time was over.

October 28, 1894:

**STANCH OLD MOULTRIE.**

**Rousing Reception Given the Veteran General John C. Black.**

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 27.—[Special.]—General John C. Black, the idol of the stalwart Democracy of Moultrie county, addressed as many people as could be crowded into the opera house on Friday afternoon. The weather was very bad. Heavy clouds hung about all day threatening at any moment to produce a downpour. The copious rains of the night before made it muddy and cold and everybody except the faithful of the front rank remained at home. Under the circumstances there is small blame for their doing so. But as it was, every township in the county was represented by a goodly number of its most prominent men. A great many of them were personal friends of General Black, while others were veterans who had fought with him in the field. Democrats and Republicans alike unite to do the gallant general honor when he comes to see them and his meeting was as much of a love feast as it was a political meeting.

There is no public man who comes to us who is so well qualified to talk to the Republicans. His administration of the pension office has left no opportunity for a howl from the veterans. His popularity is not confined, therefore, to his own immediate adherents, but to all classes and parties and his speech carried such great weight that his political opponents hung their heads in perplexity.

The meeting was called to order at 2 o'clock with Hon John B. Eden as the

chairman. Mr. Eden introduced General Black in a few well chosen sentences in which he assured the big audience that the illustrious statesman and soldier who was with them was well qualified to debate in a very able manner the important issues of the campaign.

The big building shook with applause as the general arose to begin his speech. He began by recalling the incidents of his first visit to Sullivan twenty-eight years ago, and contrasting it as it appeared to him then and as it looked now. He complimented the Democrats upon the way they had kept pace with the other changes, and said he hoped and believed they would always stand firm for the principles so necessary for the preservation of the plain people.

December 23, 1894:

## DECATUR DAILY REVIEW.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1894

### SULLIVAN.

Bus Britz of Springfield spent Sunday in town.

John Workman is in Chicago on business this week.

The public schools will let out Friday until January 2.

Charley McClure attended a ball at Shelbyville Friday.

John R. Eden was a legal visitor at Shelbyville Monday.



1895:

January 20, 1895:

**WILSON FOUND INNOCENT.**

**Said to Have Brought Suit for Damages  
for False Arrest.**

[Arcola Record.]

George I. Wilson, who has been traveling salesman for the Decatur branch of the W. W. Kimball piano and organ company of Chicago, was arrested in this city last Monday afternoon by Night Policeman Gulonip on a telegram from Phillips & Co. of Decatur. He was charged with obtaining money under false pretenses and was taken to Lovington at 6:10 for a hearing.

At the trial in Lovington Mr. Wilson was able to fully establish his innocence of the charge preferred and prove that the arrest was without any foundation whatever. He was immediately acquitted and came back to Arcola Wednesday evening. We understand that he has now begun a suit against Phillips & Co., through his attorney, John R. Eden of Sullivan, to recover damages for arrest on a false charge.

January 25, 1895:

### LITIGATION IN MOULTRIE.

Two Interesting Cases in the County Court at Sullivan.

SULLIVAN, Jan. 24 — [Special Dispatch.]—The case of the Methodist church of Lovington against Charles Howell and W. C. Dawson for the subscription to the new church at that place was taken up Wednesday morning in the county court. The case is rather unusual and is watched with interest by all the good people of that village. In the court room Wednesday were at least fifty of the foremost citizens of that place as well as a number of ladies. A great many were witnesses but the larger number only interested spectators.

The church people are represented by John R. and Walter Eden while Hugh Crea of Decatur sat in front of the defendants. Considerable legal talk was indulged in for a starter, the attorneys contesting every step with stubbornness. It was finally agreed to leave the decision with a jury and fully two hours were occupied in finding one to suit both sides. If a juror admitted that he belonged to a church, and more especially the Methodist, he was dropped like a piece of hot iron by Mr. Crea.

July 23, 1895:

Hon. John R. Eden has been nominated for Congress by the Democracy of the Fifteenth Illinois District.

1896:

June 30, 1896:

John R. Eden of Sullivan visited with his sister, Mrs. J E Moore, Sunday

1897:

February 9, 1897:

**Cochran Still Looking for It.**

While the injunction case involving a question of usury, from Moultrie country, was under discussion before Judge Nail yesterday afternoon Hon. John R. Eden said:

"I reckon the court will take judicial notice of the enormous amount of corn produced and on hand and the probability that prices will decrease."

Hon. W. G. Cochran replied:

"I presume the court will also take judicial notice of the fact that there has been an election and that the price of corn is likely to increase."

April 20, 1897:

Shelbyville:

Hon. John R. Eden, ex-member of congress, was in this city Thursday.

1898:

February 11, 1898

Miss Helen Smyser returned from St. Louis Thursday, where she has been taking a musical course. Miss Marie Eden, who has been visiting with Miss Smyser in St. Louis the past week, returned home with her.

Several of Mrs. Carrie Smyser's friends planned a surprise for her, and in response to verbal invitations about fifty ladies and gentlemen assembled Thursday evening at the residence of Hon. John R. Eden and from there went en masse to Mrs. Smyser's home. Each guest brought a part of the refreshments which were served late in the evening.

**MISSED HIS FRIEND.**

Hon. John R. Eden of Sullivan was in Decatur yesterday. Mr. Eden does not visit Decatur often and when he does he usually calls on Attorney Buckingham. Yesterday he climbed the narrow stairway on South Park street which leads to the room which Attorney Buckingham used to call his office and was told that his friend had moved to loftier flights, the fifth, sixth or seventh in the Millikin building. Mr. Eden said life was too short and he would have to forgo the pleasure.

May 20, 1898:

**J. R. & WALTER EDEN,**  
**ATTORNEYS AT LAW.**  
**Office up Stairs, Trower block; west side.**

**1900:**

January 9, 1900. Decatur:

**Hon. John R. Eden of Sullivan was here  
for a short time this morning.**

January 31, 1900:

**Hon. John R. Eden and Mr. Miller of  
Sullivan were visitors to the city today.**

April 26, 1900:

Hon John R Eden went to Springfield  
Monday afternoon in response to a tele-  
gram received by him from Walter Eden  
his son, stating that Walter the grandson  
of John R had been injured and that it  
would be necessary to remove one of his  
eyes. The telegram did not state how the  
accident occurred. Walter's Sullivan  
friends will all regret to learn of his mis-  
fortune.

May 7, 1900:

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# SULLIVAN'S BIG CASE

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**Is Now Being Heard by Judge  
Vail.**

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**MANY PARTIES INTERESTED.**

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**Other Matters in the Circuit  
Court.**

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A session of the circuit court was held Monday and at night an adjournment will be taken until the May term opens on Monday, May 14. Court convened this morning at 8 o'clock and a few motions were heard and the rest of the day was occupied with the hearing of a case from Moultrie county, brought here on a change of venue.

The case is that of John R. Eden et al vs. the city of Sullivan. It is an injunction suit brought for the purpose of determining the lines of Camfield's railroad addition to the city of Sullivan. A bill was filed by the complainants in the Moultrie county circuit court and an answer was filed by the city. Then exceptions were taken to the answer by the complainants and as Judge Cochran is in-

terested in the case it was necessary to bring it to the Macon county court before Judge Vall for pleading. Attorney Eden and Attorney R. M. Pedro represent the complainants and City Attorney M. A. Miles appears for the defense.

The addition comprises sixty acres of land and the place is built up with houses so that many persons are interested and the case is a complicated one. Five years ago the city had a surveyor establish the corners of the addition and about \$15,000 was expended in making improvements in the way of sidewalks. The uncertainty as to the lines of the addition is due to the fact that some of the earlier residents were squatters and built without any regard to a proper survey of their lots.

The pleadings in the case will be concluded by tonight.

October 11, 1900:

Hon. John R. Eden gave a good and interesting free silver address at the opera house Monday evening upon the important questions which is confronting the people today. E. A. Silver and W. K. Whitfield also gave short addresses.

October 25, 1900:

## **Splendid Gathering of the Democracy of Shelby.**

Shelbyville, Ill., Oct. 24.—(Correspondence of The Review.)—Tuesday was the great day of this campaign. It witnessed the greatest gathering Shelby county Democracy has seen in a generation. The

At the Broadway stand Hon. John R. Eden spoke. His venerable figure, his wide acquaintance in this county, and the respect held for him here, gives him a large measure of influence in this part of the state and his audience yesterday gave him a reception that was flattering indeed. At Main and Morgan stand, Hon. Thomas M. Jett delivered the address. His position as member of congress from this district has made him well known here, and the public were enthusiastic over his address.



December 8, 1900:

## **BIG CASE UP.**

### **Douglas and Moultrie County Damage Dispute.**

A noted drainage case was tried in the circuit court of Douglas county Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. It came from district 5 in Douglas county, and No. 4 in Moultrie. About fifty witnesses were present, many being members of the Amish sect, who have a large settlement near Arthur.

The Douglas county land owners were represented by Colonel Charles G. Eckhart, the well known drainage lawyer, while the Moultrie county men employed Hon. John R. Eden of Sullivan and State's Attorney Chadwick.

The Douglas county men claimed that the district across the county line should help pay the costs of the big drainage canal built some time ago through that territory, and which empties into the Okaw river. There are about 9,000 acres in Moultrie that drain into this ditch, and receive benefits from it, so the Douglas county men claim, as they connected with this canal at various places by digging ditches. This was shown in the suit, and inasmuch as the people across the line received benefits from the big ditch, they should be willing to pay for them.

The jury in the case retired at 5 o'clock on Wednesday evening and was out until 1 a. m., before reaching a verdict. It was in favor of the Douglas county men, and all the Moultrie county farmers who receive benefits will be assessed to help pay for the ditch, unless the decision is reversed. The jury stood 7 to 5 in favor of taking in Moultrie county on the first ballot, but afterward changed over and made it unanimous.

lot, but afterward changed over and made it unanimous.

The Moultrie county men are rather hostile about the matter, and Attorney Eden immediately made a motion for a new trial, which was overruled by Judge Cochran and the case may be carried up.

1901:

February 14, 1901:

John R. Eden and E. J. Miller went to Decatur Wednesday as attorneys in a case there. A. T. Jenkins, R. M. Pedro and C. H. Edwards also attended as witnesses.

May 2, 1901:

E. J. Miller and John R. Eden went to Decatur and Monticello Thursday.

September 17, 1901:

Mayor Jennings has issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to observe Thursday, the day of William McKinley's funeral, as a day of mourning. The public schools will be closed. Union services will be held at the Christian church at 3 p. m. Mayor Jennings, Hon. W. G. Cochran, Hon. John R. Eden, Rev. T. H. Tull and other noted speakers will make addresses.

September 20, 1901:

**MEMORIAL SERVICES.**

Sullivan gave Thursday to McKinley. Business houses were closed, public schools dismissed, offices were deserted and the people assembled to pay tribute to the dead president. About 2:30 a procession was formed, headed by the local G. A. R. post. Then came Petit's concert band, the Masons and last the K. of P. order. The procession marched to the Christian church and entered in a body. The church was beautifully decorated. The pictures of the martyred presidents, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, were placed in view of all. At the church the following program was rendered:

Song—"Nearer, My God, To Thee."

Prayer by Rev. T. H. Tull of M. E. church.

Address, Mayor Eden Jennings.

Address, Rev. S. P. Taylor of C. P. church.

Solo—"Lead, Kindly Light."

Address, Hon. John R. Eden.

Address, Hon. W. G. Cochran.

Song—"America."

Benediction by Rev. E. E. Curry of First Christian church.

December 17, 1901:

Hon. John R. Eden went to Springfield on business connected with the appellate court on Monday.

December 27, 1901:

Martha Eden and John Eden of Springfield are here visiting their grandfather, Hon. John R. Eden, and other relatives.

December 29, 1901:

Miss Martha Eden and brother, John Eden, of Springfield, who are here visiting I. J. Martin, went to Lovington Saturday to visit Miss Flossie Shepherd.

1902:

March 14, 1902

William Landis and his attorneys, John R. Eden and E. J. Miller, went to Louisville Thursday. Mr. Landis is engaged in quite a large law suit involving a large farm in Clay county and a dry goods store here in Sullivan.

April 10, 1902:

# MURDER TRIAL

## Jury Being Secured to Try Patterson.

### Democrats to Have a Meeting Monday.

Sullivan, April 10.—(Special to The Review.)—The Patterson murder trial was called this morning. A new venire had been issued and the work of getting a jury is now in progress. It is likely to take some time to secure a jury, as the case has been talked of a great deal and mentioned in the papers frequently. The court has appointed John R. Eden in the place of Robert M. Peadro, to assist in the defense. The case will likely take two or three days, as there are several witnesses on both sides.

#### ON ALL DAY.

The case of A. T. Wright vs. B. F. Rork et al occupied the attention of court and lawyers all day on Wednesday. The attorneys finished their arguments about 8 o'clock, and court adjourned until after supper, when the court read the instructions to the jury. The jury had not yet agreed upon a verdict at 8 o'clock this morning.

April 29, 1902:

# EVIDENCE

## Against Patterson Charged With Murder.

### Case Expected to End Wednes- day Night.

Sullivan, Ill., April 29.—(Special to The Review.)—The twelfth juror in the case of Fletcher Patterson, charged with murder, was Philip Snyder, secured early this morning.

The attorneys at once made their opening statements, taking about an hour and a half for them.

Then the examination of witnesses began. It is expected that about a dozen witnesses will be examined on each side, and that all will be examined by Wednesday afternoon. The case is moving rapidly for a murder trial.

It appears that the defense of Patterson is self-defense.

## ELEVEN JURORS

## **Secured as Result of First Day's Work.**

Sullivan, Wis., April 29.—The Patterson murder trial was called promptly at 9 o'clock Monday morning and the work of securing a jury was begun. The defendant's wife and little girl sat near him all day and took a great deal of interest in the selection of the jury. The work of securing a jury was slow in the forenoon but along late in the evening the progress was much faster. When court adjourned Monday evening eleven jurymen had been secured. Those accepted are: Reuben Bibrey of Jonathan township, A. E. Taylor of Sullivan township, Jesse Lilly of East Nelson township, B. F. Dennis of Lovington township, William Hilliard of Sullivan township, Bert Cox of Lovington township, W. H. Sherburn of Sullivan township, L. A. Sonwell of East Nelson township, Joe Weaver of Dalton City township, Frank Freeland of Dalton City township, Frank Wolf of Sullivan township.

Hon. John R. Eden, Frank Thompson and George A. Sentej have been appointed by the court to defend Patterson, who had no money to procure an attorney for himself. States Attorney Whitfield is being assisted in the prosecution by John E. Jennings. There was not a very large crowd of spectators Monday but the court room will in all probability be crowded when the taking of the testimony is begun, which will likely be about afternoon on Tuesday.

1903:

January 10, 1903:

**WANT \$7,000 FOR FEES.**

**Attorneys in a Big Suit in Town Today.**

A number of out-of-town attorneys were here today to take part in a case before the master in chancery. They were Charles Eckert of Tuscola, James Craig of Mattoon and R. M. Pedro, John R. Eden and E. J. Miller of Sullivan.

The case is that of Eden and Miller against Joseph W. Smith. The plaintiffs are suing for \$7,000 attorney fees they claim due them for winning the case of Smith against Chadwick in Moultrie county. Eden and Miller are appearing for themselves, Eckert and Pedro are appearing for an intervening petitioner and Craig represents Smith. The case was brought here on a change of venue from Moultrie county.



April 5, 1903:

## PROMINENT FAMILIES

### At One Time Lived in Old House on Water.

Mention was made some days ago of the removal of the old house at 541 North Water street, to make room for a store building. Some prominent families have lived in it.

The house was built in 1856 by D. C. Shockley and Joseph Mills. It was substantially built as were most of the houses of that time. The house was owned and lived in in the early sixties by Samuel J. Malone of Indiana. He was a prominent Presbyterian, very well to do. He reared a family in the house. He finally moved back to Indiana.

The next prominent owner of the house was John R. Eden, a lawyer. He was a candidate for congress on the Democratic ticket in Moultrie county. He came to Decatur, early in the '70s, lived here a few years, then moved back to Sullivan to run for congress there. He was elected several terms. He lived here for about four years, not in that house all the time, however. For the last fifteen years the house has

been owned by Fred Pahnmeier, who lived in the house himself for three or four years.

Notwithstanding its age the house is still in good condition. It might pass for a much younger house. The cottage beside it is a little older than it is, and is in just as good condition. D. S. Shockley lived in the smaller house for many years after it was built until he moved to his new residence on West William street. He still owns the place.

The shop of D. S. Shockley and Joseph Mills stood north of the house for a long time.

May 10, 1903:

John R. Eden and E. J. Miller are in Decatur on legal business today.

May 29, 1903:

# STATE BANK

Sullivan, Illinois.

## DEPOSITS

*By A. Mann*

	190	Dollars	Cents
Bills	2228		
Gold	1940		
Silver	510	75	
Checks	1800		
	975		
	4956		
	785		
	9784		
	7948		
	529	50	
	9489		
	9776	22	
	1469		
	57182	47	

**A Rich Deposit**

is often talked about by old miners, but after all a bank deposit is most satisfactory.

**THE STATE BANK**

is the most secure and convenient place for a business man's money. It can be drawn on any time by check, but is safe from thieves. It can be used in any city or town where we have correspondents.

The management solicits accounts from farmers, etc.

**CHAS. SHUMAN, President.**  
**JOHN R. EDEN, Vice President.**  
**IRVING SHUMAN, Cashier.**  
**S. T. BOLIN, Teller.**

1904:

February 25, 1904:

## CUNNINGHAM OUT ON BOND OF \$10,000

### Result of the Habeas Corpus Hearing at Sullivan Wednesday.

(Review Special Service.)

Sullivan, Ills., Feb. 25. —As a result of the hearing before Judge Cochran, in chambers, Wednesday afternoon—on motion to be allowed to give bail—Andrew Cunningham is out of jail under bond of \$10,000.

Immediately after the decision was reached at 5 o'clock Cunningham left for his home near Cushman.

Owing to the fact that the judge, who was at Monticello holding court, did not arrive here until noon, the hearing was held at 1 o'clock instead of 10, as first arranged.

Prosecuting Attorney Whitfield was assisted by J. E. Jennings. Harbor & Thompson were assisted by John R. Eden, W. H. Whitaker and Miles Mattox. Owing to the funeral of his brother, Mr. Thompson was absent.

Judging from the array of legal talent on either side, an observer would consider each ready for any question which might present itself.

April 3, 1904:

**TRADE STARTS A  
BIG LOT OF SUITS**

**First Wolf Then Landis Is  
the Plaintiff.**

**VARIOUS ACTIONS.**

**Chancery, Assumpsit and  
Habeas Corpus..**

J. M. Wolf was in Decatur from Sullivan last week to conclude arrangements for a hearing of one of the lawsuits in a long series that he has had in the last three years. I. R. Mills, one of Mr. Wolf's attorneys in this series, says it is the most important lot of litigation he has been mixed up in in his life. It includes at least six suits or trials and so far as any one can say the end is still a long ways off.

**THE PARTIES.**

### THE PARTIES.

Mr. Wolf was a farmer and stock raiser in Clay county until 1901. He was popular there, being nominated once for circuit clerk and once for sheriff. Mr. Landis was in business in Cerro Gordo for sixteen years, going to Sullivan and going into the dry goods business about a year before the trade was made.

### THE TRADE.

About March 9, 1901, Mr. Wolf, who then lived in Clay county, traded a farm of 164 acres to William Landis for the dry goods store which the latter owned in Sullivan. The farm was put in at \$7,000. Mr. Wolf also gave \$731 worth of personal property and a guarantee to pay \$800 in money. All this for the stock of dry goods.

There was a mortgage on the farm, but it is said this fact was known in the trade and that Mr. Landis author-



**J. M. WOLF.**  
One of Parties in One of Most Interesting Series of Suits in Illinois History.

ized the delivery of a deed to his head clerk, Ralph Foster, and the surrender of the store keys. He wanted to go away before the papers were made out. The deed was given Foster and the keys surrendered to Wolf.

**REFUSED THE DEED.**

Later, on March 25, Landis came back, got the deed, a quit claim, and left the store. He came back, after awhile, threw the deed on the counter, said that the contract called for a warranty deed and as such a deed had not been given there would be no trade. He declared the store was his and told Mr. Wolf to leave it.

Mr. Wolf said the deed was according to contract, the trade closed, and the store his, and ordered Mr. Landis to leave the store.

#### FIRST SUITS.

That was the beginning of the suits. Landis filed a bill in chancery against Wolf in the circuit court of Moultrie county and obtained an injunction without notice to Wolf to restrain Wolf from operating the store and to withdraw his clerks. Wolf obeyed, withdrew his clerks, locked the store, and never went back into it. This was on March 25.

On the first day of April Landis filed a supplemental bill and obtained another injunction. This injunction commanded Wolf to deliver the keys, together with the stock of goods over to Landis. Wolf now refused to obey the court.

Landis broke open the back door, got possession, and resumed business.

#### A \$25,000 SUIT.

Wolf went to Louisville, Clay county, and filed an attachment suit against Landis, charging wrongful withholding of the goods and suing for their value.

Landis brought contempt proceedings against Wolf for violating the injunction and got out a warrant under which Wolf was subsequently arrested. Wolf's attorneys instituted habeas corpus proceedings. A motion before Judge Cochran to have the injunction dissolved was overruled, and a change of venue brought the hearing before Judge Vail at Decatur. In October, 1901, he dissolved both bills for want of equity and dissolved both injunctions.



#### TRIAL.

Then all parties got to Louisville and at the March term of the circuit court, 1902, the attachment suit was tried before Judge Dwight and a jury. This trial resulted in a verdict and judgment for \$11,000 in favor of Wolf. Landis appealed to the appellate court.

There it was reversed and remanded for retrial.

Meantime the holder of the mortgage on the farm, J. M. Crawford of Cincinnati, had foreclosed for nonpayment of interest and taxes. Mr. Landis redeemed the land and started a suit to have the title declared to be in himself. Wolf contested. This case was heard before Judge Farmer at Vandalia and it was decided that as Landis had redeemed the farm he had the title. Therefore there were no grounds for a suit. This case was dismissed.

#### SUITS ON BONDS.

Wolf then sued Landis on the bond given by him in the injunction suits. Claim was made for attorneys' fees, for damage to business, etc. Two thousand dollars was claimed. This suit was tried by Judge Hammer in Macon

county, decided in Wolf's favor, judgment given for \$1,000, taken to the supreme court and there reversed for a new trial. This is the suit to come up in Macon county at the April term.

Mr. Wolf started another suit in Clay county against John R. Eden, E. J. Miller and William Landis for \$5,000 for malicious prosecution. This case has not yet been tried, but is set for the September term in Clay county.

The week before last in Clay county there was tried a second time the attachment suit started by Wolf against Landis for the value of the stock of goods which it was alleged had been wrongfully taken from Wolf by Landis. At the second trial just finished Wolf was given judgment for \$9,000. An appeal was prayed and allowed.

#### DREW CROWDS.

The cases attracted a great deal of attention in Clay county and the court room was packed all through the hearings. J. R. Mills with W. H. Whitaker of Shelbyville appeared in the first trial in that county for Mr. Wolf. People in that county still talk about the speech Mr. Mills made in closing the argument. When the second trial came up Mr. Mills was sick and unable to attend and C. C. LeForgee went in his place.

The witnesses from Sullivan to testify in the first trial in Clay county were W. K. Whitfield, Miles Madix, Miss Clara Monroe, Ralph Foster, John Buck, T. F. Booze and Charles Lucas. In the second trial Miss Monroe, Mr. Foster and Mr. Buck were not present in person.

#### STATUS OF PROPERTY.

Soon after the beginning of the trouble Landis gave a forthcoming bond for \$16,000 to secure whatever rights Wolf had in the store. This was a surety company bond. Since Landis took possession of the store he has had the store and the farm and has been running both while Wolf has been pressing law suits against him.

As any one may suppose all of these suits cost the parties a good deal of money. Thousands of dollars have been spent in attorney's fees and hundreds have been spent in witness fees, court costs, and traveling expenses. In the end the one getting the best judgment will be out a great deal and the one losing will be out a good sized fortune.

April 11, 1904:

**John R. Eden is a Decatur visitor today.**

April 18, 1904:

**PRESENT ADMINISTRATION**

**Has Its Good Points Extolled at Citizens' Meeting.**

Sullivan, Ills., April 18.—The meeting held at the court house Saturday night by the Citizens' party was well attended, and questions pertinent at this time were ably discussed by John R. Eden and J. E. Jennings.

The condition of the city finances was compared to that of three years ago, showing that at the close of the Hudson administration the city debt, including bonds and warrants, was \$23,465. At the end of two years following, with a change of administration, the debt was reduced \$12,210, and during the past year the municipal light plant has been erected at an expense of \$7,000, old warrants and interest paid amounting to \$1,321, and over \$2,000 available money is in the treasury. The city has fifty-one electric lights which cost \$43 each per year. It is the plan

of the present administration if continued to put in ten others which will add very little more expense to the number now in.

April 19, 1904:

Mrs. Walter Eden and daughter, Miss Martha, of Springfield, returned home this morning after a two weeks' visit with the family of John R. Eden and other relatives.

Mrs. Walter Eden and daughter Martha of Springfield arrived here Monday evening for a few days' visit with relatives.

Orate Birchfield of Danville is home to vote at the city election.

John R. Eden and E. J. Miller went to Decatur today to act as counsel for J. M. Wolf in a case against William Landis to be tried before the county judge of Macon county.

April 30, 1904:

Mrs. Walter Eden and daughter, Miss Martha, of Springfield, returned home this morning after a two weeks' visit with the family of John R. Eden and other relatives.

May 24, 1904:

John R. Eden, E. J. Miller, J. W. Wolf and William Landis are in Decatur today on legal business.

June 8, 1904:

<p>MEMBERS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH          John R. Eden, E. J. Miller, W. K. Whitfield, J. M. Wolf and William Landis went to Decatur today on legal business in connection with the Wolf-Landis case.</p>	<p>3 4 5 6 7 8</p>
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June 18, 1904:

<p>sur.  <b>I O O F MEMORIAL</b>          The I O O F will hold memorial services next Sunday, June 19, at the Greenhill cemetery at 3 p. m. The following is the program.          Opening Ode—Lodge          Prayer—Rev T H Hull          Music—Petit's band.          Remarks—J. E. Jennings          Song—"America." by audience          Address—Hon John R Eden.          Music—Band          Decoration of graves          Meet at hall at 2 p m and march to cemetery, escorted by the band  <b>FOR THE FOURTH</b></p>	<p>I S O d</p>
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September 12, 1904:

<p>Mr and Mrs I J Martin drove to Lintona Saturday afternoon when they spent Sunday with Mr and Mrs John Pool</p>	<p>11 12 13 14</p>
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<p>John R Eden J F Jennings E J Miller, R M Pedro and other interested parties went to Clay county this morning to look after a suit brought by J M Wolf against Eden &amp; Jennings</p>	<p>15 16</p>
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October 29, 1904:

Mrs. John Poole and daughter of  
Lintner are spending a few days with  
the family of Mr. and Mrs. I. J. Martin.

December 12, 1904:

Walter Eden and two sons, John and  
Walter, of Springfield, visited here  
Saturday and Sunday with the former's  
father, John R. Eden, and family.

1905:

January 7, 1905:

STATE BANK ANNUAL.  
At the annual meeting of the stock-  
holders of the State Bank of Sullivan  
the following officers were elected:  
President, Charles Shuman; vice presi-  
dent, John R. Eden; cashier, Irving  
Shuman; assistant cashier, S. T. Bolln.  
The bank is on a prosperous and prom-  
ising foundation.

January 28, 1905:

THE DECATUR REVI

DE	<h1 style="text-align: center;">OBJECTION TO STREET PAVING</h1>	C
for	<h2 style="text-align: center;">Sullivan Claims Cement and Brick Were Not Up to Contract.</h2>	C M tr di w pr in ci m de
ES.	<p style="text-align: center;">(Review Special Service)</p> <p>Sullivan, Ills., Jan. 28.—The objections to the acceptance of the paving done on Jackson, Worth and Harrison streets were to be heard before Judge Hutchinson yesterday. The case came up and the day was spent in preliminaries. The case was continued until this morning.</p>	su ul th
arty l.  ates Feb- t of ports four ught the	<p>The principal objections are based upon the claim that the specified amount of cement was not used and the quality of the brick did not conform to the contract. The contractor, M. E. Case, of Danville, has for his attorneys John R. Eden and Attorney Irving of Peoria. W. K. Martin, city attorney; Sptler &amp; Jennings and F. M. Harbaugh are employed by the city.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OTHER NEWS.</p>	di cr m th to ar  in ct th No



December 22, 1905:

### **THE PASSING OF TWO RELICS.**

**One Was the First Church Building Erected in the City, the Other of Less Historic Record.**

The destruction of the Chapman building on the levee by fire last week, has served to recall to the minds of many of the older residents of the city, something of its earlier history, which is worthy of mention.

It was built in the early forties as a Methodist church and at that time was the only church building in this vicinity. The site was deeded by the county commissioners to the trustees of the church, the deed being the second remove from the government title, the first being held by Philo Hale. It served the purposes of a church for several years, until the society decided to build a more commodious one, which was erected on the site of the present structure.

After the old court house was burned this original church building was frequently used for court purposes, many important trials being conducted there, among them one murder trial in which John R. Eden and Anthony Thornton were defendant's attorneys. Since then it had served various purposes, school room, skating rink, bowling alley and poultry commission house.

L. K. Scott, Pres.                      I. J. Martin, Sec.

**Moultrie County Abstract Co.,**

Successor to  
*Walter Eden and Wade Hollingsworth.*

Will furnish abstracts of title from  
books prepared by skillful abstractor.

---

J. R. EDEN                      J. K. MARTIN

**EDEN & MARTIN,**  
*Attorneys at Law*

**WILL PRACTICE IN ALL COURTS.**

WEST SIDE SQUARE  
SULLIVAN. - - - - ILLINOIS.

1906:

1907:

January 30, 1907:

E. B. Eden and his father Judge Eden, went to West Baden Springs Tuesday for an indefinite stay, enjoying the benefits of that health resort.

Mrs J H Dumond visited relatives at Livingston Tuesday.

Owen Scott of Decatur was here Monday in the interests of the Masonic home, of which he is one of the trustees.

Attorney Walter Eden of Springfield was here Tuesday to see his father, John R. Eden, who is in feeble health

May 7, 1907. Decatur Review.

**THE NEW OFFICERS**

The incoming mayor, N. C. Ellis, was sworn in by retiring Mayor Miller. S. T. Butler, Richard Archer and A. D. Miller are Mayor Ellis' bondsmen to the amount of \$3,000.

D. G. Lindsay, who succeeds himself as clerk, was sworn in by the new mayor and gave bond for \$2,000, with Charles Sherman and J. R. McClure.

City Attorney Elect J. K. Martin gave bond for \$500 with John F. Eden and Charles Sherman bondsmen.

May 31, 1907:

John Eden of Springfield was in Sullivan Wednesday visiting his grandfather, John R. Eden, while on his way home from De Pauw, where he has attended the university the past year.

October 18, 1907:

# Sullivan

## NEW LAW FIRM AT SULLIVAN

*(Review Special Service.)*

Sullivan, Ill., Oct. 18.—Sullivan has a new law firm. The name of the firm will remain the same as ever—Eden & Martin, but John R. Eden, who has been a practitioner for many years, has given up his practice and place in the firm to his son, Walter Eden. The latter is well known here, having spent

the greater part of his life here and having been engaged in the law and abstract business. Some years ago he moved to Springfield and practiced law there some. He is regarded as one of the brightest lawyers in central Illinois. John R. Eden will retain a desk in the office and will take care of a small practice, but his health and hearing has become such that he must limit his practice.

November 6, 1907

# MRS. I. J. MARTIN DEAD AT SULLIVAN

## Prominent in Church and Club Work.

*(Review Special Service.)*

Sullivan, Ill., Nov. 6.—Mrs. I. J. Martin, one of the most prominent women in Sullivan, died at midnight last night at her home in the southwest part of the city, after an illness of about a month. She had been in the care of a trained nurse from Decatur up to last Saturday, when she seemed to be much better and the nurse returned to Decatur. She became worse again Monday night and since then her death was expected at any time.

Mrs. Martin was a daughter of former Congressman John R. Eden, of Sullivan who is known all over the state. Her husband is editor of the Sullivan Progress and also president of the Moultrie County Abstract company. Mrs. Martin was a member of the Christian church and also of the Twenty club and was active in club work.

She is survived by five children: Alice, Mabel, Eden, Neely and Robert Martin. Eden and Neely are students in the Sullivan high school. Miss Alice Martin is a teacher in the Sullivan schools. Mrs. Martin also leaves three sisters and one brother, as follows: Miss Emma Eden, Mrs. J. K. Martin and

Attorney Walter Eden of Sullivan, and Mrs. Paul Thackwell of Terre Haute.

The funeral will be held Thursday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock from the residence. Rev. J. C. McNutt will conduct the service. The burial will take place in Green Hill cemetery.

November 8, 1907:

## MANY ATTEND THE MARTIN FUNERAL

*(Review Special Service.)*

Sullivan, Ill., Nov. 8.—The funeral of Mrs. J. Martin was conducted from the residence Thursday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock by Rev. J. G. McNutt, assisted by Revs. T. J. Wheat and W. L. Atkinson. A large number of friends and relatives were in attendance at the services. School was dismissed in the afternoon and many of the school children were present. The members of the classes of '08 and '09 of the high school attended in a body, Eden and Neely Martin being members of these classes. The floral tributes of friends were the largest seen here recently. The public school was represented by a tribute from each of the rooms in which the children of Mrs. Martin were members. The remains were interred in Greenhill cemetery.

Rose Eden was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Eden and was born in this city Nov. 2, 1858. She attended the Sullivan high school and after being graduated from this institution spent some years at the convent of the Visitation, near Washington, D. C., from which she was graduated with the highest honors and was made valedictorian of her class. She was a lady of high literary attainments, being a musician of much ability and having taught at different times. In June, 1886, she was united in marriage with S. J. Martin, present editor of the Sullivan Progress and manager of the Moultrie County Abstract company. To this union six children were born, one of whom died in infancy. Two daughters, Olive, a teacher in the public schools, and Mabel, and three sons, Eden, Neely and Robert, survive. She leaves three sisters, Mrs. Paul Thackwell of Terre Haute, Ind.; Mrs. J. K. Martin of Sullivan and Miss Emma, who lives at home with her father, and one brother, Walter Eden.

1908:

March 17, 1908

Mr. and Mrs. John Peole of Liner visited from Saturday until Monday with L. J. Martin and family.

Miss Laura Hazel, high school principal, was a Springfield visitor Saturday.

Misses Viola Goodman and Fannie Emmons were in Decatur Sunday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. Omar Lowe of Arcola visited relatives here over Sunday.

Mrs. L. Grigsby and daughter were in Decatur Sunday.

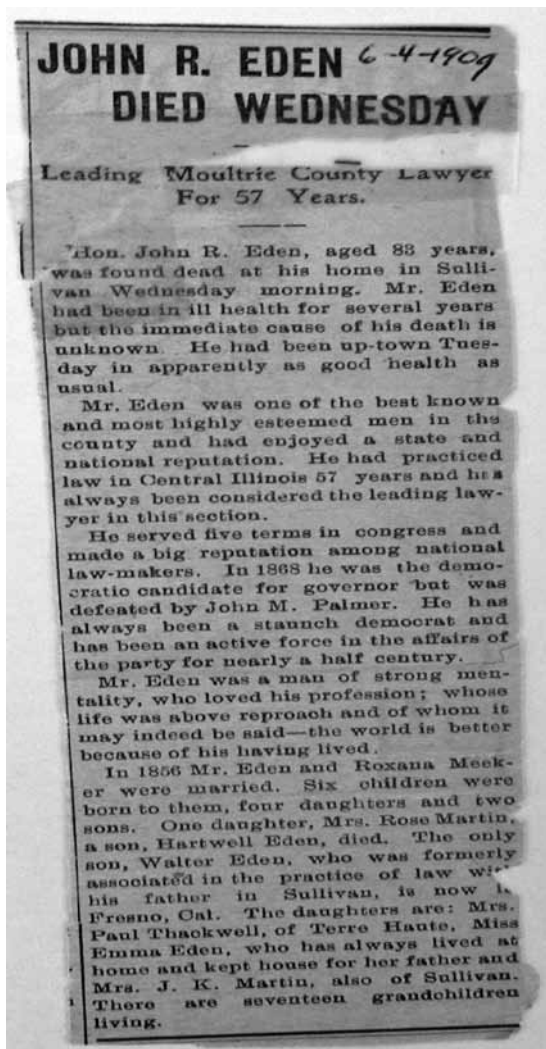
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Thackwell of Terre Haute are visiting the latter's father, Hon. John R. Eden, and family.

1909:

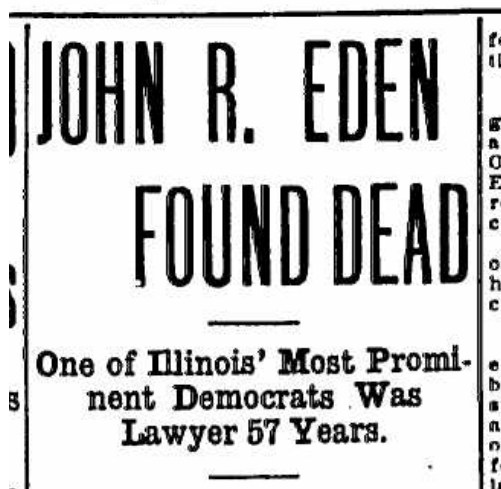
May 17, 1909:

Paul Thackwell of Terre Haute was in Sullivan Sunday, having come to return with Mrs. Thackwell and children, who have been visiting her father, John R. Eden, and family, the past month.

June 4, 1909:



June 9, 1909:





**HON. JOHN R. EDEN.**

Sullivan attorney with state and national reputation who died in his chair this morning, without any previous illness.

Sullivan, June 2.—Hon. John R. Eden, one of the most prominent Democrats and lawyers in the state, was found dead in his home here early this morning. He had been in usual health and no cause for his death is known.

**LIKE JAMES MILLIKIN.**

There was no more highly esteemed citizen of Sullivan than John R. Eden. He was known throughout the state and universally respected. In his immediate vicinity he held much the same position of high honor as did the late James Millikin in Decatur.

**LAWYER 57 YEARS.**

As a lawyer Mr. Eden has practiced in Illinois for fifty-seven years. He was 83 years old the first of last February. He was born in Kentucky and spent his early life in Rushville, Ind. It was there that he studied and read law as a young man. He always had a great desire for a college education but was never able to obtain it because in his young manhood he was the main support of his widowed mother. But assiduous reading and work gave him a better education than has the average man. He was recognized as a keen lawyer, being considered one of the most able in the state.

**BEGAN IN SHELBYVILLE.**

Mr. Eden began the practice of law in 1852, beginning in Shelbyville. He remained there only a year, removing then to Sullivan, where he lived most of his life. Something over a year he spent in Decatur in the practice of law, but went back to Sullivan because he thought he could better realize his political ambitions there.

**FIVE TERMS IN CONGRESS.**

Five terms of efficient service are credited to him in congress. He was elected from his district as representative five times, but his terms were not consecutive. He was elected first in 1862 and made a reputation among the national lawmakers from the start.

**RAN FOR GOVERNOR.**

In 1868 Mr. Eden was nominated by the Illinois Democrats for governor. He made a good race but was beaten by John M. Palmer.

He was always considered a strong

force in the party and was called into the party councils often.

#### WHAT INGERSOLL SAID.

It is told that once Colonel Bob Ingersoll was in Decatur. He asked about Judge Emerson and "Dick" Oglesby. Then he asked about John Eden and when told of him, Ingersoll remarked with a characteristic exclamation, "What a Democrat he is!"

That has been the important feature of John R. Eden's life and career. He has always been a consistent Democrat, one of the strongest in Illinois.

#### HIS SURVIVORS.

In 1856 Mr. Eden and Roxana Meeker were married. Six children were born to them, four daughters and two sons. One daughter, Mrs. Rose Martin, and a son, Hartwell Eden, died. The only son, Walter Eden, who was formerly associated in the practice of law with his father here, is now in Fresno, Cal. The daughters are: Mrs. Paul Thackwell at Terre Haute, Miss Emma Eden, who has always lived at home and kept house for her father, and Mrs. J. K. Martin, also of Sullivan. There are seventeen grandchildren living.

#### HIS DEATH.

Mr. Eden has always been an early riser. He has had the habit of getting up long before any of the rest of his household. He did that this morning and was either resting in a chair or reading when he died suddenly. When Miss Eden came down stairs she noticed her father sitting so quietly. He did not answer when she greeted him. Then she went to him and found him dead.

#### WELL AS USUAL.

There was no hint of falling health. Mr. Eden had been as well as usual and had gone to his office daily during the past two weeks. He had not been complaining of feeling ill.

The funeral arrangements have not been made but it will probably take place Sunday.

## JOHN R. EDEN

### Dies Suddenly at His Home Wednesday Morning.

John R. Eden died early Wednesday morning at his home on West Jefferson street in this city. He held to the habit of early rising, common with the generation in which he was a boy and young man, and on Wednesday morning had gotten up before any other member of the family. When his daughter, Miss Emma, arose she found him sitting in a chair but his soul had quietly and peacefully left its abiding place.

Mr. Eden had been in his usual health and was at his office and on the streets Tuesday. He had not been sick recently and it may be said that he died of old age, but he died in the harness; he did not rust out, and up to the day of his death his mind was as bright and his will as strong as at any time in his life.

Funeral services will be held Sunday. It is expected that his son Walter, who is on the way from California will have arrived by that time. The funeral services will be held at the family home Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. Dr. Wheat of the M. E. church will deliver the funeral sermon. He will be assisted in the services by Judge Cochran and Rev. Walters. E. J. Miller will have charge of the music. Interment will be at Greenhill.

John R. Eden was a man who disliked flattery and fulsome praise, and we have tried to avoid anything of that kind in this article. In the obituary that follows we give something of his private and public career. His achievements speak for him. We feel justified in saying however, that he was one of the ablest men in this state and in congress at a time when men were judged for statesmanship instead of political shrewdness.

### OBITUARY.

John R. Eden was born in Bath county, Ky., Feb. 1, 1826. His father, John Paul Eden, was a native of Maryland and his grandfather on the paternal side came from England. John Paul Eden moved from Kentucky to Rush county, Ind. in 1831. He died there in 1835, leaving his wife and six children.

John R. Eden came to Shelbyville in 1852, where he was admitted to the bar. In 1853 he came to Sullivan and has practiced law ever since, except when absent in congress.

He was married in 1856 to Miss Roxanna Meeker. Six children were born to them. Four are living, Miss Emma, Mrs. J. K. Martin, Mrs. Paul Thackwell and Walter Eden. A son, Hartwell, died in 1878 at the age of 18, and a daughter, Mrs. I. J. Martin, died Nov. 7, 1907.

John R. Eden served five terms in congress where he was recognized as one of the ablest men in that body.

In 1868 he was democratic candidate for governor of Illinois. The state being largely republican he was defeated by John M. Palmer.

In 1856 he was elected states attorney for the Seventh judicial circuit. At that time states attorneys were elected by circuits, same as circuit judges.

In politics Mr. Eden was a democrat. In his profession he was the peer of any of his contemporaries. In his private life he was scrupulously honest.

*d 9 June 1909*

June 13, 1909:

## LAWYERS TO ATTEND J. R. EDEN FUNERAL

Attorneys J. R. Fitzgerald and W. T. Cussins will go to Sullivan today to attend the funeral of Hon. John Eden. Other attorneys may also attend from Decatur.

June 14, 1909:

Heverley Henry of Vandalia arrived here Saturday morning to attend the funeral of John R. Eden. Mr. Henry is the son of Rev. B. Henry, one of the pioneer preachers of Illinois, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Eden in their early manhood.

June 15, 1909:

## EDEN WILL DIVIDES ESTATE OF \$70,000

### It Goes Equally to Heirs and Includes Valuable Farm Land.

Sullivan, Ill. June 15.—The late John R. Eden left a will, the probating of which has been set for July 10. The estate, including 312 acres of land adjoining Sullivan, valued at about \$175 or \$200 per acre, the Sullivan residence, about \$4,000, interest in the law firm of Eden & Martin personal property etc aggregating about \$70,000 is to be equally divided among the four surviving children and heirs of one daughter, Mrs. Rose Martin deceased.

J. K. Martin is named as executor with full power to sell or dispose of personal property at his discretion and judgment.

June 18, 1909, Chicago, Daily Herald

John R. Eden, aged 83, who practiced law in Illinois for fifty-seven years, was found dead in a chair at his home in Sullivan. He served five terms in Congress and once ran for Governor on the Democratic ticket.

\*\*\*\*\*

1927:

December 17, 1927:

## John R. Eden Saw The Point

Was Always a Formidable  
Opponent.

NATIVE OF SULLIVAN

Defeated in Race of Illinois  
Governor.

(Fifth of series of articles about former members of the Macon County Bar.)

Judge M. R. Davidson's friendly, chatty, informative reminiscences of early members of the Macon county bar grow on one as he proceeds with their reading and it becomes more and more evident that in writing them he has done a work of great value. He continues in this issue with the narration of the story of John R. Eden of Sullivan. There are a good many people still living who can recall that tall, gaunt figure in his later years in the court room. He became quite deaf as he grew old but he always seemed able to hear the vital thing in the trial of a case. He was a formidable opponent to the very last. Judge Davidson writes:

Judge John R. Eden was for a few years a prominent member, of the

Judge John R. Eden was for a few years a prominent member, of the Macon county bar. I think it was in 1869 or 1870 he moved from Sullivan to Decatur to practice his profession. For many years he was the king bee in Sullivan and the people accredited him with being one of the best lawyers in the state. In politics he was a Democrat and he served several years in the congress of the United States. In one campaign he ran for governor of Illinois but he was defeated by John M. Palmer who at the time was elected as a Republican, but later in life he came to his senses and joined the Democracy. He was the means of defeating William J. Bryan for the presidency in 1896 by his race as a gold Democrat.

I want to speak of Mr. Eden more as a lawyer than as a politician, but I will say in passing that he was first elected in 1862, the second year of the Civil war. It has often been said that "those were the times that tried men's souls." Mr. Eden was what might be called an all round lawyer. His cases civil as well as criminal. He did not specialize in criminal law or real estate law, or corporation law or titles. The first

time that he writer ever saw him was in 1860 at the beginning of the campaign between Lincoln and Douglas. There was a mass Democratic rally in Decatur, on the south side of town and it seems to be in the vicinity of the cemetery. As I recall the lay of the ground it was a sort of natural amphitheater. Board seats were provided and Mr. Eden was the speaker of the occasion. I have yet a vivid recollection of his personal appearance as he made his argument. His pantaloons were too short and his shoes turned up at the toes, but my! How he could enthuse his audience with his masterful strokes in favor of his views. They had provided a small cannon with which to emphasize the cheers when the speaker was applauded, and it fired round after round as the speaker proceeded.

**NOT FLUENT SPEAKER.**

He was not a fluent speaker. In fact his delivery was of the deliberate sledge hammer style which moved injuries, and his points were so clearly elucidated that a child could understand him.

When Mr. Eden took up the practice of law in Decatur he associated himself with Hugh Odor and later they took in Ed Eldridge and the firm name became Eden, Elder and Eldridge. No doubt Mr. Eden found here stiffer competition than he had had in his home town of Sullivan. He had to meet here Nelson, Bunn, Crea, Buckingham and others. As one lawyer said they plucked his wing and tail feathers until he did not look like his former self. Perhaps this can be accepted as a more accurate statement of what they tried to do rather than of what they actually accomplished. The fact remains that he was a foe worthy of any of their steel and he was engaged in all of the more important cases tried in the Macon county courts while he was a member of the Macon county bar.

Mr. Eden's wife was a Miss Meeker, a sister of Judge Meeker of Sullivan whose relatives lived in and about that city. It appears that she was never quite satisfied to live in Decatur, and I think that Mr. Eden was a bit homesick for his old haunts. He never lost interest in his hometown. The family moved back to Sullivan sometime in the early 70's.

While he yet lived in Decatur the writer made a trip with Mr. Eden about the time the town was getting its first railroad. We walked out to what is now the site of the station to see the first train come in. We had not waited long till we heard the whistle of the locomotive and as it rolled in Mr. Eden said he was glad to see the cars come into his native town.



town.

After going back to Sullivan Mr. Eden resumed his practice of law there and followed it till his death. He was a great friend to the young attorney as I will now illustrate:

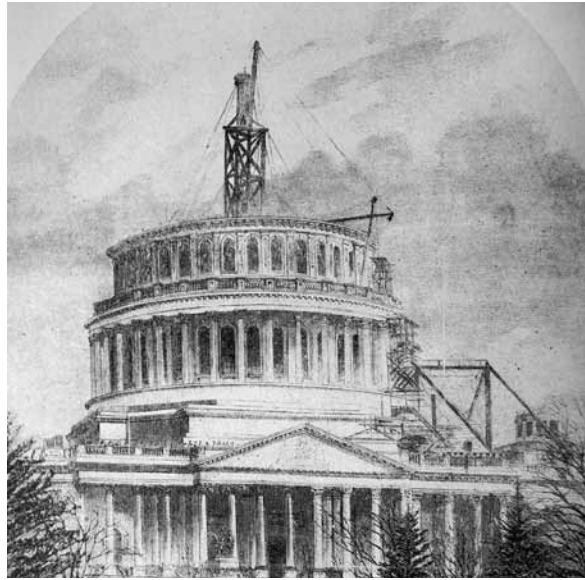
#### COMES TO RESCUE.

When a youthful legal sprout there was a case entrusted to the writer in which the title to some farm machinery came into question between the manufacturer and the agent handling the product in Lovington. I brought suit for the company, and when the case was called for trial who should appear for the agent but the redoubtable Brower Bunn. I was simply scared green, but I went to trial. During the trial of the case a slip of paper was thrust into my hand by some one near. Unfolding it I saw at once that it was a suggestion from Eden telling me what to do with the point at issue. Needless to say the suggestion was immediately acted upon. Judge Smith heard the case without a jury and he divided the disputed property between the parties. We both seemed satisfied.

Mr. Eden closed up all his business on earth on the 9th day of June, 1909, and he was laid away in the cemetery at Sullivan. I do not know his age. His years were well spent and he is missed by not only his immediate relatives but a host of friends. Some one has said: "To live in the hearts we leave behind is not to die."

A prominent citizen of Decatur adds this incident which is a fitting appendix to Judge Davidson's story: "He collected a considerable sum of money for me that was due one of my clients. The matter was handled in a

perfectly satisfactory manner and when the money was paid me some two thousand dollars, I said: 'Now, what is the amount of your bill?' " 'Young man, you will receive your bill by post.' It was said with dignity yet kindly, but it was a rebuke. I received the bill by post and it was \$30. I expected to pay \$100 and I would have paid cheerfully \$150 or more. He had the old fashioned notion of charging not all that the traffic would bear for the actual work that he had done."



**Unfinished Capitol**



**Pennsylvania Avenue**



**Willard Hotel**

# XIII

## SPEECHES OF JOHN R. EDEN IN CONGRESS

John R. Eden served five terms in Congress – the 38<sup>th</sup>, 43<sup>rd</sup>, 44<sup>th</sup>, 45<sup>th</sup>, and 49<sup>th</sup> – beginning with the 38<sup>th</sup> Congress to which he was elected in November 1862 while the Civil War was raging. He delivered several speeches on the floor of the House and was active, particularly during his latter terms, in discussions and debate on the House floor. Much of this activity arose out of his service as Chairman of the House Committee on War Claims, which evaluated claims on behalf of those seeking compensation for damage or injury during the War and often recommended private bills providing for compensation.

John R. Eden also served on a special committee of the House to review the results of the disputed 1876 Presidential election in South Carolina.

Here is a list of John R. Eden's Speeches in the House, which are reproduced below.

1. February 27, 1864 – Speech, "Reconstruction." The Congressional Globe, 1865, 858.
2. February 25, 1865 – Inquiry. The Congressional Globe, 1116.
3. February 14, 1874 – Speech, "The Present Financial Condition of the Country." Congressional Record, 1502.
4. March 14, 1874 – Speech, "Interstate Commerce," Congressional Record, 2157.
5. April 7, 1876 – Speech in support of appropriations bill on behalf of the Committee on War Claims. 4 Congressional Record 2303.
6. March 31, 1876 – report on bill to pay claims by the First National Bank of Saint Albans, Vermont, arising out of the Saint Albans raid. 4 Congressional Record, at 2133.
7. July 26, 1876 – Speech, "The Utilization of the Product of Gold and Silver Mines," Appendix, 4 Congressional Record, 203.
8. January 25, 1877 – Speech, "Counting the Electoral Vote." 5 Congressional Record (Appendix), 77.
9. December 12, 1877 – Speech, "Colorado Election Case." 7 Congressional Record, 159.
10. February 21, 1878 – Speech, "Coinage of Silver Dollars." 7 Congressional Record (Appendix) 60.
11. December 11, 1878 – Floor debate on proposed provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act, 8 Congressional Record, 96.

the cereals, which require the hot, dry climate of the inter-continental plains.

When it is recollected that one of the leading grain houses of England (see address of Thomas Whitney, Esq., before the Chamber of Commerce, Milwaukee, page 22) estimates the amount of wheat necessary for the support of the wheat-consuming population of Europe at one billion bushels annually, it is easy to estimate the effect which this steady diminution of the amount of wheat raised in Europe must have upon those regions of our own country especially adapted for the growth of that cereal.

It cannot be lost sight of that considerations of climate, soil, and geographical location, override all the efforts of human energy and industry. New England, by the census returns of 1860, raises wheat enough to feed her own people three weeks, and New York sufficient for six months; while Pennsylvania, after feeding her own population, possesses no surplus, and Ohio but three million bushels. In ten years the wheat crop of these States has decreased 6,500,000 bushels. (See Report of Chicago Ship Canal Convention, page 86.)

Steadily the seat of empire of this wonderful cereal is being transferred northwestward. Gradually, imperceptibly, and by the force of powerful natural laws, new regions of country are rising into the first consequence as the bread-producing regions of the world. During the ten years in which the eastern States diminished their wheat crop 6,500,000 bushels, the Northwest increased its wheat crop 55,000,000 bushels!

In no other locality is this startling growth more strikingly displayed than in the State which I have the honor in part to represent—Minnesota. In 1858 that State was an importer, to a large extent, of flour, beef, pork, &c., to supply the wants of her own people. In 1860 her entire crop of grain and potatoes was 14,693,517 bushels; her entire crop of wheat 5,101,432 bushels, nearly five times greater than the wheat crop of all the New England States, possessing six times her population! There has never been in the history of the human family, so stupendous a rate of growth as this. In one year, from 1859 to 1860, the breadth of wheat sown in the State increased 85 per cent., and the amount of crop 114 per cent.!

Can we be blind to the great lessons taught by these facts? Can we shut our eyes to the fact that the advance of civilization and the crowding together of population turn the labor of man from agriculture to manufactures and commerce, and that these non-producers of food are steadily increasing in number both in our own country and in Europe, and that with their growth there is a corresponding increase in the number of the whole human family? Who shall feed these increasing millions? Where shall the food which is to sustain them be raised? The statistics I have given answer this question, so far as our own land is concerned.

What are the requirements for the growth of wheat? An English writer has answered the question:

"The possession of extensive fertile plains, a favorable climate, a moderate but not dense population, a convenient access to the sea, or facilities of transport by great rivers."

All these we have in the Northwest; joined to a dryness and coolness of the atmosphere, which bring to the highest physical development every form of life subjected to its operation.

There is one significant fact which stands out with great distinctness; it is this, that immigration, following its instincts, is pointing its column steadily toward the great Northwest. The ratio of increase of the whole nation from 1850 to 1860 was but 35 per cent.; that of the West 68.25 per cent.; that of Wisconsin 150 per cent.; that of Minnesota 2,761 per cent.!

Here, then, we have the elements of this great question:

1. An increase in Europe and in our own country of the non-producers of food.
2. A decrease of the cereal crop in the now settled regions of the earth.
3. The possession in our inter-continental prairies of the greatest grain-producing region on the globe, lacking only hands to bring its incalculable riches to the light.
4. The existence in Europe of vast multitudes, enterprising, intelligent, industrious; eager to cross the Atlantic, and press forward in the footsteps of their brethren to the West and Northwest.

Shall we not lend the sanction of this Government to their migration? Shall not this Government, so greatly to be benefited by their coming, extend to them a helping hand, watch over them in their transit, care for them on their arrival, and facilitate their movements to the new lands of the West? All the evidences go to show that the immigration during the next decade will be greater than ever before known. It is not to be forgotten that the immigration between 1850 and 1860 was more than one half the total immigration since 1790.

With the blessing of Almighty God the result of this war cannot but be universal liberty and unending peace and prosperity throughout the land; and when those ends are attained the laborious populations of Europe will literally swarm to our shores.

Nor is this question without considerations which appeal directly to our selfish instincts. Hon. Robert J. Walker, in an article in the *Continental Monthly*, has shown that if we compute the annual immigration for the next ten years at the same rate as during the decade from 1850 to 1860, that is to say at 260,000 per annum, and estimate the value of the labor of each immigrant at thirty-three cents per day, it would give us a grand total in ten years of \$1,430,000,000.

Throw wide the doors to immigration, encourage it, facilitate it, and in twenty years the results of the labors of the immigrants and their children will add to the wealth of the country a sum sufficient to pay the entire debt created by this war.

The bill I have introduced provides for the creation of a Bureau of Immigration for three things:

1. To faithfully execute the laws heretofore enacted by Congress for the protection of immigrants crossing the ocean.
2. To facilitate their movement to their destinations after landing by furnishing them necessary information and protecting them from fraud and imposition.
3. To superintend the disbursement of any sum appropriated by Congress or by any State Legislature to encourage immigration.

The bureau when established will be able to collect information and suggest measures which may guide subsequent legislation. I have hesitated to ask that Congress should advance any large sum of money to aid immigration, although such would seem to be the view of the President. I have therefore provided that States might place in the hands of the Commissioner funds to be used for that purpose, the immigration thereby obtained to go to such State. I am quite convinced that some of our western States will take advantage of the machinery of the bureau to increase their own population, while the money advanced might be in the nature of loans to the immigrants, secured in such way as would insure its return in the majority of cases. There are in England, and I suppose in other European States, emigrant societies, in which a sufficient fund is raised by small weekly contributions to pay the passage of the members. As the funds accumulate a member is selected by election, the most industrious and honest being chosen, who is expected to return his passage-money out of his first earnings after his arrival in this country. The fund thus returned is added to the additional accumulations, and the next time pays the passage of two members, and in this manner the process is carried on until all the members are enabled to escape from the house of poverty to the land of liberty and prosperity.

It might be in the power of the Commissioner to use the machinery of these societies in such way as to obtain by small loans the most deserving immigrants with little risk of loss—a comparatively small sum thus going through many hands and assisting many hundreds of persons. All this is, however, rather in the nature of suggestions to the Commissioner when appointed than of arguments in favor of the bill itself.

The bureau should be established. An interest which adds two millions and three quarters of a million to our population in ten years deserves to have some recognized head at the seat of this Government. An interest which can in twenty years pay off the national debt by the wealth added to the nation through the work of its own hands, deserves to be fostered, tenderly cared for, stimulated, and protected by every true friend of the country.

The southern revolution withdrew from the people of the North an incubus which had controlled

and repressed them for fifty years. They are now rising for the first time to the dignity of a people whose greatness rests on the basis of free labor.

Appreciating the fact that the agriculture of the country is its first great interest, they have established a Bureau of Agriculture. Let them go one step further, and, conscious of the obligations due by a nation of immigrants, or the children of immigrants, to European immigration in the past, and mindful also of its enormous importance to the nation in the future, let them establish a Bureau of Immigration. With nearly one billion of unsettled lands on one side of the Atlantic, and with many millions of poor and oppressed people on the other, let them organize the exodus which needs must come, and build, if necessary, a bridge of gold across the chasm which divides them, that the chosen races of mankind may occupy the chosen lands of the world.

#### RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Chairman, I propose to state some of the reasons why I dissent from the views of the President, as expressed in his recent message, and especially some reasons why I dissent from his plan for the reconstruction of the Union embraced in his proclamation of amnesty. After the very able and full discussion of the questions arising out of those remarkable documents, it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to do more than restate, perhaps in a different form, some of the arguments which have already been adduced in opposition to the positions assumed by the Executive. For three years the people of the United States have been engaged in a war which, for magnitude of the armies in the field, and lavishness in the expenditure of money, has no parallel in modern history. The avowed object in inaugurating hostilities on the part of our Government was the suppression of "certain combinations formed to oppose the execution of the laws too powerful to be overcome by the ordinary course of judicial proceeding." In theory, the sole object in bringing a military force to bear upon these combinations was to overthrow and disarm them, to the end that the laws might be enforced. The Constitution of the United States empowers Congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." Another clause of the Constitution enjoins upon the President to "see that the laws are faithfully executed." The General Government under these grants of power is in duty bound to suppress insurrection. The respective spheres of legislative and executive action in relation thereto are clearly laid down and defined by the Constitution. Congress must pass all necessary laws for raising, arming, and governing the forces to be employed against the insurgents. The President must see that the laws passed in this behalf are faithfully executed; and in cases of controverted constitutional questions arising out of the laws themselves, or the manner of their enforcement, the judicial department of the Government must settle the rights of the parties affected; of the Executive as well as the citizen. Keeping these plain and simple propositions in view, we can readily determine the duties of the President of the United States in conducting our military affairs. By the same rules we can also ascertain whether or not the military orders, proclamations, or executive "plans of reconstruction" are legitimate measures for the overthrow of combinations formed to obstruct the operation of the laws.

Before speaking more directly of this "plan," let us look a little at the previous acts and conduct of the Administration in reference to the rebellion, that we may with the more accuracy determine the effects likely to follow the means proposed. I admit that when our political institutions are in peril, as they now are, it is a matter of the very first importance that the entire country should have the fullest confidence in the chief executive officer of the Government, provided he is worthy of that confidence. But I have yet to learn that in a republican Government the imbecility or corruption of the President must be palliated before the people whose servant he is and to whom he is accountable for all his acts. President Lincoln in his inaugural address said:

"I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

1864.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE.

859

In his proclamation of April 15, 1861, calling out seventy-five thousand militia, which was the first call for troops made by him, the President used the language which I now read:

"I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation of or interference with property or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country."

Again, on the 22d day of July, 1861, immediately following the first disastrous battle of Bull Run, Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, passed what is known as the Crittenden resolution, declaring—

"That this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

The extracts which I have read from the inaugural address, the first proclamation calling out troops, and the Crittenden resolution, may, with great propriety, be denominated the first war platform of this Administration. During the first six or eight months after the commencement of hostilities we had no intimation from official sources that the war was to be diverted from its proper course in aid of the enforcement of the laws into a crusade to free the negroes, or to interfere with and overthrow the rights and established institutions of any of the States. High officials, with the oath to protect and defend the Constitution fresh on their lips, had not yet learned that there was some sort of an indefinite and undefinable "war power" to be found somewhere within the limits of a latitudinous construction of the Constitution that could release them from the obligations of that oath; that under this "war power" they might do that which they had "no lawful right to do;" that while the people are bound to obey all the laws and all the edicts and proclamations of the President, constitutional and unconstitutional, the chief Executive of the United States, rising above the ordinary level of erring mortals, had been imbued with authority from above or beneath to override and nullify constitutions and laws at his sovereign will and pleasure.

Mr. Chairman, the great mass of the people of the United States are distinguished for their love of country; are firmly attached to that form of Government instituted by the men who, fresh from the sanguinary fields of the Revolution, could yet guard the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty. To maintain the rightful authority of that Government and to preserve their liberties, having their only sure guarantee in the written Constitution under which that authority can alone be exercised, they have always been ready to make every sacrifice required of them by the dictates of the highest patriotism. Actuated by these sentiments, when this Administration demanded the purse and the sword in the sacred name of Union, they were given without stint or reservation. In return for their treasure and the blood of their sons, the people only required of their public servants that the Constitution of the United States should remain inviolate and the union of the States unbroken. With the highest professions of patriotism on the part of the President and his friends the pledge was given in the beginning of our civil war that these objects of solicitude should be carefully protected and maintained. In response to the assurance thus given, each call for troops to fill the broken and bleeding ranks of the Army was met by the swelling tide of freemen, swarming to the field of carnage and of death, their hearts being fired with a holy zeal, under the belief that the sacred cause of the Union invoked the sacrifice. Even the demands of the tax-gatherer, grasping for a portion of the frugal meal of the children of toil, have been submitted to without a murmur because these contributions to the public Treasury were to be consecrated to the sacred purpose of saving the Union. When the withering hand of arbitrary power was first stretched over the peaceful citizens of the northern States, and they were dragged from their homes the victims of personal or political malice, the fears of the people were aroused by the dark shadow of a hateful despotism whose figure was seen in the dim distance marching on with cau-

tious but unerring step, trampling down in its course every safeguard of personal liberty. The apprehensions of the people were however quieted by the assurance that these things were done for the sake of the Union.

Mr. Chairman, has this Administration faithfully executed the high trust reposed in it by the country? If it has it ought to and will receive the reward due to the faithful public servant; its errors will be forgiven and forgotten, its virtues cherished and remembered. If it has proven false to its professions, and deceived and betrayed a too confiding people, it will and should receive their condemnation. This message unfolds more fully the purposes of the executive branch of the Government than anything that has preceded it. In order that we may form a correct judgment, let us examine this document in the light of reason and of candor.

The first impression formed on reading the President's proclamation of amnesty is that the progress of putting down the rebellion has not kept pace with the too ardent expectations of the people. The very modest pretensions of the President as to the success of the means employed by him for the overthrow of the rebel power do not seem to be justified by the facts given us. True, he runs a parallel, showing the present condition of affairs, as compared with the situation eleven months prior to the date of this message, with the evident design of showing a great improvement in the prospects of the Union. When we come to examine the premises upon which he bases his favorable conclusions, we cannot but be struck with the evident satisfaction with which he refers to the success of his party as one indication of the advancement of the Union cause. Whether this success shall turn out to be an element of strength or of weakness in the pending struggle, depends on the Administration and its friends. If they continue in future the course they have followed in the past, the result of the elections in their favor will not perceptibly weaken the cause of the rebellion. Again, the success of the proclamation of emancipation, in giving practical freedom to a large number of slaves, with the ultimate prospect that the whole negro population in the States where insurrection prevails will soon be in the enjoyment of the same inestimable blessing, is cited as a notable instance of progress in suppressing the rebellion. Then, too, in the border States the people are growing restless in the cause of emancipation. Hence, the rebellion is rapidly disappearing. To a person not wholly satisfied that the President is "honest," the assignment of these causes of improvement in our condition would be apt to create at least the suspicion that he looked upon these facts more in the light of a partisan than of a patriot. They all have a direct bearing upon the future success of the Republican party. But let us go back in the history of this rebellion two years and a half, and see if, according to the President's own showing, we are not much further from reunion now than we were then. At the opening of the extra session of Congress in July, 1861, the President informed the country in his message that—

"It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many if not in every other one of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment."

This statement of the President was received by the country as true. And when we remember that until the voice of reason had been hushed by the clash of arms a large majority of the people in most of those States had, upon every opportunity, expressed themselves satisfied with the Union, we must acknowledge that the President had substantial grounds for the statement he made. Since then we have had over two years and a half of bloody war. The battles of Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, Malvern Hill, the first and second battles of Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and many others of less note, have been fought. The blood of the young men of the country has been poured out in reckless profusion. Many thousands of homes, the abodes of happiness, with the family circle

hitherto unbroken, have been made desolate by the cruel hand of war. The weeds of widowhood and the misery and want of orphanage meet the eye on every hand. The tax-gatherer crowds the highways of the country and the streets of the cities. His footfalls are heard in the hovels of the poor and on the marble steps of the rich. His exactions fall upon the luxurious repasts and gorgeous equipage of the millionaire and upon the frugal meal and plain dress of the humble. Even the widow's mite is required to replenish the depleted Treasury. A debt of \$2,000,000,000 has been contracted by the Government, and the foundation laid to swell that debt to double its present proportions; thus laying a burden upon future generations that will in all time to come grind the labor of this country in the dust. By looking at the condition of the tax-ridden people of Europe, we behold the picture of what our own country is soon to be.

Taxation and tyranny are synonymous terms. The sum paid by each person into the coffers of the Government is the amount charged to him for the protection he receives of the Government. When the laws of the country are honestly and fairly administered, the burdens upon the citizen will be light, and he is more than compensated by the benefits he receives. But when the Government is administered for the advantage of the few; when the people are taxed for the purpose of putting money into the pockets of the pampered partisans of an Administration, such taxation becomes wrong and oppressive. And whenever the burden thus cast upon the people is so great that some portion of the money that ought to be applied to the support of the family must go into the public Treasury, a storm of indignation will arise that will sweep from power the men who would take the bread from famishing children. No Government has a right to pursue a policy that will fix permanently upon the country a system of taxation which impoverishes labor, and introduces want and misery into the household of the honest man who by the sweat of his face earns his bread. When an extraordinary emergency arises, requiring a large expenditure of money by the Government, if the crisis be controlled by honest statesmanship, only temporary sacrifices will be required of the people, and these will be met by them cheerfully for the sake of the permanent tranquility and happiness which are to follow. But if, in order to subdue the inflammation of the body-politic, the patient is to be reduced to a skeleton by blistering and bleeding, and the Constitution is to be shattered and destroyed by copious doses of poisonous drugs, such vicious remedies will be found to be worse than the original disease. It would be far preferable to allow the political system to fall in pieces, leaving the fragments pure and sound, than thus to corrupt and eventually destroy the whole.

Such, Mr. Chairman, is a brief outline of what we have done and suffered, giving but a glimpse of the consequences that are to follow the innovations which have been made upon our political institutions, since the President made the announcement at the threshold of the war, that there was "much reason to believe that the Union men are [were] the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States." What have we gained by all these sacrifices of blood and of treasure? If the Union cause has been advanced by the means employed in any degree commensurate with these sacrifices, then indeed the country may bear with patience the more trying scenes through which we are yet to pass. In drawing my conclusions upon the subject, I shall rely wholly upon the testimony of the President himself. We have already seen, by the President's message of July, 1861, that at that time more than one half of the people in each of the rebellious States, except South Carolina, were ready to render a willing obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States whenever the force of rebel arms to which they were subjected should be removed. Was not this a hopeful view? If proper means had been employed from that time forth, could not the rebellion have been easily and speedily suppressed? We had upon one side the regular Government, with twenty million people in the States not in insurrection. Having complete command of the ocean, the markets of the world were open to us for the purchase of everything needed in prose-

cuting the war. Our supremacy at sea also enabled us greatly to cripple our enemies in procuring supplies from foreign countries, and in preventing them from receiving such supplies. The principal wealth of the nation was to be found in the northern States. The credit of the Government being good, that wealth was at its perfect command. The hearts of the people of the States adhering to the old Union being true to the Government under which their prosperity had been so great and their liberties and happiness so secure, every man was ready to peril all to save that Government. On the other side were six million people, with a government not yet fully inaugurated, without money, without credit, without ships, scantily provided with the munitions of war, their ports closed by a blockade maintained by a sufficient force to command the respect of the civilized world; and, worse yet for them, with more than one half their own people, held in subjection by the strong arm of power, ready at any moment when that power should be broken to join hands with the armies of the Union and complete the overthrow of the rebel power by reestablishing State governments under the Federal Constitution, and thus maintaining the Union in all its original proportions.

Mr. Chairman, the rebel power being so weak as we have seen in July, 1861, ought it not ere this to have been overthrown? We had twenty-three million people on the side of the Government, three millions of whom were scattered throughout the States in revolt. Only three millions of the entire population of the country were willing adherents of the cause of the rebellion; and each one of these had a neighbor whose prayer was for the salvation of the Union, and whose eye would brighten with joy at sight of the stars and stripes waving again beneath a southern sun. How easy would it have been for our overwhelming numbers, seconded by one half the population of the insurrectionary districts, marching on in the spirit of the President's inaugural address and of the proclamation of April 15, 1861, careful "to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country," and carrying out the policy of the Crittenden resolution, to have swept before them every vestige of armed opposition, leaving in their rear State governments upheld by Union citizens, with a majority in each to maintain such governments. Unfortunately for this country such has not been the policy pursued.

Upon the meeting of Congress in December, 1861, commenced the struggle of the radicals to force their measures upon the country. The constitutional doctrine of the inaugural address relative to slavery was spurned. Instead of the conciliatory policy of the proclamation of April 15, 1861, guaranteeing the protection of property and of peaceful citizens by our armies, a confiscation act was placed on the statute-book which, if carried out, would not only virtually destroy the institution of slavery, but beggar almost every family in the South and render their country a desolate waste. The Crittenden resolution which had received the solemn sanction of the same men at the extra session in July, 1861, was violated with impunity; and a determination was manifested by them that the local institutions of the States should not be respected, and that the war should never cease until the laws and institutions of the southern States were made to conform to the opinions of the abolitionists. The slavery question, upon which the southern people had always been more jealous of Federal interference than on any other, was brought more prominently before Congress than ever before. The partisan schemes of the Republican party, some of which were regarded as unconstitutional and ruinous to the country by nearly one half of the northern people, were pressed upon Congress and the country with intemperate zeal and a manner most offensive. Such of their schemes as they could not carry out by legislation they besought the President, under the "war power," to enforce upon the people at the point of the sword. Though sometimes repelled, by bringing "pressure" to bear upon the weak nerves of the Executive they always triumphed in the end.

Mr. Chairman, if the change of policy from conservative to radical has improved the condition of the country, the President, being responsible for

the change, will make its benefits appear in as strong a light as possible. He shall speak for himself. In his message delivered to Congress at the opening of the present session, the President says:

"The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and by the complete opening of the Mississippi the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical connection between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens of each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in the respective States. Of those States not included in the emancipation proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits. Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks, thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any."

Here are the substantial fruits of all the expenditure of blood and treasure since the announcement was made by the President that in all the insurrectionary States except South Carolina a majority of the people were favorable to the Union. To him whose heart's only desire in this contest is to see the Union restored under the Constitution, with the reestablishment of the former peace, happiness, and prosperity of this country, what has been the gain of these long months of toil and suffering? True, Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and some of their citizens who were formerly furious advocates of slavery extension have doubtless been conquered by this Administration, whether by weapons manufactured by Secretary Chase or by heavier metal it is not my province to inquire. But what has become of the majority of the citizens of each of these States who in July, 1861, stood ready when the rebel power should be removed to rally around the old flag, and to again place the governments of their States in harmony with the Constitution of the United States? I think that the loss of these men, who were honestly for the Union two years ago, is not well supplied by all the negroes now in the service of the Government, with whatever aid may be received from the few white men who will swear to support all of the President's proclamations.

The cooperation of a majority of the citizens of these States in the attempt now being made to reorganize State governments would fix Tennessee and Arkansas so firmly in the Union as to place them beyond the possibility of rebel control.

The relative merit of conservatism and radicalism in their effects in restoring the Union may be easily summed up from the President's messages. In July, 1861, when the horrible phantom of this fratricidal war had barely made itself visible to the people, more than one half of the voters in each of the insurrectionary States, save one, were firmly attached to the Union. In December, 1863, after two years and a half of war, most of the time under a radical policy, the President thinks that perhaps one tenth of the population, in some of the rebel States, may be almost ready to range themselves on the side of the Union. Should the Union cause continue to recede for two years to come as it has during the two years last past, the President will be compelled to draw on his African friends for loyal men to fill the offices.

Mr. Chairman, the proclamation of amnesty accompanying the President's recent annual message is totally at variance with the Constitution of the United States. If, as all conservative men claim, the seceded States are in the Union, their ordinances of secession being null and void because repugnant to the Constitution, then clearly Mr. Lincoln has no right to prescribe terms upon which State governments shall be allowed to exist. If, on the other hand, as claimed by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Stevens,] the seceded States are out of the Union, and the territory within the confederate States is foreign territory, the President has no right to reorganize State governments over that territory upon any terms, because the Constitution expressly provides that "Congress may admit new States into the Union," and when States are carved out of this foreign territory they are new States. This executive plan of reconstruction, like all the outrages perpetrated by this Administration, is promulgated in the name of the Union.

The people have submitted to so many infringements of their chartered rights, because each separate act of usurpation was alleged to be necessary to the success of the Union cause, that the men in power have become bold and reckless in their assaults upon the Constitution. We have had many instances of wanton oppression of individuals by the President and others acting under his authority. The freedom of the press has been stricken down. Citizens, arrested without warrant of law, have been denied the privilege of "a speedy public trial by an impartial jury" of the country. Others have been banished from their homes for freely canvassing the conduct of men in public office. Freemen have been driven from the polls by military forces acting under the orders of the Administration, whereby men have been elected to seats on this floor in opposition to the known will of their constituents. And finally, to cap the climax of usurpation and tyranny, the President, seeking of his party a nomination for reelection, attempts to subject to his absolute control ten States, by excluding all citizens from a participation in the elections except those who have sworn base subservience to his will.

This proposition coming on the eve of a presidential election, made by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, who is also a candidate for President, is the most alarming and dangerous attempt that has ever been made in this country to override the will of the people. An election held under such circumstances would be worse than a mockery. Where the necessity of going through the empty forms of an election when no man is allowed to approach the polls unless he is bound by the solemnities of an oath to support the policy of one of the candidates? He cannot vote against that policy without disqualifying himself as a voter, for he is not only required to take the oath, but, if he fails to comply with it, in doing which he must support the President's policy, he is no longer a voter. Call you that an election, when each voter gives expression not to his own will but the will of the President? If the President has the right, under the power given him in the Constitution of the United States "to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses committed against the United States," to require an oath of the criminal that he will support the measures of a certain political party, may he not also exact an oath from him to support a particular candidate to carry out that policy? If the latter condition may be affixed and applied to all the citizens of ten States without reference to the guilt or innocence of the parties, why not dispense with the elections entirely, and as a condition of pardon for some real or supposed offense require the people of those States to take an oath to support and maintain the President in office for life or for another term of four years without any election at all? And if the President may require an oath from all the citizens of ten States to support his partisan policy, as a condition precedent to the exercise of the elective franchise, may he not require a similar oath of all the citizens of all the States? Your answer to this is, that they have not been guilty of treason, hence do not require executive clemency to restore them to forfeited rights. The proclamation of amnesty requires Union men who have never withdrawn their allegiance from the Government to take a felon's oath before they are permitted to exercise the privileges of American citizens. I read from the proclamation:

"Whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States: Therefore,

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly or by implication participated in the existing rebellion, except, as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support

1864.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE.

861

all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified and declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

"And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reestablish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence."

By reference to this proclamation it will be seen that no persons are invited "to reinaugurate loyal State governments in the States named except persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion." Hence the citizen who has always been true to the Union under the Constitution is not permitted to take part in the elections for the reorganization of State governments until he shall have acknowledged himself guilty of treason to the Government and bound himself by oath to support the partisan policy of the Administration. As this plan of reconstruction, as it is called by Mr. Lincoln, is only a scheme to force upon the country his reelection to the Presidency, the exclusion of men from the ballot-box who have not the taint of treason upon their garments, while the traitor, his hand still red with the blood of our dead soldiers, is invited, upon binding himself by oath to support the policy of the President, to deposit his vote, is significant of the position of the true Union men of the South. They are opposed to the wicked and ruinous course of the Administration. They know that the Union cannot be preserved under its radical policy. If Mr. Lincoln was the man of their choice for President they would not be crowded from the polls by men whose recent and sudden conversion from the service of Jeff. Davis to the cause of abolitionism creates a suspicion that their motives may not be pure.

With his usual propensity for joking, the President facetiously says that "when a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and excluding all others, shall reestablish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath," the protection of the General Government is to be extended to such State government, and it is to be shielded from domestic violence. No person except Mr. Lincoln, who is in the habit of jesting about matters of the gravest importance, would pretend to call a government republican that excluded nine tenths of the people from all participation in its affairs, and permitted the other tenth to act only in obedience to the rules prescribed by one man. I always understood a republican government to be one in which the voice of a majority of the people was necessary to the election of their law-makers. I take it for granted that the General Government will have no light duty to perform in protecting such State governments as the President proposes to organize in the seceded States from domestic violence. The nine tenths whose rights of person and of property are to be at the absolute mercy of the one tenth will not rest quietly under the dominance of their mercenary and cowardly masters. The people of the loyal States will be taxed to the full extent of human endurance to enable the President's preconcerted rule over their countrymen in the seceded States. A system of rotten-borough representation will be ingrafted upon our Constitution that will fill both Houses of Congress with political mendicants whose subservience to their master, the President, will only be equalled by their treachery to our republican institutions. The debauched minions who will come up here under this policy, the odor of treason still rank upon their garments, false to the Union and the Constitution in their hour of greatest peril, false to the cause of rebellion only when its power began

to wane, purged of their crimes against the country by pledging themselves to be equally false to constitutional liberty, will pollute with their corruptions every department of the Government. Base sycophants, basking in the sunshine of executive favor, will "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee" under the guardianship of usurped authority, "that thrift may follow fawning."

Why should such a premium be offered to men to rebel against the Government? According to this plan of reconstruction one man in South Carolina, Georgia, or Mississippi will exert as much political influence in the Government as twenty men in Illinois. The ratio of representation is based on population where all are free. In the States named more than one half the population are negroes, to be free according to this plan of reconstruction, and hence enumerated in making up the ratio of representation in Congress and the electoral college. One tenth of the voters under the election laws of the State existing at the time of secession, representing less than one twentieth of the inhabitants enumerated as a basis of congressional apportionment, elect the members of Congress and electors for President and Vice President, while in Illinois the voters represent the whole population, except a few blacks and persons convicted of certain crimes. Hence the vote of the pardoned traitor of Mississippi, who is bound by oath to support this Administration, counts as much as the united votes of twenty freemen of Illinois who are fighting the battles of their country and paying their taxes for the support of the Government. Great and loud complaints were made in times past by the party friends of the gentlemen on the other side of the House because of the three-fifths rule, as it was called, by which the non-voters of the South had a partial representation on this floor. This Republican Administration now proposes a system under which the negro population of the South will have an equal representation with the white population of the North, and under its rule excluding nine tenths of the voters, each person east of the negro vote of the South will be equal to ten white voters in the North!

Is this the entertainment to which the loyal people of this country were invited? Is this the Union for which so much blood and treasure have been expended? Is this the "Union as it ought to be" which has been promised, in comparison with which the "Union as it was" is a hateful thing, fit only for traitors, who refuse to become the sworn henchmen of Lincoln, and the "peace men," who desire the reestablishment of the Union formed by Washington and Madison and their compeers?

Why is it, Mr. Chairman, that, in addition to the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, persons who have been engaged in the rebellion, desiring to avail themselves of executive clemency, must also take an oath that they "will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves?" The President says that this test is required in order "to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound." In other words, the man who thinks the "Pope's bull against the comet" is not calculated to repel its threatened approach, and prevent the reappearance of any more of its kind, is not capable of self-government; therefore, "I, Abraham Lincoln, do declare and make known that no man within my dominions, so wanting in credulity, shall be permitted, at the next election, to vote for my competitor for President. True, I will not coerce any person to take the required oath. The election shall be perfectly free. Every man who has taken an oath to support me and my policy can vote without molestation. If, in the exercise of your free will in the premises, you refuse to follow my dictation, you may perhaps be plundered by my friends; for the opposing elements have been separated, and you are of the Gentiles, you are not sound!" the reflection of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency by such means as these would be as great an outrage upon the rights of the people of this country as was the first election of Louis Napoleon upon the rights of the people of France.

The President says that "on examination of this proclamation it will appear, as is believed, that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution." Justified by the

Constitution! How? Where? Will some one point out the clause in that instrument which authorizes the President to fix the qualification of voters, to strike down the laws and institutions of the States, to impoverish the people of one third of the Union without regard to guilt or innocence, age, sex, or condition? I challenge the champions of the Administration in this House to show by the most liberal rules of construction any warrant whatever in the Constitution for what is contemplated by this proclamation. Sir, the framers of the Constitution, instead of authorizing the President to disfranchise the people of the States for opposing emancipation, actually protected slavery by requiring the return of the fugitive from labor in case of his escape from one State to another. There is a law now upon your statute-book to carry this provision of the Constitution into effect; and the President, who is requiring the citizens of ten States to take an oath to aid him in forcing emancipation upon the people, is himself bound by oath to see that the fugitive slave law is faithfully executed. This institution is recognized by the Constitution of the United States as existing in certain States "under the laws thereof;" and the President would compel the citizens of such States to disregard those laws, when the Constitution, which he is sworn to support, requires him to respect, and in a certain contingency to support and enforce, those laws.

Mr. Chairman, the President seems to think because the power is given him to "grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States," that therefore he may attach such conditions to a pardon as will not only bind the criminal to a certain course of political action, but that he has the further right to require the citizens of the State not guilty of crime to comply with the same conditions or be disfranchised. Did the framers of the Constitution ever dream that such a construction would be given to this grant of power? Was it intended that this act of executive clemency should be used as an engine to advance the personal or political ends of the President? I will not stop to inquire whether or not a conditional pardon may be granted. Nor do I question the propriety of requiring those who have actually been engaged in the rebellion to take an oath to support the Constitution before receiving pardon. I understand the reason for investing the Executive with this power is that the rules of law are necessarily inflexible, giving judgment upon the acts and motives of men and yielding nothing to circumstances of mitigation surrounding particular individuals. To afford relief in cases of peculiar hardship, the President, whose duty it is to see that the laws are executed, is permitted to temper their harsh sentences with mercy, by interposing a pardon. Such is the theory upon which this power rests. The Executive may grant the pardon, but must not attach conditions in derogation of the rights of others.

For instance, if the President pardon John Doe, who has been sentenced for the crime of treason, it would not be proper to put a condition in the pardon requiring the recipient of executive clemency to take his neighbors' property, or to trespass upon their lands, or to confederate with others and exclude them from the polls. In short, persons guilty of crime who have been relieved from its consequences by an act of clemency cannot, in accordance with our institutions or those of any other civilized nation, be set apart as the exclusive governing power of the State or nation. In some countries there is a nobility established on the basis of great service to the State, either by themselves or their ancestors; but I know of no country, in ancient or modern times, that has made crime the only passport to office and honor. Yet the President, under the pretext of pardoning all the people of ten States, many being guilty, but not one of whom stands convicted of crime against the United States, and a large portion of whom are as innocent as any gentleman on this floor, undertakes to fulfill the constitutions and laws of those States; to revolutionize their social systems, and finally to disfranchise nine tenths of their people, and to bring the whole power of the Federal Government to bear to enable the one tenth to rule over the remainder. To state the proposition is sufficient to stamp it with infamy. As a specimen of cool impudence, I will read the



proclamation of Major General Banks ordering an election for State officers in Louisiana:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,  
NEW ORLEANS, January 11, 1864.

To the People of Louisiana:

I. In pursuance of authority vested in me by the President of the United States, and upon consultation with many representative men of different interests, being fully assured that more than a tenth of the population desire the earliest possible restoration of Louisiana to the Union, I invite the loyal citizens of the State qualified to vote in public affairs, as hereinafter prescribed, to assemble in the election precincts designated by law, or at such places as may hereafter be established, on the 23d day of February, 1864, to cast their votes for the election of State officers herein named, namely: 1. Governor. 2. Lieutenant-Governor. 3. Secretary of State. 4. Treasurer. 5. Attorney-General. 6. Superintendent of Public Instruction. 7. Auditor of Public Accounts; who shall when elected, for the time being, and until others are appointed by competent authority, constitute the civil government of the State, under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much of the said constitution and laws as recognize, regulate, or relate to slavery, which being inconsistent with the present condition of public affairs, and plainly inapplicable to any class of persons now existing within its limits, must be suspended, and they are therefore and hereby declared to be inoperative and void. This proceeding is not intended to ignore the right of property existing prior to the rebellion, nor to preclude the claim for compensation of loyal citizens for losses sustained by enlistments or other authorized acts of the Government.

II. The oath of allegiance prescribed by the President's proclamation, with the condition affixed to the elective franchise by the constitution of Louisiana, will constitute the qualification of voters in this election. Officers elected by them will be duly installed in their offices on the 4th day of March, 1864.

III. The registration of voters, effected under the direction of the military governor and the several Union associations, not inconsistent with the proclamation or other orders of the President, are confirmed and approved.

IV. In order that the organic law of the State may be made to conform to the will of the people, and harmonize with the spirit of the age, as well as to maintain and preserve the ancient landmarks of civil and religious liberty, an election of delegates to a convention for the revision of the constitution will be held on the first Monday of April, 1864. The basis of representation, the number of delegates, and the details of election, will be announced in subsequent orders.

V. Arrangements will be made for the early election of members of Congress for the State.

VI. The fundamental law of the State is martial law. It is competent and just for the Government to surrender to the people, at the earliest possible moment, so much of military power as may be consistent with the success of military operations; to prepare the way, by prompt and wise measures, for the full restoration of the State to the Union and its power to the people; to restore their ancient and unsurpassed prosperity; to enlarge the scope of agricultural and commercial industry, and to extend and confirm the dominion of rational liberty.

It is not within human power to accomplish these results without some sacrifice of individual prejudices and interests. Problems of state, too complex for the human mind, have been solved by the national caution. In great civil convulsions, the agony of strife enters the souls of the innocent as well as the guilty.

The Government is subject to the law of necessity, and must consult the condition of things rather than the preferences of men, and if so be that its purposes are just and its measures wise it has the right to demand that questions of personal interest and opinion shall be subordinate to the public good. When the national existence is at stake, and the liberties of the people in peril, faction is treason.

The methods herein proposed submit the whole question of government directly to the people—first, by the election of executive officers faithful to the Union, to be followed by a loyal representation in both Houses of Congress; and then by a convention which will confirm the action of the people, and recognize the principles of freedom in the organic law. This is the wish of the President.

The anniversary of Washington's birth is a fit day for the commencement of so grand a work. The immortal Father of his Country was never guided by a more just and benignant spirit than that of his successor in office, the President of the United States. In the hour of our trial let us heed his admonitions!

Louisiana in the opening of her history sealed the integrity of the Union by conferring upon its Government the valley of the Mississippi. In the war for independence upon the sea, she crowned a glorious struggle against the first maritime power of the world by a victory unsurpassed in the annals of war.

Let her people now announce to the world the coming restoration of the Union, in which the ages that follow us have a deeper interest than our own, by the organization of a free government, and her fame will be immortal!

N. P. BANKS,  
Major General Commanding.

"In pursuance of authority vested in him by the President," this Major General proceeds to call an election for State officers of Louisiana at a time and in a manner different from those prescribed by law. He also fixes the qualifications of voters, and causes a registry to be made in opposition to the fundamental law of the State. Then with one stroke of his pen he declares that certain provisions of the constitution of Louisiana are inoperative and void. Finally, he graciously informs the people that "the immortal Father of his Country was never guided by a more just and

benignant spirit than that of his successor in office, the President of the United States." This latter statement is important in several particulars, but chiefly because it contains information that has always heretofore been carefully concealed from the people. It will doubtless be of invaluable service to the loyal people of that State in pointing out their duty in making a nomination for President, as well as in voting for the nominee! An intimation coming from such high authority will not probably be lost upon the intensely loyal patriots who will participate in organizing a State government under this proclamation.

Instructions have been sent to General Steele, in Arkansas, to pursue the same course in that State that has been adopted in Louisiana. Sir, when I see the very pillars of our Republic thus tottering to their fall under the blows of one to whom the people confided the sacred trust of guarding and protecting their rights and liberties, my mind is filled with gloom, and the future of this country, to my vision, is shrouded in mystery and darkness.

Mr. Chairman, I am a friend of the Union; my love for it is so strong that I am not willing to give up a single State. When I see a hand raised to strike down and blot out a single star from the flag of my country, whether the blow be directed by the traitor in arms or by a more insidious enemy seeking to effect the same end by undermining and subverting the Constitution, I will interpose my feeble efforts to ward off the blow. I would save the Union, because the Union is necessary to secure the prosperity, the liberties, and the happiness of the people. I do not agree with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STEVENS] that "he who now wishes to reestablish the Union as it was, and to retain "the Constitution as it is," is guilty "of attempting to enslave his fellow-men." Neither do I agree with him in that other sentiment, that "the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is is an atrocious idea; it is man-stealing." I will not take the responsibility of charging Washington and Madison and Hamilton and their compatriots with forming a Constitution with the design of enslaving their fellow-men; nor will I charge them with harboring "an atrocious idea," or with "man-stealing." In order to establish this Union they left each State to regulate for itself the status of the negro within its limits. Believing, as I do, that they acted wisely, I am willing to hasten the day of peace and reunion by following their example. If I had believed that a rigid adherence to the Constitution as it is would have entailed upon me the crime of man-stealing, or of enslaving my fellow-men, I would not have been guilty of the "atrocious" act of taking the oath as a member of this body to support that Constitution.

The gentlemen on the other side of the House say that they too are for the Union, and some of them are so exclusive in their Unionism that they are not disposed to accept the labors of gentlemen on this side in its behalf. They are for such an unconditional Union that they would not only force ten southern States out of the Union, but would also treat with scorn and contempt a million and a half of voters in the northern States! The Union was established in a spirit of conciliation and compromise. The wise men who formed our Government were quick to discern that in order to maintain republican institutions, founded on the consent of the people, the interests and prejudices of all sections of the country must be consulted, so far as might be consistent with the general purposes for which the Government was formed. The men now in power, discarding the teachings of a sound philosophy, as well as the example of the founders of the Government, undertake to restore union and harmony to a divided and distracted country by the most intolerant proscription of all who differ with them in opinion, and by demanding fealty to their own most fanatical, ruinous, and extreme doctrines, as the only true standard of loyalty. Can the Union ever be restored in that way? Do not this House and the country know that persistence in such a course leads to bankruptcy, anarchy, and ultimate despotism?

If you are not for the Union as it was, what sort of Union are you for? Is it the Union as it ought to be for which you are fighting? Pray tell the

country, ye pure and unconditional Unionists, who can't endure the Union as our fathers formed it, what sort of Union you will form. Is it to be a Union without States, without *habeas corpus*, without trial by jury, without free speech or free press, without a free ballot? And if you do not all quite agree among yourselves as to what the Union ought to be, who will decide between you? Remember that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." I have no doubt but you can agree among yourselves about the irrepressible negro; but questions will force themselves upon you at some time affecting the interests of white men, and perhaps you may differ upon such questions. For instance, the President, in speaking of his plan of reconstruction, says, "On examination of this proclamation it will appear, as is believed, that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution." The distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STEVENS,] in speaking of the same plan, says:

"In details we do not quite agree, but his plan of reconstruction assumes the same general grounds. It proposes to treat the rebel territory as a conqueror alone would treat it. His plan is wholly outside of and unknown to the Constitution."

Here we find the "opposing elements" are separated, and who is to decide which is "the sound?" The President assumes that his plan is "amply justified by the Constitution." The chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means says this same plan "is wholly outside of and unknown to the Constitution." In one thing the plan proposed by the President and the one proposed by the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means are in perfect harmony: they are both in open and flagrant violation of the Constitution.

The great difficulty with the Republican party in their pretended efforts to put down the rebellion consists in a failure on their part to comprehend what constitutes the rebellion. The negro is not the cause of the rebellion; neither is slavery. Questions arising out of slavery have been used by designing men to inflame the passions of the people with a view to precipitating them into revolution. But the doctrine promulgated a few years ago, of which I believe our present distinguished Secretary of State may claim the paternity, that there is a higher law than the Constitution, which ought to control the political conduct of the people, is the corner-stone upon which the rebellion was built. Secession is the "higher law" carried into effect upon a large scale—a most odious, ruinous, and inexcusable application of this fatal heresy. Mr. Lincoln, when he announced in his Springfield speech in 1858 "that the Union could not endure permanently part slave and part free," was educating the public mind in the rudiments of the "higher law," because the Constitution is based upon the principle that a part of the States may be slave and a part free. Old John Brown, in his attempt to excite insurrection in Virginia, was carrying out in practice the theories of the men who urged upon the country the "higher law" as a rule of conduct for the citizen. Garrison, when he enunciated the "atrocious" sentiment that the "Constitution is a league with hell and a covenant with death," was "firing the northern heart," to the end that the people might array themselves under the banner of the higher law, and in opposition to the rightful authority of the Government. The underground railroads all over the land were incorporated under the higher law. Unfortunately for the country, at a moment of excitement in the South, growing out of the election to the Presidency of an exponent of the "higher law" as taught in the North, the people of the South, many of whom had received lessons in the same pernicious school, were precipitated into revolution. The result is that the land is drenched in fraternal blood. To stay the tide of revolution now sweeping over the entire country this subtle poison must be extracted from our political system, or its effects must be neutralized and destroyed.

Mr. Chairman, no test of loyalty should be prescribed other than "obedience to the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof." If every man in the Government were true to this test, there would be no rebellion in this country. The odious and unconstitutional conscription law might be repealed. Instead of taxing their ingenuity in devising the means whereby the largest

amount of money, in the shape of taxes, can be extorted from the labor and industry of the country, members of Congress might devote their time and talents to such legislation as would add to the happiness and prosperity of the people.

"The Constitution as it is" furnishes all the safeguards necessary to the security of life, liberty, and property. "The Union as it was" gave us a character and standing among the nations of the earth sufficient to shield us from insult and injury by foreign Governments. For over seventy years the people of the United States lived and prospered within the Union, as organized under the Constitution, as no people ever prospered before. The rights of the States and the rights of the citizen were preserved in all their constitutional vigor. The legitimate authority of the General Government met with no serious opposition, either from States or individuals, because within the limited scope of that authority there was no rein given to oppression or tyranny. When the tempter came, like the serpent in the garden, and whispered into the ears of the people that the fruit forbidden by the fathers of the Government to be touched was "pleasant to the taste," and that its use would add wisdom to the understanding, like our mother Eve too many of them gave heed to the voice of the slimy reptile. Though we have not, in consequence of that disobedience, fallen from so great an estate as did our first parents, yet the result is this deplorable civil war and the probable loss of constitutional liberty. And still the expounders of the "higher law" continue to press forward in their destructive and criminal career. The man who raises his voice in behalf of the Constitution of his country does so at the risk of imprisonment or banishment at the hands of this Administration; and if he escapes the vindictive persecution of the chief Executive the entire corps of thieves and plunderers, who are fattening off the miseries of the country, through their organized and trained bands, open their batteries of slander and detraction upon him, in order to weaken or destroy his influence with the people.

Not content with all the abuse that the pensioned press and feed attorneys of the Administration are continually pouring out upon that great constitutional party founded by Jefferson, the Republican party has imported a rebel general, his hands reeking with the blood of our soldiers and his soul steeped in foul treason, to aid them in their work of slander and detraction.

This "war power" which is invoked by the Administration and its friends to justify their infringements upon the rights and liberties of the people is akin to the "higher law." The "military necessities" of the President and his subordinates, which have formed the pretexts for the various proclamations of emancipation, and for subverting the constitutions and laws of the States and tampering with their elections, spring from the same impure and corrupt fountain. All the powers of this Government are to be found in the Constitution. Military necessity is applicable only to the movements of armies in the field, and does not reach beyond their lines.

The Administration and its adherents seem to be wedded to the peculiar policy they have adopted, and the only way to effect a change is through the agency of the ballot-box. Claiming to be unconditional Union men, the party in power would not accept the Union to-day upon the simple terms of the Constitution, leaving all questions affecting the rights of person and property in the confederate States to be settled by the adjudications of the courts and the future legislation of the country. A fanatical zeal for the freedom of the black man, intensified by a stubborn resistance to every effort to make him free by those whose social and financial ruin would thereby ensue, is turned into a desperate purpose to degrade and enslave the white race whose misfortune it is to be placed among the sable objects of abolition idolatry. These men, who arrogate to themselves all the patriotism and all the religion of the country, would not stop this effusion of blood and arrest the onward course of relentless, cruel war which is now laying waste the fairest portions of our country if every rebel in the land were to lay down his arms and humbly sue for peace. The fat has gone forth, and as long as a single slave remains in bondage this

harvest of death must go on. Regardless of all the lessons of history, in violation of the faith of the nation as pledged by the heroes and statesmen of the past, in open contempt of the solemn promises made to the people in party platforms, presidential messages, and congressional resolves, four million slaves, an inferior and degraded race, whose education and habits wholly unfit them for self-control, are to be thrown upon society to roam at will throughout the land. Yes, and the sword of the nation is to be placed in the hands of this servile race, thus opening their way to the ballot-box and to social equality with the whites. Had such a proposition been made to the American people ere the hearts of so many had become hardened by the severities of this war, no sane man would for a moment have hearkened to it. But, lest some good-meaning people may think that I do my political opponents injustice in what I have said, I will quote from the last annual message of the President. He says:

"I may add, at this point, that, while I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation."

In speaking upon the same subject a few sentences preceding what I have read, the President says:

"To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and astounding breach of faith."

There are no compunctions of conscience about breaking faith with white men! I charge the President of the United States with breaking faith with the people of this country by disregarding not only his pledges made in the inaugural address, in the proclamation of April 15, 1861, and in the Crittenden resolution, but also by trampling under his feet every provision of the Federal Constitution made for the protection of the liberty of the citizen. All the pledges to the negro are to be faithfully kept. In future the "free Americans of African descent" will doubtless crowd the President's levees, even in greater numbers than they did on New Year's day, not only relieving the monotony occasioned by the uniformity of color, but also giving a foreign odor to the gorgeous splendor of American royalty.

Our "freedmen" are the most fortunate people on earth. Even this Administration will keep faith with them. In the amnesty proclamation "our colored fellow-citizens" are treated with the usual affection and tenderness shown them by the President. "All who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity," are excluded from the benefits of the proclamation of amnesty. The repentant rebel, who may have murdered in cold blood the white soldier thrown into his hands by the fortunes of war, upon taking the prescribed oath is pardoned and taken into the bosom of the Republican party. But the planter within the rebel lines, who has in nowise voluntarily raised his hand against the Government, who attempts to recapture his slave which has been stolen from him and put into the Federal Army, is beyond the reach of executive clemency. He has committed the unpardonable sin. He has laid his profane hands upon what is regarded by this Administration as sacred, and must expiate his crimes with his life! The mother who has given up her only son to the defense of the country has the consoling assurance that though the murderer of her boy will be restored to all his rights upon taking the prescribed oath, except the right to own the labor of his servant, yet he who has refused to extend the usages of civilized warfare to the negro shall receive no pardon.

Sir, the liberties of the people, the preservation of the State governments, and the maintenance of the Union under the Federal Constitution, are all involved in the well-defined issues of the approaching presidential election. While there are differences of opinion among Democrats and conservative men upon minor points, some believing that the evils which now afflict the country may be remedied by a vigorous prosecution of the war under the Constitution, and others favoring peace and conciliation as the only means of reuniting the broken fragments of the Union, they all are agreed in a determination to uphold the Federal

Constitution and the Union of the States in accordance therewith. Not one would favor negotiations for peace on any other basis than that of a restored Union, with the rights of the States and the liberties of the people guarded and protected by all the limitations of the Constitution upon the powers of the General Government.

The only issue, then, between the parties relative to the war is whether it shall be prosecuted under the present policy for the overthrow of the States, and to compel the entire population of the South to surrender all rights of person and property into the hands of the abolitionists, or whether, under Democratic rule, in case the southern people shall refuse to make peace and return to the Union upon fair and equitable terms under the Constitution, the war shall be waged only against those in hostility to the Government. The policy of the dominant party includes confiscation, emancipation, endless war, despotism. The policy of the Democracy embraces conciliation and compromise, along with whatever force may be necessary to the due execution of the laws, and a firm, unflinching devotion to constitutional liberty, and a determination as immovable as the everlasting hills to maintain it.

Sir, the bloody hand of war has left its mark upon almost every house in the country. The bright sunshine of heaven beams down upon the ghastly bayonets of a million men confronting each other all along the fields made desolate by terrible conflict, where but yesterday the foemen crossed steel in the wager of battle. Along the banks of the great Father of Waters and those of its tributaries lie the bones of two hundred thousand of the sons of the great Northwest, who have fallen in this deplorable war. On the prairies and amid the forests of that great valley there are tens of thousands of helpless children, each of whose young lives has been made sad by the loss of a father slain upon the bloody field. And now, while the aged mother sits in restless anxiety, afraid to hear the next news from the field of carnage lest it bring the unwelcome tidings that her son has been slain, as her dim eye rests upon the one left at home to support her in her old age a new pang penetrates her heart, for he too will be taken when the remorseless wheel of fortune begins to turn for the additional five hundred thousand.

Should this Administration be continued in power for another term, the war will go on until the financial schemes of Secretary Chase shall crumble into ruin, when it will of necessity cease, leaving in its desolating course a divided country and a ruined people. On the other hand, should the Democracy succeed in the next presidential election, the Union will be restored under the Constitution in less than six months after its accession to power, as I believe without the necessity of shedding a single drop of blood. When the mass of the people of the South, suffering as they are not only from the cruel fortunes of war but also from the oppressions of their rulers, are offered peace upon the simple terms of allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the offer has the solemn sanction of a great majority of the northern people, the leaders of the rebellion will be abandoned to their fate. We will reach forth our hands and lift up those Union men of whom the President spoke in his message at the extra session in 1861; and when they shall be enabled to stand and speak their honest sentiments without fear of rebel arms or abolition proclamations, there will be a majority of original Union men in all the States, except one, who will again organize their State governments and thus restore the Union.

Mr. BALDWIN, of Massachusetts, obtained the floor, but yielded to

Mr. STILES, who moved that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

So the committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. DAWGS reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union had had under consideration the state of the Union generally, and particularly the President's annual message, and had come to no resolution thereon.

And then, on motion of Mr. STILES, (at forty minutes past four o'clock, p. m.,) the House adjourned till Monday next at twelve o'clock, m.

Mr. ELIOT. What does he state to be the quota of Massachusetts?

Mr. KERNAN. We cannot find out. We cannot learn from the War Department. We understand that it was not above 20,000.

Mr. ELIOT. Does the gentleman want to know what it is?

Mr. KERNAN. I do.

Mr. ELIOT. Under the call of July 18, 1864, it was 21,670.

Mr. KERNAN. That is what I want to get. Illinois had a quota of 52,000 assigned to her, more than double that of Massachusetts, when there is very little difference in the number of the population.

Mr. ELIOT. A large proportion of the population of Massachusetts is composed of women.

Mr. KERNAN. It is a population that claims and has representation; a population which is making money during the war. The present is a system to raise money with which to send men into the field. It is for raising money in the rich States, and compelling the poor States to send their men.

Mr. ELIOT. Will the gentleman say how many of the 52,000 men from Illinois were young men who came from Massachusetts?

Mr. KERNAN. I said that the reason why the new States had so large a quota was, that the quota was assigned according to the young men between twenty and forty-five. I say that it should be according to population. There are young men enough in each of the States to fill its quota based upon its population, and each State should contribute them.

I have proposed this amendment in good faith. I believe it is the just mode of requiring men to be furnished by the States, and that it is the way to prevent frauds and favoritism, and will be unjust to no State or its population.

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to oppose the amendment, and I wish to submit a statement to illustrate the impolicy and injustice of the proposition the gentleman has laid before the House. The amendment proposes entirely to change the basis upon which our Army is to be raised, by letting it rest upon the whole population, including men, women, and children of all ages, without regard to their ability to bear arms. To illustrate that I will read three items from the population report of the census of 1860. In all the eastern States it will be observed that the ratio between the number of males and females preponderates on the side of females; while, as you go westward, the males are in excess. The census shows that Massachusetts, in 1860, had a population of 1,221,464, of whom 629,220 were females, showing an excess of 36,976 females. In California, in the same year, there was a population of 323,177, of which 227,774 were males and only 96,406 females. But I find a still stronger case in the State of Nevada, which was a Territory in 1860. In her population of 6,857, there were 6,137 males and only 720 females; that is, there were nearly ten men to one woman. The proposed basis would make it vastly more difficult for Massachusetts to fill her quota than for California or Nevada. Every man can see at a glance that it would weigh very heavily upon those States having an excess of females, and render it comparatively easy for the new and growing States, to which the arms-bearing population of the eastern States have emigrated, to furnish their quotas.

Mr. GANSON. If that statement is correct, why is there the same relative increase of voters in Massachusetts as in other States?

Mr. GARFIELD. I take it that old men vote as well as young men. But I doubt the correctness of the statement of the gentleman as a matter of fact.

Mr. STEVENS. I would like to have the gentleman explain one fact. Under the call for 500,000 men my district was assigned 2,370, and it furnished them all. Under the call of 300,000 men the quota of the same district was 3,209. I would like to have the gentleman explain that.

Mr. GARFIELD. I may say that I am not responsible for the mathematics of the Provost Marshal General's department, nor is the question pertinent to the point now in discussion.

Mr. STEVENS. I did not know but the gentleman could explain it.

Mr. GARFIELD. I have only to say that this proposition totally changes the basis of our

Army by taking the entire population, and it would be a gross injustice and a hardship upon the States from which the arms-bearing population has emigrated.

Mr. SCHENCK. Perhaps some explanation of the difficulty in the district of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEVENS] may be found in the fact of the calculations made as to three-years and one-year men. The gentleman from Pennsylvania in his count makes a three-years man and a one-year man count the same; but the rule prevails that the enlistment of three men for one year each counts the same as the enlistment of one man for three years.

Mr. GARFIELD. That might account for part of the difference.

Mr. STEVENS. Then I understand that every time a draft is made for a three-years man it counts three times.

Mr. GARFIELD. A three-years man is equal to three one-year men.

Mr. STEVENS. Then when you kill a three-years man you kill three men.

Mr. GARFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have only one word more to say, and I wish to say it before I leave this point. The gentleman from New York [Mr. KERNAN] asserts that these States raise their quotas by money, and that therefore the wealth of a State, rather than the men of a State, are to be taken into account. I answer the gentleman that the second section of this bill cuts off entirely the substitute system excepting so far as men may find substitutes in their own townships or wards, and therefore his money argument falls to the ground. Massachusetts will hereafter be obliged now to get her substitutes from her own districts, or from foreign countries.

I hope this radical change in our system will not be made. I move to close debate on the section, and on all amendments thereto.

Mr. KERNAN. I withdraw my amendment. Mr. ELIOT. I renew it, and ask the gentleman from Ohio to withdraw the motion to close debate.

Mr. GARFIELD. I withdraw the motion. Mr. SMITH. I hope the gentleman from Ohio will allow me to say a word on this subject.

Mr. GARFIELD. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. ELIOT.]

Mr. ELIOT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to state two or three facts in connection with the quota of Massachusetts which may as well be stated now as at any other time. During the whole period of this war there have been called for from Massachusetts 117,624 men. In the early period of the rebellion the government of Massachusetts used every exertion in its power to induce the War Department at Washington to receive more men than were called for from the Commonwealth. The number of men who have been furnished by Massachusetts is 125,437, making a surplus over all calls of 7,813 men.

But, sir, that does not state the whole facts. The number of men credited to Massachusetts up to October, 1863, was 75,608; but, reduced to the standard of three-years men, it was 58,898.

Mr. GANSON. I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Massachusetts how many of these men were negroes of the South?

Mr. ELIOT. Colored people from the South?

Mr. GANSON. Yes; and from other States than Massachusetts.

Mr. ELIOT. Massachusetts has furnished 125,437 men. All of the colored men credited to Massachusetts and all foreign recruits credited to her, including about 5,000 men enlisted to her credit in the Veteran Reserve corps and regular Army, fall short of 10,700 men.

Mr. NOBLE. I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if he does not know that the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth regiments of Massachusetts colored troops are from Ohio and other western States.

Mr. ELIOT. No, sir; I know no such thing. I state what the record authorizes me to state.

Mr. NOBLE. Well, I know it.

Mr. ELIOT. I cannot be interrupted now.

I repeat, if the gentleman will permit me, that there have been, including all foreigners and including all colored persons, and including 5,000 veteran reserves and men in the regular Army, less than 11,000 men enlisted in her regiments, out of between one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and twenty-six thousand, and many of

the veteran reserves are citizens of our State. And let me say here that there have not been a thousand men put into the Army from Massachusetts, but very little over nine hundred, who were foreigners brought here for that purpose.

And I will state one more fact. There has not been one man brought from any part of the world whom the government of Massachusetts has had any agency in bringing here. Whatever has been done has been done by individual action. The applications that have been made to Massachusetts from abroad have been invariably refused. The Governor of Massachusetts has had no connection whatever with it. If I had time I could state more particularly than it is necessary to do now the precise manner in which these men have been brought into the country. But the State of Massachusetts has had no connection with it. Without allowing for the reenlistments Massachusetts has sent more men into the service than can be found now within her boundaries between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. She has sent 20,000 more men than are now in the State liable to do military duty.

If the gentleman desire to ask me any other questions in connection with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I am ready to answer.

Mr. EDEN. I wish to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ELIOT] to state the number of men that Massachusetts has been required to furnish under the recent call.

Mr. ELIOT. When the call was made there was but a very small number of men which the State could be called upon to furnish, because of the surplus that she had before furnished. There were several thousands of surplus. But it so happened, because of the manner in which the men are called for, that there are in Massachusetts two districts where they are deficient some 805 men. But the State as a State stands far ahead of the call.

Mr. EDEN. Will the gentleman inform the House what was the quota assigned to Massachusetts under the recent call?

Mr. ELIOT. Under the call of July, 1864, it was 21,670 men.

Mr. EDEN. What was it under the call of December 19, 1864?

Mr. ELIOT. I do not think I can give that to the gentleman accurately. I have not the data here from which to give it.

Mr. SMITH. I think this is a very important subject. I wish to take up the idea suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEVENS] and make some inquiries in regard to it. The distribution of the quotas, in the first instance, under the call for 500,000, and then under the last call, seems to be very strange, and one for which I cannot account. I know the idea has prevailed, to some extent among some men, that the State which I have the honor in part to represent bears a twofold relation to this great struggle. I know that she has furnished an army to the rebellion; I know that she has furnished an army to the Union; I know that we have men there who sympathize with the rebellion on the one side, and men whose sympathies are all with the Union on the other side. I know that under every call which has been made upon the State of Kentucky by the Government for troops to fill up the ranks of the Union Army, my State has uniformly come forward and furnished whatever quota was demanded of her. Under the call for 500,000 men Kentucky was called upon to furnish twenty-odd thousand men. I do not know what were the circumstances under which that quota was filled in other sections of the State, but I do know that in my own district our people came forward, and outside of the draft, regardless of the draft, with their own means and by their own exertions, with a determined patriotism and purpose to assist the Government in putting down this rebellion, they filled up the quota they were then called upon to fill. In my own county, the county of Kenton, we were called upon for 248 men under the call for 500,000 men. Under the call for 300,000 men we were called upon to furnish 315 men.

Now, I cannot for my life understand how that can be explained. I would like to have some member of the Military Committee, or some gentleman who understands the rules that apply to the apportionment of the draft, who has access to the Provost Marshal General, or who can obtain a private conversation with the Secretary of War,

Mr. Speaker, I will only add that I will not consent, as one of the new members, to be charged with the blunders of Congress of the last seventy years, and all the omissions of the members thereof; nor with the stupendous blunders of half a dozen administrations which never even in their day had my support.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman also paraded another useless expenditure and extravagance before this Congress in the person of fat pension agents. I most heartily agree with him that these over-fed officers ought to be put on half-rations awhile. And here again the wonder is why it came to be so. The able and distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. BUTLER,] ever on the alert, has just told us here that he did, in 1870, propose a reform and a vast reduction of expenditure, besides making it vastly more convenient for the poor, invalid, crippled soldiers, of whose convenience he seems to have been mindful by providing that pensions should be paid through the mails by the postmasters. I am sorry his bill did not pass; had I been here I would certainly have voted for it. Why it did not receive the support of the distinguished gentleman who now sees and reports to us the extravagance of the pension service is not explained.

Mr. Speaker, I am heartily glad the gentleman brought up this matter of the payment of pensions, and I agree that there ought to be a reform—not by way of any complaint against any pension agent or officer, for I know nothing about their question of pay or work. I am for action; and am in favor of transferring all matters pertaining to pensions, and the payment of pensions, to the War Department where it naturally belongs. There are plenty of Army officers now unemployed, as the complaint is, to adjust the claims and settle with every pensioner in the land; and it can be done with dispatch and regularity and cheapness through the post-office, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BUTLER] has suggested, and thus we will save these enormous salaries paid to pension agents mentioned by the gentleman.

And again let us go further in the road to economy, and at once transfer all the Indian affairs and Indian agencies to the Army. There are, we are told, plenty of unemployed officers, who are able, capable, and reliable, to attend to all the Indian affairs, and thus save the enormous expense of Indian agents, commissioners, and their attendant and enormous retinue of employes and retainers, and by this we could save millions annually.

The Interior Department as now organized is a monstrous incongruity. I have no complaint to make of this Department or its administration. If there be fault anywhere, it is in Congress. I agree with the gentleman that matters might be amended, but the power to apply the remedy is in Congress, where it has all this time rested unused.

The gentleman mentioned matters connected with the Treasury Department; also which Department, as I understand it, is to some extent under his own supervision, so far at least as this House is concerned. Why not make a move and prune it a little further; why not let the Navy police the seas, as it would seem to be its legitimate employment? Why not turn over the gun-boats now owned by the Treasury Department, and called revenue-cutters, to the Navy, where they belong? And I will guarantee that the Admiral and his subordinate officers will do the service quite as well as it is now done, and here save a million annually, and I have no doubt more than that. And why not also put the light-houses under the charge of the Army or Navy, where they naturally belong, and save more money?

What I have here hastily said, Mr. Speaker, is said in all possible kindness, and with the profoundest respect for the able, genial, and distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. DAWES.] I acknowledge him to be, in many respects, my leader in this House, and of whom I will be a delighted and devoted follower in all movements for reform, and in all that tends to the strictest national economy.

I will now return to the currency portion of my subject.

It is not the past, but it is the present and the future that most concern the Forty-third Congress. We want and must have a good national currency, and we want and must have economy; and let us see who will strike the first blow, and hold out the longest, and remain faithful to the end.

Economy and a good currency should go together, and in fact they are inseparable; then we shall have abundant prosperity. Greenbacks are good enough for all our purposes and wants. They will buy food and raiment and comforts for our families, purchase a homestead and shelter. They will educate our children, pay our taxes and tithes to the church, bury us when dead, and rear a tombstone at our graves; and is not this all we want of money?

#### FINANCE.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, I propose briefly to discuss the present financial condition of the country, and to seek, if possible, a remedy for the aggravated evils and unjust discriminations, through the baleful influence of which our people are impoverished and our industries prostrate. The innumerable theories advanced, each a supposed specific for every financial disorder, if they do not indicate a remedy, certainly prove the malignant character of the disease. The principal line of division separating our financiers is broad and deep. Inflation of the currency by some is insisted upon as the sovereign remedy, while by others contraction, until specie resumption is forced at the hazard of universal bankruptcy, is urged as the certain road to a sound financial condition. Between these two opposing forces, and partaking

of the character of each, are the advocates of an elastic currency, which may be defined to be a currency so artfully arranged as to flow out freely and fill all the channels of trade in times of financial disaster, and when the danger is over to return rapidly to its place of repose. I do not seek a remedy in the ranks of either of these opposing forces.

Inflation of the currency, unless some element is infused to maintain its value, will not vitalize the decaying commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the country. Inflation, in co-operation with the legal-tender principle, will give temporary relief to the debtor class. If, however, the amount in circulation be in excess of the demands of legitimate business, it will not only depreciate in value, but will find employment in schemes of wild speculation similar to those that precipitated the recent financial panic. Contraction, with a view to forcing specie payment, instead of producing that result, will bankrupt the people of the South and West, where they are suffering for an increase of currency, and deplete the revenues of the Government, thereby greatly embarrassing the Treasury, and necessitating increased taxation.

With the enormous private indebtedness resting upon the people, and the small amount of specie in the country, payment in coin is impossible. To require the payment of debts in coin, contracted on the basis of currency depreciated from 10 to 30 per cent., is unjust in theory, and ruinous in its practical operation upon the country. I can understand the reason why the money-dealer desires the immediate resumption of specie payments by means of contraction. Contraction makes money scarce, property low, and interest high. If by means of contraction values shrink 50 per cent., the debtor must sell twice the amount of property to pay his debt, and the creditor can purchase twice the amount of commodities with the money.

The capitalists of the East loaned large amounts of money to our western people at 10 per cent. interest when gold was at a premium of from 10 to 30 per cent. In case of specie resumption, the difference in the value of the currency at the time of the loan and gold coin will be the measure of profit to the lender arising out of resumption.

What is the remedy? A knowledge of the causes that have produced the disasters in finance is necessary, before an intelligent and effective reform can be projected or accomplished. Trade, when not obstructed by legislation, flows in natural channels; and the prices of commodities are regulated by supply, demand, and unrestricted competition. Money, when not diverted by artificial means, through the operation of these laws, goes wherever it is required to perform its office as a medium for exchange of commodities. While our legal-tender paper money does not answer all the purposes of gold, the standard of value among all commercial nations, yet in the business of internal commerce it is governed by the same general laws. Financial distress may be brought on the country by misfortune, as in case of a failure of crops or war.

The panic of 1873 came on in the midst of abundant crops, and when all branches of business seemed to be prosperous. A careful investigation of our national banking system will, I think, fully disclose the cause, not only of the recent panic, but the subsequent paralysis of business.

Legislation in favor of a class is necessarily prejudicial to all other classes. While laws may be, and often are, so framed as to add to the wealth of those receiving Government bounty, the amount thus added to the wealth of the privileged class must be subtracted from the wealth of other classes. The railroad monopolists, by their control over the internal carrying trade of the country, impose grievous burdens on all our producers. The protected manufacturers also levy their contributions on the agricultural class. When the carrier takes two bushels of the farmer's grain for transporting one to market there is no concealment. The hand of the extortioner is plainly to be seen. When the farmer buys an agricultural implement, a barrel of salt, a yard of calico, or almost any other supply necessary to successfully prosecute his pursuits under cover of our iniquitous tariff laws, the protected monopolist slips his hand into the pockets of his victim and filches a portion of his hard earnings. These are monopolies of the second magnitude.

The monopoly in money created and sustained by our national banking system, controlling directly three hundred and fifty millions of our circulating medium through the agency of two thousand banks, is the ruling power in the Government. The first necessity of business prosperity is cheap money. The primary object of money dealers is to increase the price of money. The higher the rate of interest the larger the profits of the bank. Hence, when banks become an organized monopoly the price of money rules high.

If one man, or an association of men, had control of all the pork in the country, or of such a quantity that the residue would not supply the demand for consumption, the persons holding the larger quantity would have what I believe speculators call a "corner" on pork, and could dictate their own price for the article.

This is a fair illustration of our system of national banking. The amount of circulating medium in the form of legal-tenders is fixed by law at \$356,000,000. The national banks are authorized to issue within a few millions of the amount of the greenbacks, and about \$350,000,000 of the bank circulation have been issued. The bank-notes of all the banks are a legal tender at the counter of each bank, and in most of the fiscal transactions of the Government; so that for all purposes of internal commerce the notes of the banks are money. The national

banks are also required by law to keep in their vaults legal-tender reserves in the sum of about \$90,000,000. The banks may loan the amount of their own circulation and a large portion of the money of their depositors. Three-fifths of the amount of the reserves of the country banks may be deposited with associations, approved by the Comptroller of the Currency, in the redemption cities, and one-half of the amount of lawful reserves of the banks of the redemption cities may in like manner be kept on deposit in the city of New York.

These bank-notes, I presume, are rarely if ever presented for redemption. The Government indorsement gives value to all alike. The redemption of the supposed bank-note is simply an exchange of a note indorsed by the Government for another note made by the Government, there being no difference in the value of the two classes of paper. When the bank breaks its note for the first time commands a premium. It will thus be seen that, in addition to the laws of trade, which cause money to gravitate toward the business centers, the operation of our national banking laws furnish artificial channels through which the volume of our currency is forced to the center independently of the demands of trade and beyond the amount that can be legitimately employed. There is no channel left open through which the currency thus forced to the center can be returned to the people. It has been brought under the control of an unhealthy influence. Stock gambling employs it so actively that legitimate trade fails to withdraw it from the more attractive field of feverish speculation.

The banks that issued the notes are not expected to redeem them; hence there is no one moved by interest to return the bills to the banks of their issue. The notes of a bank located on the plains of Nebraska circulated just as freely in the city of New York as those issued within the shadow of Wall street. A paternal Government has become indorser for all; and the solvency or insolvency of the principal in no way affects the value of the note, for the payment of which the labor and capital of the whole American people stands pledged.

The currency driven through these artificial channels to New York, when needed by the producer to move his surplus, under the manipulations of Wall-street brokers, is absorbed in speculations, in watered stocks of railroads, to pay the interest on which additional carrying tolls are imposed on the people; and by its results raising the rates of interest, establishing excessive rates for transportation, depleting the legitimate avenues of trade, and making the stock-gambler the competitor of the people for the use of money. Such a system necessarily entails ruin on the producing and laboring classes. The centralized money power wielded by the national banks is used in the interest of the bulls or bears on change. Holding under their control almost the entire circulating medium of the country, these banks, by lending assistance to the reckless operators in Wall street, have the power to give a market value to bonds and stocks that are not expected to yield revenue to the holder.

If the fortunes of the confederates are to be advanced by depreciating the value of sound securities the power of the monopoly in money can be used with equal facility to bring about the desired result. To show I do no injustice to these institutions I quote from page 28 of the last annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency. He says:

The present financial crisis may in a great degree be attributed to the intimate relations of the banks of the city of New York with the transactions of the stock board; more than one-fourth, and in many instances nearly one-third, of the bills receivable of the banks since the late civil war have consisted of demand loans to brokers and members of the stock board, which transactions have a tendency to impede and unsettle, instead of facilitating, the legitimate business of the whole country.

The close of the war found the membership of the stock board increased to eleven hundred, and composed of men from all parts of the country, many of whom had congregated in Wall street, adopting for their rule of business the apt motto of Horace: "Make money; make it honestly if you can; at all events make money." \* \* \* The quotations of the stock board are known to be too frequently fictions of speculation, and yet these fictions control the commerce and business of a great country.

This picture is not drawn by an unfriendly hand, nor by one wanting in opportunity to know whereof he speaks. It is the criticism of the officer of the Government whose business it is to watch these institutions, to report their condition to Congress, and to take charge of and distribute the assets in case of insolvency, or when they violate the laws creating them.

He gives us the official information that these banks, under the control of which we have placed our whole financial system, are in "intimate relations" with the New York stock-board, "whose transactions have a tendency to impede the legitimate business of the whole country," and whose motto is, "Make money; make it honestly if you can; at all events make money."

The power which enables the associated banks in the city of New York to control the prices of stocks and bonds enables them in a great degree to regulate the prices of wheat and corn and all our other surplus products.

I have attempted to show that the national banks have the direct control of the larger portion of our circulating medium. This power enables them indirectly to control the residue. By refusing to discount and calling in their loans the central banks can at any time cause a stringency in the money market; the other banks being, to a great extent, influenced by the New York banks, caused mainly by the flow of currency to that city by operation of our national bank-

ing laws. It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the business of the whole country is done through the medium of checks, drafts, and bills of exchange, without the use of currency.

By means of these instrumentalities, which can only be made available through credit, the power of the New York banks is greatly increased. The evils growing out of expansion and contraction by the banks through their power over the bills, checks, and discounts, are the results but to a limited extent of the volume of the currency. It having been shown that under a safe financial administration the credit system, of bills, checks, and discounts, is nine times greater than cash payments, as a necessary result, when the panic destroyed the confidence of the banks in each other, the credit of the financial system, as well as the circulation, being centralized in the national banks, the confessed insolvency of the redemption banks paralyzed all trade. Having control of our circulating medium, the national banks also have control of all other facilities of exchange. Thus the monopoly of money and credit through the agency of the national banking system is made perfect, and the prices of the products of the fields, of the mines, and of the mills, go up or down in obedience to the orders of the centralized moneyed despotism. By reason of this system producers and consumers are in turn robbed.

When farm products are ready for market, the money needed to move the crops is withheld by the banks and prices rule low. When these products reach the hands of speculators, the persons having a corner on currency turn the screw the other way, money becomes abundant, and consumers are compelled to pay exorbitant prices. In this way all the profits of productive industry and labor are swallowed up by the money ring.

Legislation should be directed rather to the diffusion than to the centralization of money. The money power, when compactly organized, is dangerous to the liberties of the people. It not only affects every material interest of every citizen of the Republic, acting upon the distribution of food and clothing, and upon the wages of labor, but also wields a political power that is well-nigh omnipotent.

This power can withhold bread from the hungry, withdraw not only the comforts, but the necessities of life, from the family circle; impoverish the treasuries of State and Federal Governments, and overthrow individual fortunes by a single blow that no skill can avert. To secure the protection of monopoly in money, the advocates of that system inculcate false theories of finance, calculated to enrich money-dealers and impoverish the people. The man educated behind the counter of a bank, whose life has been devoted to the study of ways and means to increase the dividends of the bank, is looked upon as an able financier. The opinions of a man thus educated are sought after by legislators upon questions of finance, and have greater weight than is accorded to the most intelligent man engaged in the production of commodities, and whose success contributes largely to the wealth of the country.

The interest, and therefore the constant study and education, of the money-dealer is to make money dear; in doing which he subtracts from the value of and degrades labor. The duty of the legislator is to make labor valuable, and thereby elevate the people. The most potent instrumentality to accomplish this result is to make money cheap. Conceding the truth of these statements, which appear to me to be undeniable, are we not false to every correct theory of finance, to the interests of the people, and the perpetuation of liberty, when we surrender by law to the money-lender the control of the financial administration?

There is no more appropriate way to illustrate the conflict constantly existing in all organized societies between capital and labor than by, in the simplest manner, exhibiting the education and the interest of the money-dealer on the one hand, and the necessities of the laborer and the producer on the other. Money, by arbitrary commercial laws, is made the representative of values. The more you diffuse it, the more competition you make for its sale to the people. The more you centralize and consolidate it, the more you subject the necessities of the laborer and producer to its iron decrees. The interest and education of the banker is to make money dear. The necessities of the people, and therefore the highest demands of the country, require that money be made cheap.

Another weighty reason in favor of the total abolition of the national banking system is that the special privileges conferred by the laws of its creation, can only be enjoyed by the holders of a certain species of property—the same property thus selected as the exclusive basis for bank circulation being exempt by pre-existing laws from all the burdens of Federal, State, and municipal taxation. The fortunate holder of United States interest-bearing bonds, upon depositing them with the Treasurer of the United States, becomes the favored borrower from the Government, without interest, of 90 per cent. of the par value of the bonds deposited in national currency, equal in value to legal-tender notes. The banking associations receiving this currency from the United States are authorized "to circulate the same as money, and their notes are to be received at par in all parts of the United States in payment of taxes, excises, public lands, and all other dues to the United States except for duties on imports, and also for all salaries and other debts and demands owing by the United States to individuals, corporations, and associations, within the United States except interest on the public debt and in redemption of the national currency." Each of the national banking associations is also bound by law to receive the notes of all the others at par.

Let us for a moment look at the inequality of this law in its operations as between the banks and the Government. In the first instance, the Government became a borrower. The bonds placed on deposit with the Treasurer are the evidence of the debt of the Government for the money borrowed.

The loan was made to the Government by the holders of these bonds in currency, which was at a discount of from 20 to 50 per cent. The Government pays interest on the face of these bonds at 6 per cent. in gold. The Government becomes the responsible custodian of the bonds, and pays the interest to the owner just as promptly as though they were in the vaults of the bank. The bonds are worth just as much, and the banker realizes the same amount of interest on them as though no currency had been issued to him on the security of the bonds.

Instead of charging the banker 6 per cent. gold interest on this currency, he receives it and has the use of it without interest. Instead of requiring the banker to pay any indebtedness he may owe the Government in gold, he can pay such indebtedness, except duties on imports, in the same currency the Government gives him the use of without interest. And, finally, in order that the banker may never be called upon to redeem his notes, the Government becomes his indorser, and requires a very other national bank to receive them at par. Even the mere fiction of redemption, provided for by law, goes only to the extent of requiring the redemption to be made in United States notes. The sole compensation for these extraordinary privileges is the trifling tax paid by the banks to the Government on their circulation. The business men of the country pay an average of 1 per cent. a month to the banks for the use of this currency, in addition to being compelled to submit to the monopoly created and fostered by the system. The principal channel through which money thus protected and centralized reaches the farmers of the West is through the agents of eastern capitalists. These agents charge 5 or 6 per cent. commission for negotiating the loan, which is paid by the borrower, in addition to interest at 10 per cent. per annum, paid semi-annually; and the debt is secured by a deed of trust on lands worth threefold the amount of the loan.

Thus the bondholder borrows money from the Government secured by bonds 10 per cent. in excess of the amount of the loan, upon which he pays 1 per cent. tax; and the farmer of the West pays from 12 to 15 per cent. for the same money, secured by land equal in value to three times the amount of the loan. If this system does not create a privileged class; if it does not enrich the few and impoverish the many; and if it will not operate to so centralize capital that the people and public liberty will both be prostrated, I humbly concede that the laws of cause and effect are totally beyond the grasp of my mind.

The question may be asked why should the farmers on the rich and productive prairies of the West be compelled to borrow money from eastern capitalists? Can they not, in the valley of the Mississippi, with a soil of capacity to feed the world, make money to meet all their wants? I answer they cannot; and the reason of the failure may be found in the fact that too many other interests are protected at their expense. The manufacturers of iron and steel, salt and lumber, woolen goods and cotton goods, shoes and boots, and almost every instrument used in farming or supplies consumed by the farmer and his family, are protected by our tariff laws, adding greatly to their cost. Almost every article entering into the construction and equipment of railroads is in like manner protected, and the cost of transportation thereby greatly increased. The centralization of money under the national banking law places the circulating medium beyond the reach of productive industry, except in competition with gamblers in stocks, who deal in "mere fictions of value," and who, acting in harmony with the central money power, are enabled to dominate the legitimate business of the whole country.

At the beginning of the recent panic, according to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, stock-gamblers held in their hands over \$60,000,000 of the money of the country banks, drawn there under the operation of the national banking system, and loaned to them by the associated banks. The moneyed monopoly, acting upon the transportation and manufacturing monopolies, draws the whole to a common center, and fixes the seat of their power in the East. Hence the substance of the people of the West is all drawn to the same center, in payment of costs of transportation, bounties to manufacturers, and interest to the money-lenders.

But, sir, it is said that the national banks furnish the best currency we have ever had; that the bill-holder is protected against panics; that the notes circulate in all parts of the country without discount; and that hence the system ought to be perpetuated. I admit that the bill-holder is protected, not by the character of the banks or the security of their administration, but by the guarantee of the Government. I deny, however, that this system of banking is any sort of protection against the evil effects of panics. Under a sound and healthy financial condition, prices of products are regulated by well-known laws. If the circulating medium is liable to constant fluctuations in value, thereby affecting the prices of commodities, in opposition to the natural laws regulating the same, there can be no stability in business transactions. Every man engaged in agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing pursuits carries on his business and incurs liabilities at the risk of bankruptcy; not because of any want of judgment, or through improvidence on his part, but on account of the fluctuations in the value of the circulation. Our bank-notes are

totally wanting in the element of stability in value, and hence are an active cause in producing money panics.

In order to keep posted as to the value of this currency the business man watches market reports, as well to see the daily quotations showing the value of these notes as to see the market price of other property. No species of currency in this country, prior to the late war, was ever subject to such sudden, constant, and violent fluctuations. We never had a circulating medium that furnished less security to those engaged in business pursuits than the notes of the national banks. These fluctuations in the value of our circulation are caused by the gambling operations in Wall street, created by the centralizing tendencies of the national banks. The distinction in value between the circulation and gold is the corner stone-upon which speculation is built, and it is the interest and constant study of the stock-gamblers to perpetuate that distinction. When Wall street was broke at the commencement of the panic our circulation increased in value in a few days about 9 per cent. The moment the stock board was opened the depreciation of the greenbacks toward the old standard commenced.

If there had been any doubt before as to the policy of abolishing the national banks, the conduct of the associated banks since the beginning of our present financial misfortunes ought to remove that doubt. It will be remembered that the associated banks in the redemption cities are the pets of the Government. The law seems to have been purposely framed to draw all the money of the country into the vaults of these banks, and through them to the New York City banks. In the annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency, made one year ago, he says:

The reserves of the nineteen hundred national banks located elsewhere than in the city of New York are held, to a great extent, in that city. For most of the time during the past year an amount equal to more than one-fifth of the capital of all these national banks has been held on deposit by the national banks of the city of New York to the credit of their correspondents. In many cases these credits amount to twice the capital of the bank with which they are deposited; in other cases the amount of deposits is three, four, and even five times the capital.

On the 12th of September last the national banks in New York City were indebted to national banks in the sum of \$72,257,769.25, and the stock-gamblers of that city were indebted to the national banks of the city in the sum of \$60,000,000. At the same time there was due, from the national banks in the other redemption cities, to national banks the sum of \$43,649,018. How much of the latter sum was in the hands of stock-brokers I have not learned.

Thus we see that, at the time of the commencement of the panic, the national banks of the sixteen redemption cities held over \$115,000,000 belonging to other national banks, and we may safely assume that nearly all of that immense sum was in the hands of persons using it in illegitimate speculations.

When the panic came, what was the course adopted by these favored banks in the redemption cities? Did they, to the extent of their ability, respond to the rightful demands of the other banks? The money which had been placed in the custody of the central banks as a sacred trust under the law, to be held for the protection of the depositors of the country banks, was withheld in violation of the national banking law. The country banks, having deposited their money with the redemption city banks in accordance with the provisions of law, when they drew for their money, in order to meet the demands of their creditors, and for purposes of legitimate business, to move the surplus products of the country, had their drafts dishonored.

The associated banks, under the pretense of relieving the stringency and to aid in moving produce from the interior to the markets, inaugurated a system in violation of law, and unparalleled in the history of finance, which ought not to be tolerated by the people. They put collaterals in the hands of a committee, the character of which collaterals is unknown, and on these collaterals forced into public circulation a large amount of what are known as bank certificates of deposits, and another class known as certified checks, thus poisoning our circulation and tending by its operation to lock up and withdraw from legitimate fields the currency guaranteed by the Government. The pretext was to move the crops and pay depositors. The real use to which these illegal issues were devoted was to float the stocks upon which the banks had made the call loans into public confidence.

An investigation of the supplies of produce in the cities for consumption since the commencement of the panic exhibits the fact that the supplies, as compared with past years, were insignificant. The whole of the assets of many of the banks being used to bull gambling stocks, the mills and grain buyers of the cities had no money to buy with, and in the early period of the fall and winter market the foreign buyers had no competition in the purchase of meat and breadstuffs. The result was that grain shipped abroad for foreign consumption was sold at low rates, and until the imperative demand for bread by the people of the cities threatened public disorder these banks withheld home competition for our products, sent thus abroad for less than their value, whereby the producer was robbed of a large share of legitimate profits.

This practice of certifying uncovered checks is not limited to the clearing-house association. I have seen the statement made, purporting to be on the authority of a report made to the clearing-house association, to the effect that "so extensively has this practice been pursued by several institutions that the amount of such checks which

have passed daily through the clearing-house has reached in some instances to twice and three times, and in one or two instances to four and five times, the amount of their capital stock; and this through long periods of time." The certification of uncovered checks by a national bank is in direct violation of the act of March 3, 1869; and in cases of violation of that act it is made the duty of the Comptroller of the Currency to appoint a receiver and put the bank in liquidation. Who can tell the amount of these illegal issues of the national banks and the clearing-house associations? Have they been redeemed, or are they still outstanding? Did not the banks in all the redemption cities engage in this illegal practice? Without official information can this House tell whether these banks are solvent or insolvent? The Comptroller of the Currency is clothed not only with the power, but the duty is imposed on him, to examine the financial condition of the banks and to make known the result of the examination; and if they have violated the laws it is his duty to put them in liquidation.

It is claimed by the defenders of this system that through its influence the country is being restored to a healthy financial condition. The incorrectness of this assumption is shown by the fact that a large number of the banks have no confidence in each other and are daily refusing to buy or cash drafts made by or against them; exhibiting the fact that those who have immediate control of the system have lost faith in its solvency, and through that want of confidence have destroyed the whole credit system, which, as has been shown, is nine times more disastrous to trade than locking up the circulation. The whole system is a ruin, and like other ruins the fields it occupies are worthless until the obstructions are removed.

What is the remedy proposed by the Committee on Banking and Currency? We are invited to extend and perpetuate the system and enable all holders of interest-bearing bonds to borrow money from the Government without interest; to enlarge and intensify the monopoly in money, which will further increase its price and place the value of labor more completely at the mercy of the money power.

Will this House attempt to erect a permanent financial structure, the corner-stone of which consists of banks that have confessed their insolvency by refusing to pay their depositors, and while their illegal and depreciated checks obstruct the free circulation of money, and thereby entail bankruptcy upon business men and poverty and distress upon labor? This question must be answered to an intelligent and now inquiring constituency, by their Representatives in Congress. Sir, the first step in the direction of a sound financial condition is to repeal the acts under which the national banks were organized. Let the bank circulation be retired and legal-tender Treasury-notes be substituted in their stead, to be used in the redemption or purchase of interest-bearing bonds.

By this course the bank monopoly will be overthrown, and the threatened central moneyed despotism will be averted. The banking interest will no longer be pensioners on the people in the annual sum of \$21,000,000 in gold. The people will select their own bankers, instead of trusting those selected by the Federal Government.

It is said that the faith of the Government is pledged that no more than \$400,000,000 legal-tenders shall be issued.

Our predecessors had the right to pass a law binding us to the payment of a debt, but they had no power to restrict us in the exercise of any constitutional mode in raising means to pay it. If in order to strengthen the credit of the notes issued by the Government at any given time in the past, Congress had made a pledge that no additional notes should ever be issued by the Government, would that pledge have been binding upon us? Are we not clothed with the same power and discretion to determine what legislation is necessary to meet the exigencies of this day, as were our predecessors to provide for their own time?

These questions admit of but one answer, unless we are ready to surrender all the functions of legislation. Whatever pledge was made by previous legislation upon this subject has already been violated in the interest of the national bank. In substance and in effect, though not in form, the national-bank notes are the notes of the Government, and partly by virtue of positive law, and partly through commercial custom, these notes perform all the offices of money.

The only value of the pledge to any one consists in the supposed appreciation of the legal-tenders toward the gold standard by the limitation of the amount to be issued. This pledge could have been intended for the benefit of no one except the holders of the legal-tenders, who constitute the great body of the people.

Sir, inflation of the currency through the medium of the national-bank notes affects the value of the greenbacks in the precise ratio that they would be affected by the issue of an equal amount of greenbacks. Congress had no scruples in violating the pledge, when the demand was made in the interest of the national banks. Now, when the demand is made in the interest of the people, and no one can claim an adverse interest except the banks, the pledge is set up in their behalf; and it is claimed that they have vested rights involved in the question, just as the railroad monopolies in the States claim that they have vested rights to inflict wrong and extortion upon the people by means of exorbitant freight and passenger charges.

Another beneficial effect to follow the abolition of the national-banking system, will be the release of the legal-tender reserves held by the national banks. On the 12th of September last, the amount

so held, was, in round numbers \$92,000,000, and I suppose we may assume that amount to be a fair average. Over \$50,000,000 of this sum was held in the redemption cities. If the national-banking law was abolished, these reserves would be returned to the country banks, the currency of the country would be diffused, and the stringency now complained of would be entirely removed. The call for more currency would be answered without any considerable increase in the amount of issue, and the supposed danger incident to expansion would be measurably avoided.

The main cause of our financial trouble being disposed of, the question arises what is to be done with the greenbacks? Shall they be permitted to float on without redemption, for an indefinite period, and finally be repudiated? Such is not my idea of political morality. On the other hand, our legislation ought to be so shaped as gradually to bring the legal-tenders up to par with gold. I would not do this by contraction unless at some time in the future the amount in circulation should be found to be in excess of the requirements of business. If we had the power to make greenbacks a legal tender for all purposes, they would approach very nearly the value of gold. If they could be used in payment of customs there would be an increased demand for greenbacks, and but little demand for gold, except by the Government, and the legal-tenders would be greatly appreciated.

Here again, unfortunately, we are met with pledges. The pledge has been given that the customs shall be collected in gold, and applied to the payment of the interest on the public debt. And certain forms of the public debt are specifically made payable in coin. These pledges go beyond the mode of raising money to pay with, and prescribe the kind of money that shall be collected and applied in payment.

The legislation of the country has in other respects discriminated against the greenbacks and in favor of the interest-bearing bonds. The result has been to appreciate the value of the bonded debt so as to make it approach near to par with gold, while the legal-tenders have been, and are, kept greatly below that standard.

The act of March 18, 1869, entitled "An act to strengthen the public credit," was more effective in weakening the credit of the legal-tenders than all other causes combined. The principal of the five-twenty bonds was, according to law and equity, payable in legal-tender notes after five years from the date of their issue, at the option of the Government, but were not absolutely due for twenty years from the date of issue. These bonds had been purchased with legal-tenders, and were a part of the same temporary expedient to meet the exigencies of war. In order that the Government might pay this debt in the same currency used in its creation, the time limited within which the Government had the option to pay it did not extend beyond the period of the probable circulation, as money, of the legal-tender notes. The exercise of the power to redeem the bonds in legal-tenders, at the expiration of the optional period of redemption, would have enabled the Government to maintain an equilibrium in the value of the bonds and greenbacks, and as a necessary result would have added to the value of the circulating medium.

The increased demand for greenbacks for the use of the Government would have added greatly to their value, while a much larger proportion of the taxes might have been paid in currency. The surplus gold in the Treasury could have been used in the redemption or purchase of the legal-tenders, and they in turn could have been reissued and used in the redemption of the five-twenty bonds. This process would have strengthened the public credit most effectually, by restoring soundness to the very foundation upon which rest the credit of Government and the security of the people.

The legal-tenders were declared by act of Congress to be unworthy to be used in the redemption of the five-twenty bonds. The further declaration was made that none of the interest-bearing bonds should be paid before maturity, unless at such time United States notes should be convertible in coin at the option of the holder, or unless bonds of the United States bearing a lower rate of interest could be sold at par in coin. The Government, almost immediately after its passage, commenced the purchase of five-twenty bonds at a large premium, paying therefor in greenbacks. The whole amount thus purchased, beginning in May, 1869, and ending in September, 1873, is \$323,253,500. The average premium paid is a little over 12½ per cent. The whole amount of the premium paid in the purchase of these bonds is, in round numbers, \$40,000,000. So that this act to strengthen the public credit has cost the country forty millions in taxes, and cursed it with a depreciated currency; and the gold in the Treasury, which ought to have been used to strengthen the Government paper which was in the hands of the mass of the people, has been used to buy or bear the gambler's stocks in Wall street and to buoy up the value of interest-bearing bonds.

This policy should be reversed at once, and all the legitimate powers of the Government should be heretofore used to increase the value of the circulating medium. The plan heretofore has been to increase the price of the interest-bearing bonds, and then to tax the people in order to purchase them at the enhanced price.

To show that the effect of this bill to strengthen the public credit has been simply to widen the margin between the value of legal-tenders and interest-bearing bonds, I refer to the fact that the average cost of bonds purchased in May, 1869, in gold, was a fraction over 82, while in October, 1869, the average cost was a fraction over 99; and the average cost of the purchases since the last date has been very nearly at the last-named sum. While the average premium in legal-tenders on the purchases in May, 1869, was a little under 16,

and on the purchase in September 24, 1873, the premium was a little less than 11.

Thus we see that under this policy the value of the bonds on the gold standard has increased about seventeen cents on the dollar, while the premium on the legal-tender standard has decreased but five cents on the dollar.

Instead of entitling this law "An act to strengthen the credit of the Government," it should have been entitled "An act to strengthen the power of the money monopoly over the people, to increase the burdens of taxation, and to perpetuate high rates of interest, to the ruin of every industrial pursuit."

Sir, as a result of such a policy as I have been attempting to portray, every industrial interest in the country now lies prostrate. The people have been the witnesses of this class legislation, and under an unnatural stimulus given to some classes of business by the protective policy, aided by a depreciated currency, and the inherent, undeveloped capacity of a new country, they were falsely told and made to believe that they were in the midst of unexampled prosperity. The delusion has passed away. The prosperity was all fictitious. The attempt to create wealth by speculation, and without labor, has failed, as it always will fail. The country must be restored to its normal condition. The whole protective policy must be abandoned, and the people be left to choose the pursuits in which they will engage.

The attempt has been made to create the impression that the abolition of the national banks will disturb financial relations and destroy trade. The legal-tenders will flow into immediate circulation as the bank notes are absorbed. The money locked up by the banks will be paid out *pro rata* to their creditors, and the reserves will go into circulation among the people. The abolition of the national banks abolishes stock-gambling and forces the hundred million, now used by them to the detriment of every material interest, into legitimate fields. A sound financial system will immediately take the place of insolvent banks, whose struggles for perpetuation are now obstructing all the avenues of trade.

On motion of Mr. SPEER, the House (at three o'clock and thirty-five minutes p. m.) adjourned.

#### IN SENATE.

MONDAY, February 16, 1874.

Prayer by the Rev. E. D. OWEN, of Washington.

On motion of Mr. MORTON, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was dispensed with.

#### CREDENTIALS.

Mr. JOHNSTON presented the credentials of Hon. Robert E. Withers, chosen by the Legislature of Virginia a Senator from that State for the term beginning March 4, 1875; which were read and ordered to be filed.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. CONOVER presented the petition of James Curtis, of Florida, praying compensation as master and pilot of the schooner James Buchanan; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. ANTHONY presented the memorial of Cyrus Harris, president of the Roger Williams National Bank, of Providence, Rhode Island, and many other presidents and cashiers of national banks of that city, respectfully remonstrating against the bill to take from that State a portion of the national currency; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the memorial of the Providence Medical Association, of Providence, Rhode Island, approving of the objects of the memorial of the American Medical Association, relative to the Medical Corps of the United States Army, and of the act proposed therein now before Congress; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. KELLY. I present some petitions of citizens of Oregon, concerning charges against Hon. J. H. MITCHELL and asking the Senate to investigate the same.

Mr. President, I have been requested by a number of citizens of Oregon to present these petitions, in which they prefer certain charges against my colleague, and ask the Senate to inquire into their truth. In this connection I desire to state that having been well acquainted with Senator MITCHELL for twelve years prior to his election as a member of this body, I knew nothing during all that time derogatory to his character or reputation. With regard to the charges preferred, I wish it to be understood that I do not now express any opinion upon them either one way or another. That is a matter I leave wholly to the committee, as it is a proper subject for their investigation.

And now, having discharged this unpleasant duty, I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Texas, presented the petition of Vidal Hernandez, a citizen of Texas, praying compensation for the transportation of certain cotton; which was referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BOGY presented a memorial of merchants of Saint Louis, praying to be indemnified for spoliations committed by the French prior to the year 1801; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the chief and councilmen of the Shawnee Indians, late of Kansas, in relation to the lands in the Black Bob reservation in Kansas, and asking the repeal of the fourteenth section of the act of July 15, 1870, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1871; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

He also presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Missouri, in favor of the repeal of the law prohibiting planters from selling leaf-tobacco without license; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company, in relation to charges against the Union Pacific Railroad Company; which was referred to the Committee on Railroads.

He also presented a concurrent resolution of the Legislature of the State of Missouri, in relation to the Kansas Pacific and Union Pacific Railroad Companies; which was referred to the Committee on Railroads, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. FENTON. I present the petition of John Fisk, of Suspension Bridge, New York, who represents that he is the original inventor of the iron-clad ram for harbor defense, as set forth in the memorandum and affidavits which I submit with this petition. He asks that the same rights and benefits be granted to him as to the person who claimed to be the inventor of the Monitor, believing his invention to be superior to that in its operations.

I ought to say that I know Colonel Fisk to be a highly respectable and worthy citizen, residing at Suspension Bridge, New York, to whose statements respect is due. I became acquainted with him during the period of the war, as the gallant leader of the Sixth New York Cavalry. I move that this petition, with the papers, be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. I suppose that is the proper direction for them to take.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. FENTON presented the petition of the members and congregation of the Society of Friends of Brooklyn, New York, signed by Henry Dickinson and other officers, and the petition of the Congregational church, of Sayville, Suffolk County, New York, praying for the appointment of a commission of inquiry concerning the alcoholic liquor traffic, its relations to pauperism, crime, the public health, and general welfare; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BOUTWELL presented the petition of the Second Congregational church, of Medfield, Massachusetts, signed by the pastor, Rev. J. M. R. Eaton, and other officers, praying for the appointment of a commission of inquiry concerning the alcoholic liquor traffic, its relations to pauperism, crime, the public health, and general welfare; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM presented the memorial of Howard Meeks and other citizens of Fairlee, Kent County, Maryland, asking Congress to enact a law making legal-tender notes and United States bonds bearing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent. interchangeable; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. WRIGHT. I present a petition of citizens of Clay County, Iowa, setting forth that at the present time of financial trouble, while business is embarrassed or suspended, and labor unemployed, it will be oppressive to restore the duty on tea and coffee, or to revive or increase internal taxation. They also set forth that, in accordance with the second section of the act of June 6, 1872, a reduction was made of 10 per cent. of duties upon manufactured cottons, woollens, irons, steel, paper, leather, glass, metals, and other staple commodities, and that under this law one-tenth of the duties upon imports of these wares has been handed back to the foreigners who send them to our markets, instead of going into the Treasury of the United States. They represent that they believe the legislation above set forth is wrong in principle, and they ask its repeal. I move that this petition be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. WRIGHT also presented the following resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections:

Joint resolution relative to an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in regard to the compensation of members of Congress.

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to vote to submit to the several State Legislatures, for their ratification, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that no Congress shall increase the compensation of its members.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be instructed to furnish a certified copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

JNO. H. GEAR,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOSEPH DYSART,

President of the Senate.

I, Josiah T. Young, secretary of state of the State of Iowa, hereby certify that the above is a true copy of a joint resolution which passed both houses of the fifteenth General Assembly, and was approved February 9, 1874.

Witness my hand and the great seal of the State, this 11th of February, 1874.

JOSIAH T. YOUNG,

Secretary of State.

I hereby certify that this joint resolution originated in the senate.

I. A. T. HULL,

Secretary.

Mr. WRIGHT also presented the following resolution, passed by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa; which was referred to the



once dangerous and destructive. But not here alone has its power been felt. It has manipulated caucus and convention, made and unmade Legislatures, tampered with the purity of the judiciary; nay, more, it has stalked with royal retinue through the lobbies of this Capitol, marking its victims and smiling upon its pliant retainers.

I know, sir, it is as much as a man's political fortunes are worth to stand in the pathway of this almost omnipotent power; but while I will go as far as "who goes farthest" in protecting these corporations in the enjoyment of every just right, they shall do no wrong to the humblest citizen if my vote or my voice can prevent it.

In this spirit come the six million tillers of the soil, and ask protection at our hands. They come not with bullet nor bayonet; not with hostile banner, but with the ballot, that mighty—

Weapon that comes down as still  
As snow-flakes fall upon the sod;  
But executes the freeman's will,  
As lightning does the will of God.

Mr. Speaker, I have sought, in this discussion, to avoid everything which might be construed into an effort to array one class or interest against another, or which might have the slightest tendency to provoke a spirit of hostility between the various sections of our common country.

Reprehensible as may be the conduct of individuals or corporations in their dealings with the people, oppressive as may be the iron rule of gigantic monopolies upon the industries of the masses, yet that will not furnish the slightest apology for an attempt from any quarter to engender the spirit of enmity and aggression between the rival interests of our broad country. Diversified as these interests may be, they each contribute to the growth and the grandeur of the whole.

Sir, we are, and must be, one people, bound together by the indissoluble ties of a common origin, cheered by the promises of a common hope. With the people, under the Constitution, rests the power of a peaceful solution of all these difficulties. Let us then, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West, nothing but one common country, without fear or favor, passion or prejudice, redress the wrongs of each, while we protect the just rights of all; that all interests, all sections, and all the people may conspire to promote the growth and grandeur of the Republic, under one flag and one Constitution, henceforth and forever.

Mr. EDEN obtained the floor.

Mr. COX. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield to me for a moment?

Mr. EDEN. I yield to the gentleman.

#### CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Mr. COX. I am honored with the presentation of a memorial, headed by Peter Cooper, Cooper, Hewitt & Co., Phelps, Dodge & Co., L. P. Morton & Co., J. S. Schultz, A. A. Low & Brothers, N. L. & George Griswold, and others who have made commercial life the synonym of enterprising virtue, in favor of enacting such legislation as may insure the full success of the centennial celebration, and to take such prompt, efficient, and liberal action as may be needed to facilitate the thorough organization of the international exhibition. I have been requested by one of the most eminent of the New York merchants to present this paper and to assist in some efficient way in the success of the undertaking, and to say that the men who signed this memorial are representatives of the liberal mercantile element of the great metropolis. To speak of such men would be to attempt to gild refined gold. To meet their wishes in respect to the centennial, if compatible with the relations which a New York Representative should bear to such an event, will be my own highest wish. But, sir, I would prefer, as a member of our Federal Congress, to favor a national, instead of an international, celebration.

I ask unanimous consent to have the memorial referred to the Select Committee on the Centennial Celebration and the proposed National Census of 1875.

Mr. BURCHARD. Can that be done by unanimous consent?

Mr. COX. It can, unless the gentleman objects.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair hears no objection to the request of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Cox.]

#### INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, the bill reported by the Committee on Railways and Canals, "to regulate commerce by railroad among the several States," is intended to effect such a radical revolution in the whole internal commerce of the country, that it challenges the closest scrutiny upon the part of the representatives of the people.

"Each and every line of railroad extending into or through two or more States, and employed in carrying freight or passengers between points or places in different States, and whether owned and operated by one company, corporation, or person, and known by one name, or owned and operated by several companies, or persons, and known by several different names, shall be regarded as employed in commerce among the several States," and are subjected to the provisions of the bill.

Corporations and individuals engaged in operating such lines of railroad are prohibited from charging, collecting, demanding, or receiving more than a fair and reasonable rate of toll for the transportation of freight of any kind, or of passengers, or for the use or transportation of any railroad-car upon its track, between places in different States.

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is to appoint a board of nine railroad commissioners, to be selected from the several judicial circuits of the United States, to hold office for a term of six years, and until their successors are appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President; and to receive as compensation for their services the sum of \$4,000 per annum each, and their actual necessary traveling expenses. These commissioners are to be divided into three classes; the first class to continue two years, the second class four years, and the third class six years.

The railroad commissioners are authorized to appoint a secretary at an annual salary of \$3,000. It is made the duty of these commissioners to prepare for the owners and operators of each of such lines (of railroad) a separate schedule of reasonable maximum rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight cars on or over said lines respectively, and, when necessary, to amend or revise such schedules.

Any corporation, company, or person engaged in operating any line of railroad through two or more States, or parts of States, who shall, after such schedule of rates shall have taken effect, demand or receive more than a reasonable rate of toll or compensation for the transportation of freight, passengers, or cars over any such line, shall forfeit and pay for each offense a sum not less than \$500 nor more than \$5,000, to be recovered by action to be brought in the name of the United States in any district or circuit court of the United States, &c., in the form of an action of debt, &c. If the charges of such transportation exceed the rate of toll or compensation fixed by the commissioners' schedule, the defendant shall be held guilty of extortion, unless such defendant shall show affirmatively that the rate charged is fair and reasonable.

Following the line of argument adopted by the committee in their report, I will inquire, first, whether Congress under the Constitution has the power to enact such a law; and, secondly, whether, if constitutional, it is expedient.

I admit the first proposition stated by the committee—

That the "commerce among the several States," which may be regulated by Congress, includes commerce carried from State to State by railroad.

But I deny the second proposition laid down by the committee, as follows:

That to regulate the charges for carrying freight or passengers upon interstate railroads so as to limit them to what is fair and reasonable and prevent extortion, is a legitimate exercise of the power to regulate such commerce.

In my judgment the second proposition is supported neither by reason nor authority.

One of the leading objects for calling the convention that made the Constitution was to confer upon the General Government power to regulate foreign commerce and commerce among the States. Under the Articles of Confederation each State could impose import and export duties, limited only by treaty obligations. Each State could impose taxes upon the products of all the other States when brought into or passing through the State for the purposes of trade. The establishment of conflicting rules and regulations for foreign and interstate commerce by the several States, was a constant source of irritation under the Articles of Confederation, and threatened the disruption of the Union.

Upon the adoption of the Constitution the power of Congress was speedily invoked to remedy the evils resulting from the conflicting commercial regulations of the States, in so far as such regulations affected commerce with sister States and foreign powers. All laws of the States imposing taxes in any form on traffic or articles of trade passing beyond the boundary of the States respectively became inoperative on the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In order that no State should have an advantage over any other State the Federal Constitution prohibits the imposition of a tax or duty on articles exported from any State and giving a preference by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, and the requirement of vessels bound to or from one State to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

I refer to these provisions of the Federal Constitution because it is a received canon of construction of that instrument that the power given to Congress by the Constitution is limited by the object to be accomplished.

Prior to the adoption of the Constitution commerce among the States was obstructed by conflicting laws. States favorably located with reference to foreign commerce imposed taxes upon the products of their less favored sisters seeking a foreign market; and also upon goods imported from foreign countries for consumption in the States. These burdens bore unequally and unjustly upon the people in some parts of the country; and to remove these evils the power to regulate commerce was conferred upon the General Government.

There was no complaint under the Articles of Confederation that interstate commerce was in any manner oppressed by excessive charges for transportation. Neither was it foreseen, so far as shown by the discussions preceding the adoption of the Constitution, that any evil requiring Federal intervention was likely to arise from such charges. Hence no provision was incorporated in the Constitution which by any fair construction can be tortured into a support of the position that Congress has the power to fix the prices of any of the constituents of commerce. The legislation of Congress upon the subject up to the present time has been confined to the making of rules and regulations as to the manner in which commerce among the States should

be carried on; leaving the prices of all the commodities used in commercial pursuits to be fixed by the agreement of parties engaged in the business. The decisions of the courts referred to in support of the pending bill are all made in the interest of commercial freedom, and against the right assumed by some of the States to tax articles of trade in passing from foreign countries into a State, or from one State to another.

The case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, (9 Wheaton,) referred to by a distinguished United States Senator from Indiana, as well as by the committee in their report, as an authority in support of the position of the bill, is not in point. The Legislature of the State of New York granted to Livingston and Fulton the exclusive navigation of all waters within the jurisdiction of that State, with boats moved by fire or steam, for a term of years. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that act, so far as it prohibited vessels licensed according to the laws of the United States for carrying on the coasting trade from navigating the said waters by fire or steam, to be repugnant to the Constitution.

There are other authorities referred to, both by the Senator from Indiana and the Committee on Railways and Canals, defining what constitutes commerce, and also deciding that commerce among the States when carried on by railroads is subject to the regulation of Congress.

The Passenger cases, referred to in support of the bill, reported in 7 Howard, 283, decide against the validity of State laws imposing a tax upon passengers from foreign countries coming into the ports of a State. The advocates of the power of Congress to fix the prices of freight and passengers on interstate railroads content themselves with authorities showing that Congress has the power under the Constitution to regulate commerce among the States. This power is conceded. The question at issue is whether the power to regulate commerce, within the meaning of the Constitution, includes the power to fix the prices of the instruments of commerce and the commodities exchanged between citizens of different States.

The inquiry does not lead us to a consideration of the power of Congress over navigable streams passing through more than one State. These are highways of commerce belonging to the public, in which there is no individual or corporate ownership, and over which Congress can certainly exercise the power to regulate commerce, subject only to constitutional limitations. Yet the proposition has never been made, to my knowledge, for Congress to fix the rate of fare to be charged for carrying freight and passengers upon navigable streams passing through or by more than one State. While Congress may regulate interstate commerce, no matter whether carried on by land or water, I venture the assertion that where the facilities of commerce are artificial, created under the authority of State law, and owned by the State, or by individuals or corporations, such regulation must respect the rights of the owners of such facilities. It is not denied that the States have the power to authorize the construction of railroads, nor that when constructed by individuals or corporations such roads are private property, though subject to the public use. The States' power of eminent domain is brought into requisition to procure the right of way. The Federal Government has no agency whatever in the construction of such a road, nor has it any sort of interest in the same when constructed. Upon what principle, then, of right or justice can the Federal Government, after the State, in the exercise of a constitutional right, has granted a charter for the construction of a railroad, and individuals in pursuance of legal authority have invested their money in the construction and equipment of such a road, step in and take charge of the business of the company and control the same against the will of the State and of the owners of the road?

It is not denied by the advocates of the bill before the House that the charter granted by the State to the corporation in such case is a contract between the State and the company that is binding upon both parties. It is conceded that the State may reserve the right under the contract to limit or fix the tolls to be charged by the company for transporting freight and passengers, or may permit the company to fix such tolls subject to the common-law liability in case of extortion or unjust discriminations.

Here, then, we have a legal and valid contract, entered into by the State and the railroad company. It has been fully executed. Both parties are bound to abide by the terms of the contract. Will it be contended that the Federal Government, not having the power to forbid the execution or performance of this contract, can come in after the terms are complied with by both parties and rescind the contract? Would such an arbitrary and despotic act be regulating commerce among the States? What would be the condition and rights and remedies of the two contracting parties after this third party, not having any interest whatever in the making, performing, or the subject-matter of the contract, had interposed and set it aside? In such case what becomes of the valuable consideration which has been given and received? Can the parties be placed in *statu quo*?

It is said that the Congress has the exclusive power to regulate commerce among the States. Grant it. It is equally true that the States have the exclusive power, within their own limits, to construct or authorize the construction of railroads. Congress has no more right to interfere with a State in the performance of a constitutional act than has a State to interfere with Congress in the execution of a power delegated to it. It follows that the State should not interfere with the General Government in regulating commerce among the

States; nor should Congress interfere with a State in the construction and operating of railroads within its own borders. The power of the State to make, or cause to be made, railroads and other facilities of commerce within its limits can be fully executed without interfering with the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States. So the power of Congress can be applied to the regulation of interstate commerce without in any manner interfering with the right of the State to control railroads constructed under its authority. When these railroads are used for the purpose of transporting goods or persons from one State to another, the customary tolls can be charged as compensation to the carriers; but the State can lay no tax either upon the goods or persons *in transitu*. The State cannot forbid the use of the railroad to persons engaged in interstate commerce upon the payment of the charges for transportation, or interpose any obstacle to the free interchange of commodities between the States. The General Government is clothed with the power to prevent any obstruction under State authority to the freedom of interstate commerce. I take the position that it is competent for the States by law to fix reasonable maximum rates for freight and passenger tolls on all railroads within the States and constructed under their authority; and that freight and passengers transported over such roads and passing from one State to another may be required to pay the tolls so fixed by law. When the State fails to enforce this right, the persons or corporations owning or operating such roads may fix such reasonable tolls as a compensation for the use of the road and other facilities of transportation. Should the corporation fail to perform its duties as a common carrier, the persons injured would have to look to the laws of the State for redress.

It is claimed that to charge tolls as a compensation to the carrier and for the use of a railroad and its equipments in transporting persons and property from one State to another, is regulating commerce among the States, within the meaning of the Constitution.

Is this position correct? If so, no matter whether the amount charged be reasonable or excessive, when any charge is made the same becomes a regulation of commerce, and Congress must intervene and establish the price. The amount charged for the service does not give Congress jurisdiction over the subject. No agency except Congress can establish the amount of the charge, or without the authority of Congress make any charge at all. For, be it remembered, the power of Congress over the subject is exclusive.

Sir, I propose to show that the authorities do not sustain such an extraordinary assumption of power. In the Passenger cases, (7 Howard, 283,) Justice McLean, in giving the opinion of the court, says:

An inquiry is made whether Congress, under the power to regulate commerce among the States, can impose a tax for the use of canals, railroads, and bridges constructed by a State or its citizens. I answer that Congress has no such power. The United States cannot use any of these works without paying the customary tolls. The tolls are imposed not as a tax, in the ordinary sense of the term, but as compensation for the increased facility afforded by the improvement.

The court here makes the distinction between a tax and a toll. A tax upon commerce is a regulation of commerce; but a charge for facilities furnished and services rendered is simply compensation.

We find that the General Government, with all its supposed omnipotence upon the subject, cannot even regulate the price that it will pay for the use of a railroad, but must pay the customary tolls.

The committee, in their report, refer to the case of *The Reading Railroad Company vs. Pennsylvania*, 15 Wallace, 232, to sustain the power of Congress to establish by law the price of freight on interstate railroads. In that case Justice Strong, in giving the opinion of the court, says:

We concede the right and power of the State to tax the franchises of its corporations, and the right of the owners of artificial highways, whether such owners be the State or grantees of franchises from the State, to exact what they please for the use of their ways. That right is an attribute of ownership. \* \* \* Tolls and freights are a compensation for services rendered, or facilities to a passenger or transporter. \* \* \* A tax is a demand of sovereignty; a toll is a demand of proprietorship. \* \* \* The right to make terms for the use of the roadway is in the grantee of the franchise, not in the grantor.

The distinction here is clearly taken by Justice Strong between the exercise of a power to regulate commerce and the right to exact tolls and freight as a compensation for services rendered, and facilities furnished to passengers and transporters. A legislative act, imposing a tax upon commerce or prescribing the manner in which it shall be conducted, is an act of sovereignty, and imposes burdens upon those engaged in commerce for the benefit of the State or the security of the public. Regulations of such a character cannot be imposed by the State upon commerce among the States. Freight and passenger charges on railroads are made in order to compensate for the use of the road and equipments; are matters of contract between the carrier and transporter, and for their mutual benefit, and do not necessarily involve the exercise of any legislative power. The tax or other regulation, which is an act of sovereignty, is a regulation of commerce. The freight or passenger charge, which is compensation for services or facilities furnished, is an act of ownership, not involving an act of sovereignty, and consequently is not a regulation of commerce.

In the case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden* this view of the subject is very forcibly presented by Justice Johnson. He says:

As to laws affecting ferries, turnpike roads, and other subjects of the same class, so far from meriting the epithet "commercial regulations," they are in fact commercial facilities, for which, by the consent of mankind, a compensation is paid, on the same principle that the whole commercial world submit to pay lighter-money to the Danes.

The case of *Veazie vs. Moore* (14 Howard, 568) is directly in point. The State of Maine had passed an act giving to a citizen the exclusive right to the navigation of a portion of the Penobscot River, above the point where the same was navigable without artificial improvements, for a period of twenty years, upon his making certain improvements that would increase the length of the navigation. The improvement was made, and formed a connection with navigable waters used in foreign commerce. The suit was instituted to test the right of the grantee to have the exclusive use of that part of the river made navigable by his improvements. Justice Daniel, in giving the opinion of the court, says:

Nor can it be properly concluded that because the products of domestic enterprise in agriculture or manufactures, or in the arts, may ultimately become the subjects of foreign commerce, that the control of the means of encouragement by which enterprise is fostered and protected is legitimately within the import of the phrase "foreign commerce," or fairly implied in any vestiture of the power to regulate such commerce. \* \* \* For there is not one of these avocations, the results of which may not become the subjects of foreign commerce, and be borne either by turnpikes, canals, or railroads, from point to point within the several States toward an ultimate destination, like the one above mentioned. Such a pretension would effectually prevent or paralyze every effort at internal improvement by the several States; for it cannot be supposed that the States would exhaust their capital and their credit in the construction of turnpikes, canals, and railroads, the remuneration derivable from which, and all control over which, might be immediately wrested from them, because such public works would be facilities for commerce which, while availing itself of those facilities, was unquestionably internal, although intermediately or ultimately it might become foreign. The rule here given with respect to the regulation of foreign commerce equally excludes from the regulation of commerce between the States and the Indian tribes the control over turnpikes, canals, or railroads, or the clearing and deepening of water-courses exclusively within the States, or the management of the transportation upon and by means of such improvements.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the position I have taken, that the fixing of tolls and freights on railroads is not a regulation of commerce, is fully sustained both by reason and authority.

The committee in their report claim that—

The power of Congress in the matter of controlling and regulating interstate commerce is coextensive with the power of the States over their completely internal commerce.

And because the States have the power to limit the charges on railroads chartered by State authority within the limits of the States, the illogical conclusion is drawn that Congress has the power to fix freight charges on the same railroads, for the bill takes jurisdiction of roads built exclusively under State authority.

The case of *Alcott vs. The Supervisors*, (16 Wallace, 679,) referred to by the committee in support of this position, does not find the power of the State over the road as an incident to the regulation of commerce. Because the State Legislature authorizes a private corporation to take land for the construction of a railroad, making compensation to the owner, under the State's power of eminent domain, the court says that such a road is a public highway, and "can therefore be controlled by the State. Its use can be defined; its tolls and rates for transportation may be limited."

By a parity of reasoning we might say, as such a railroad is not constructed under the authority of Congress, nor the land taken under the Federal Government's right of eminent domain, and is not a national highway, that it "cannot therefore be controlled by Congress; its use defined, or its tolls and rates for transportation be limited." It is a proposition too clear for argument, that both the State and Federal governments cannot limit the tolls and rates for transportation on the same railroad; and as the Supreme Court has decided that where the railroad is built under State authority, the State has the power to regulate tolls and rates of transportation, the power of Congress is necessarily excluded.

The committee also claim that Congress has the power to pass this bill, because "at common law it was a violation of the obligation of a common carrier to charge unreasonable or excessive compensation for the discharge of any of his duties."

Mr. Speaker, I have been taught to look to the enumeration of powers in the Constitution for authority for congressional action.

The common law is not incorporated in the Constitution, and is not a part of the law of the Union. In the case of *Wheaton & Donaldson vs. Peters*, (8 Peters, 658,) the Supreme Court in giving the opinion in the case says:

It is clear there can be no common law of the United States. The Federal Government is composed of twenty-four sovereign and independent States, each of which may have its local usages, customs, and common law. There is no principle which pervades the Union, and has the authority of law, that is not embodied in the Constitution or laws of the Union. The common law could be made a part of our Federal system only by legislative adoption. When, therefore, a common-law right is asserted, we must look to the State in which the controversy originated.

It will thus be seen that in order to get the benefit of the common law in reference to the duties of common carriers, the party injured must seek his remedy in the State where the injury was inflicted, and not in the halls of Congress.

Is this species of legislation to stop with the fixing of rates of transportation by railroads? In order to act with efficiency in the establishment of tolls and freight charges, the prices of labor and materials used in repairing and operating the roads must also be established by law. The object sought by fixing the charges for transportation by Congress is to make such charges reasonable. Unless the cost of repairing and operating the roads is reasonable, rates of transportation cannot be made reasonable. Again, the owners of railroads expect to realize an income on the money invested in their construction and operation. The rate of interest on the bonded debts of railroads is an element

to be considered in establishing reasonable charges for transportation. Hence the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States must be brought to bear to reduce the interest charge fixed by the contract between the railroad company and the holder of the bonds when necessary to secure reasonable rates for transportation. There is no half-way ground. Once we admit the power and undertake to execute it, we must take under the control of Congress and fix the price of every element that enters into the expenses to be paid by the company out of the earnings of the road. Where the amount of income is established by law, unless there is also a limit to the expense account in proportion to the income, bankruptcy will soon overtake the company.

Mr. Speaker, if the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States can be so construed as to include the right to fix the prices of freight, will not the same construction enable Congress to fix the prices of every commodity and of all the instruments used in such commerce?

The demand to-day for the regulation of the price of freights on railroads by Congress, arising out of the oppressions of the farmers of the West from exorbitant rates, may be supplemented by a demand made next year to fix the prices of provisions transported from one State to another, arising out of the necessities of the starving people in the cities of the sea-board.

Upon what rule of construction can it be claimed that Congress, under the power to regulate commerce among the States, can fix the price of the commodity called freight and cannot fix the prices of all other commodities when used as elements of interstate commerce?

Sir, the bill before the House is the initial measure which, if successful, will be followed up by a system of legislation that will in the end overthrow every vestige of both individual and State rights. It is a declaration of the omnipotence of Federal legislation over every industry in the country. The committee in reporting the bill might well liken the power of Congress to that of the British Parliament, and seek by their report, not for a grant of power, but for a limitation upon the power of Congress.

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to inquire as to the expediency of the measure before the House. If Congress has the power claimed for it by the committee, I ask if it is the part of wisdom to surrender the power into the hands of the Executive. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. He has under his control the Post-Office Department, with all its vast machinery and patronage. He has under his command an army of revenue officers. Over three hundred millions of money is every year disbursed by the executive branch of the Government. Three hundred and fifty million dollars of the circulating medium of the country are issued by national banks under the direction and control of the Treasury Department. An innumerable host of Federal office-holders stand ready to do the bidding of the President. And yet Congress, claiming the power to establish the rates of freight and passenger charges on railroads operated in two or more States, shrinks from the performance of that duty, and devolves it on nine commissioners to be appointed by the President, and removable at his pleasure. These nine men will have the power to enrich or impoverish every railroad company in the United States. They may, if they choose, drive commerce from every great city by discriminating against them in freight charges, and force commerce to new centers by discriminating in their favor.

The commissioners will have power to establish rates that will keep Illinois and Iowa out of the markets of the world, and to favor Ohio and Indiana by rates that will enrich their people. Seventy thousand miles of railroad will be subject to the control, to a greater or less extent, of these nine commissioners. Each railroad company will rush to the autocrats of interstate commerce to beg or buy favors. The people of every city in the United States will be supplicants at their feet for favors. The great manufacturing establishments will be compelled to bow down before this new idol that is about to be set up for worship. There will be no power higher than the commissioners, except the will of the President to remove them in case they fail to do his bidding.

When this system of legislation shall have been fully inaugurated there will be no further use for a written Constitution; no necessity for State governments. Under a latitudinous construction of Federal power, whatever policy may, for the time being, seem to commend itself to public opinion, can be carried out by congressional legislation.

When a proposition is gravely presented to the consideration of the American Congress to place under the control of the President of the United States the larger portion of the internal commerce of the country, we may well be alarmed as to what may follow.

It has been said that the interstate commerce is now controlled by a few leading railroad men. There is doubtless more or less combination between the managers of different railroad lines to the prejudice of the people. Yet they are managed with a view to business, and the profit of the stockholders. In order to avoid the evils of railroad combination, shall we withdraw their management from the control of business men and place it in the hands of politicians, to be used as an element of partisan success? What business is carried on by the Government that is not made subservient to the interests of the party in power? When this great bureau of interstate commerce, of which this bill is but the corner-stone, shall have been established, with its power reaching out into every State and every

county in the Union; with its army of clerks and agents, whose ranks will be rapidly recruited after the passage of the bill; and clothed with the power to add to or subtract from the value of all exchangeable commodities, and to appreciate or depreciate the value of all railroad securities by simply changing the rates of transportation, the dominant party will have under its control an engine of political power that will render it invincible.

If the success of the Government in its past management of business affairs gave promise of relief from the evils of railroad monopoly, there would be some inducement to engage in the experiment proposed by the bill. Upon this point we are not without warning. The connection of the Government with the Pacific railroads involved the country in a debt of \$65,000,000, and developed the Credit Mobilier swindle. To-day the country stands appalled at the developments of fraud and extortion practiced upon the business interests of the country by the agents of the Government in the collection of internal taxes and customs.

A few years ago the whisky ring was swindling the Government annually of untold millions on account of the whisky tax. The Judiciary Committee of the House has its calendar darkened with cases of impeachment against United States judges. The Federal administration has overthrown the power of the people in the State of Louisiana, and installed a usurping government in its place; which has been followed by a repudiation of the debt of the State.

Wherever the Federal Government has undertaken to engage in business pursuits not absolutely necessary for purposes of Government, such undertakings have been carried on at great pecuniary loss, and the expenditure of the people's money in such enterprises has been marked with profligacy and corruption. Yet, sir, with all these examples before us it is proposed by this bill to make almost the whole of the internal commerce of the country an element of executive patronage, and to put it in the power of the official appointees of the President to cause constant and arbitrary fluctuations in the values of all the products of labor.

I believe that the Legislature of the State of Illinois has asked Congress to take the railroads built by that State, and under its authority, and in large part by the aid of counties, towns, and cities, from the control of the people of that State, and to place them under the control of the Congress of the United States. By this resolution, I undertake to say that the Legislature misrepresents the rights, interests, and wishes of the people to whom I appeal. When the Congress of the United States undertakes to legislate in reference to the purely domestic affairs of the citizens of the State of Illinois, an injury is thereby inflicted upon her people, and an indignity is offered to her sovereignty.

Should this bill become a law, in my opinion a contest will be inaugurated, the result of which will be, either that the Government will in the end own the railroads, or the railroads will own the Government, with the chances of success in favor of the railroads.

#### CURRENCY AND FINANCE.

Mr. STORM. Mr. Speaker, I can say for myself that I bring to the consideration of this important subject a mind possessed of no preconceived prejudices. A subject of such vital interest to the people, affecting in its far-reaching consequences every man, woman, and child in the Republic, should receive at the hands of Congress a calm and dispassionate consideration.

In times of panics or popular commotions we are more apt to consider what, for the time being, may be pleasing to the few unfortunate persons involved, rather than that which may serve to correct the evil in the future and to avoid its recurrence.

The demagogue in politics is like the quack in medicine. He prescribes what he thinks will be pleasing to the patient for the present, at the same time he knows he is not removing the cause of the evil.

The true statesman, on the other hand, is like the true physician; although he knows his remedy will not for the present gratify his subject, yet he is willing to incur his displeasure if in the end he may be able to effect a permanent cure. However painful the operation, he will apply the knife in order to save the life of his patient.

We have on this floor, Mr. Speaker, some of the former class; they talk loudly about being engaged in a contest for "cheap money," against the "credit-mongers" and "bullionists" of the world. I have no doubt such cheap talk as this will win applause from some men, who have been doing business for the last few years in violation of all the laws of sound trade, and have been indulging in over-trading and carrying on wild railroad enterprises. But the sound business judgment of the country will condemn it, as it has already.

These quacks affect a lofty disdain for the teachings of schools and the wisdom of the past. One of them has declared in debate that he had not studied the men who spent their lives in investigating this subject. Mill, Hume, Ricardo, *ethoc genus omne* are stupid asses. They prefer to follow the teachings of Carey and Elder, who flourished under the shadow of the old United States Bank, and whose best exponent and mouth-piece on this floor is my colleague [Mr. KELLEY] from Philadelphia.

Mr. Speaker, I do not pretend to say this subject is not beset with great difficulties and complications. It is much easier to criticize plans and remedies, and to say what ought not to be done, than to propose what should be done. While finance is a science, it is not an exact one. It is not like the science of geometry, where you can propound

your theorem and demonstrate it, so that the demonstration may defy contradiction; but it is an empirical science, in which, by a process of a wide induction of facts, certain general and ultimate principles have been ascertained.

I know there are some who contend that the whole subject is involved in such inextricable confusion that one man's opinion is as good as another's. I dissent from this entirely. No, Mr. Speaker; by the experience of all civilized nations, running back for centuries; by the careful and patient study of the laws of trade and of statistics, certain great, leading, and fundamental truths have been established, which constitute the science of political economy, and every statesman of modern times acts upon them. When they have been adhered to, prosperity has followed; when departed from, adversity and disaster have been the result.

Let me state some of these ultimate truths:

That money, as such, is a medium of exchange and a standard of value.

That it ought to be some object which has some fixed amount of value, and as unvarying as possible.

That gold and silver best unite all the requisites for a medium of exchange and standard of value.

That a mixed currency is from its nature unsteady and fluctuating, both in quantity and quality.

That a mixed currency stimulates credit at one time and depresses it at another.

That a credit currency has a constant tendency to demonetize and drive out of circulation the value currency.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if we were to regard money simply as a medium of exchange, as my learned colleague [Mr. KELLEY] would seem to regard it, it would not make much difference whether it was a value currency or a credit currency; whether it was paper or coin. The gambler's "chips," for the purpose of the game, are to him as valuable as the money they represent. If it were only a medium of exchange, like a cart or a boat used in transferring values from one person to another, any conventional article might do. But it is more; its great function is to measure values. And to talk of an "elastic" currency is the veriest solecism imaginable. We might as well talk of an elastic yard-stick, which at one season of the year might be twenty-four inches, at another forty-eight inches. Under our present currency it is about thirty-two inches.

The experience of the world is that the precious metals alone perform this important function. By the manner in which they are scattered over the world, and the certain amount of labor required to bring them into a state fit for money, they have come to possess, the world over, a certain amount of value.

Fixedness of value resulting from fixedness of quantity constitutes the chief advantage of the precious metals over all other objects as a standard of value. Wheat, for instance, possesses value and is in universal demand; but to produce a bushel of wheat this year may cost one dollar, and the next two. So that every object would rise or fall as compared to wheat according as it was plenty or scarce. But it is not so with gold. Providence has come to the aid of man in the manner this product is dispersed throughout nature.

The experience of England, France, and our own country has been that it is unsafe to rely upon a paper currency. Our experience in 1837, and again in 1857, corroborates me in the statement. A purely paper currency, while it is expanding, stimulates credits; then money is plenty; everything is advanced in price, and then we have the "good times" my colleague [Mr. KELLEY] praises so much.

But now see the other side of this picture. The Government, or the bank, as the case may be, cease to expand. Having largely over-loaned, they must now not only cease to loan, but call in what they have loaned. Men go to the banks, but they can get no accommodation. Nay, not only so, but in the late panic they could not get their own deposits. Manufacturers, merchants, and tradesmen of all kinds begin to feel the pressure. One of them fails, and his failure drags down twenty more perhaps, having business relations with him; confidence is shaken, the wheels of business are clogged, and we are in the midst of a panic, which in one day sweeps away the fortunes of a life of honest toil and labor.

Such has been our experience again and again. Such, too, has been the experience of Great Britain under a paper currency, and such will continue to be our experience till we come down to a hard-money basis, the money intended by the framers of our Constitution.

The great evil of a paper currency is, that when you once commence the temptation to exceed the proper limit is generally too great to be resisted. It costs so little to make it; rags are cheap; and you have only to set the press in motion and the money is made. The earlier statesmen of the country long ago understood this tendency to overissue.

Hamilton, who cannot be considered an enemy to paper money, said:

The stamping of paper [by the Government] is an operation so much easier than laying taxes or borrowing money that a government in the habit of paper emissions would rarely fail, in any emergency, to indulge itself too far in the employment of that resource to avoid, as much as possible, one less auspicious to present popularity.

Benton has said:

As a currency, it is the most seductive, the most dangerous, and the most liable to abuse of all descriptions of currency.

road Company, a company duly incorporated and organized under the laws of the State of Arkansas, to construct, maintain, and operate its line of railroad upon, over, and across the Hot Springs reservation, in the State of Arkansas, as follows: Commencing on the east line of the south half of section 33, in township 2 south of the baseline, in range 19 west of the fifth principal meridian, in the county of Garland and State of Arkansas, at a point about six hundred feet from the southeast corner of said section; thence running up a ravine parallel to and south of the Benton wagon-road, westwardly through said section to a point at or near the Hot Springs Creek on said reservation. The right of way granted is to consist of a strip of land fifty feet wide on each side of the railroad, measured from the center line thereof, from the point on the east line of the section of land where the railroad enters the same to within twelve hundred feet of the terminus of the track of the road, and of the width of two hundred feet on each side of the railroad, measured from the center line thereof, for the last twelve hundred feet of the railroad, to be used by the company solely and exclusively for the construction of its track, side-tracks, switches, depots, machine-shops, engine-houses, turn-tables, &c.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

C. M. PURVIANCE AND F. WYETH.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (S. No. 192) for the relief of Caroline M. Purviance and Francis Wyeth.

The bill was read. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to Caroline M. Purviance and Francis Wyeth, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$4,500, the same to be in full satisfaction to them, and all persons claiming under them, for the use and occupation of and destruction to their property by the military authorities of the United States in Saint Joseph, State of Missouri, in the years 1861, 1862, and 1863.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

HEIRS OF JOHN W. GALL.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. No. 262) for the relief of the legal representatives of John W. Gall, deceased, late of Company A, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteers.

The bill was read. It authorizes and directs the Secretary of War and the proper accounting officers of the Treasury Department to recognize the military services of John W. Gall, deceased, late of the One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, as an officer of that regiment; and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay to the legal representatives of Gall the pay and allowances of a second lieutenant of infantry from March 9, 1863, to November 1, 1863, and the pay and allowances of a first lieutenant of infantry from February 20, 1864, to January 25, 1865, deducting therefrom the amount of pay received by him as a private soldier or non-commissioned officer of the regiment for the period above named.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. No. 2693) for the relief of Joseph Anderson, of Nashville, Tennessee.

The bill was read. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to Joseph Anderson, of Nashville, Tennessee, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$5,000 in full compensation for certain lumber furnished the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Army at Nashville, in February, 1863, for the construction of bridges, pontoons, fortifications, and quarters for workmen; which sum shall be received by Anderson in full satisfaction of his claim against the United States.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

Mr. ATKINS. I move that the committee rise.

The motion was not agreed to.

W. W. VAN ANTWERP.

The next business on the Private Calendar was the bill (H. R. No. 2694) for the relief of W. W. Van Antwerp, late major of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry.

The bill was read. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to W. W. Van Antwerp, a citizen of Jackson, Michigan, the sum of \$160, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, it being the value of a private horse lost in action while Van Antwerp was in the strict line of his duty as a soldier.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

Mr. BRIGHT moved that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. HOSKINS having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. DURAND reported sundry bills, with the respective recommendations of the Committee of the Whole thereon.

WAR CLAIMS.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the bills reported from the Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar.

The first bill (reported with a recommendation that it be passed with an amendment) was the bill (H. R. No. 1218) making appropriations for the payment of claims reported to Congress under section 2 of the act approved June 16, 1874, by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. This bill has been reported back from the Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar with an amendment, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

At the end of line 10 add the following:  
And embrace in the schedule the claims reported by the Secretary of the Treasury at the commencement of the second session of the Forty-third Congress.

Mr. NEAL rose.

The SPEAKER. The question will first be upon the amendment of the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HOLMAN. It was understood that the gentleman from Ohio should have such time as he might deem proper when this bill came into the House.

Mr. NEAL. None of the claims for which this bill appropriates money were examined by the committee from which it was reported.

Mr. HOLMAN. I hope the bill will be reported in full, so the House may be informed about it.

The bill was read *in extenso*.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, none of the claims for which this bill appropriates money were examined by the committee from which it is reported, with the view to ascertaining whether or not they were such as ought to be paid by the Government, the members of that committee having been of the opinion that their duty in the premises was purely formal, and did not require them to make any such examination. I trust therefore that the bill will not be passed at this time. I do not know what the practice of this House has been in regard to bills of this kind. But if it has been customary to pass such bills upon the simple examination and allowance of the claims contained in them, by the accounting officers of the Treasury, without a thorough and complete investigation of each and every one of them by some proper committee, I think that the sooner such a custom is abandoned the better it will be for the Government. The system of reform which has been determined upon and so happily inaugurated by us cannot, in my judgment, be extended in any direction with more successful results than will be realized by a departure from such a usage.

I am aware that to adopt the course I suggest will impose a large amount of labor upon those to whom such bills shall be committed; but at the same time I can see no other way in which fraudulent and dishonest claims can be discovered and rejected and the interests of the Government fully protected. There are in this very bill between two and three hundred claims, amounting in the aggregate to \$112,000. In another bill upon this Calendar, just a little below it, there are three hundred and forty-seven claims, amounting to \$153,548.10, making the total sum \$270,548.10; and I can but feel that to appropriate this amount in payment of them, without any further inquiry into their validity and justice than has been made by us, will be scarcely less than criminal negligence upon our part. We shall at least lay ourselves liable to the charge of gross negligence if we make such an appropriation without other and further knowledge in the premises than we now have. Some, possibly a majority, of these claims are doubtless meritorious. But then we can with almost equal certainty assume that others, a large number, too, will prove upon examination to be dishonest and fraudulent. So that the only safe course for us to pursue will be, it seems to me, to recommend the bill, in order that the finding of the Treasury officials in every case may be reviewed and we may be fully advised by one of our own committees as to whether all or any of them are of such a character as to justify us in providing for their payment.

Sir, nothing can be clearer to my mind than that we ought to review the action of the Department officers in the allowance of these claims. That it is our imperative duty to do so appears most fully, not only from the reasons I have stated, but from any fair or reasonable construction of the law under and by virtue of which they have been presented to us. The act of June 16, 1874, by the last section of which the Quartermaster-General, the Commissary-General, and the Third Auditor of the Treasury were authorized "to continue to receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of such claims," provides in express terms that "the Secretary of the Treasury shall make report of each claim allowed by them, at the commencement of each session of Congress, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall lay the same before Congress for consideration."

I give the exact language of the statute, and I submit that it will be a most miserable evasion of both its letter and spirit to so construe it as to hold that it means the same thing that it would mean if the word "appropriation" were used instead of the word "consideration." No one, I apprehend, will dare contend that it can be so construed. Yet this is just what must be done, if, as is now in effect proposed, we declare the finding of the Quartermaster-General and Third Auditor of the Treasury in these cases to be final and conclusive, and the simple appropriation by us of the amount of money ascertained by them to be due, and reported to us by the Secretary of the Treasury, to be a full compliance with the requirements of this section.

Mr. EDEN. If I can have the attention of the House I think I can answer the indictment of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. NEAL.]

The bill under consideration is a bill that was passed substantially just as it is now in the last House. These claims were reported by the Secretary of the Treasury at the beginning of the last session of Congress. The letter of the Secretary was referred to the Committee on War Claims, of which the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LAWRENCE] was chairman and my economical friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] was a member; and after they had given it that careful consideration which it was likely to receive at their hands and at the hands of the committee, it was reported to this House and passed unanimously without reading. It never went to the Committee on Revolutionary Claims at all; and so far as I know there is no other person within the limits of this country who has any sort of suspicion against these claims than my distinguished friend from Ohio, [Mr. NEAL.]

Now, what are these claims, and why are they here? Prior to the act of July 4, 1864, the Court of Claims seems to have had jurisdiction of matters of this kind. At that time a law was passed changing the jurisdiction. I will read a section of that law, section 2, which is as follows:

That all claims of loyal citizens in States not in rebellion for quartermaster's stores actually furnished to the Army of the United States and receipted for by the proper officer receiving the same, or which may have been taken by such officers without giving such receipt, may be submitted to the Quartermaster-General of the United States, accompanied with such proofs as each claimant can present of the facts in his case; and it shall be the duty of the Quartermaster-General to cause such claim to be examined, and if convinced that it is just, and of the loyalty of the claimant, and that the stores have been actually received or taken for the use of, and used by, said Army, then to report each case to the Third Auditor of the Treasury, with a recommendation for settlement.

There are one or two other enactments extending the jurisdiction of the accounting officers; one extending it to the State of Tennessee and another to a part of the State of West Virginia. The act does not and never did embrace any part of the insurrectionary States, but is confined solely and exclusively to the loyal States. The proof of loyalty is one of the conditions upon which the accounting officers have jurisdiction to determine and pass upon the merits of the claim. Now, under this law of July 4, 1864, until the 16th day of June, 1874, every single claim was passed upon by the Quartermaster-General and referred to the proper auditing office, and there passed upon by the Auditor of the Treasury without any further act of Congress. On the 16th day of June, 1874, in an appropriation bill, an amendment to this law was passed requiring those claims to be certified to Congress for an appropriation, or, as my friend from Ohio has it, for consideration.

Now, I have looked somewhat into these claims, and I have ascertained the mode by which the accounting officer proceeded to determine as to their justice. In the first instance, they go to the Quartermaster's Department.

The claim is first proven by affidavits of two persons, their credibility and the loyalty of the claimant being certified by a United States officer. The claim is then sent out for examination and report of a Government agent, who goes on the ground, summons witnesses to impeach the claim or claimant's loyalty. He makes his report. The case is then reviewed by the depot quartermaster. He reports to the Quartermaster-General. The case receives a thorough examination by his office. When approved by him it is sent to the Third Auditor, who reviews it, and if allowed by him, it goes to the Second Comptroller for his action. He examines and reviews it, and if he allows it, it is then reported to Congress for appropriation.

Now, that is the process by which these claims are examined. First by the Quartermaster's Department upon the application with two witnesses proving the justice and merit of the claim, and the character of these witnesses certified to by a United States officer; and then a special agent is sent out for the purpose of examining witnesses, if there be any, to impeach the claim; and then the evidence is reported to the Quartermaster's Department for examination there. And after going through all the red tape there is in the Quartermaster's Department it goes to the accounting officers of the Treasury, and is by them thoroughly examined according to the rules to which I have called the attention of the House. Then it comes to Congress.

Now, if my friend from Ohio [Mr. NEAL] will take the pains to examine the evidence in these cases, as I have done—I do not mean to say that I have gone over all the evidence in all the cases and examined it as a lawyer would do, because I could not do that in a single session of Congress—but if he will take up these papers and examine them, I venture to say he will not find an instance in which there is not a good case made out on paper. It may be possible that there are some claims fabricated, that there is some testimony fabricated, but I do make the assertion that, according to my best judgment from the examination I have made, every single one of those claims shows a good case on paper.

Now, what has this House got to do? The Government of the United States has established the Quartermaster's Department and the accounting officers of the Treasury as the proper tribunal for the persons having this class of claims to go to and have them adjudicated. Stringent rules and regulations have been adopted in order that there may be no fraud practiced. I do not say that it is impossible that frauds may be practiced, but stringent rules are adopted to prevent anything of the kind. The evidence is all carefully scanned and examined after the special agent has gone out to hunt up testimony to

impeach both the justice of the claim and the loyalty of the claimant, and then these claims are reported to Congress, with the accompanying evidence. And I will state that, so far as the Committee on War Claims is concerned, when they take up these papers they find there is a good case there on paper in every instance. I suppose the gentleman from Ohio wants the committee to send out and have the witnesses brought up again, and take their testimony.

Mr. NEAL. O, no.

Mr. EDEN. I do not pretend to say that this is the very best mode of adjusting these claims.

I rather incline to think that it would be better that there should be a judicial tribunal to adjust these accounts, where there would be proper counsel on the part of the Government to cross-examine all the witnesses, and whose duty it would be to see that no fraud was perpetrated on the Government. But that is not the tribunal that has been established by law. The accounting officers of the Treasury and the Quartermaster's Department constitute the tribunal that we have invited these claimants to come to with their witnesses, and they have been at the expense of doing that; they have complied with the law which we have made for them, and now the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. NEAL] because he is suspicious that among these four hundred claims included in this bill there may possibly be one or two which are fraudulent, proposes that these people should not have their money, when they have been at the expense of going to the only tribunal to which they can go in order to have their accounts adjudicated. Sir, I say that it would be infamous for us to adopt such a rule as that. If Congress is not satisfied with this tribunal let it establish another, but when it has established a tribunal, and these men have gone in good faith before it and presented their claims and proven them to the satisfaction of the accounting officers of the Treasury, and no suspicion has been cast upon them, I ask if it is not the duty of the House to make an appropriation to pay the claims?

Sir, these are not rich claimants who come here clothed in the panoply of power to demand their rights. They are poor persons, and their claims range from \$5 up to \$500; and unless this Congress shall make an appropriation upon the evidence that has been presented before the tribunal that we have fixed upon to adjudicate the cases the result will be that these poor people will not get their pay; and I say that that is not right.

I repeat, sir, that you may go and examine these claims and among them there may be fabricated claims. I do not say that it is not possible that there may be such. I do not in saying that, however, mean that there is the slightest suspicion of that sort, and I do not mean by any means to be understood as saying that any officer of the Government whose duty it has been to adjudicate these claims would be guilty of anything of that sort. But, sir, in spite of the utmost carefulness on the part of the accounting officers and of the committee and on the part of the House, there will now and then an unjust claim creep in and get passed, and men will get money out of the Treasury to which they are not entitled; and therefore, because that is a fact, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. NEAL] thinks those who have just claims against the Government ought not to be paid.

In case you refer this bill back to the committee, I tell you that the committee cannot examine the papers as a lawyer would do, and unless you go over them and examine them in that way, you might just as well not examine them at all. I say further to the gentleman from Ohio that there are before the Committee on War Claims, including the cases in this bill and those reported from the southern claims commission, two thousand or three thousand cases, and in some instances the testimony amounts to two hundred pages, and unless the House is going to give some credit to the tribunal established by law to adjudicate these claims, you might as well turn the claimants out and let them go unpaid. It would be an act of injustice, an infamy to do so, and for one I do not intend to do so. If the gentleman from Ohio can make any reputation for extreme reform views by depriving these poor claimants of their just claims, which have been adjudicated by the tribunal fixed by law, I am willing that he shall make it. I shall do my duty here. None of my constituents are concerned in any of these claims, and I have no concern in them except to do my duty as a Representative here.

Mr. NEAL. Before the gentleman sits down, will he allow me to ask him one question?

Mr. EDEN. Certainly.

Mr. NEAL. Under the act of July, 1864, as was correctly stated by the gentleman, the Quartermaster and the Third Auditor of the Treasury were authorized to examine, adjust, and pay these claims.

Mr. EDEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NEAL. Under the act of June 16, 1874, the Congress of the United States took away from the Quartermaster-General and the Third Auditor of the Treasury the power to pay these claims.

Mr. EDEN. Certainly; but they did not take away the power to adjudicate them.

Mr. NEAL. By that law these claims, instead of being paid by the proper officers of the Treasury Department without submission to the Congress of the United States, are required to be brought here and submitted to us for our consideration.

Mr. EDEN. Certainly; and that is just what we are doing now.

Mr. NEAL. Let the gentleman tell this House what was sought to be accomplished by that change in the law. If it was not contemplated by that act that this House should review the action of the Quar-

Massachusetts, and any and all official documents and correspondence pertaining thereto.

The second section provides that to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to carry the foregoing section into effect \$45,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

The amendments of the Committee of Claims are as follows:

In section 1 insert after the word "appropriation" these words: "And also for all timber cut therefrom by British subjects during the suspension of jurisdiction by the respective governments preceding said treaty." Second, in the twelfth line of the first section strike out the word "four" and insert "three," and strike out the words "more than." Third, in the second line of the second section strike out the word "forty" and insert "thirty" instead.

The bill, as amended, was laid aside, to be reported to the House with a recommendation that it do pass.

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FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF SAINT ALBANS, VERMONT.

The next business on the Private Calendar was a bill (S. No. 58) to pay the First National Bank of Saint Albans, in the county of Franklin, and State of Vermont, the value of certain United States Treasury notes held by said bank as financial agent of the United States, and forcibly taken therefrom by raiders from Canada in October, 1864.

The bill, which was read, authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to the First National Bank of Saint Albans, at Saint Albans, in the county of Franklin, and State of Vermont, late financial agent and designated depository of public moneys of the United States, (under section 45 of the national-currency act, approved June 3, 1864,) the sum of \$28,650, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, being the amount of United States 7.30 Treasury notes held by said bank as such financial agent of the United States for delivery to subscribers therefor, and belonging to the United States, and having been forcibly seized and taken away by an armed band of raiders from Canada, acting under the military authority and direction of the so-called Confederate States of America, on the 19th day of October, 1864, without the fault or neglect of the officers of said bank. Mr. EDEN's report was read, as follows:

The facts relative to the claim are stated in the report of the Senate Committee on Claims made to the Forty-third Congress, as follows:

On October 19, 1864, occurred what is known as the Saint Albans raid. About three o'clock in the afternoon of that day parties of from three to five men each, armed with navy revolvers, concealed under their coats, entered the three banks in the village of Saint Albans, Vermont. In two of the banks the cashiers and tellers were present; in the third, the cashier was alone. The men stated that they were confederate soldiers; that they had come to rob the banks and fire the village, and, presenting their pistols, threatened the officers of the banks with instant death if they should make any resistance or give any alarm. They then proceeded to rob the banks. A number of other parties were seizing horses through the town, and, meeting with some resistance from the citizens, they began to fire on men passing in the streets, killing one or two and wounding others; and they also attempted to fire a hotel and some other buildings by the use of Greek fire. The banks were soon plundered, horses enough to mount the raiders seized, saddled, and bridled, and within thirty minutes after the banks were entered the whole party was galloping toward Canada. The citizens of Saint Albans, as soon as they recovered from the surprise of such an unexpected attack, armed and dispatched a company in pursuit of the raiders, and, by their active efforts that night and the next morning, ten of the raiders were taken and \$74,000 of the stolen money recovered. Proceedings were begun in the Canadian courts for the extradition of the raiders thus taken, but the courts decided that their deeds were the acts of belligerents and not robbery and murder; that therefore they could not deliver them under the extradition treaty, and they were accordingly discharged.

June 20, 1864, the First National Bank of Saint Albans had been designated a depository and financial agent of the United States, and had been authorized to receive subscriptions for bonds and Treasury notes of the United States. They did receive, in September and the early part of October, subscriptions to the amount of \$35,000 for the three-year coupon Treasury notes bearing 7.3 per cent. interest, issued under the act of June 3, 1864. The money on these subscriptions was paid into the bank and placed to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States; report thereof was made to him, the Treasury notes were ordered for the subscribers, and, October 5, 1864, were received to the amount of \$35,000. The bank immediately notified the subscribers, and by the 18th they had delivered \$6,350 of them to subscribers residing in the vicinity. The remaining notes, \$28,650, being the subscriptions of thirty persons, were seized and carried off by the raiders, together with large amounts of money and other property in the safes of the banks. The thirty subscribers demanded the delivery of the notes or the return of the money paid by them; and the bank, recognizing the demand as both morally and legally valid, paid to the subscribers their respective amounts, and now seeks relief from the Government for the same.

Section 5153 of the Revised Statutes provides that "all national-banking associations, designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositories of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary, and they may also be employed as financial agents of the Government, and they shall perform all such reasonable duties as depositories of public moneys and financial agents of the Government as may be required of them.

Under the authority of said section, the Treasurer of the United States, on the 23d day of June, 1864, designated the First National Bank of Saint Albans a depository of public moneys, and on the 23d day of July, 1864, the Secretary of the Treasury authorized said bank "to receive deposits for three years' coupon Treasury notes, bearing interest at the rate of 7.3 per cent. per annum, to be issued under the act approved June 3, 1864," these notes to bear date August 15, 1864, payable three years after date, in lawful money, to be issued in blank or payable to order as depositors should elect. The instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury stated the conditions of the subscriptions as follows: "The original certificates (of deposit) which should be left with you (the bank) after indorsement, as herein directed, must be sent to this Department, and must state on the back the denomination of the notes wanted, and whether they are to be issued in blank or payable to order. The notes will be in denominations of \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000, and \$5,000; and, when prepared, they will be sent to your bank for distribution to depositors by express, at the expense of the Government." Deposits, when made, were placed to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States. August 19, 1864, notice was given in a Saint Albans paper, by agents of the Treasury Department, that subscriptions would be received to said loan by the First National Bank at Saint Albans and other places mentioned. The notice specified that "the notes will be transmitted to the owners free of transportation charges, as soon after the receipt of the original certificates of deposit as they can be prepared."

The subscriptions were made upon the condition that the notes when prepared should be sent to the bank, for distribution to depositors, by express, at the expense of the Government. The raiders robbed the bank and prevented the Government from distributing the loans. The subscribers paid their money for the bonds, and it went into the Treasury. There being no default on their part, they should suffer no loss. As the bank refunded the money to the subscribers, we are of opinion that it has an equitable claim against the Government. We therefore report back the Senate bill and recommend its passage.

They find that the recitals of the preamble to the bill are true. The subject-matter was before the Forty-third Congress, upon the petition of James A. Drew and others, and the careful report made thereon by Mr. DUNSMuir, of the Committee of Claims, which accompanies H. R. 2371, of the first session of that Congress, sets forth fully and concisely the facts and conclusions that establish the validity of the claim of the beneficiaries under this bill for the indemnity it provides.

Under the treaty of 1783, the division-line between the United States and the province of New Brunswick, on the east, was agreed to be a line drawn due north from the source of the Saint Croix River to the highlands that divide the waters flowing into the Gulf of Saint Lawrence from those which flow into the Atlantic Ocean. A dispute arose afterward in regard to the location of these highlands, which was not adjusted until the convention of 1842, which composed this and other vexed controversies. In 1784 the two governments determined the spot to be regarded as the source of the Saint Croix River and identified it by a monument. No formal survey of this division-line was ever made by the two governments in concert; but by authority of the State of Massachusetts the line was run from the monument by surveyors, in 1804, and in 1840 by Major Graham, of the United States topographical engineers. That the line fixed by these explorations is the true treaty-line of 1783 was claimed as beyond question by our Government, and in effect conceded by Great Britain in the resolution that constituted the convention of 1842. Long prior to this latter convention, and before the territorial dispute arose, the State of Massachusetts made grants of lands, by townships, chiefly to educational institutions and soldiers distinguished for patriotic services, bounding easterly on this line. By the treaty of 1842 a new boundary was adopted, in place of the old, to meet commercial and political exigencies, for which the United States obtained valuable compensations in the settlement of other boundaries. As thus newly established, the boundary, commencing at the head of the Saint Croix, by the monument, was made to diverge some degrees westerly from due north. In consequence of this variation, and by operation of the treaty-provisions, the title to an amount of land equal to ten thousand acres or more, lying between the two boundaries, was divested from the proprietors under the grants and vested in British subjects; and it is to indemnify the proprietors for these lands taken by the sovereign power for a public use that the committee recommend the passage of the accompanying bill of relief.

In the year 1833, in consequence of the disagreement as to the boundary, it was arranged between the two governments, as appears from the diplomatic correspondence, that both governments should suspend the exercise of jurisdiction over the disputed territory (which included these lands) until a final adjustment of the controversy. This diplomatic understanding was adhered to until the convention of 1842 composed the troubles, with the exception that the authorities of Maine, in 1839, interfered by force to protect the valuable timber forests from depredations. During the period of suspended jurisdiction, principally from 1832 to 1839, and while the owners were powerless to protect their rights and interests, these lands were settled upon and the valuable growth of timber thereon removed by the subjects of Great Britain from the contiguous province. Under the operation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1842 these "squatters" who had been in actual possession for six years before the date of the treaty were confirmed in their titles, to the exclusion of the proprietors whose title was derived under their grants. Judicial determinations fully establish this construction and give effect to it. (See Little vs. Watson, 32 Maine Reports, page 214.)

The obligation of the Government to make this indemnity seems too clear for discussion, and is confessed by abundant precedent. In recognition of this obligation the Federal Government, by express provision of the treaty, allowed to the States of Maine and Massachusetts \$304,000 for their public lands within the territorial cession.

By the act of July 19, 1862, Congress admitted and satisfied claims made for lands of individual owners which fell within the jurisdiction of the United States upon the reconstruction of boundaries, but which the proprietors were dispossessed of under the fourth article of the treaty, and the title thereto vested in British subjects. The lands specified in this bill constituted a portion of the townships granted by Massachusetts, which, at the date of the grants, were indisputably a part of her public domain. By the establishment of the conventional line of 1842 a section of these townships remained, as before, within the Federal jurisdiction, and a section was transferred to the British Crown. As to the whole, the American owners were dispossessed. For the part which fell within the jurisdiction, the Federal Government, acknowledging its liability, has made compensation. For the part which passed to the foreign jurisdiction, the bill under consideration proposes indemnity. The right to compensation in the two cases seems identical. It is pertinent to recall that a pecuniary compensation was made to the States of Maine and Massachusetts for their public lands so transferred to the British government, and of the lands so paid for by the Federal Government, a part occupied the same relative position as these covered by the provisions of this bill. Surely the right of the private proprietor to compensation should not be held less than the right of the State.

Extensive reports upon the various claims of this class, arising out of the treaty of 1842 have been submitted by committees of both branches of Congress in former years, with concurrent unanimity sustaining their justice and validity. We refer particularly to reports—

In the Senate:  
By Mr. Wade, third session Thirty-fourth Congress, (Report No. 323.)  
By Mr. Clark, first session Thirty-fifth Congress, (Report No. 168.)

In the House:  
By Mr. Maynard, first session Thirty-fifth Congress, (Report No. 334.)  
By Mr. Vallon, second session Thirty-seventh Congress, (Report No. 73.)  
By Mr. Dunsmuir, first session Forty-third Congress, (Report No. 395.)

The bill reported favorably from the Committee of Claims of the last House of Representatives passed the House, but failed to secure action in the Senate.

The States of Maine and Massachusetts have each taken action in aid of the claimants, urging the justice of the claim upon the attention of the Government. The governor and council of Maine, in 1859, in execution of a resolution of the Legislature, investigated the subject, and found that the territory in question embraced 107.8 acres 137 rods, and its average value \$3 an acre. The act of July 19, 1862, allowed compensation for contiguous lands of no greater value, inclusive of damage for timber removals while the exercise of jurisdiction was suspended, at the rate of \$1 per acre.

The committee recommend that the bill pass with certain amendments, to wit:

Mr. O'BRIEN. I should like to have a further explanation than is contained in the report.

Mr. EDEN. I am willing to explain the bill.

Mr. O'BRIEN. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois whether the committee investigated the facts?

Mr. EDEN. The committee did investigate the facts. There is no dispute about them at all.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Did the committee have any correspondence with the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. EDEN. It did.

Mr. O'BRIEN. What was his opinion?

Mr. EDEN. These bonds were taken from the First National Bank of Saint Albans by raiders. They were issued in blank; not payable to any particular person. When they came to the Treasury Department, the Government redeemed them rather than run the risk of impairing the credit of the bonds. This bank was simply acting as an agent for the Government. If gentlemen paid any attention to the reading of the report they would be in possession of all the facts.

Now, sir, under the banking laws, the Government has a right to demand national banks shall act as financial agents in the negotiation of loans. This bank, having been designated for that purpose, proceeded to receive subscriptions. The money subscribed was placed to the credit of the Government and drawn out on drafts from the Treasury. By the terms of the subscriptions the Government was to deliver the bonds. Those who lived in the immediate vicinity went and got their bonds before the raid occurred. The bonds were received on Saturday, and the raid occurred on Wednesday following. The amounts of bonds specified in the bill remained in the custody of the bank, and the raiders captured and carried them off. Notice was immediately given and a caveat filed in the Treasury Department by officers of the bank to stop the payment of the bonds. When the bonds came to the Treasury, however, as I have already stated, they were paid or converted into other securities. No notice was given to the bank, and no opportunity afforded to show that the parties presenting the bonds had notice they had been stolen. No chance was given to the bank to make proof.

The bank paid the money to the subscribers, and now asks the Government to indemnify it for that payment. The bank never owned the bonds, had no interest in the bonds, was simply acting as agent under the law to deliver the bonds which the Government had obligated itself to deliver to the subscribers by the terms of the subscription.

Mr. HENDEE. I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois if it did not appear that there was no fault or neglect on the part of the bank officers, and if it was not the fact that it was not in their power to prevent the taking of these bonds by the raiders?

Mr. EDEN. Unquestionably so. There was no lache on the part of the officers of the bank. They followed the raiders up immediately into Canada and captured them, but the courts in Canada held that these raiders were belligerents, holding in Canada a commission under the confederate government. Subsequently a portion of the stolen money was given up, but the bank lost a large amount of money. It does not ask the Government to refund the money. That was its loss. It only asks the Government to suffer the loss on account of the capture of the bonds, the bonds having been afterward paid by the Government.

I now yield to the gentleman from Vermont, [Mr. HENDEE,] who is familiar with the matter, if he desires to make any further statement in regard to it.

Mr. HENDEE. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the committee to which this matter was referred has made a very full statement of the case, but I would like to add a little, with the permission of the Committee of the Whole.

The history of this affair is of course somewhat interesting, and although it is well known to the country, perhaps I might mention one or two facts connected with it. The Saint Albans raid, as it is called, which occurred in 1864, was organized under the instrumentality or by the direct authority of C. C. Clay, jr., and Jacob Thompson, who were agents of the confederate government, resident in Canada for that and other purposes. The report says that the men who came to Saint Albans for the purpose of robbing the banks there were confederate soldiers; so that we claim that the acts of these men were virtually acts of war.

Now, in the first place, this claim was presented to the British and American mixed claims commission for adjustment. That commission decided that inasmuch as this band of men were not organized, the British government was not to blame for the robbery or the taking of these bonds. Hence, the claim was disallowed, and by that tribunal; the pendency of the claim before that commission is the reason why it has not been presented to Congress before this day, though it was presented at the last Congress, but not reached.

This is no new principle. The principle sought to be recognized in this bill has been established by Congress a great many times in refunding to paymasters and postmasters and other Government officers money which has been taken from them, being the property of the United States, without fault or neglect upon their part. And in my remarks I will mention some of the cases which have been decided that are very similar to this case.

I would refer the committee to the following cases which have been favorably considered by former Congresses:

Act to relieve D. O. Cleaveland, P. M. (Laws of 1873, page 722.)

Act to relieve A. A. Vance, P. M. (Laws of 1871, page 699.)

An act to relieve John S. Cunningham, paymaster United States Navy. (Laws of 1868, page 358.) This case was for public money stolen.

An act to relieve James Finton, paymaster United States Navy, for clothes and small stores stolen. (Laws of 1867, page 636.)

Joint resolution to pay J. N. Carpenter, paymaster United States Navy, for clothing stolen. (Laws of 1864, page 587.)

Act to pay John H. Ellis, paymaster United States Army, for larceny of public money. (Laws of 1868, page 356.)

The rule has also been extended to mail contractors for horses captured by rebel forces and guerrillas during the war. (See joint resolution to pay John R. Bookley. Laws of 1867, page 664.)

Congress has also relieved collectors of internal revenue in cases of public money. (See act for relief of Robert Williams, jr., collector third district of Ohio. Laws of 1874, page 946.)

It has also paid Thomas C. Magruder money stolen from him belonging to the Government, after the same had been refunded by him to the Government. (Laws of 1873, page 765.)

It has also relieved superintendents of branch mints for public moneys stolen from the Mint. (Joint resolution to pay George W. Lane. Laws of 1869, page 461.)

It has also relieved sub-treasurers whose defalcations have occurred on the part of subordinate officers of the sub-treasury.

It has also paid losses of private individuals sustained at the hands of the public enemy during the rebellion. (See case of Margaret Morfin. Laws of 1873, page 767.)

It has also paid Thomas C. Magruder money stolen from him belonging to the Government, after the same had been refunded by him to the Government. (Laws of 1873, page 765.)

It has likewise relieved United States depositaries of public moneys stolen from them. (See joint resolution to relieve John L. Thomas, jr., and E. H. Webster, designated depositaries of the United States at Baltimore. Laws of 1871, page 703. See also an act for relief of John Hastings, late depositary of public moneys at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for moneys robbed from him in 1854. Laws of 1866, page 605. See also an act for the relief of John T. Mason, late United States designated depositary at Baltimore, Maryland, for moneys paid into the Treasury by him, the amount of which was afterward shown to have been stolen or embezzled by his late clerk in said depositary. Laws of 1873, page 723.)

And as bearing on this case under consideration, I will cite the language of the Supreme Court in the case of United States vs. Thomas, 15 Wallace, page 337:

The late rebellion being a public war, the forcible seizure by the rebel authorities of public moneys in the hands of loyal Government agents against their will, and without their fault or negligence, was a sufficient discharge from their obligations in reference to said moneys.

These are the points of the case: In the first place, the bonds which were taken, to the amount of \$35,650, were the property of the United States. They were in the hands of the First National Bank of Saint Albans as a designated depository; or, in other words, the bank was merely the agent of the Government for the delivery of the bonds to the subscribers. Now, the committee will remember that the act which established these banks compelled them to become depositories of United States bonds and money. It also compelled the banks to receive subscriptions for the 7.30 bonds of the issue of 1864. In pursuance of that law the Government of the United States called upon this bank to receive subscriptions for these bonds, what are known as the 7.30 three-year bonds of 1864. The bank did receive subscriptions from the inhabitants in the vicinity of the bank to the amount of \$35,000. The Government was notified and forwarded the bonds to the bank for delivery to the subscribers. But before the subscribers could receive their bonds or the bank could deliver them, this raid occurred and the bonds were taken from the bank. Now, if the committee is satisfied that there was no fault and no neglect on the part of the bank in protecting that property, as a matter of course it should be relieved from loss.

I would further say that at the same time that these bonds were taken \$12,000 in money in the bank was also taken, which they never have recovered, and of course they alone have and must suffer that loss. Further, they have been kept out of the use of this \$23,650 for the term of twelve years. If the interest was paid the whole would amount to fifty-odd thousand dollars. That they do not seek to recover. They simply ask the Government to pay back to them just the amount of bonds taken from the bank which were the property of the United States.

I think the principle of law is well established that—

An officer or "agent" of the Government is only bound to exercise "a degree of care and diligence as the custodian of public moneys or securities which a careful, prudent man would require of his agent in a matter of private interest or exercise in his own affairs," and is only liable for negligence or dishonesty.

Mr. STONE. I desire to ask the gentleman from Vermont to state to the House how much money in the aggregate was taken from the First National Bank of Saint Albans? The report says that \$74,000 of the stolen money was recovered.

Mr. HENDEE. The raiders took about \$100,000, if I remember rightly.

Mr. STONE. And the bank recovered \$74,000?

Mr. HENDEE. They recovered all but \$12,000 of the money, saying nothing about these bonds; or perhaps I should say they lost \$12,000 in money, and these bonds amounted to \$23,650, and I think more.

I will be glad to add that I am personally acquainted with all the gentlemen connected with this bank, and can say that they are gentlemen of the highest order of character. Their affidavits are on file here, and can be examined by the gentleman if he wishes.

Mr. STONE. How will the bank determine what proportion of this sum belongs to them and what to the bonds?

Mr. HENDEE. The affidavits show that very conclusively, and the report, I think, is conclusive upon that point.

Mr. STONE. The report does not do it, and therefore I desire information from the gentleman so that I may vote intelligently.

Mr. HENDEE. The report may not show that, but I will state that the bank did suffer a loss absolutely of \$12,000, over and above what



1876.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE.

2135

it recovered back, besides the loss of these bonds. I think there can be no objection to the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was laid aside, to be reported favorably to the House.

## PAYMENT OF CLAIMS.

The next business on the Calendar was the bill in the nature of a substitute to the bill (H. R. No. 1215) making appropriations for the payment of claims reported to Congress under section 2 of the act approved June 16, 1874, by the Secretary of the Treasury, namely: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

Mr. STONE. Is there any report accompanying this bill?

Mr. EDEN. I want to ask the indulgence of the House to say a word in reference to this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman can do that after the bill has been read.

Mr. EDEN. But I do not want it read if it can be avoided.

The CHAIRMAN. The reading of the bill can be dispensed with by unanimous consent.

Mr. EDEN. It is a very long bill—a bill of nineteen printed pages, and the principal part of it consists of the names of claimants and the amounts due them.

The CHAIRMAN. The rule requires that the bill shall first be read at length.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to pay, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the several persons in this act named, the several sums mentioned therein, the same being in full for, and the receipt of the same to be taken and accepted in each case as a full and final discharge of, the several claims examined and allowed by the proper accounting officers since June 30, 1874, under the second section of the act of Congress approved June 16, 1874, namely—

Mr. EDEN. I apprehend that the reading of the names and amounts can be dispensed with by common consent.

Mr. STONE. I object to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EDEN] suggests that the schedule be not read unless desired by the committee. If the reading of the bill is called for, it must be read at length. If there be no objection, the schedule of the names and amounts will not be read.

Mr. STONE. I have asked for the reading of the bill at length.

Mr. EDEN. Does the gentleman require the reading of the names and amounts?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair so understands.

Mr. STONE. I desire to have it read.

Mr. EDEN. If the gentleman will allow me to make an explanation about this bill I am sure he will withdraw his demand.

Mr. STONE. I will hear the gentleman.

Mr. EDEN. The amounts that are embraced in this bill are for the payment of accounts which have been passed upon by the accounting officers of the Treasury. This bill was before the House in the last Congress. It passed the Committee on War Claims without any opposition. It came into the House and was passed unanimously without the reading of anything but the title and sent to the Senate, but, it being near the close of the session, it failed to receive action in the Senate.

The law originally provided that these claims should be paid upon the recommendation of the accounting officers of the Treasury, without any action of Congress at all; but in an appropriation bill passed June 16, 1874, the law was changed, and now these accounts are sent to Congress for an appropriation.

This bill has been printed, and has been before the Committee of the Whole for three weeks or more. It was called once before on "objection day," and a single objection carried it over. If there is any gentleman upon this floor who wants to examine and see whether these accounts are correct or not, if he will go down into the room of the Committee on War Claims he will find a very large number of them down there; and if they were put in his hands for six months, and he was required to go over them and see whether the accounts were correct or not, I doubt very much whether he would throw any more light on the subject than the accounting officers of the Treasury have thrown on it. The accounts have passed through the Quartermaster's Department and through the Auditor's Office in the regular way that all accounts are passed in the Treasury; and until the passage of the act of 1874, to which I have referred, and which I desire to have read, the amount found due was paid without any action of Congress at all; and I apprehend that when that law was passed it was not intended that the members of this House should take up the papers in three or four hundred cases, some of them probably containing fifty, sixty, or one hundred pages of testimony, and go over the several accounts to see whether they are correct.

We have either got to rely upon the action of the accounting officers and make an appropriation upon that action, unless anything comes to light showing that there is something wrong in an account, or else these creditors of the Government have got to go without their money.

I venture to say that if Congress should refuse to pay these poor people for property taken and used by the Army under laws that authorizes payment therefor at the time it was taken, it will be just as much repudiation as repudiation of the bonds of the Government

would be, and unless gentlemen intend that they will pass this bill after it has been examined by two committees of two different Congresses, otherwise they will repudiate this debt.

Mr. BRIGHT. What is the average amount of the claims allowed by this bill?

Mr. EDEN. I think about \$100.

Mr. BRIGHT. What is the aggregate amount?

Mr. EDEN. About \$112,000.

Mr. STONE. The gentleman said that if any one desired to look into these matters it would take him six months to do it.

Mr. EDEN. Yes; if he looked into them thoroughly.

Mr. STONE. I would ask the chairman of the Committee on War Claims, [Mr. EDEN,] reporting this bill, if he has thoroughly examined each and all of these claims?

Mr. EDEN. In answer to the gentleman I will say that, nothing appearing to the contrary, I took it for granted that the accounting officers of the Treasury have acted honestly.

Mr. STONE. No doubt about that. But the gentleman said it would take six months to examine into these claims.

Mr. EDEN. If you go over all the papers it will take that long.

Mr. STONE. Has the Committee on War Claims gone over all the papers and evidence in these cases?

Mr. EDEN. It has not.

Mr. STONE. Does the committee make any report on these claims?

Mr. EDEN. It reports this bill. I ask the Clerk to read section 2 of the act of June 16, 1874.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. That all balances of appropriations for whatever account, made for the service of the Departments of the Quartermaster-General and of the Commissary-General of Subsistence prior to July 1, 1872, which on the 30th day of June, 1874, shall remain on the books of the Treasury, shall be carried to the surplus fund, except such as the Auditor of the Treasury whose duty it is to audit accounts against such appropriations shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury to be necessary in the settlement of such accounts as have been reported to him for payment by the Quartermaster and the Commissary Departments pending in his Office. And the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, and Third Auditor of the Treasury shall continue to receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of such claims as shall be brought before them under the act of July 4, 1864, and the acts amendatory thereof; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall make report of each claim allowed by them, at the commencement of each session of Congress, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall lay the same before Congress for consideration.

Mr. EDEN. In order to show how these claims were paid prior to the passage of the act just read, I desire the Clerk to read the law in operation before that time.

Mr. BRIGHT. By order of the House a recess is to be taken at half past four o'clock. There are but a few minutes left in which to report to the House and act upon the bills which this committee have directed to be favorably reported to the House. I ask the gentleman to yield now that I may move that the committee rise and report to the House the bills favorably acted upon.

Mr. EDEN. I will yield for that motion.

Mr. BRIGHT. I now submit the motion I have indicated.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. COX having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. SPRUNGER reported that, pursuant to the order of the House, the Committee of the Whole had had under consideration the Private Calendar, and had directed him to report sundry bills to the House, with a favorable recommendation.

## DISPENSING WITH NIGHT SESSION.

Mr. RANDALL. As is known to members, there is to be a caucus of the members of this side of the House to-night. It has been suggested to me by many members on the other side that they do not desire to be brought here to-night for a brief period only. I therefore ask unanimous consent of the House that the session of to-night be dispensed with, and that the session of this afternoon be continued beyond half past four o'clock, so that the House may be able to dispose of the bills reported from the Committee of the Whole.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The House will now proceed to the consideration of the bills reported from the Committee of the Whole on the Private Calendar.

## MARY W. JONES.

The first bill reported from the Committee of the Whole was the bill (H. R. No. 714) to increase the pension of Mary W. Jones.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

## LANDS CEDED UNDER TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

The next bill reported from the Committee of the Whole was the following, with amendments:

A bill (H. R. No. 186) to provide for compensation to the owners of certain lands ceded by the United States to Great Britain in and by the treaty of Washington of July 3, 1842.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill, as amended, was then ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

ing, as I said in the debate on the centennial appropriation bill, "a money famine unparalleled in the history of the country, paralyzation of industry, prostration in business, destruction of values, of confidence, of credit, and of hope in a reign of poverty, want, and ruin."

While it will be remembered that whatever effort has been made to repeal this impracticable and dangerous law has come from the democratic side of this Hall and had its chief support from that side, in my humble judgment our failure as a party here to meet this just demand and throw upon a republican Senate the responsibility of all the consequences of its attempted execution may subject us to some severe and not unmerited criticism. Of the consequences of this disappointment of the public expectation I shall have but little to say. Parties are valueless when they cease to represent great, living, practical issues. Bold, independent thought, that disorganizes old and gives coherence, force, and power to new parties is at its work to-day. If it cannot force an existing organization in its direction it may create an agency suited to its purpose. The protest against contraction and demand for a circulating medium suited to the wants of the country are not the mere idle catch-words of a few restless demagogues. It has deeper and more portentous significance, of which existing organizations would do well to take warning. It is the fearful cry of enforced idleness, of unemployed labor, of languishing industries, to which all the maxims of an obsolete economy furnish no quiting response. It asks for bread and will not be satisfied with a stone. It asks for fish and is not to be appeased with a serpent. It comes from plain people, but with intelligence enough to perceive how uniformly the legislation of the country has tended to aggrandize its capital. They have seen the act of 1869 passed in the interest of that capital, by which were unjustly transferred many millions of dollars into the pockets of the bondholders. They have seen silver as it grew abundant and cheap demonetized in the very teeth of the Constitution, so that the Government creditor could get his pay in the dearer metal. They have seen the great sovereign power of issuing currency partially abdicated and given over to a legion of corporations and a compensation of near \$20,000,000 paid them annually for doing what the Government could itself do much better and at a vastly less expense. They have seen how tenderly are touched the sacred prerogatives of institutions whose influence may be deprecated but not safely defied. They have seen legislation year after year keep the badge of inferiority upon the money which the people use by rejecting it for import duties; thereby furnishing one currency to the public and another to the public creditor, thus depreciating the Government obligation and keeping it at a discount, and they see finally an undisguised effort to deprive them entirely of this cheap and useful form of currency and leave as their only circulating medium, and in stinted quantities, the expensive, uncertain, and dangerous one furnished them by the national banks. No wonder that here and there is a spasmodic exhibition of the spirit that animated the hero of the Hermitage in his historic struggle against the same power, and history may repeat itself sooner or later and furnish another illustration of the resistless might of an aroused and indignant public opinion.

#### CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

There is a lesson in the history of the last seven years which the people would do well never to forget. If free institutions, if liberty sustained by law are to be preserved, their preservation can be best secured by a perpetual recurrence to the melancholy memories of this out-going Administration. By them we are admonished of the perils of personal government and its utter incompatibility with the theory of institutions that are "of the people, by the people, and for the people." They may remind us how power held in trust for the public weal may be prostituted to personal and family aggrandizement and to the gratification of an individual favoritism, persistently and wickedly blind to the high source and legitimate purposes of all delegated political power. In this history is recorded that growing laxity of political morals that culminated at last in an almost public commerce in the patronage of the Republic.

Whatever may be said, Mr. Speaker, in disparagement of this House, one thing must stand to its everlasting credit: the sincerity, vigor, and success with which it has wrought for the purification of the national service and restoration of public virtue to places of public trust. Despite the resistance which it has met in executive orders forbidding the use at this capital of original papers on file in the Departments, despite the implied threat of prosecution and vengeance to accomplices who might come forward to attest official malfeasance, despite the refusal of the other branch of Congress to pass laws granting immunity to such witnesses, despite the hue and clamor against investigation, it has gone on to results that first startled and then humiliated the nation. As the national conscience recovers from the shock the country begins to realize the benefits of these disagreeable labors. A saturnalia of fraud, a carnival of rogues, has been brought to a sudden end. An imperious and insolent lobby that once dominated here and controlled the legislation of this Hall has left its places in the corridors and upon this floor to a successor so pinched and starved, humble and unobtrusive as that its very existence is a matter of doubt. But, sir, one effect alone of these investigations already attained is their adequate reward. When this Congress met and for many months before the third-term speaker had projected its malignant shadow over the American mind and filled the political horizon with "portents dire," menacing to the safety and perpetuity of our political system.

IV—370

But the horrid apprehension it inspired has passed, and danger to our institutions from that threatened innovation, thanks to the fearless majority in this Hall, no longer confronts us.

But still one other tendency we feel confidently assured these labors will have, a tendency toward a re-inauguration of the era of official responsibility, a principle long ignored, both to the corruption of public morals and the peril of public liberty. When again shall another Secretary of War make commerce of the patronage of his high place or another American minister to a foreign court lend the influence of his ministerial character to bull the shares of a doubtful speculation?

The public mind too has been aroused by these exposures to the fuller realization of a danger which is even, sir, a direr evil than that of civil war itself, for the hurricane that vexes the bosom of the sea and bends the masts of the goody ship has less of certain peril in it than the invisible borer that gnaws unnoticed in the dark or the dry rot that steals through her staunch timbers unheard and unseen. As to whether the country will profit fully by the solemn warning given at a cost of so much of its substance and its pride the future alone will determine.

Honest, responsible administration of governmental functions is the great and crying need of the hour, and the ices of November will make it attainable. Will the country pronounce for it? Unless all signs are delusive public opinion, that mysterious force which no human hand can check or turn from the current in which it is set, that indefinable sentiment which resists or upholds governments and parties without their being able to account for it, and which rarely errs in doing so, demands, in a tone that should go neither unheard nor unheeded, a return to honest, frugal, constitutional government. Discarding all idea of a magnificent system supported by costly, aristocratic establishments, which tend neither to the promotion of happiness nor the protection of liberty, it demands a return to the simple republican system of the earlier years of our national history. A plain system void of pomp, protecting all and granting favors to none, dispensing its blessings like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the beauty and freshness they contribute to produce. Such a government as this the genius of our people requires; under such a one only may these States remain for ages to come united, prosperous, and free.

#### The Utilization of the Product of Gold and Silver Mines.

### SPEECH OF HON. JOHN R. EDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

July 26, 1876,

On the bill (H. R. No. 3335) to utilize the product of gold and silver mines, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, in the brief time I shall occupy in this discussion I propose to confine myself to the consideration of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. HOLMAN.] That amendment is as follows:

That so much of the act entitled "An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," approved January 14, 1875, as authorizes or requires the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem in coin, on and after the 1st day of January, 1879, the United States notes is hereby repealed.

#### REPEAL OF THE RESUMPTION ACT.

One of the questions which now confronts the people grows out of the attempt to force the resumption of specie payments by coercive legislation at a time when every industrial interest of the country is paralyzed, and every channel of commerce obstructed with bankrupt estates. This business stagnation results from vicious legislation relative to the currency and taxation, and extravagance and corruption in the administration of public affairs. Instead of relieving the financial distress of the country by reformatory legislation, placing our currency on a better basis, and relieving the people as far as possible from taxation by retrenchment in expenditures, the advocates of the resumption act of 1875 propose to reach specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, through general bankruptcy and ruin.

What is resumption? By the third section of the act of January 14, 1875, entitled "An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," it is provided that:

On and after the 1st day of January, A. D. 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50.

The only mode of procuring the money to make the redemption provided by law is the authority given the Secretary of the Treasury to sell interest-bearing bonds. In order to determine the policy of resumption by that mode, let us briefly refer to the history of the legal-tender paper and its uses. The authors of our legal-tender notes seemed to appreciate the importance of sustaining the credit of that class of paper, doubtless with a view of making resumption easy.

If the legal-tender note was at par with gold coin there would be

no necessity for resumption. The evil sought to be remedied by resumption grows out of the fluctuations in the value of what the law has declared to be money. To remedy this defect as far as possible the act of February 25, 1862, authorizing the first issue of legal-tender notes provided that the holder of such paper might, at his option, convert the same into United States bonds, bearing interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum. Had this system been adhered to an equilibrium would have been maintained between the Government notes used as a circulating medium and those used as an investment; and whenever the interest-bearing bonds became at par with gold the question of resumption would have been solved.

By the act of March 3, 1863, the time within which the legal-tender notes could be converted into 6 per cent. bonds was limited to July 1, 1863. At the expiration of that period the only pledge remaining in reference to the legal-tender notes was the promise of the Government to pay them at some indefinite time, solely at the option of the Government, and their limited receivability for Government dues and their full legal-tender character for private indebtedness.

The next important legislation bearing upon the subject under consideration is the act of March 18, 1863. In the law authorizing the issue of the legal-tender notes and the 5.20 bonds both classes of paper were treated as merely temporary expedients to meet a pressing emergency. The legal-tenders were at the option of the holder convertible into 5.20 bonds, and after five years the principal of the 5.20 bonds was payable in legal-tender notes. The Government sold the bonds, taking therefor legal-tender notes at par, the legal-tenders were paid out by the Government to defray the expenses of the war, and the holders at pleasure again converted the legal-tenders into interest-bearing bonds. By the act of March 18, 1863—

The faith of the United States was pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent \* \* \* of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States except in case where the law authorizing the issue of such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver. \* \* \* The faith of the United States was also solemnly pledged to make provisions at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.

By this act of legislation several hundred millions were added to the public debt, and the legal-tender notes were further depreciated by a discrimination against their use in the payment of the principal of the 5.20 bonds. From the passage of this act there was no relation whatever between the interest-bearing and non-interest-bearing notes of the Government. The greenbacks were left to take care of themselves with a pledge of redemption at some indefinite time in the future. The Government degraded its own paper by refusing to receive it for customs dues and by declaring that it would not require the holders of 5.20 bonds to receive it for the principal of their bonds.

I am not now discussing the policy of the passage of the act of March 18, 1863, so far as it applies to the changed character of the 5.20 bonds with a view of changing it. However grievously the people may have been wronged by that legislation there is now no remedy for it. I only call attention to it to show how the greenbacks have been discriminated against and consequently degraded and depreciated by the acts of Congress. The greenbacks, being thus treated as an outlaw, were yet the foundation of the whole circulating medium of the country and the measure of values except as heretofore stated. The whole internal commerce of the country has been carried on for more than thirteen years upon the greenback basis. The title of lands of immense value has been transferred in all parts of the country upon the same measure of value. Large municipal and individual indebtedness has been created payable in legal-tender currency. Mortgages and deeds of trust cover thousands of valuable farms in the West for loans in greenbacks, falling due in from three to five years. The great commercial crash of 1873 has not yet expended its force. Many men of large property and comparatively small indebtedness, owing to the stagnation in business, have found relief only through bankruptcy; while many others still struggle on in the vain effort to extricate themselves from inevitable financial ruin.

Sir, there is no business that promises any certain return, no income that is longer reliable, except that arising from the interest on money. The farmer with industry and close economy cannot pay taxes and current expenses. The merchant with goods on his shelves constantly shrinking in value cannot successfully carry on his business. Manufacturing establishments all over the country are closed. The mechanic is idle and the laborer seeks in vain for employment. This picture is but faintly drawn. Language cannot properly describe the ruin that now like the darkness of night hangs over every business interest of this country.

What relief is promised the country by the party in power?

The resumption of specie payments in 1879! The retirement of the whole greenback circulation on and after the 1st day of January, 1879! What does this mean? It means a further depreciation in all values, except the value of bonds and mortgages, of from 25 to 50 per cent. It means an appreciation in the value of bonds and mortgages of at least 25 to 50 per cent. Under this policy the farm that was mortgaged a few years ago at one-third its value will be sold to pay the debt, and the mortgager will be unable to redeem it. The merchant who bought his goods on the greenback basis will be required to pay for them on the gold basis. The manufacturer will

find no purchasers for his fabrics, for but few will have the means to buy. The farmer will find but an indifferent market for his products, because the consumer being in enforced idleness will make but an indifferent customer.

This unfortunate condition of all our industrial interests is greatly aggravated, if it does not directly result from, the so-called resumption act. The arbitrary declaration of that law that there shall be a resumption of specie payments on and after January 1, 1879, is a standing menace to every man proposing to invest in property or in business pursuits that he does so at the peril of depreciation in value and with a certainty of loss, if not of financial ruin. This act, in effect, commands the holder of money to lock it up to await the day fixed for its redemption in gold, thereby avoiding the danger of loss from the threatened insolvency of the man who borrows, and with the sure prospect of a fair rate of interest by holding it until the day of its redemption.

The great army of energetic business men who build railroads and factories and open new farms, who exchange the products of industry and give life and vitality to trade and commerce, are commanded to stand still and wait until that other army "who toil not, neither do they spin," shall gather the golden harvest in the shape of usury, increased threefold by the appreciation in the value of their property and the depreciation in all other values, resulting from this legislation. Sir, in conclusion, the resumption act and preceding financial legislation have been the result of republican control; they have been consistent in the policy of protection of capital and consequent war on all the labor, industrial, mechanical, and manufacturing interests.

The Saint Louis platform demands the repeal of the oppressive part of the resumption act. Preceding republican legislation by ingenious contrivance has fastened its evil effects so that a remedy is beyond the power of the people. The demand of the democracy represents the universal desire and the absolute need of the people. The resumption act must be repealed.

#### Resumption of Specie Payments.

### SPEECH OF HON. B. T. EAMES,

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

July 26, 1876

On the bill (H. R. No. 3910) in addition to an act entitled "An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," approved January 14, 1875.

Mr. EAMES. Mr. Speaker, the question of the finances of the country is by far the most important question upon which Congress is called upon at this session to act. If the natural laws of trade were now determining the volume of currency required as a medium of exchange in the business of the country, there would be no occasion or necessity for any legislation upon this question. But the exigency arising from the necessities of the Government to preserve the national Union and the life of the Republic interfered with the operation of these laws in the supply of a medium of exchange, and forced the issue of a currency which, measured by the standard of value recognized in the commercial world and fixed as the standard by the Constitution, has varied in the course of thirteen years from par in gold to forty cents on the dollar, and is now depreciated so that \$1.12 in legal-tender is only equal to a dollar in coin. And this value is varying from day to day, thus rendering the existing currency, consisting of legal-tenders and national-bank notes, uncertain as a measure of value in the business transactions of the country.

It is of no practical consequence how this state of things has arisen, whether by mistakes made in the hour of the nation's great peril during the war, or since its close, nor of the least consequence to assert that it might have been avoided. It is sufficient to know that it exists, and that the national currency is constantly changing in its purchasable value and that the evils arising from such changes demand such remedy as is in the power of Congress by legislation to apply to appreciate the currency of the country to the standard fixed by the commercial world and by the Constitution.

The necessity of a certain standard as a measure of value for the business purposes of a nation is as imperative as is that of a fixed standard of weights and measures. Without such standard of value the price of all commodities would vary from time to time as certainly as if the ounces to the pound or the inches to the foot or the yard should be from time to time changed. One nation might perhaps adopt such standards in these respects as it deemed would best subserve the convenience of its own interests and its own people, and perhaps no harm or inconvenience would arise so long as its dealings were confined within its own limits and to its own people; and it may be as to its standard of weights and measures, without any real harm to its own interests or in its dealings with other nations, because the price paid would in every case be determined by the quantity and quality of the article. But by the common consent of the civilized world gold and silver have been designated as the measure or stand-

## APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

77

Counting the Electoral Vote.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN R. EDEN,  
OF ILLINOIS,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 25, 1877,

On the bill (S. No. 1153) to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice-President; and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, the bill now under consideration provides the mode of settling questions of such grave importance as to forbid any merely partisan feeling in its discussion. From the foundation of the Government, whenever a question has arisen as to the validity of an electoral vote for President and Vice-President, serious apprehensions have been expressed by the statesmen of the day as to the danger involved in deciding the dispute. Heretofore such disputes have not arisen in any case where the result of the election would in any manner be affected by the determination of the question. Hence in all such cases the crisis has been passed by the adoption of temporary expedients. Now we are confronted with contested electoral votes upon the decision of which depends the election of President and Vice-President. The occasion demands the exercise of the highest statesmanship and forbids all considerations of mere party success.

The first question to be decided is as to the constitutionality of the proposed legislation. The bill simply provides when there are double returns from a State a mode of deciding which is the true and lawful electoral vote of the State; and when there is but a single return and objections are made to that return, the manner of disposing of such objections. If Congress has power to provide by law for the contingencies referred to in any manner, I assume that the bill is within the constitutional power of Congress. The framers of the Constitution must have foreseen that questions of this sort might arise; and for this reason we should look with confidence for an express or implied power to meet the emergency. The provisions of the Constitution in reference to the appointment of electors are few and simple:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The power to appoint electors is reserved to the States by the Constitution of the United States, and can only be exercised in the manner therein specified. It is a duty devolved upon the State, having no relation whatever to the ordinary legislation regulating the local affairs of its people.

In the performance of this duty the State executes a power under the Federal Constitution. By ratifying the Constitution the States bound themselves to execute that part thus confided to them in the manner prescribed in that instrument. How is this to be done? The appointment must be by the State; the manner of the appointment be directed by the Legislature. In making the appointment the mode prescribed must be followed.

The number appointed must be equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress.

The persons appointed electors must not be Senators or Representatives or hold an office of trust or profit under the United States. The electors are to be chosen at the time determined by Congress, in case such time has been prescribed by law. In order to constitute legal electors the mode prescribed in the Constitution must be pursued. The State makes the appointment, and cannot delegate the power to any person or number of persons. The act is to be performed in such manner as under the Constitution of the State expresses the will of its people. Otherwise the State might delegate the power to some one wholly irresponsible to the people and unfriendly to the Federal Government. The manner of appointment must be directed by the Legislature, to the end that the proceedings may be regular and orderly, and the result made known with certainty and in accordance with the forms of law.

The number of electors appointed should be equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. Were the State to appoint a greater number of electors than it is entitled to under the Constitution, and should these electors divide their votes among several candidates as the Constitution contemplates they may, it would be impossible to determine in counting the votes which should be excluded and which counted. Should the State appoint a less number than the Constitution prescribes it would thereby attempt to change that part of the Federal Constitution which designates the number to be appointed in each State. Upon the appointment of electors in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, the State has no further duty to perform in reference to the election, unless there should be a failure to elect a President by the electors. The persons appointed do not execute any power or authority derived from the State government. The acts they perform and the mode of the performance are all prescribed by

the Federal Constitution. The people of the Union have an interest, in common with the interest of the particular State, in the faithful performance of their duty by the electors. The State cannot in any manner interfere with the electors in casting their votes or making their returns. All they do is done under authority given by the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof.

What are the electors required to do? They "shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate."

This brief paragraph from article 12 of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States embraces every act the electors are required to perform. They meet and present such credentials as the law of the State may require. They are clothed with no power to determine any question affecting the election or qualification of the members composing the electoral college of the State. Each elector is an independent voter for President and Vice-President, free of control either by his colleagues or any officer or department of the State government.

When the electors legally appointed by all the States, free from any constitutional disability, have cast their ballots and certified their returns at the time and in the manner prescribed by the Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof, the election of President and Vice-President is consummated, and nothing remains to be done but to make known the result. In order that the result may be ascertained and declared the Constitution provides that—

The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted.—the person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed. . . . The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed.

The election depends, not on the counting of the votes, but on the number of votes received by the several candidates. It is the duty of the President of the Senate to open all the certificates, and of the two Houses there assembled to count all the votes. The only difficulty that can arise is in determining in disputed cases what are the votes. Should the lists of votes signed and certified to from any State show a greater number of electors voting for President and Vice-President than the State is entitled to, the counting of the votes could not be completed until a decision should be made with reference to that vote. In like manner a question would arise requiring a decision, prior to the count, should two sets of electors send returns certified in due form from the same State. Both returns could not be received and counted as the vote of the State, and before the enumeration of votes can be made the true vote of the State must be ascertained. So it might appear that the electors from a State had voted for a President and Vice-President, both of whom were inhabitants of the same State with themselves, or for a person not of the constitutional age, or for a person not born in the United States; or that one or more of the electors voting held an office of trust or profit under the United States, or that the appointment of electors was made by some authority other than that of the State, or was made in a manner different from that directed by the State Legislature. It cannot be certainly known, until the certificates are all opened, what questions may arise to be considered and determined in order to identify and ascertain the legal vote to be counted. That a part or all the questions to which I have adverted may arise, will not be disputed. That the decision of all such questions when presented must be decided as indispensable to the count of the true vote, is equally apparent.

The power to count the vote, without specifying by whom, is expressly given by the Constitution. That instrument further declares that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." Under this general clause Congress may not only pass a law prescribing how the electoral vote shall be counted, but also providing for a mode of settling all questions that may arise under the Constitution of the United States, preliminary to the counting of the vote.

I go a step further. Assuming, as some do, that the Vice-President has a right to count the vote, yet under this general clause in the Constitution, he being an officer of the Government, and it being "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the power vested in him that the legal vote should first be ascertained to enable him to discharge his duty properly, Congress has the power to prescribe the mode of ascertaining the legal vote. Assuming as others do, that the two Houses, when they meet to be present at the opening of the certificates, count the votes, as a necessary incident to that power they must first ascertain which are the legal votes. Were the Houses to count all that purported to be votes, in case of double returns or the appointment by any State of electors in excess of the

number to which the State is entitled, there could be no legal determination of the result of the election. A candidate might be declared elected who is ineligible under the Constitution, votes might be counted that had been cast by persons holding offices of trust or profit under the Government. The two Houses, in the absence of any law or joint rule governing their action, may wholly disagree in making the count or declaring the result. In such case should the President of the Senate insist upon the right to count the vote and declare the result, and the House of Representatives insist that there was no election by reason that no person had a majority of all the electors appointed, and proceed to the election of a President, I fear that we would soon realize the situation of Mexico, and witness in our own country the fatal effects of a departure from the orderly, lawful, and peaceful means contemplated by the Constitution in determining the result of an election.

Whatever differences of opinion may prevail among members on this floor as to the mode of counting the vote, all will admit that force is not one of the elements to be used in reaching the result. To ascertain the true vote is in the nature of a judicial inquiry. To count the vote when the legal vote is identified is a very simple mathematical problem. There can be no insurrection or rebellion either in the inquiry or the enumeration. Hence there is no necessity for military orders, or the movement of troops, or of armed or unarmed men with a view to affect in any manner the counting of the vote. So far as the count is concerned, the whole responsibility rests upon the two Houses. The executive authorities have nothing to do with it, and any interference by that department would be a gross usurpation, and I have no doubt would meet with the stern condemnation of both Houses.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are told that the appointment of electors belongs exclusively to the States, and that every question affecting their election and qualifications is to be settled and adjudicated under State authority, and that the settlement so made is final. The right of the States to appoint electors is unquestioned. The duty of the States to make the appointment in accordance with the power reserved by the Federal Constitution will not be denied. The right to make the appointment carries with it the corresponding duty to act within constitutional limitations.

When a vote is challenged one of the questions to be determined is as to whether it is the vote of the State. Should that question in all cases be decided under State authority? If so, had a half-dozen persons in 1864 constituted themselves an electoral college for the State of South Carolina, cast their votes for President and Vice-President, and sent their returns, duly certified and sealed, to the President of the Senate, how would the remedy have been applied? The State authorities in the then condition of the country could not have been appealed to! Numerous instances might be supposed where it would be impossible for a remedy to be found under State authority to prevent the counting of an unconstitutional or fraudulent vote. If, from want of ability, or want of inclination to prevent it, a State permits men without lawful authority, or wanting in constitutional qualifications, to organize themselves into an electoral college and send their votes to us as the vote of the State, it becomes our duty to prevent the breach of the Constitution.

It has been the practice from the organization of the Government to the present time, by the concurrent action of the Senate and House, by joint rule or by law, to determine all questions raised in reference to the counting of the electoral vote, and to exclude from the count such as were not legal and valid. I will not take up the time of the House by referring in detail to the numerous precedents, with which all are familiar, on that subject. I will refer only to the joint resolution approved by the President February 8, 1865, which declared that eleven States were "not entitled to representation in the electoral college for the choice of President and Vice-President of the United States for the term of office commencing on the 4th day of March, 1865, and no electoral votes shall be received and counted from said States," &c. Of the States referred to in the joint resolution, I believe two had voted and sent up the returns.

I want to call the attention of my State-rights friends, especially the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. GARFIELD,] to the vote in the Senate on that joint resolution. Such State-rights men as Buckalew of Pennsylvania, Davis of Kentucky, Hendricks of Indiana, Johnson of Maryland, Powell of Kentucky, and Trumbull of Illinois voted for the joint resolution. It was adopted by a vote of 29 to 10. According to the modern State-rights doctrine, any of these States that chose to count votes for President and Vice-President; and the eminent democrats to whom I have referred, in going behind the returns and excluding the vote, violated the rights of the States. I may be met with the answer that the people of these States were in rebellion, hence were not entitled to vote for President and Vice-President. Admit it, but did the Congress of the United States find out that fact from the face of the returns? When in 1869 the Senate and House of Representatives determined by concurrent resolution not to count the vote of Georgia, if that vote affected the result of the election, did the fact appear on the face of the returns that Georgia was not entitled to representation in Congress when the electors were appointed? No such fact appeared on the face of the returns in either case. If in the one case by law and in the other by concurrent resolution of the two Houses it was proper to go behind the returns and exclude from the count the vote of several States because the inhabitants thereof were en-

gaged in rebellion, or to exclude one State because under a law of Congress the State was not entitled to representation in Congress, I ask if we may not look behind the returns to see if a returning board in a State has not, in violation of law, thrown out and refused to count the votes of 12,000 or 15,000 legal voters?

It is settled that the power exists in Congress to go behind the returns and throw out the vote of a State the people whereof are engaged in rebellion or when under the law the State is not entitled to representation in Congress. Then can the authorities or pretended authorities of a State present before us a return of a vote conceived in fraud and perjury, the product of a conspiracy organized for the purpose of defeating the will of the people of the United States in the election of a President, and in the name of the State command us to count that vote and forbid us to look behind the returns and then see that in making and certifying that return the laws of the State and the will of the people were trampled under foot? To state the proposition is to refute it.

How can the rights of the States be touched in the adoption of a proper law or the enforcement of a proper rule by the Senate and House to eliminate from the electoral vote all that are invalid or fraudulent? The Constitution gives the State no right to appoint an ineligible elector. It gives no one a right in the name of a State to make a false or fraudulent return of the electoral vote of the State. In reserving to the States the power to appoint electors Congress is not stripped of the power to provide against a violation of the Constitution of the United States in the appointment of electors. In the election of a President and Vice-President under the Constitution the States have certain limited and well-defined powers. Everything necessary and proper to be done in carrying into effect that part of the Constitution relating to the election of a President and Vice-President, except what has been reserved to the States, Congress has a right to do; and I can conceive of no more important duty in that behalf than to provide a just and equitable mode of ascertaining in cases of dispute and doubt the legal and constitutional vote of the States. If the power to do this is not in Congress there is no remedy and the people of the United States are at the mercy of any set of rascals who may see fit to set up a fraudulent returning board and manufacture pretended electors at will. There can be no adequate power in the States to remedy the evil, for the reason that the fraud and wrong may not be known until the certificates are opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of both Houses; and if the State has the power and should omit from any cause to prevent a return of fraudulent or false votes the people of the United States have an interest in the question, and no laches upon the part of the authorities of a State ought to prejudice the rights of the people of the whole country.

I will call attention to the tenth amendment to the Constitution, not because I believe it has any bearing upon the question, but for the reason that some of my friends for whose opinions I have great respect believe it does. By that article—

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

By the Constitution the power is delegated to the United States to elect a President. As a part of the machinery of election the States are clothed with the power to appoint electors under certain limitations, the electors having certain qualifications. Without the action of the States there can be no election of President. Now when the power to elect a President and Vice-President is fully provided for in the Constitution and the part to be performed by the States is therein clearly defined, where can there be room left for any further reserved powers in the States? If the Constitution is silent upon any point that may arise in the election of President and Vice-President, should we not resort to the implied powers and pass such laws as "shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the election of President and Vice-President, rather than to look to the reserved powers of the States to supply the omission?

The power to elect the President and Vice-President under the Constitution is full and complete, either in express terms or by necessary implication. The part to be performed by the States is clearly limited and defined. Hence there can be no other powers reserved to the States in the premises. In order to show the utter fallacy of the claim that the bill under consideration is violative of any of the rights of the States, let us see what is proposed to be done not expressly authorized by the Constitution:

First. It provides who shall be the presiding officer when the two Houses meet to count the vote.

Second. It provides for the appointment of two tellers by each House to make a list of the votes, &c.

Third. It provides a mode of deciding objections to the vote of a State by the two Houses where there is but one return.

Fourth. It provides the mode of deciding objections where there is a double return from a State, in the first instance by the judgment of a commission consisting of five Senators and five Representatives and five justices of the Supreme Court, subject, however, to revision and rejection by the concurrent action of the two Houses.

There being no person designated by the Constitution to preside over the two Houses when they meet to count the vote, will it be claimed that the power to appoint the President is reserved to the States, or that because there is no provision in the Constitution authorizing the appointment of tellers that this bill trenches on State

## APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

79

rights by providing for tellers? No one would be guilty of such an absurdity!

It will hardly be claimed that as a part of the reserved rights of the States there should be passed State laws providing for the decision of questions when the vote of a State is challenged; or that any practical mode could be adopted whereby the States could adjudicate upon the subject. Then what rights of the States are violated by the bill? None; unless the States or those who assume to act for them have a right to send up here and have counted, in the election of President and Vice-President, the votes of ineligible electors, or invalid and fraudulent votes.

Believing, as I do, that legislation is absolutely necessary in order to a settlement of disputes relative to the electoral vote, and that the bill under consideration is warranted by the Constitution, and was agreed upon by the committee in a spirit of justice and patriotism, and that the tribunal to be selected under it will be as fair and free from partisan influence as any that could be selected, I shall give it my support.

Counting the Electoral Vote—Joint Conference Bill.

## SPEECH OF HON. A. E. STEVENSON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 25, 1877.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. No. 1153) to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice-President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877—

Mr. STEVENSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am unwilling that this discussion should close and the record of this day be made up for history without uttering some words of approval of this measure. The importance, the gravity of the pending question none deny. Upon the passage of this bill, or one similar in its provisions, in my judgment, hang events of great moment to this Republic. What may be the result of its rejection by this House, I will not attempt to forecast; but that it is a measure well calculated to secure a fair adjustment of the presidential question and to restore tranquility to the country, I can well believe. As such I give it my support. What, then, is the object of this bill? I believe it to be to secure an honorable settlement of a question fraught with peril to the country, a settlement by a tribunal whose integrity cannot be questioned and whose judgment will be acquiesced in by good men of all parties.

Mr. Speaker, I approach the discussion of this bill in no partisan spirit, but deeply impressed with the gravity of the occasion, and animated as I trust by an earnest desire to faithfully discharge the high duties devolving upon me as one of the representatives of the people. The question, sir, as to who shall be elected President of the United States, important as that question was when pending before the country, becomes of relatively little moment in comparison with the great question whether the candidate who has under the forms of law been chosen by the people shall be quietly inducted into his great office; for upon this depends a continuance of our republican institutions. If it once be conceded that by any means the will of the people can be thwarted and those chosen to administer the Government forcibly or fraudulently deprived of that right, then, sir, it needs no prophet to foretell the ultimate overthrow of our form of government. A Government based upon the right of the people to rule must perish with the destruction of that right. It matters little under what pretext or to accomplish what end the right or power is assumed of disregarding the will of the majority, its exercise in a single instance must inevitably weaken if not destroy the faith of the people in popular government.

To the end, then, Mr. Speaker, that the will of the people as lawfully expressed by the ballot may be executed; to the end that there may be no usurpation of this high office, but that the public mind may rest content in the belief that he who assumes the duties of Chief Magistrate takes with him the title to his great office; to the end, sir, that peace and order, rather than confusion and disorder, may prevail in the State, I give my cordial assent to this bill.

Mr. Speaker, while it is my firm conviction that Samuel J. Tilden is by the votes of the legal electors of these United States entitled to the office of President, yet I recognize the fact that many gentlemen upon this floor, as honest in their convictions as myself and with equal means of information, are persuaded that Governor Hayes has been elected to that high office. In this emergency, with the succession to this great office in dispute, with four millions of electors insisting upon the inauguration of one candidate and an equal or greater number upon the inauguration of the other, it is indispensable to the tranquillity of the country that some practicable solution of this difficulty be devised. If it be true that a condition of affairs has arisen unforeseen and not provided for by the framers of our Constitution, then, sir, the responsibility is cast upon us of devising some mode not in conflict with the terms of that instrument for the settlement of all controverted questions arising out of this election.

The question in dispute is whether the electoral votes of the States of Florida and of Louisiana shall be counted for Tilden or for Hayes.

Upon this decision hinges that of who shall be Chief Magistrate of this Republic for the next four years. The importance of deciding this question correctly cannot be overestimated. Its decision must be founded in justice, otherwise it cannot stand the test of history. We can well afford to see the candidate of our choice defeated by the ballot, but can ill afford to witness his induction into office unless he has been lawfully chosen by the people.

The legally chosen candidate must be inaugurated, else this high office is held by usurpation. What the effect of so great a calamity must be, how far-reaching in its consequences, I will not attempt to forecast. It is a condition of affairs to be contemplated only with the most gloomy forebodings as to our future. Hence the importance, Mr. Speaker, of such a decision of all controverted questions growing out of the late election as will not only insure the inauguration of the legally elected President, but that the decision of questions so vital to the very life of our Republic may be by a tribunal which will command the respect of the entire country. I trust, sir, that we may be endowed with sufficient patriotism and wisdom to so deal with this great question that its decision, whatever it may be, will be cheerfully acquiesced in by the great American people.

Let us then, Mr. Speaker, for a moment look at the difficulties of the situation. It is not disputed that on the 6th day of last December Mr. Tilden received 184 and Mr. Hayes 169 legal votes in the different electoral colleges. This leaves the votes of Louisiana and Florida in dispute; to elect Tilden, he must secure one, and to elect Hayes, he must receive all of the votes of the States I have named. The partisans of each of these gentlemen claim the votes of these States for their respective candidates. Rival electoral colleges in both States have cast their votes for each of these candidates, certificates of which are now in the possession of the President of the Senate, to be opened by him preparatory to the votes being counted.

The question to which we now come, Mr. Speaker, is, by whom shall these votes be counted? In the other States, where but one set of certificates has been returned, it is a question of but little moment as to who makes the enumeration of the votes, whether it is the act of the President of the Senate, or of tellers, or of either or of both is wholly immaterial. It is in that case a mere question of arithmetic, the simplest ministerial act. But here, sir, the act is not simply ministerial; some power or authority endowed with judicial functions must decide which certificates of these disputed States shall be counted. The decision between these certificates is unavoidable, and upon this decision turns this entire question. In whom, then, is the power vested of deciding this question? The twelfth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States—that bearing upon this question—is as follows:

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th of March, next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, it is gravely argued by gentlemen upon this floor that counting the electoral votes, involving as it does the right to decide what votes shall be counted, is the exclusive prerogative of the President of the Senate. Is this argument well founded, and is this important duty cast by the Constitution upon this single officer? If so, manifestly it must be so expressed in that instrument, or necessarily implied from its terms. That it is his function to open the certificates is unquestioned, for it is so expressed; but does that imply the right to count the votes? I am at a loss to perceive how the right to perform a judicial function can be implied from the power to do an act wholly ministerial. Yet the entire argument of those who favor this monstrous assumption, this exercise of a one-man power, is based upon the implication to which I have referred. It cannot be, Mr. Speaker, that the simple duty of "opening the certificates," which, under the Constitution, devolves upon the President of the Senate, carries with it the high function of deciding the various questions which may arise upon the returns, and involving the main question as to what candidate has been elected President of the United States. It is worse than idle to claim that the founders of this Government of the people intended to invest one man with such transcendent powers. The question then recurs, by whom shall the vote be counted? The language of the Constitution is:

my authority until some time after I learned that the republican State committee had caused tickets to be printed and distributed all over the State. At that time I learned that the republican tickets had on them the name of James B. Belford as a candidate for the Forty-fifth as well as the Forty-fourth Congress. In conversation with some republican leaders and politicians, and also I may say by common report, I learned that Mr. Belford's name was put on their tickets for the Forty-fifth Congress as a matter of precaution in the event it should be held by Congress that the election for both terms should be held on the 3d of October. Afterwards I prepared the forms of tickets to be used in Arapahoe County and in the other counties which had not been provided with tickets. As a matter of precaution, and only as a matter of precaution, I caused Mr. Patterson's name to be placed on such tickets for the Forty-fifth as well as the Forty-fourth Congress. Another reason I had for that precaution was the fact that the republican party had possession of the State offices, and had absolute control of the canvases of that election.

The ballots as described were voted by both parties at the October election. Meanwhile the notice and proclamations that there was to be an election for the Forty-fifth Congress on the 7th of November stared the people in the face all over the State.

It is also a significant fact that the republican party entered upon an active struggle for the Forty-fifth Congress after the October election was over and gone. On the 10th of October, seven days after the first election, the chairman of the republican State central committee published from the headquarters of that committee the following stirring address. Mark its language and say, if you can, that the republicans thought they had already elected a Representative in the Forty-fifth Congress:

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
Denver, Colorado, October 10, 1876.

SIR: The election of the 3d of October having resulted in a complete triumph for the republican party, the entire republican State ticket being elected; also, nearly, if not altogether, two-thirds of all the members of the Legislature, which secures two republican United States Senators for Colorado, and three electoral votes for Hayes and Wheeler, the republican State central committee desires to congratulate the republicans throughout the State upon the splendid victory achieved, and to bear testimony to the zeal, fidelity, earnestness, and activity of the members of the party everywhere throughout the State. The victory is due to the interest manifested in the cause by the individual members of the party. But the battle is not yet over. The democracy seem to be determined to go into a contest for the election of a Representative to the Forty-fifth Congress.

The great hope of the democracy is that they may be able to succeed through the apathy and indifference of the republicans. Shall this hope of the enemy be realized? If not, then the republicans must be active and go to work at once. The first thing to be seen to is the registration. This must be commenced on Tuesday, the 17th instant. All county committees will please give this matter the immediate attention. In this connection it is not deemed inappropriate to republish the following concerning the importance of registration, which was issued from this headquarters under date of September 1, 1876.

I desire to call your attention to the importance of a thorough and careful registration of all republicans and doubtful voters in the different precincts throughout your county, where registration is necessary under the operation of the Brownwell election law. The democrats will be very sure to see that every one of their faith is registered, and if we hope to be successful we must not allow them to get the advantage of us in this very important particular. In all States or counties where a registry law is in force, the party that gives the most attention to registration is the party that invariably is the most successful. Especially is this the case in England, where registration is considered the essential to a successful campaign. Knowing so well the importance of a correct and complete registry, I must ask your indulgence if I make a few suggestions in reference to this matter, and hope that you will not deem me officious in so doing:

First. Where the task of registration is left to everybody to attend to for themselves it may be expected that the work will not be done thoroughly and completely by anybody. I have seen, as I know you also must have seen, great numbers, some of them old citizens, prevented from recording their votes on election day simply because they have not attended to the matter of registration. To obviate this at the coming election I would suggest that committees be appointed in your precinct whose duty it shall be to see that every republican voter is registered. Have the precinct laid off in districts, and have a committee assigned to each who will be sure to see that every friend in that locality is registered. I would also remark that I know of no obligation that the republican party is under to the democrats, that they should see that any of that faith are registered. My judgment is that they should be left to take care of that part of the battle for themselves.

Hoping that you will give this matter your serious consideration, and receive these suggestions in the same spirit in which they are tendered, to wit, the triumphant success of the republican ticket, I am your obedient servant,

J. C. WILSON, Chairman.

It will be seen from this paper that the most careful and minute preparation was to be made for the November election. But all at once, without any premonition, the same chairman precipitates this document upon the busy scene. It was recognized by the party as a command, and the work of preparation ceased. On the 16th of October there was issued from the office of the secretary of state a something in the shape of a proclamation withdrawing the notice for the November election. Why this complete change of front? A single fact explains it all. A conference of republican leaders had been held, at which it was determined to utilize the majority that Mr. Belford had received on the 3d of October and claim the election to the Forty-fifth Congress because the tickets then voted named that Congress. Who believes that it was anything else than an afterthought or that, if Mr. Patterson had received the majority on the 3d of October, the republican commanders would have called such a sudden halt in their work of preparation for the November election?

The whole action of Mr. Patterson is in marked contrast with this consummate scheming. He all the time declared, both before and after the October election, that the election to the Forty-fifth Congress must be held on the 7th of November. He never remitted his exertions to that end. His course was uniformly consistent with his avowed opinion and his position was too well known to be mistaken. It is said that the proclamation for the November election was not issued by the secretary of state, but by his clerk. This is true, but the testimony shows that the secretary was out of the State, that the clerk was in charge of the office and that he discharged all its duties.

The testimony also shows that the clerk consulted the governor on the subject and was by him advised to issue the proclamation because he entertained the opinion that the 7th of November was the day by law for the election. The governor was afterward a witness in this case, and his opinion was unchanged.

But it is urged that the secretary of state withdrew the proclamation for the November election. To this I answer that he was only a ministerial officer with statutory duties to perform. He had no right to recall a paper issued by authority of law, and his effort in that direction was a nullity; besides it is a fact that the attempted withdrawal was the work of the same clerk who had issued the proclamation.

Under all the circumstances it is not strange that but few attended the election. Comparative indifference always prevails when there is but one candidate and the election is allowed largely to take care of itself. In this instance almost an entire party refrained from voting, in obedience to instruction; and the other party, seeing no division, no excitement, no necessity for effort, unconcernedly remitted the result to the few who might care to look after it.

But, Mr. Speaker, as I have already argued, none of these things affected or could affect the law of the election. If the 7th of November was the proper day and if the election was conducted in accordance with law, Mr. Patterson was duly elected and he has a right to a place on this floor.

The necessity for this contest is to be regretted. Either one of these gentlemen would ably and faithfully represent his State. My judgment has been made up after earnest deliberation, and I have tried to discuss the questions involved in the case without reference to the political affiliations of either contestant.

I shall vote for the resolution in favor of Mr. Patterson.

Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia. How much of the gentleman's hour is there remaining?

THE SPEAKER. Twenty-five minutes.

Mr. WILSON. I ask the gentleman to yield to me for a moment to make a report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia. I will do so if it is not to come out of the time which is left of the hour of the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. WILLIAMS.]

#### AWARD OF UNITED STATES AND MEXICAN COMMISSION.

Mr. WILSON. I am instructed by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred House resolution No. 39, in relation to suspending payment of the claims of Benjamin Wiel, No. 447, and La Abra Silver Mining Company, No. 489, on the American docket of the late joint commission of the United States and Mexico, to report the same back with an adverse recommendation, and also to report a bill, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The bill (H. R. No. 2117) to provide for the distribution of the awards made under the convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Mexico, concluded on the 4th of July, 1868, was received and read a first and second time.

Mr. WILSON. I move that the bill, with the accompanying document, be recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

The motion was agreed to.

#### SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. MONEY, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 2115) to authorize the Southern Pacific Railroad Company to extend its railroad and telegraph line easterly from its present eastern terminus in Arizona to a point on the Rio Grande at or near Paso, and to aid in building the same; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on the Pacific Railroad, and ordered to be printed.

#### COLORADO ELECTION CASE.

The House resumed the consideration of the Colorado election case. Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EDEN] for twenty-five minutes.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, in considering the Colorado contested election, the House is not embarrassed by any controverted questions of fact that are in any way material in the legal determination of the case. And by the agreement of the parties to the contest there is but one disputed question of law remaining for determination, and that is as to the day prescribed by law for holding the election. By a stipulation between the parties it is conceded—

That if laws were in force and by virtue of which an election might have been legally held in the State of Colorado upon the 7th day of November, A. D. 1876, for Representative to the Forty-fifth Congress from said State, the following number of votes were legally cast by qualified electors at an election held in said State upon the said 7th day of November, A. D. 1876, for said Representative to the Forty-fifth Congress, and which votes were divided among the persons respectively voted for upon said day for said office, as follows: Whole number of votes cast for Representative to the Forty-fifth Congress, 3,829; of which Thomas M. Patterson received 3,880; James B. Belford, 172; scattering, 77.

The Constitution of the United States provides that—

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing Senators.

The enabling act, passed March 3, 1875, under which Colorado was

authorized to form a State government and be admitted into the Union, provides—

That until the next general census said State shall be entitled to one Representative in the House of Representatives of the United States; which Representative, together with the governor and State and other officers provided for in said constitution, shall be elected on a day subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, and to be fixed by the said constitutional convention.

The power conferred on the constitutional convention by the enabling act was executed as follows. Section 44, article 5, of the constitution of Colorado provides that—

One Representative in the Congress of the United States shall be elected from the State at large at the first election under the constitution, and thereafter at such times and places and in such manner as may be provided by law.

Section 7, article 7, provides that—

The general election shall be held on the first Tuesday of October, in the years of our Lord 1876, 1877, and 1878, and annually thereafter on such day as may be prescribed by law.

The Revised Statutes of the United States, section 25, provides—

That the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, in the year 1876, is established as the day in each of the States and Territories of the United States for the election of Representatives and Delegates to the Forty-fifth Congress, and the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, in every second year thereafter, is established as the day for the election in each of said States and Territories of Representatives and Delegates to the Congress commencing on the 4th day of March next thereafter.

March 3, 1875, an act was passed modifying section 25 of the Revised Statutes, as follows:

Section 25 of the Revised Statutes, prescribing the time for holding elections for Representatives to Congress, is hereby modified so as not to apply to any State that has not yet changed its day of election and whose constitution must be amended in order to effect a change in the day of election of State officers in said State.

Mr. Speaker, I have now referred to all the laws material to be considered in determining the legal day for holding the election in Colorado for member of the Forty-fifth Congress.

Mr. Belford claims the election because he received a majority of the votes cast for member of the Forty-fifth Congress at an election held in Colorado October 3, 1876. If there was no law authorizing the vote, no matter how large a majority he may have received, he thereby acquired no title to the office. It will be observed that at that election there was one Representative in the Congress of the United States elected from the State at large for the unexpired term in the Forty-fourth Congress. That Representative was elected under the forty-fourth section of the fifth article of the constitution of Colorado and in pursuance of a provision of the enabling act quoted awhile ago. It is claimed on behalf of Mr. Belford that under the enabling act the constitutional convention had the power to fix the day for the election of the member of Congress to which that State is entitled until the next general census in 1880. The enabling act clearly gives the State the right to one Representative in Congress "until the next general census," and just as clearly confers upon the constitutional convention the power to fix a day subsequent to the adoption of the constitution for the election of one Representative, "together with the governor and State and other officers provided for in said constitution."

Now, sir, under that clause in the enabling act, had the constitutional convention the power to fix election days for the election of members of Congress until the census of 1880? Or could it fix one day and provide that on that day a Representative to Congress should be elected for the unexpired term in the Forty-fourth Congress and for the full term in the Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, and Forty-seventh Congresses? If the convention was empowered to fix a day for the election of a member in the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, that power is derived from a construction of the enabling act which makes it necessary for the convention to fix a day (for it is authorized to fix but one) on which all the Representatives of that State in Congress shall be elected until the next census. Such a construction is not warranted by the language of the enabling act, and it is not to be presumed that the authors of it ever intended it to have such a construction. Sir, it is clear to my mind that under the enabling act the convention had no power to fix a day for an election of Representative in Congress to be held after the State became fully organized. The day for the election was to be fixed at the same time the State officers provided for by the constitution were elected; and until these officers were elected and qualified, the territorial officers were to continue in the discharge of the duties of their respective offices. The constitutional convention seems to have taken this view of the subject, for they provided for the election of "one Representative in the Congress of the United States" at the first election under this constitution.

If the power was given to the convention to provide for the election of members to the successive Congresses until the next general census it was not executed. But one election for Representative in Congress is provided for in the constitution, and that one was to be elected "at the first general election under this constitution." That election was held, and a member was elected to fill the unexpired term in the Forty-fourth Congress, and by the very terms of the constitution members of Congress are to be elected "thereafter," not by virtue of any clause in the constitution, but "at such times and places and in such manner as may be provided by law." It is assumed, however, that subsequent elections are provided for by section 7 of article 7, which provides that "the general election shall be held on the first

Tuesday of October, A. D. 1876, 1877, and 1878, and annually thereafter on such day as may be prescribed by law." Manifestly this section has no reference to fixing a time for the election of members of Congress, except in so far as concerns the first member to be elected, which election, by the enabling act and a preceding article of the constitution, was required to be held at the time of the first election of State and other officers under the constitution. Had it been intended to fix the time for holding elections for members of Congress, instead of an annual a biennial election would have been prescribed, and had this section fixed a time for electing members to succeeding Congresses, the section providing for the first election, instead of saying in reference to future elections, that they should be held "at such times and places and in such manner as may be provided by law," would have said, "at the time prescribed in this constitution."

Again, this power given to the convention of Colorado in the enabling act was intended to meet a particular emergency. What was it? To enable the convention to fix the day for the election of members of Congress until the Legislature of the State would have time to act? This could not be the purpose. Congress had already fixed a day for the election of all the Representatives in the Forty-fifth and succeeding Congresses, and had only modified the law to accommodate particular States in which the time of holding elections was fixed by their constitutions on a day different from the one fixed by Congress. In case Colorado became a State prior to the day prescribed by Congress for the election of members to the Forty-fifth Congress, there was no obstacle whatever in the way of electing her member to that Congress at the time specified by the laws of the United States. In that event no remedy of the law was required and none was attempted. But should the State be admitted into the Union before the expiration of the Forty-fourth Congress, as was supposed it would be, then special authority would become necessary to enable the State to elect a Representative to the Forty-fourth Congress. Or, should the State be admitted after the 7th day of November, 1876, special authority would be required for the election of a member of the Forty-fifth Congress.

The claim is made on behalf of Mr. Belford that the convention had a right to fix the day for the election of a member for a full term in Congress; that it was not limited to filling a vacancy. As Colorado had no member and was entitled to none until she was admitted into the Union and elected one in pursuance of law, there was no vacancy in the Forty-fourth Congress for her to fill. The evident intent of the enabling act was to allow the convention to fix the time for the election of a member for whatever remained of the term when the State should be admitted into the Union, for, as has already been shown, the law of Congress then in force prescribed the time of the regular elections. A claim is also made on behalf of Mr. Belford that, because when the enabling act was passed the time when Colorado should become a State was uncertain—that her admission might be deferred until after the 4th of March, 1877—therefore the convention, under the enabling act, was not limited to fixing a day of election of a member to the Forty-fourth Congress, but might also fix a day for the election of a member to the Forty-fifth Congress. In answer to this I say that the convention could fix no day for the election of member of Congress other than the day for the election of "governor and State and other officers provided for in said constitution." To that extent the convention was limited by the enabling act. The law of Congress providing for the election of members to the Forty-fifth Congress on the 7th of November, 1876, became operative in the State immediately on its admission into the Union, and in effect forbade the election of a member to the Forty-fifth Congress on any other day.

I find in the views of this case presented by three members of the Committee of Elections this language:

Certainly the election was not by virtue of any proclamation and the constitutional way of filling a vacancy was not pursued. With the uncertainty when the State would be admitted, with the aforesaid right of the executive power to provide for filling a vacancy, who may say it is not fairly inferable the convention provided for electing to the first Congress after the admission of the State?

The Constitution provides that—

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

This language only applies to a State that has been represented in Congress. A vacancy could not "happen" where there had never been an incumbent. This is the construction that has been put upon this clause of the Federal Constitution by Congress. In the law of Congress providing for filling vacancies no reference is made to fractional terms on the admission of new States. "Vacancies caused by a failure to elect at the time prescribed by law, or by the death, resignation, or incapacity of a person elected," are specified, and none others named. But under this clause of the Constitution in reference to filling vacancies the power of Congress over the times, places, and manner of holding elections is as perfect as in cases of elections for regular terms. The executive authority of the State is required to issue writs of election, but is not authorized to prescribe the time, places, or manner of holding the election. In the execution of the power to admit new States Congress might well exercise its authority to make all the necessary regulations to secure to the new State immediate representation in this House, leaving the general laws upon the subject to regulate all subsequent elections. Such has been the



practice and such was the clear intention in the passage of the Colorado enabling act.

The distinguished gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Cox,] a member of the Committee of Elections, lays down one proposition to which I cannot assent. He asserts that "the principal proposition of the said sixth section of the enabling act is that Colorado shall have one Representative." The qualifying causes are, first, that this rule should last until the next general census and, second, that such Representative shall be chosen on a day fixed by the constitutional convention. Whoever can answer the description given in these three respects is the lawful Representative of Colorado, and none other. Every rule of logical analysis that this shall be the rule "until the next general census" applies to the whole of the section and all its parts. In his analysis the gentleman leaves out one essential "qualifying cause," that is, that such "Representative, together with the governor and State and other officers provided for in said constitution, shall be elected on a day subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, and to be fixed by said convention."

I presume the gentleman will not contend that the convention was authorized to fix a day to elect a Representative in Congress different from the one providing for the election of governor and other officers provided for in the constitution. If his position be correct, then all the officers created by the constitution of Colorado—executive, legislative, and judicial—must be elected biennially until after the next general census, because the Constitution of the United States provides that the members of this House shall be chosen every second year. The absurdity of such a construction of the enabling act is manifest, and I only refer to it to aid in construing that clause in reference to the election of members of the House, which, taken by itself, is somewhat ambiguous. Suppose the enabling act, instead of requiring the convention to fix the day of the election subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, had used the same language except to require the election to be held on the day of the adoption of the constitution, would any one insist upon the right of the convention to prescribe the day of election until the next general census? I think not. Yet we have had such enabling acts; and it has never before been claimed that the time to be fixed for the election was in any manner enlarged by the period limiting a change in the representation.

But, sir, suppose Congress did delegate to the convention the power to prescribe the time of the elections of member of Congress until the census of 1890 and that the convention failed to execute the power, as claimed by the gentleman from Ohio, does the State by such omission lose the right of representation? The law of Congress is not repealed. The convention may prescribe a different day if it chooses, but failing to do so the law of Congress remains intact. The convention was authorized, according to this view of the case, to change the law made by Congress, so far as it applies to the time of holding the congressional election in Colorado, until the next general census. Then the law of Congress, without any new enactment, again becomes operative in the State. Congress has not abdicated the power under the Constitution to prescribe the day of holding congressional elections in Colorado, and remitted it to the Legislature, where it belongs in the absence of congressional action. But a special tribunal, the State convention, has the power, delegated to it for a limited time, to prescribe a day of election. Failing to execute the power, the Legislature of the State cannot act in the premises, because Congress has acted and made regulations so far as the time of election is concerned. The agent of Congress making no change as to time of election, the law made by Congress remains in full force and unchanged. So that whether the enabling act is correctly construed by me or by the gentleman from Ohio, November 7, 1876, was the lawful day for the election in Colorado.

Mr. Speaker, Colorado is entitled to a Representative on this floor, and her right should be made effective at the earliest moment possible, consistent with a fair consideration of this case. Neither ought she to be put to the expense and delay of a new election if she has already legally elected her member. Having seen that Belford was not legally elected, let us now examine Patterson's side of the case. As I have already shown, the law of Congress prescribing "the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, 1876," as the day for the election of members of the Forty-fifth Congress became operative in that State the moment Colorado was admitted into the Union. Congress having exercised the constitutional authority of naming the day, the State had nothing whatever to do in reference to the time of the election. The "places and manner of holding" the election remained to be provided for by the State. Was this done? Section 1 of the schedule to the constitution reads as follows:

That all laws in force at the adoption of this constitution shall, so far as not inconsistent therewith, remain of the same force as if this constitution had not been adopted, until they expire by their own limitation, or are altered or repealed by the General Assembly.

By this clause of the schedule all the laws of the Territory not inconsistent with the constitution were adopted as a part of the laws of the State. This would leave in force the general election laws as they existed in the Territory at the time of the adoption of the constitution. Under the enabling act the State had the right to elect one Representative in the Forty-fifth Congress. By virtue of section 25 of the Revised Statutes that election could be held only on the 7th of November, A. D. 1876. The act of the convention, continuing

in force the general election laws of the Territory, was adopted in view of the right of the State, under the laws of Congress, to elect one member of the Forty-fifth Congress on the 7th day of November, A. D. 1876. Those laws fix the places and provide the manner of holding all elections in the State. There is no necessity for a separate law providing specially for the manner of holding elections for members of Congress. If the general law is broad enough to include such election that is sufficient.

There is a provision in the schedule to the constitution applicable to the first election for member of Congress that does not apply in this case. That has reference only to the canvass of the vote of the State by the officers of the Territory. The absence of such authority in the territorial officers is alleged to be a fatal defect in Mr. Patterson's election. There seems to be an omission of authority to any State or territorial officer to canvass the vote for member of the Forty-fifth Congress. But does this omission vitiate the election? The objection might be fatal to any credentials Mr. Patterson could produce as authority to the Clerk to enter his name upon the rolls as a member, but have no weight in determining the merits of the case. The laws of the State fully provided at the time of this election for places of holding "all general and special elections" and for officers to hold such elections, for the formation of election districts, for the mode of voting by ballot, for counting the votes and certifying the returns to the proper officers. The only thing wanting to make the machinery of the election perfect seems to be a State returning board. Now, sir, I submit that such an omission does not vitiate the election of a member of Congress. The Constitution provides that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." Had there been a returning board and a canvass of the vote of the State and a certificate of the governor given to one of the claimants, in case of a contest on the merits we would go back of the certificate and the canvass to the ballots in order to determine who got the most votes. This House is the exclusive judge of the elections and returns of its members.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is said that Mr. Patterson got a very small vote in November, much smaller than was cast at the October election. How does this fact affect the validity of this election, when the only question involved is as to which was the legal day for holding the election. No one will contend that Mr. Belford was legally elected unless the votes he received were cast at the time prescribed by law. Neither will it be claimed that, if Mr. Patterson received a majority of the votes cast on the legal day of holding the election, a majority of the voters of the district willfully withholding their votes, that therefore he was defeated. The just and reasonable and well established rule in such cases is, that "if an election is held according to law and a fair opportunity is presented to all voters to participate, those who do not vote are bound by the result."

The small vote in November may be easily accounted for. The friends of Mr. Belford withdrew him from the canvass several weeks before the election and urged the people not to participate in the election. Mr. Patterson and his friends continued the canvass, but in the absence of all opposition there was little inducement for the people to vote.

Mr. Speaker, an effort has been made to create an impression unfavorably to the right of Mr. Patterson on the ground that he has acted in bad faith in seeking a seat here. How successful this effort has been and by whom made, it is not material to inquire. Where a candidate seeks an election in the mode proscribed by law, and an effort is made to thwart the election by a conspiracy to override and defeat the operation of the law, I think the charge, if made at all, ought to be brought to bear against the conspirators. What are the facts? The official authorities of Colorado, supporters of Mr. Belford, issued notices of election for the unexpired term in the Forty-fourth Congress, to be held October 3, 1876, and for the Forty-fifth Congress, to be held November 7. Both notices were issued prior to the October election. No notice was given of any intention to withdraw the notice for the election to be held November 7 until after the result of the October election was known. A week after the October election the committee having in charge Mr. Belford's interests by a public address recognized November 7 as the legal day of election to the Forty-fifth Congress and urged their friends to register and vote. Soon after this, a great legal luminary in that new State, Mr. CHAFFEE, since elected Senator, suddenly made the discovery that Belford had been elected in October. Mr. Belford's friends saw fit to act upon that opinion, and stake his chances for a seat in this Hall on that election. Having failed to observe the law himself, Mr. Belford is not in condition to profit by his own wrong to the prejudice of Mr. Patterson, who pursued the methods prescribed by law.

Mr. HISCOCK. Mr. Speaker, in the discussion of this question, all of the reports and all of the speakers have agreed that it must be settled and determined by the construction which is given to section 6 of the enabling act of Colorado, which provides—

That until the next general census said State shall be entitled to one Representative in the House of Representatives of the United States, which Representative, together with the governor and State and other officers provided for in said constitution, shall be elected on a day subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, and to be fixed by said constitutional convention.

I believe it is agreed also on all hands that this provision of the

tim. Believing that this bill, as it passed the House under a suspension of the rules, would prove to be a great measure of relief to the country, that it would insure to some extent a speedy return of prosperity to the nation, was what the people wanted and demanded, and that it was the purpose of the executive head of the Government, as manifested by his message to Congress during the extra session, to veto any measure looking to the restoration of the legal-tender character of the standard silver dollar, I was unable to concur in the second and third amendments made by the Senate, and preferred to risk a conference between the two Houses rather than abandon the principle of free coinage as provided for in the original bill and rather than limit the amount of silver bullion to be purchased by the Government to not less than two or more than four millions of dollars per month, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, whose financial theories and resumption ideas have already brought so much bankruptcy and commercial ruin to the whole country, and rather than endorse the appointment at the expense of the people of a roving commission of the enemies of the remonetization of silver to consult with the powers of Europe on the subject.

But, sir, overruled in these objections, as I hope by the superior wisdom of a majority of the House, I cheerfully yielded, and supported the bill as amended. It went to the Executive Mansion for sanction or rejection. The country waited with anxious solicitude for the result. The agony of suspense is now over. The question which has been so often asked by members of both Houses of Congress of each other, and by the press and the people of the entire Republic from Maine to Texas, "What will the President do with the silver bill?" has now been fully, if not satisfactorily, answered. The bill is returned to us with his veto, and we are courteously informed that it is a violation of the plighted faith of the nation and that it does not guard the sacred interests of public creditors; that in effect it is a fraud. I deny it, sir. It is in strict accordance with the highest national honor, and gives to the holders of our public securities all that they are entitled to under the laws which authorized the issuing of their bonds. While the President, Mr. Speaker, following the lead of home and European capitalists, may think it incumbent on him to guard sacredly the interests of our public creditors, who, I ask, will guard the rights of the American people? Will Congress hesitate to do its duty? Will it suffer the President's veto of this bill to increase the extent and complete the commercial ruin brought on the country by a series of corrupt financial blunders, prominent among which was the demonetization of silver? I think not, sir. I am firmly persuaded that the Representatives of the people intend to do their duty by the country and pass this bill over the President's veto.

While I have not been disappointed in the action of the Executive in this matter, I sincerely and deeply regret it. It will be construed by the great body of the people as exhibiting a want of sympathy for the fearful suffering inflicted upon them by the policy of enforced resumption and the stealthy demonetization of silver; and holding, as he does, by a clouded title his great office, his declaration that this just demand of a burdened and oppressed people is a fraud, a violation of national faith and honor, is well calculated, Mr. Speaker, to burn into the minds and hearts of the American people the facts of the darkest page in their history—that of the great electoral fraud—a pronounced crime against the sovereignty of the people, which brought temporary success to the party hacks who conceived and projected it, but will follow them to their graves with the sting of honest scorn and the unrelenting lash of an outraged public sentiment. Standing here, sir, as a Representative of the people, and planting myself upon the vital essence of the contract itself as between the Government as the representative of the tax-payers of the land and the holders of our public securities, and believing that this bill, with supplementary legislation, will do equal and exact justice to both, I shall vote for its passage, the President's veto notwithstanding.

#### Coinage of Silver Dollars.

### SPEECH OF HON. JOHN R. EDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 21, 1878.

On the bill (H. R. No. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character.

Mr. EDEN. Mr. Speaker, silver was demonetized by fraud and without the knowledge or consent of the people or their representatives. Its remonetization is now about to be consummated, in obedience to their demands and in order that justice may be done and a great wrong rebuked. I shall not fatigue the House nor incur the RECORD with lengthy tables of statistics to prove or overthrow theories as to the relative values of gold and silver as a circulating medium.

The principal argument made in support of the single standard is that by the use of both gold and silver as money the market will be

overstocked, the value of money will be depreciated, prices of labor, of land, and of commodities will be inflated, creditors will be favored, debtors will be oppressed, and the credit of the Government will be ruined.

From the arguments made in Congress upon this subject one might infer that true statesmanship consists in so shaping legislation as to depress to the lowest possible limit the value of every product of labor and of every species of property upon which labor can be applied in creating the necessaries and comforts of life, and to increase the value of capital invested in Government securities and in all other forms of interest-bearing obligations. This theory rests upon the assumption that it is the province of legislation to promote and protect the interests of classes. To admit the correctness of the principle is to insure the success of the organized forces representing the capital invested in public securities, in banking institutions, and in other forms which admit of easy combinations. No interest in this country has suffered more from the depreciation in value incident to the financial legislation of Congress during the last ten years than the farmers of the West. Yet during the contest here to restore to them a portion of the rights which have been surreptitiously taken away by former legislation we do not find them represented in the lobby nor by paid advocates before committees of the House. The American Bankers' Association, however, is never idle when legislation is pending that may affect the interests of bankers. Congress has heard from these gentlemen frequently upon this subject.

Quite recently we have been favored with a memorial by twelve national-bank presidents and two other bank presidents, speaking on behalf of the banks of the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. To this no one has any right to object, though it requires about fifty large-sized printed pages to make known their wants. It does seem a little strange, however, that these fourteen bank presidents, representing the four leading cities of the United States, selected by their brother bankers on account of their superior wisdom upon questions of finance, in preparing their memorial became indebted to a prominent author on political economy for "valuable assistance." These gentlemen oppose the remonetization of silver upon the two grounds that with the double standard the country will be afflicted with too much money, and as a consequence money will be cheapened and the poor men who are engaged in the arduous labors of banking and the toiling men and women who earn a livelihood by "clipping" the coupons off of Federal, State, municipal, and mortgage bonds, and collecting the interest thereon, will be cheated by their more fortunate fellow-citizens, who enjoy the ease and luxury of earning the money with which to pay the interest.

I do not wish to further oppress any class of our fellow-citizens, yet I cannot fully agree with this committee as to the remedy. Should it be found upon trial that free coinage of gold and silver fills the channels of money circulation too full instead of depleting it by destroying the money value of a metal recognized as money by the Constitution, I will seek the same end by withdrawing from circulation the unconstitutional bank-notes. I doubt if these gentlemen who are so anxious to forever banish silver in order to prevent inflation will be willing to co-operate with us in eliminating from our circulation the national-bank notes.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that these bankers have the same right of petition as other citizens, and that the exercise of that right is no ground of offense. But, sir, I find in the proceedings of the meeting that inspired the appointment of the committee that presents the petition grave and serious grounds of offense. These gentlemen are not only authorized to memorialize Congress against the passage of the pending silver bill but "to communicate with the several banks and other institutions here represented, and through the several clearing-house associations of the country to their respective members, inviting and requesting all financial institutions to join in such memorial and petition," thus bringing the combined power of all the moneyed institutions of the country directly to bear to prevent the passage of a law demanded by the unmistakable voice of the great majority of the American people.

Nor is this all. The combined and confederated national banks and other moneyed institutions—this unholy alliance of gold-gamblers and money-usurers—if they cannot dictate the laws that shall govern the country, propose to violate them with impunity, and through their incorporated and organized forces to prevent the people from reaping their benefits. Hear them! This committee, after inviting clearing-house associations and financial institutions to join in their memorial to Congress against the silver bill, are to "further urge upon them, and through them upon the merchants, traders, and manufacturers, as speedily as may be, to place their affairs upon a gold basis in whole or in part."

This committee representing all the national banks, clearing-house associations, and other financial institutions controlling to a great extent the loanable capital of the country, and owning a large part of the interest-bearing obligations of the country, not satisfied with moving in solid phalanx against Congress in opposition to the pending bill, propose, in case they cannot move the people's representatives from the performance of their duty, to bring to bear their power, as money-dealers, upon merchants, manufacturers, and traders, to compel these business men to aid in defeating the operation of the law by placing their business on a gold basis. This will compel merchants and manufacturers to collect their dues in gold or its equivalent.

## APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

61

lent, in order that they may pay their debts to the bankers in the same coin.

The success of this policy involves a virtual change of the Constitution by taking away from Congress the power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof" and conferring it upon banks and bankers, organized under a law of Congress and already usurping the functions of government by furnishing one-half the circulating medium of the country, and through the power thus given controlling the whole. These men profess to be opposed to silver remonetization for the reason that they want the people to have better money in the form of gold. The truth is that they are the deadly enemies of both gold and silver as a circulating medium for the people. They desire the permanent destruction of the money value of silver, thereby depleting the world's supply of coin nearly one-half and in a corresponding ratio increasing the value of the residue.

This being accomplished, the resumption act, so-called, after the 1st day of January next, elevates the interest-bearing obligations owned by them to a gold basis. All the gold that can be wrung from the people in the shape of taxation and by the sale of bonds is to be used in the redemption of greenbacks and the payment of interest on the public debt. Before that period arrives the banks and moneyed institutions represented by the petitioners will own or control all the greenbacks. The Secretary of the Treasury will be compelled to draw into the Treasury every dollar of gold that the country affords in order to be able to pay the interest on the public debt and redeem the greenbacks when presented for redemption. He will not dare pay out a dollar of gold, except for these two sacred purposes, lest a suspension of gold payments might occur and the public credit suffer. The result will be that gold will circulate from the hands of Wall street gamblers into the Treasury, in return for interest-bearing bonds, thence again into the hands of the Wall street gamblers in redemption of greenbacks and the payment of interest on the public debt. Not a dollar of it will go into general circulation. Where, then, will the people procure money for the payment of their debts and the transaction of business? That will be supplied in limited quantities by the national banks. The public credit under this system will be secure. The bank-notes, guaranteed by the Government, with the taxing power actively engaged in accumulating gold in the Treasury, supplemented by the right of the Secretary to sell bonds at 4, 4½, or 5 per cent. to insure a supply, will be sufficiently secured. Whenever the banker can make more money by depositing his bonds with the Treasury to secure his circulation than by using their proceeds in other investments, or by selling his gold to the Government, he will fill up the field of circulation, now all his own, and graciously supply the wants of the people at rates dictated by his cupidity and graduated only by their necessities. The combined and confederated money power will be masters of the people.

Their monopoly of the right to make all the money for the transaction of all business will enable them to control the prices of commodities, and at pleasure to increase or decrease the value of real estate. Labor, instead of being a co-worker with capital in industrial pursuits and a sharer in the profits, will be a slave, a mere tenant at will, with the privilege of working for a bare subsistence, in order to aggrandize those who by legislative bounty have been enabled to grasp and control all the elements of material prosperity.

I know that for thus speaking the truth I will be charged with attempting to precipitate a conflict between capital and labor. Not so. In such a contest all the advantage is on the side of capital. I would if possible, for the sake of labor, slum and avoid it. Capital is strong in that it is organized and can command the services of the ablest newspapers, the greatest lawyers, the shrewdest statesmen, and the most eloquent orators. Moving in a solid and compact body, it can concentrate all its forces upon the point of danger, either to parry a blow or make an assault. On the other hand, labor is weak in the want of organization and the ability to secure the aid of such powerful auxiliaries and in its dependence on capital for the means of employment and subsistence. But, Mr. Speaker, for many years an aggressive warfare has been waged by means of legislation to increase the value of investments in public securities and against every interest in which active capital and labor are employed.

First, in order to increase the wealth of the bondholding class, the act of 1869, to strengthen the public credit, was passed, changing the five-twenties from a currency to a coin bond. This added five hundred millions to the public debt and served to depreciate the greenbacks in the hands of the people, by "demonetizing" them to a certain extent. In 1873 and 1874 silver was demonetized. This act within itself was of no immediate importance as at the time neither silver nor gold circulated as money in this country. As a forerunner, however, of the crowning act of infamy which was soon to follow, the act of January 14, 1875, for the resumption of specie payments, it becomes of vital importance.

The execution of the resumption act on the 1st of January next, with silver demonetized, will virtually confiscate one-half of the real and personal property of this country, not for the benefit of the common treasury, but to fill the coffers of those who already have enough and to spare. A robbery of such magnitude, perpetrated through legislative forms, has no parallel in history. No invading army ever inflicted upon any people on earth a property loss equal to this. Yet the representatives of the people stand here powerless to arrest the

impending bankruptcy. Our repealing bills of the last Congress and this lie quietly upon the table of the Senate, and at the other end of the Avenue frowns the threatened veto of the Executive. Tell me not that labor seeks a conflict with capital. All these acts of aggression, not only against labor, but against all forms of capital actively employed, have been consummated without resistance, almost without protest.

Now, when the men of toil seek in vain for work and wages, and the men of business see the accumulations of a life of industry and energy melting away like snow before the summer sun, they simply demand a halt. They desire no conflict. They would inflict no injury upon the wrong-doer. But, sir, they do demand, and I as one of their Representatives insist, that in so far as can be done the injury be repaired. I believe, and my opinion is not of recent growth, that the national banks have more power over the currency of the country than is consistent with the best interests of the people. Especially is this true in view of the fact that they have shown a determination to prevent wholesome legislation in the interest of the people, and have even gone so far as to confederate together to nullify the law in case of its adoption. The only safety consists in abolishing these institutions, and I shall vote to accomplish that purpose as speedily as it can be done with prudence and safety.

This brings me to a discussion of the bill and amendments now under consideration. I do not expect any law that can now be passed remonetizing silver will have any immediate effect in increasing the amount of money in circulation. The demand for silver coin with which to pay duties will absorb it all for some time to come, whether we pass the original bill or concur in the Senate amendments. The use of silver coin in payment of duties will release an equal amount of gold from that service; but as gold no longer circulates as money, the amount thus released will not go into the channels of circulation. The remonetization of silver will establish the legal relation between silver coin and gold coin, and will be a guarantee that the ultimate standard of value in this country will not be gold alone, but both gold and silver. This assurance will have some effect upon the relation that money bears to prices, and will tend to facilitate the exchange of property for money for the payment of debts.

By these means it will afford some relief or at least will mitigate the evils now upon the country, resulting from the execution of the resumption act. The real war, however, is not upon the Bland bill, so called, nor upon the Senate amendments, but it is upon silver as money under any and all circumstances. In order to arrest the success of the anti-silver movement we must act promptly. So far as immediate results are concerned we accomplish all under the Senate amendments that the original bill would secure. Free coinage is an important element in the final success of silver money. As, however, there is a material difference in the value of the silver necessary to constitute a dollar and the value of the gold necessary to constitute a dollar, which I expect to see rectified by remonetization, it may be well to give the profits of that difference to the Government rather than to the bullion owner until the two coins more nearly approximate equality in value.

If we thereby save the life of the silver dollar it will speedily show its value in commercial transactions when all obstacles to free coinage will be removed. A serious objection is also urged, because the holder of silver bullion cannot deposit the same and receive certificates of deposit having the like effect as certificates for gold bullion. As neither the original bill nor Senate amendment provide for such certificates, that question does not legitimately arise in this discussion. Like free coinage, when the silver dollar shall have proven its usefulness, the bullion certificates will be welcomed by all. So far as the Senate amendment asking the nations composing the Latin union to appoint commissioners to meet a similar commission from this country to consult about the ratio between gold and silver is concerned, I do not object to it. I would not have attached it to this bill. As a separate proposition I do not know but I would vote for it. I will not jeopardize the final passage of this bill by voting against concurring in that amendment.

Upon the whole, then, while I prefer the bill as it passed the House, and in that form voted for it, being in favor of free coinage and bullion certificates, yet I shall vote to concur in the Senate amendments, believing that thereby the silver dollar will be saved, while if we non-concur and throw the bill open for amendment and debate in this House and the Senate I verily believe it will be lost.

But, Mr. Speaker, the enemies of remonetization object to this bill because under it injustice will be done to the holders of Government bonds. If this be true the bill ought not to pass. Let us examine it and see. Under this bill, where it is expressly stipulated in the contract that payment shall be otherwise made, silver is not a legal tender. Hence if any one hold a bond payable in gold under contract, or under the law which is a part of the contract, silver is not a legal tender to discharge that contract.

If the holders of Government bonds are amenable to the same laws as other people how can injustice be done them? Will it be contended that that class of people are entitled to higher privileges than any one else? Shylock has always been held up as a very heartless creditor because he demanded what was nominated in the bond. When we propose by this bill to give the bondholder just what his contract calls for we are denounced as repudiators because we will not give him more. I fear that these gentlemen who cry repudiation

whenever an act of justice is proposed in the interest of the taxpayers will make that word respectable. All the financial legislation of Congress from the issue of the first bond to the present time has been in the interest of the bondholder; and when the representatives of the people refuse to give any more, but simply demand that the spoliation shall stop, it will not have a very soothing effect on the public mind to have the cry of repudiation thrown in the faces of their representatives.

All outstanding Government bonds issued prior to the issue of greenbacks are payable in gold and silver coin, because at the date of the contract both coins were full legal tender. The bonds issued since that time are payable according to the terms of the various laws under which they were issued, except in so far as modified by the act of 1869 to strengthen the public credit, which converted all bonds not specifically payable in lawful money into coin bonds. At the time of the passage of that act both gold and silver were a full legal tender, and all bonds affected by that act are payable in either coin, at the option of the Government. The bonds issued under the act of July 14, 1870, as amended by the act of January 29, 1871, making provisions to refund the public debt, are by the very terms of the law payable in coin of the standard value of such coin on said July 14, 1870. That law, passed in the interest of those who should purchase the bonds of the Government, was so carefully drawn as to provide not only that the bonds should be payable in coin, but the weight and fineness of the metal were fixed.

In effect it provided that the bonds should be paid in so many grains of silver or gold, and, after prescribing the quantity and quality, the Government is further required to put its stamp on it and make it money. Now it is contended that it will be repudiation on the part of the Government to pay in silver the precise quantity and quality prescribed by the law and indorsed on the bond. There may be some abstruse question of finance about which the people are in doubt, but upon the construction of a contract like that a man who ever sold a hog or did a day's work for an agreed price or measured off a yard of calico to a customer can understand its legal effect and how it can be honestly discharged as well as the best constitutional lawyer in the country.

The right of the people to the use of silver in payment of their private debts and taxes to discharge municipal obligations is of much greater importance than the right to pay Government bonds in that coin. Private and municipal indebtedness is much in excess of the bonded debt of the United States, and the time of payment is much nearer at hand. Here again we are met with the charge that payment in silver coin would be violative of good faith and good morals. The charge is made that the western people propose to pay their eastern creditors in "clipped" coin, and we are solemnly warned not to be guilty of paying debts in money worth but ninety-two cents on the dollar. To do so would be to cheat our creditors out of about 8 per cent. of the amount owing.

Admitting that it would be immoral and wrong to compel a creditor to accept 8 per cent. less than his debt, I ask if it would not be equally wrong and immoral to compel a debtor to pay from 10 to 15 per cent. more than he agreed to pay or received value for. Conceding both propositions, I ask who is guilty of seeking an immoral and oppressive advantage in reference to the execution of contracts: the man who seeks to make them all payable in gold or the man who insists upon the right to use both gold and silver? The great mass of indebtedness, private and municipal, was incurred when greenbacks were legal tender, and the money or property which was the subject of contract was valued by that standard. In fact the principal part of the debts owing in the West is for greenbacks borrowed of eastern men. The average depreciation of greenbacks below gold when these debts were contracted was not less than 12 per cent. Under the resumption act, as the law now stands, after the 1st of January next these contracts are solvable in gold alone.

The result is to exact payment in money worth one hundred cents in gold when the contract was to pay in a currency worth but eighty-eight cents in gold. I have heard none of the gold advocates in this debate lecture creditors upon the immorality of loaning "clipped" dollars worth but eighty-eight cents and seeking the advantage of a law that enables them to collect the full amount in good dollars worth one hundred cents. Perhaps there is a code of morals under which it is right to cheat debtors and wrong to cheat creditors. If so, I never expect to practice that code. I seek to do even and exact justice to both. This, however, is but partially and imperfectly accomplished by the remonetization of silver. One step further in the direction of justice can be made by the repeal of the resumption act and preventing the further contraction of the currency. This House has already taken that step, but I fear the other departments of the Government will never permit any further step to be taken.

For the great army of business men who have already been reduced to bankruptcy by the operation of this cruel and most wicked law, there is no remedy. To those who yet stagger under the load thus laid upon them, speedy relief ought to be given.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I think the resumption act ought to be at once repealed, silver ought to be fully remonetized and placed on an equality with gold as to coinage; the further contraction of the currency should cease; the greenbacks ought to be made receivable for all dues to the Government, including customs; the national banks should be abolished and Treasury notes substituted for bank-notes

as soon as the change can be made without shock to the business interests of the country; and the most rigid economy should be instituted and practiced in every branch of the public service. With these reforms and a revision of the tariff, placing our customs duties upon a strictly revenue basis, prosperity will speedily return to bless the people.

#### Remonetization of Silver.

### SPEECH OF HON. VAN H. MANNING, OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 21, 1878.

On the bill (H. R. No. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character.

Mr. MANNING. Mr. Speaker, for reasons deemed important by me I think it unwise now to concur in the amendments of the Senate. I believe it is pretty well understood that the friends of the bill introduced by the gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. BLAND,] who now favor concurrence, are induced to do so because they fear the consequences of delay. They apprehend that the bill is in better shape at this time than it probably will be if its passage is postponed until it can be fully discussed and a conference committee of the two Houses can consider the wisdom of the amendments.

The fears of such gentlemen should be somewhat diminished, I think, by the fact that nearly every member of this House who steadily and uncompromisingly opposed the original bill now favors it with its amendments. Why is this? Are their fears not also excited that delay and conference will result in a greater triumph over them than we have secured if the pending bill passes? So it seems that these two elements in this House—one the enemies of silver, and the other its friends—prompted by opposite reasons, are now moving abreast in their support of the bill as amended. With the aid which it will probably receive from this strange and remarkable combination of hostile elements, those of us who have unceasingly favored the bill as originally passed, and now desire discussion and reference to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and to test the effect of a conference between the two Houses, before we recede—if recede we must—are doubtless in a hopeless minority. I shall nevertheless vote against concurrence.

I submit that our friends, finding themselves in such uncongenial company upon this subject, should stop and consider whether they are not unnecessarily alarmed. I sincerely hope that they will yet rejoin the steadfast friends of the Bland bill, and for awhile, at least, try the experiment of standing by what we believe to be right. Why not amend the bill to meet our views, and return it to the Senate, where the friends of silver have two-thirds majority? What Senator, who has supported the remonetization of silver, will be bold enough to defeat the bill, if it is returned with such provisions as this House has already declared to be just and wise? But if there are Senators who will "weary in well-doing," and defeat the measure entirely unless we agree to their views, it will be time enough then for us to recede, and accept the present bill as the best we can get. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." I am frank to say that I would vote to concur with the Senate rather than the whole bill should fail; but if this House will stand firmly by the Bland bill, without too much regard for either the Senate or the President, I think the outlook encourages us to believe that we can pass it even over the veto of the President.

Much has been said in both ends of this Capitol, by the friends of the double standard, that have excited hopes of greater relief among the people than I believe would be realized, even if the original bill is passed and administered in all vigor and good faith; but, if mistaken in that conclusion, I feel sure that those who expect much from it in its present shape will be grievously disappointed. Not more than \$24,000,000 will be coined per annum under the pending bill, by an unfriendly Secretary of the Treasury, and that sum, if divided equally among the population of this country, would amount to only fifty cents to each. If we could coin silver without limit, by increasing the capacity of our mints so as to coin all the products of our mines, it is believed by those who have given the subject great consideration, that at least four times as much money would be thrown into circulation per annum as can be expected if this bill passes with its limitation provision. We want more money than we have been permitted to have since the contraction policy commenced a decade ago; and if we are to go forward contracting our paper money, it is the more important to expand and increase our metallic money. It is asserted that the bill which so overwhelmingly passed this House, and which has been so generally indorsed by the country, involves the dishonor of the Government, a reckless scheme of inflation, and finally repudiation.

In the discussion of these assaults it is important to notice some of the most prominent and material facts, in regard to the financial legislation in this country, since the outbreak of the late war; and, without

competing railroads, by dividing between them the aggregate or net proceeds of the earnings of such railroads, or any portion of them.

The first part of this section is intended to prevent all subterfuges by which the intention of the law could be defeated by common carriers, and the latter part as will be seen prohibits "pooling."

Any one who reads the remarks and the evidence submitted by the gentleman from Illinois on this subject, any one who is familiar with the evidence before the Committee on Commerce upon this subject, will see and know the great necessity of reopening a competition which may exist between competing roads. Take for instance such points as Chicago and New York, where there may be three or four competing lines. It had been hoped that the power of monopoly and its injurious operations on the interests of the country would be prevented by competition; and so it would be if the competition of competing lines between the same points were in operation. But it has been wisely observed that where combination is possible competition is impossible; and in order to avoid the effect of competition, in order to prevent extending to the producing classes the advantages which would arise from competition, in order to prevent relieving the classes engaged in consumption from the benefits of competition, these roads may agree and have agreed to a plan of pooling their freights, the several roads meeting by their representatives and agreeing as to the relative amounts of business that each does upon its through trade. Having so agreed, the gross proceeds go into a common fund. They are pooled. The net proceeds are then divided between them in the proportions in which it is agreed they would do the through business; and thus competition is absolutely defeated and combination and monopoly absolutely organized against the productive and consuming interests, to the detriment and injury of the commerce of the country.

But I will not proceed with this discussion, for I think it may be safely assumed that every member of this House knows the evils of thus preventing competition and the wrongs inflicted on the great body of the people by it.

The fourth section of the bill is one that was objected to when it was up for debate before, because it required that the State schedules of freight should be posted up as a means of comparison only, in order to prevent charging greater rates of freight for interstate than for State commerce. Inasmuch as it seemed difficult for members to understand that this was not an interference with State commerce, and as the committee were very full and clear in their convictions that we neither had the power nor the right to interfere with State commerce, we thought we would avoid all offense by striking that out, and we made the section read as follows:

SEC. 4. That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons engaged in the transportation of property, as provided in the first section of this act, to charge or receive any greater compensation per car-load of similar property for carrying, receiving, storing, forwarding, or handling the same for a shorter than for a longer distance in one continuous carriage.

This is the section of the bill which some gentlemen have conceived interfered with competition. Now, sir, is it possible that it can interfere with free competition? No part of the bill prescribes rates of freight to any company, whether they be high or low. No part of the bill requires any comparison of rates of freight between competing companies or any two companies, whether competing or not, so that each stands as free and independent as it is to-day if the bill should become a law to charge its own rates of freight, make them high or low as its interest or competition may induce, without interference by this law, being limited only by the requirement that freight shall be equal to all persons, that there shall be no drawbacks, and that like facilities shall be extended to all business.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. REAGAN. I yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I wish to ask the gentleman from Texas if the effect of this section will not be to compel the same rates for freight carried a thousand miles *pro rata* as for ten miles?

Mr. REAGAN. I am glad the gentleman from Kansas has asked the question, as I might possibly have omitted to speak on that point, and the question which he asks me is one which has been asked by others, and which I answer with a good deal of pleasure. There is no rate per mile required to be charged. The only limitation is that a car-load of freight going fifty miles shall not be required to pay more in the gross than a car-load of freight carried a hundred miles. And if the line of transportation be one thousand miles—I will meet precisely the view which my friend from Kansas has—if the line of transportation be one thousand miles long, and the cost of transporting one car-load of freight by that line be \$100, all the bill provides upon that subject is that no more shall be charged for one hundred miles, or for five hundred miles, than is charged for one thousand miles. And right here let me say, as touching the question as to the prevention of competition, we know and recognize the fact that railroads cannot carry freight for short distances as cheaply as they can carry them for long distances, and we so leave the bill as to give them the whole margin of distance. For instance, on a line of carriage for a thousand miles we allow them to charge, if they see proper to do so, as much for carrying a car-load of freight one hundred miles as for carrying it one thousand miles; but we say, "Gentlemen, you cannot do more than this." You cannot take a course that compels people to ship their commodities away from the market in order to get a start for cheap transportation back to the market. You cannot do

under this bill as has been done heretofore at Pittsburgh, where freight has been carried down the Ohio River five hundred and forty miles to Cincinnati, and there put upon competing lines of railroad and brought back through Pittsburgh and carried to Philadelphia or New York cheaper than it could have been carried directly from Pittsburgh to New York or Philadelphia.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him another question?

Mr. REAGAN. Certainly; with pleasure.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Will not the effect of this section be to prevent a company or a man who ships we will say a hundred car-loads of cattle from Kansas City from making a rate of freight at which he can carry his cattle through the State? Will he not have to pay the same rates for long distances in the State as for short distances?

Mr. REAGAN. I am glad the gentleman has asked that question, and I will endeavor to answer it. In the first section of this bill we define what interstate commerce is; and in subsequent sections we limit the operations of the bill to interstate commerce. And then in the last section of the bill we expressly exclude from the operation of the bill all State commerce. We expressly repudiate in the last section of the bill the idea that we can interfere with State commerce.

Now, that being done, I cannot understand how it can be possible that local roads can have anything to do with interstate commerce in the sense in which I understand the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PHILLIPS] to refer to it.

Mr. EDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. REAGAN. Certainly.

Mr. EDEN. It is whether railroad companies cannot overcome all the obstacles provided in the fourth section of the bill by charging higher rates for shipping from the leading points and thereby continue the rates they now charge at the intermediate points? Is there anything in the bill to prevent that?

Mr. REAGAN. There is nothing in the bill to determine what rates shall be charged on a through route. It was our express intention not to adopt any provision in the bill that could embarrass the railroads in the management of their business in any legal manner.

Mr. EDEN. Then the probability is that under this bill, instead of rates being reduced at the intermediate points, between New York and Chicago for instance, the roads will simply increase the rates between those two points so that they may continue the rates at the intermediate points.

Mr. REAGAN. There is this much in what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EDEN] says; and I do not wish anybody to vote on this bill without fully understanding its object and intent. One great object of the bill is that it shall aid in preventing those railroad wars which have hitherto been so disastrous to stockholders and so injurious to the country by the fluctuations in the prices of transportation. The object is to prevent pooling, to prevent discriminations between shippers and between places, to prevent rebates, and to compel the railroads to pursue their business in an honest and legitimate way.

And now I come to answer the gentleman. The object of the bill is to prevent railroads from compelling one part of the American people to pay for the transportation of freight belonging to another part further than the line of discrimination which we allow them, charging as much, and not more, for a short distance as for a long distance. If we can get this bill passed into a law it will not only be an instrument of justice toward the people of the country, but in my own judgment, as also in the judgment of some very able and well-informed men in relation to railroad matters, it will benefit the roads themselves by preventing what we call railroad wars.

And while I am on this point I will say a word or two to my friend from Massachusetts, whom I see here, [Mr. DEAN,] and who made some objection to this bill last session which I desire to answer now, because I think he clearly misapprehended the scope and object and effect of the bill. If he shall vote upon his speech he will be voting against this bill because of something which is not within the bill at all. In the remarks which he submitted at the last session, as I now call them to mind, he said that there were short railroads in Massachusetts and in New England connected with long lines to the West, and that the effect of this bill would be to operate against the interests of those short roads.

Why, sir, how can that be? The bill does not treat of lines of road but of lines of commerce, whether composed of one or more railroads. And the rate being fixed, if it is \$100 for a car-load from Chicago to Boston, under this bill a railroad company may charge \$100 per car-load from Lowell to Boston. That, I think, is a full and complete answer to the objection made by the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. SPARKS. If I understand the object of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. REAGAN] it is to prevent conflicts between railroads.

Mr. REAGAN. That will be one effect.

Mr. SPARKS. That being so, will it not to the same extent prevent competition between all roads?

Mr. REAGAN. I think the gentleman could not have noticed my remarks in relation to competition. I stated distinctly that there is nothing in the bill that can by any means affect competition between railroads, for the reason that we do not attempt to regulate the rates of freight at all; for the reason that we do not compare different lines of road, but leave every road free to adopt its own schedule of rates of freight.

Mr. EDEN. I ask the gentleman this question: If railroad companies cannot charge any more at non-competing points on their line than they charge at competing points, does not that prevent competition?

Mr. REAGAN. If the gentleman means to take the consequences of the view which his question implies, he will then be fair. If railroad companies undertake to carry through freights from one center of trade to another center of trade at less than compensating rates and then charge the way freights with the loss on the carriage of the through freight, we mean to defeat this; and if this is what he means by preventing competition, justice and right demand that to this extent it should be prevented. We do not mean by this bill to recognize the right to impose unjust and unequal burdens upon any one, whether at trade centers or at way stations. We mean, so far as the bill will enable us to do it, to compel those who ship upon railroads to pay their own freight at such just and reasonable rates as the interests of commerce and the interests of the road may justify and require.

Mr. EDEN. I would like to ask the gentleman one other question. Will not the effect of this bill be to prevent cities like Chicago and Saint Louis, for instance, from having the benefit of water competition?

Mr. REAGAN. I do not see how it can have that effect, because the roads can put their freights as low after this bill is passed as they can put them now. How, then, can the bill prevent the advantages of water communication? We do not prevent the railroad companies from putting their rates as low as they please.

Mr. EDEN. They will be compelled to take freight from points where there is no water communication at the same rate as from points with which there is water communication.

Mr. REAGAN. I can tell the gentleman where his view leads him. There is no way of escaping the justice of the position I have taken unless it be by insisting that all intermediate points—the way stations in town and city and country on the lines of railway—shall pay for the transportation of through freights. This is the issue sharply and clearly presented. Gentlemen have their choice to give freights which are just and alike to all, or to vote against this bill and preserve the power of monopoly to levy exactions which have become almost unbearable upon this commerce, amounting to \$18,000,000,000 annually, which now passes over our railroads.

Mr. CANNON, of Illinois. If I understand the effect of the legislation here proposed it is this: if in any case, by reason of competition or otherwise, freight is carried from one State to another at less than the carrying is actually worth, then freights must necessarily be carried between all other points for less than the service is worth, whether there is competition or not.

Mr. REAGAN. Well, Mr. Speaker, we do not undertake to say that any road shall carry freight for less than it is worth to carry it; and this remark takes away the foundation of the question which the gentleman from Illinois has put. We do not propose to say that any railroad company shall carry freights for less than will compensate them; but we do propose to prevent the wrong of requiring two-thirds of the people of the country to pay the freights of the other third.

Mr. McMAHON. Will the gentleman permit me a question?

Mr. REAGAN. I will.

Mr. McMAHON. In the cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States as to the power of a State to regulate charges upon railroads, the decision, I believe, was put upon the ground that Congress had not acted upon this question. Suppose that Congress now acts upon the question by passing this bill, (and acts probably without full advice,) what will be the effect upon all the State laws so far as the railroads are under the control of such laws?

Mr. REAGAN. I had not expected to speak at this time on that subject; but as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McMAHON] asks the question, I take pleasure in answering it at once. This bill provides for the regulation of interstate commerce, and has no relation to or effect upon State legislation with reference to State commerce—not the most remote.

Mr. McMAHON. We cannot avoid its having such an effect.

Mr. REAGAN. The States have no right to regulate interstate commerce.

Mr. McMAHON. I beg the gentleman's pardon. The Supreme Court declared in the cases to which I have referred that the States had indirectly the right to affect interstate commerce, because they had the right to regulate the rates of charge within their own limits; that although interstate commerce was thus affected, yet until Congress should act upon the question the power was to this extent with these States.

Mr. REAGAN. I am aware that the Supreme Court said that State legislation might incidentally affect interstate commerce. But here we are proposing to pass a measure which defines interstate commerce, and limits its effect to such commerce wholly. We are proceeding under the Constitution, which authorizes the Congress of the United States to regulate commerce among the States, the Constitution interpreted, as I showed in my remarks when first presenting this bill to the House, by the elementary writers on the Constitution and as interpreted by the many decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which I cited at that time. It would require more time than I now have to go over the constitutional argument; but if

the gentleman will refer to my remarks at the last session he will see that in every phase in which this question has been raised the Supreme Court has held that the Congress of the United States is charged with the regulation of interstate commerce, and that the power is exclusive; that the States cannot regulate interstate commerce; that Congress cannot regulate the local commerce of a State.

These judicial decisions go further and declare that the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce is as full, as ample, as complete as the power of a State to regulate commerce within the territory of the State. If I have time, I will be glad to call attention to a number of elementary authorities and decisions of the Supreme Court on this subject.

Mr. WRIGHT. I wish to ask the gentleman from Texas a question. What does he understand by the words "to regulate commerce between the States?" Does he understand that Congress can put a tariff upon articles which pass through a State; to fix the rate of transit through a sovereign State? What I understand by the regulation of commerce does not reach the question of direct taxation with regard to tariffs.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. Speaker, there is something about the use of the words "sovereign States" which perhaps the gentleman does not consider. The State is sovereign as the constitutions of the United States and of the State make it so; that is, where its sovereignty is reserved it is sovereign, but here the sovereign power is delegated by the Constitution of the United States ratified by the States.

Why, then, in talking on this subject, do we talk of the sovereign rights of a State interfering with powers expressly delegated to the Congress of the United States, and held to be clearly and unquestionably delegated by all the courts of the country which have dealt with the question at all?

Mr. LATHROP. Will the gentleman allow me to ask one question in regard to the effect of the fourth section?

Mr. REAGAN. I will.

Mr. LATHROP. Under this fourth section would it not be impossible for a man to contract for the carriage of one hundred car-loads from Chicago to New York at any less than the company would take one car-load from Michigan City?

Mr. REAGAN. I think it has exactly that effect—that one monopoly shall not help the other to oppress the individual, but that a train of one hundred cars belonging to one hundred men shall be entitled to be carried at the same price as a train of one hundred cars belonging to one man.

Mr. LATHROP. Then, if I understand this bill in principle, it ignores the idea of wholesale dealing.

Mr. REAGAN. Not at all; we do not interfere with wholesale dealing; we simply demand common honesty in common carriers. In the ninth section the gentleman will see that it is provided that nothing in this act shall apply to the carriage, receiving, storage, handling, or forwarding of property less than an ordinary car-load, or wholly within one State or Territory, and not destined for carriage in another State or Territory, or going to or coming from some foreign country, or to property carried for the United States at lower rates of freight and charges than for the general public, or to the transportation of articles free or at reduced rates of freight for charitable purposes or to or from public fairs and expositions for exhibition.

When we create that unit we mean that unit shall be one of the instruments to secure justice alike between all shippers; we mean that one hundred men having one hundred separate car-loads put into the same train shall have their produce carried for the same price as one man could have one hundred car-loads carried.

And at this point I desire to say this very thing of allowing rebates and drawbacks to monopolies is abundantly illustrated in its enormous evils and effects by the oppression of the Cleveland Standard Oil Company entering into a combination with the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania Central, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad so as to get its freight carried far below the rate allowed other producers of oil in the oil region, thereby compelling other companies and associations either to sell out to the Cleveland Standard Oil Company or to go down in bankruptcy.

Mr. POTTER. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. REAGAN. I will in a moment; I am not through. The gentleman from New York [Mr. POTTER] discussed this subject during the last session, and with all his learning and ability, and with my great respect for him, I must confess my profound astonishment at some of the views he then expressed. Without turning to the speech of the gentleman, I think I remember particularly one point which I desire to call attention to, and that is where he stated his opposition to a law like this was not predicated on the belief the law itself was unjust, but upon the danger to the Congress of the United States entering upon the enactment of laws to regulate common carriers or interstate commerce. He predicts if we pass a just and wholesome law which in no way interferes with any necessary right or interest of a railroad company, but simply takes away the power of monopoly by which railroads abuse the powers secured by their charter, that when we do so we open up a field which will turn loose upon this Congress the combined influence of all the railroads in the country; and that instead of combining the influence of the railroads against the people and their representatives, he would rather permit them to outrage all right, to exercise unreasonable powers of monopoly and discriminate against individuals and communities. All this, accord-

## REPRESENTING SUCH A PEOPLE,

and chosen to represent them because of my life-long devotion to the principles of that political party which is the special champion and defender of the poor and lowly—of the people, I should be false to every trust with which they have honored me, recreant to every obligation the acceptance of those trusts imposed, did I not seek by all honorable and legitimate means to secure the success of this and every kindred measure designed to sweeten the toil of the laborer by increasing the gains which should follow his industry, and to equalize the burdens laid upon the tax-payer by enforcing their more equitable distribution.

I want the laboring men upheld in their manhood, grand, glorious manhood. They are the heroes and the reliance of a republic. They create everything that makes a country great. To them we owe everything which makes a people happy. They brave the winter's cold and toil without a murmur under the scorching summer's sun. Without their honest hands the palatial cities, the railroads, the telegraphs, the steamers, and the teeming farms which now make our country the wonder and the envy of the world could not exist. In the front of battle they bear aloft the banners of our country. They bare their breasts to the terrible assault, and in the deadliest carnage they lead the charge which gives victory to our columns.

God bless the workmen of America, and may it be the first duty of Congress to provide for their protection and defense.

## Silver Coinage.

## SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN R. EDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 20, 1886,

On the bill (H. R. 5690) for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDEN said:

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not propose to discuss the silver question or do more than give the reasons for my vote on the pending bill and proposed amendments. I am in favor of bimetalism, and will give no vote which I believe will tend to prevent the use of both gold and silver as the basis of a circulating medium. I am of opinion that the business depression now prevailing and that has prevailed for several years, both in Europe and America, is due largely to the attempt which has in recent years been made, with partial success, to make gold the sole standard of value and the only money metal of the world. Our legislation should all be directed to the restoration of silver to its old place, and no backward step should be taken until that object shall have been accomplished.

Under existing laws the Secretary of the Treasury is required to cause to be coined not less than two million nor more than four million of silver into standard silver dollars each month, and said coin is a full legal tender in the payment of debts. The silver bullion to be coined under this act (act of February 28, 1878) is purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury at its market price as required for purposes of coinage. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, \$28,528,552 of standard silver dollars were coined under the act referred to. The seigniorage to the Government upon this coinage was over 18 per cent., or in round numbers about \$4,500,000, which was covered into the Treasury.

In other words, upon the purchase of silver by the Treasury during the last fiscal year for the coinage of standard silver dollars the bullion value of the silver purchased was on an average 18 per cent. below the coin value thereof, and the profit or seigniorage was paid into the Treasury. According to the report of the Director of the Mint the production of silver from the mines of the United States for the calendar year 1884 was in round numbers \$48,000,000. Using that amount as an estimate for the production during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, it will be seen (leaving out minor coins) that \$28,000,000 of the production was coined into standard silver dollars, and according to the report of the Director of the Mint \$20,000,000 of silver bullion was exported. This statement substantially disposes of the domestic production of silver for the year.

There will be two propositions presented to be voted on by the House, as I understand, when final action is taken on the pending bill. The first will be in the form of a substitute providing that after a given day, unless an international agreement shall be reached, the coinage of the standard silver dollar shall be suspended.

I shall vote against this proposition for the reason that I believe the coinage under existing laws has been and will continue to be beneficial to the people, and for the further reason that to suspend the coinage would be a step backward in the march toward the restoration of silver to its old and honored place as one of the money metals.

The other proposition may be best stated in the language of the pending bill:

That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion of the value of \$50 or more, standard fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined into standard silver dollars of 412½ grains (roy of standard silver to the dollar) upon like terms and conditions as gold is now coined for private holders; that the standard silver dollar heretofore coined and herein provided for shall be the unit of account and standard of value in like manner as now provided for the gold dollar, &c.

Now, this proposition looks fair; but is it fair? We have nearly \$300,000,000 of gold coin in this country to \$1 of silver coin. There is a difference of about 18 cents in the value of the bullion in a silver dollar and that of a gold dollar. When the Government coins a silver dollar there is, by the act of the Government in giving it a legal-tender quality, 18 cent added to its value for purposes of domestic circulation. It is of no more value as bullion, or for exportation, or to pay a foreign debt than it was before it went to the Mint. Hence, under this bill, the bonanz king who owns a silver mine and has on hand \$1,000,000 of silver bullion has added to his wealth \$180,000; and supposing that the owner of silver mines now have on hand \$10,000,000 silver bullion, the passage of this act will add to their property nearly \$2,000,000, which under the present law, would go into the Treasury. But this is not the worst feature of the bill.

This bounty of the Government is not limited to our own people. Under the operations of this bill the holders of silver bullion the world over may be able to bring it to our mints and have it coined at our expense into standard silver dollars, and exchange the silver coin for our gold coin and export it to England, Germany, or France, where no dollar of silver is allowed to be coined as full legal tender. This bill opens a way for Germany to get rid of her stock of silver, for which she has been seeking a market ever since her attempted establishment of the single gold standard, and have it coined into legal-tender dollars which may be exchanged at par with our gold coins and transported to Germany. I can conceive of no better method of insuring the success of the European nations in permanently establishing gold monometallism than by the passage of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I ask this House to consider the effect the passage of this bill will have on the coinage of gold in the United States. I presume the most ardent friend of the bill does not expect its passage will result in appreciating the value of silver so that our silver dollar will be equal in value to our gold dollar in the markets of the world. The why should the holder of gold bullion take it to our mints for coinage at a valuation much below that of silver, when the coin value of the gold dollar will be no more than the coin value of the silver dollar. He can exchange his gold bullion for purposes of exportation for silver bullion for purposes of coinage, at a profit of 18 per cent. at present prices. Hence, if this bill passes, the silver bullion will all be coined and the gold bullion will all be exported.

I know that we have in the course of this debate been reminded of the fact that a large amount of silver bullion has been exported since the passage of what is called the Bland act. That is very true, and we so continue as long as the United States Government is a purchaser of its market value of a limited amount of silver bullion. The value of silver bullion at our mints is measured by its commercial value. When our Government does not want for coinage and our people do not purchase for other uses will go abroad where people do want it. If we have an arbitrary law give an artificial value to silver bullion over its value in the markets of the world, it will as naturally come here as the water of the Mississippi flow into the Gulf of Mexico. If, on the other hand we exclude gold bullion from our mints by undervaluing it from 10 to 20 per cent., it will naturally flow out of the country in search of a more friendly purchaser.

Silver monometallism would prove even more disastrous to the country than gold monometallism. This bill discriminates against gold in such a manner and to such an extent as will surely drive it from our mints. It will find its way to the mints of Europe, where it is estimated at its real value.

This objection to the passage of the bill might be obviated by a amendment providing that the Government, "in adjusting the account of gold and silver bullion coined under the provisions of this act, shall retain for the United States the difference at the date of coinage between the commercial value of bullion so coined and the coin value thereof, and the sums so retained in coined money shall be from time to time covered into the Treasury." I understand the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] will, if he can get the floor for that purpose offer an amendment to the bill such as I have indicated. The adoption of such an amendment would open the mints and make them free to all holders of both gold and silver bullion upon equal terms, with no discrimination against either.

The Government would retain the profit on the coinage of both gold and silver, and there would be no premium offered to the people of foreign governments to send their silver to our mints for coinage. It is true the millionaire mine owners would by the adoption of the amendment be cut off from their millions of profits this bill, should become a law, will divert from the Treasury and bestow upon them. To give some idea of the enormous amount there is in this bill for the benefit of the owners of silver bullion, I refer to the fact that during

seven years, beginning at the passage of the Bland law in 1878, the profits on the coinage of the standard silver dollar amounted to over \$25,000,000, every farthing of which went into the Treasury.

Under the operation of this bill, should it become a law, every farthing of the profit on the coinage of the standard silver dollar will in the future go into the pockets of the holders of silver bullion. Without amendment I will vote against the bill. I voted for the Bland act as it now stands and I will not vote to repeal or change it unless we can get something better. If we by our legislation exclude either gold or silver from our mints, we thereby strike a fatal blow at bimetalism. I shall vote against this bill because, in my opinion, under its operation gold will be excluded from our mints and silver monometallism will speedily follow in this country. I can not foresee all the evil consequences that would ensue, and will not undertake to point them out. That all values would be unsettled and all business operations would be thrown into confusion seem to be the natural consequences that would follow such a radical change in our monetary system.

#### Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants.

### SPEECH

OF

HON. WILKINSON CALL,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, April 7, 1886.

The Senate having under consideration the following resolution, submitted by Mr. CALL January 23, 1886:

*Resolved*, That all railroad land grants heretofore made where the land was not earned by the completion of the line of railroad and the performance of the conditions required by the granting act within the time required therein, and where the time has not been extended by an act of Congress, or shall not hereafter be extended, shall be declared forfeited and opened to homestead entry and cash entry in small bodies, securing to actual settlers the preferred right in all cases to make entries of their homes to the extent of 160 acres, and confirming to all purchasers of town sites, where lots have been sold and improvements made, their title to the same.

"And the Committee on Public Lands is hereby instructed to report a bill to this effect to the Senate."

Mr. CALL said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The United States have granted over 150,000,000 acres of the public lands for the construction of railroads, an area more than five times as great as the State of Florida, which is one of the largest States in area in the Union. It is not my purpose to argue the policy of making these grants. A great public object has been accomplished by it. Perhaps it might have been done much better for the interests of the country than in the manner in which it has been done. No doubt there should have been reserved to the United States some portion of the receipts of these properties created out of a donation of the public land, something to contribute to the cause of education, something to relieve the burdens of taxation.

But it is not in regard to the general relations of this subject to the whole Union that I propose to address the Senate to-day. It is in reference to some of the grants made to the State of Florida, and their relations to the people of that State and to the development of the State. The area of land in the State of Florida is 59,268 square miles—35,715,600 acres, by survey and estimation. For school purposes the United States granted by the act of 1845 908,503 acres, and for a university 92,000 acres by the act of March 3, 1845. The swamp and overflowed land grant to the State had selected from 1850 to 1880 15,626,859.23 acres. To that amount there has been added since that time 2,000,000 of the remaining public land, and under the grant of 1856 2,275,570.53 acres. There remained unsurveyed in the area of the State in 1880, by the report of the Interior Department as contained in the History of the Public Domain, an official document published by that Department in 1883, 7,756,493 acres, supposed to be largely covered by the swamp and overflowed land grant to the State. This leaves from the entire area of the State 7,056,680 acres out of the 35,000,000 acres in the entire area of the State for private settlement under cash entries and the various land sales which have been made by the United States. The sum of 7,056,680 acres only out of 35,000,000 acres, the entire area of the State, remains ungranted to the State under the swamp and overflowed land grant act and under the acts granting aid to the State for the construction of railroads, and for other purposes, being less than one-third of the entire area of the State, which cost the Government of the United States between \$6,000,000 and \$7,000,000 in actual expenditure, that have been and are available for purposes of entry under cash entry and homestead entry in the State.

The United States granted by an act approved the 17th of May, 1856, "to the State of Florida, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads from Saint John's River, at Jacksonville, to the waters of Escambia Bay, at or near Pensacola; and from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Keys.

on the Gulf of Mexico; and also a railroad from Pensacola to the State line of Alabama, in the direction of Montgomery, every alternate section of land designated by odd numbers for six sections in width on each side of each of said roads and branch. \* \* \* And if any or either of said roads or branch is not completed within ten years no further sales shall be made, and the lands unsold shall revert to the United States." That is the language of the act. It is an imperative command, an exercise of the sovereign legislative will, and I have not been able to perceive by what process of reasoning any court had authority or power to veto this positive and absolute command of the law, this expression of the sovereign legislative will of the people in Congress assembled. Under this act several railroad companies were provided for, namely, the Florida Railroad Company, the name of which has been changed successively to the Atlantic and West India Transit Company, and then to the Florida Navigation and Railway Company; also the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company; also the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Railroad Company; and in 1866 the roads were not completed, and the road from Waldo to Tampa is not completed at this time.

The land granted, under this act beyond the point to which these roads were completed at the expiration of the ten years when it expired, is now proposed by the bill which has been referred to the Committee on Public Lands to be forfeited, because the act contained within it a provision that if not completed to Tampa Bay on the one side and to Pensacola on the other, within ten years from the date of the passage of that act, the land should revert to the United States.

I call attention to an extract from the Public Domain, an official document published by Congress, a statement which I will print in an appendix to my remarks marked "A."

The road to Tampa is not even now, thirty years from the time of the grant, completed, and the road to Pensacola was completed by a new and different company, commencing in 1881, fifteen years after the grant expired. It is my intention now to present to the Senate, to the country, and to the people of Florida the peculiar condition in which this grant stands to the interests of the whole people and to the law. In 1856 railroad corporations were organized in the State of Florida under acts of the Legislature of Florida, which accepted and became bound by an act of the Legislature known as the internal-improvement act, the sections of which, important to this subject, will be found in the appendix marked "B."

I also read the first section of an act to amend "An act incorporating the Florida Railroad Company."

That the act incorporating the Florida Railroad Company, approved the 8th day of January, A. D. 1853, is hereby amended so that the said company shall have power to construct the railroad from Amelia Island, on the Atlantic, to the waters of Tampa Bay, in South Florida, with an extension to Cedar Key, in East Florida, under the provisions of an act to provide for and encourage a liberal system of internal improvements in this State, approved the 6th day of January, A. D. 1855.

There had been a previous charter granted by the State to construct the road to the Gulf of Mexico, with the following provisions:

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted*, That the said railroad shall commence in East Florida, upon some tributary of the Atlantic Ocean, within the limits of the State of Florida, having a sufficient outlet to the ocean to admit of the passage of sea steamers, and shall run through the eastern and southern part of the State, in the most eligible direction, to some point, bay, arm, or tributary of the Gulf of Mexico, in South Florida, south of the Suwanee River, having a sufficient outlet for sea steamers, to be determined by a competent engineer, with the approval of a majority of the directors of said company.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That the capital stock of said company shall be \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each. \* \* \* Each subscriber shall, at the time of his subscription, pay to said commissioners \$1 on each share subscribed for, and the books of subscription at each of the above-mentioned places shall be kept open for the space of sixty days, at the expiration of which time they shall be closed.

The act provided that upon the subscription of 1 per cent. of the total amount of \$1,000,000 of capital stock the railroad should become a corporation and authorized to construct the road. The \$1,000,000 was subscribed, the 1 per cent. nominally paid, immediately returned to the stockholders, and from that time to this it remains unpaid. The stock subscription has never been paid; but the State of Florida under the provisions of that act, through the internal-improvement fund, paid out of the proceeds of these sales of the public lands granted by the United States to the State under the swamp and overflowed land grant and the internal-improvement land grant \$90,000, being the only paid-up stockholder that existed in the road from the beginning to the end.

Under that condition of things, which is verified by the answers that I read from the testimony taken in a cause pending in the circuit court of the United States at Jacksonville, it is abundantly proved that here was a railroad corporation with its stock subscribed for and never paid, held chiefly by two individuals, and from that day to this remaining unpaid. I read from the testimony of Joseph Finnegan, a witness in that case, on the one hundred and thirty-first page of the record of the circuit court of the United States, in the case of Robert H. Johnson against the Florida Railroad Company:

I was the receiver or person to whom the money was to be paid, and there was no money paid on this subscription. There was no payment ever made in money on the capital stock subscribed for as above stated by the association, but at a meeting of the above stockholders, held immediately after the books were closed at the Buffington House, the following board of directors were elected: D. L. Yulee, George W. Call, J. H. Bronson, Philip Dell, George R. Fairbanks, A. H. Cole, Thomas O. Holmes, and John Parsons, and myself, the





**Special Congressional Committee, 1886, to Investigate Government Conduct  
in Patent case against the Bell Telephone Company.  
John R. Eden in front row, far right.**

# XIV

## THE LETTERS OF JOHN R. EDEN

### Correspondence of John R. Eden in Compendium

John R. Eden to Roxa, January 20, 1864  
JRE to Roxa, February 14, 1864  
JRE to Roxa, March 6, 1864  
JRE to J. Meeker, March 29, 1864 ? (photocopy)  
JRE to Roxa, April 13, 1864 (photocopy)  
JRE to Roxa, April 29, 1864  
JRE to Roxa, May 20, 1864 (sheet missing)  
JRE to Roxa, January 9, 1865  
JRE to Roxa, January 24, 1865  
JRE to Roxa, January 27, 1867 (photocopy)

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JRE to Rose, May 19, 1874  
JRE to "My dear daughters," May 24, 1875  
JRE to "My dear daughters," May 24, 1875  
JRE to "My dear daughters," July 28, 187\_ [5?]  
JRE to Rose, October 31, 1875  
JRE to Hartwell, March 23, 1876  
JRE to "My dear daughters, Emma and Rose," July 22, 1876.  
JRE to Roxa, posted Charleston, South Carolina, Dec 20, 1876  
JRE to "My dear daughter," March 5, 1877  
JRE (on letterhead of Eden & Clark), 187\_. Fragment  
JRE to "My dear daughter," March 23, 1877  
JRE to Rose, May 8, 1877  
JRE to Rose, June 9, 1877  
JRE to "My dear daughter Rose," October 30, 1877  
JRE to Rose, November 20, 1877  
JRE to Rose, May 18, 1878  
JRE to Roxa, January 19, 1879

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JRE to Roxa, February 1, 1886  
JRE to Rose, March 1, 1886  
JRE to Rose, March 10, 1886  
JRE to Rose, May 2, 188\_ [6?]

JRE to Rose, June 11, 1886  
JRE to Rose, June 25, 1886  
JRE to Rose, January 23, 1887  
JRE to Rose, February 16, 1887  
JRE to ? – Fragment, begins at sheet 2 (House of Representatives stationery). 188\_.  
JRE to ? - Fragment

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JRE to Olive Eden Martin, November 18, 1905

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Washington City  
January 20<sup>th</sup> 1864.

My Dear Roxa,

Seeing that it affords you pleasure to receive a letter from me, I am inclined to write more frequently than heretofore. My health still continues excellent. You need not apologize about your letters. They afford me much more pleasure than anything else here. If James is inclined to stay when the weather is too bad to work and assist you about making fires and feeding, I will be pleased to have him to do so; and if there is any suitable weather for getting wood, let him do so and I will pay him for it. Even if he hauls more than you use during my absence, there is no loss. I wrote to Edgar about getting some grass seed and having it sowed. James might do that if he has not got employment anywhere else.

I do not know how people get out such extravagant reports about my making money, and if I had changed my politics it is strange the other side don't find it out. I have uniformly voted in Congress with the most radical Democrats there, and we have some who have withstood the terrors of this Administration during the darkest hours of our country's history.

In regard to the Swamplands, the county court, some five or six years ago employed me to make the proof and attend to getting back the money for the Swamp lands of Moultrie county which had been sold by the General Government. I spent some three or four hundred dollars of my own money in attending to the matter and have never received a single cent in return. I undertook the matter at the urgent solicitation of the County Court when Elder and Purvis were the Judges, and did it very much against my own will. If I should ever succeed in getting the money for the County, what I would get under my contract would not half pay me for my trouble and what I have spent in attending to the matter. If any of my friends think I am making too much out of it, if they will refund to me what I have spent, in gold, (the kind of money I paid out) with ten percent interest and relieve me of my obligations to the county, they are welcome to take the contract off my hands and my labor and trouble may go for nothing.

As I do not like to risk my Judgment on a cloak, I will send to Philadelphia in a few days by your uncle John for one and forward it to you by Express. One of his daughters has been employed in a large cloak store, and by her aid, he can get you a much better one than I could.

I write this mostly on business, and as the Democratic caucus meets tonight, I write in great haste. Give my love to mother and the children – Tell them (the children) that Pa says they must mind what Ma says to them; that Pa loves them all dearly, and when he comes home will bring them some nice presents.

If I find Congress is going to remain in session until July I will come home about the middle of March. If we can adjourn as early as May I will not come home until the close of the session. For my sake, take good care of your self and the children. If you continue to love me I shall be happy. Give my respects to Jane. I am yours only,

John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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Washington City  
February 14, 1864

My Dear Roxa,

When I take my pen in hand to write you a few lines, my mind is carried back to the happy days I have spent with you. I even now am thinking of the days of our courtship when we used to sit in your father's porch and talk of love and of the enjoyments of life, when we should become united by the tender relations of husband and wife – when we walked on the Prairie in the shadow of the evening and first learned to repose in each other that mutual confidence, which I thank God after long years and the many struggles incident to life, has never been broken. When we first pledged ourselves to share together the joys and sorrows of the world .... I almost realize the emotion I felt when the word was pronounced that made us husband and wife. Since then the nearest and dearest pledges of love have been added in that we have children to call us father and mother. I have never so fully realized that my happiness wholly depended on you as since this long separation. I begin to count the weeks and days intervening before the time I hope to meet you. If I again meet you and the children all of us in health, I am certain that that day will be the happiest one of my life.

My health continues good. I want you to get cloaks for the children and whatever may be necessary to make you and them comfortable. I shall in future devote more of my time and money in procuring whatever will render you happy than I have in times past. I know that when I shall have done my best, I will be greatly your debtor. I wish you would name the babe. I believe I have furnished names for all the children except Hartwell, and I think you ought to name this one. I will be satisfied with any short name you may select. Laura is a very pretty name. I was very glad to hear that Hartwell is going to be a good boy. I know Emma and Rosa will be good girls because they want to please ma and Pa. If they were to be rude or naughty, I would be so sorry. You must tell them I said so. If they hear children speak bad words, they must go away and not play with them. They will soon be large girls and if they want to have kind friends, they must behave well. Tell Walter that Pa wants to see him. Oh, there is no place like home. The only objection I have to your letters is that they are too short and I don't receive enough of them. I cannot complain of this however, as I know your opportunities for writing are not good. Kiss the children for me. Give my respects to Jane and to all the relatives and neighbors. Not forgetting the old people Mr. and Mrs. Wright and Mr. and Mrs. Shepherd. Remember, if all goes well in a little more than a month I will be at home.

I am yours only,  
John R. Eden.

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Washington City  
March 6, 1864

My Dear Roxa –

Yours of the 28<sup>th</sup> has been received. My health continues good. This has been a very lonesome Sunday for me. The weather cloudy and gloomy and I all alone. I took a very long walk in the City. I am flattering myself if everything continues favorable I will have but one more Sunday to spend until I will be with you. You need not fear that home will be wanting in attractions to me. You must not be gloomy. You ought to go to church frequently and also visit your friends. If I did not have so much work to do, I do not know how I could possibly put in my time away from you. I have worked so hard this winter that I have not gained flesh as I usually do in cold weather.

I was very glad to hear that everything was going on so well at home. I know that you are always inclined to borrow trouble. If you would be more cheerful you would be much happier yourself and add also to my happiness. I have no cause of complaint for we cannot change our natures, and I do not believe that anyone ever had a more kind and devoted wife than you have always been to me. Do not be discouraged about our children. I know that I am not very well calculated to govern children, but I think you are. The main point is to teach them to be truthful, well behaved and virtuous. I think all these things can be taught to them when quite young, and I know the mother can have more influence in forming their characters on all these points than any other person. Every good man and woman had a good mother, and very few bad ones were raised by a good mother. Home is the school in which character is formed and all the most important lessons of life are learned. Were it not on account of the children, I would like to live in a city. I would rather raise them in the wilderness where they would see no one but the most

uncouth backward man, than in the nurseries of vice and crime, the cities.

Say a kind word to each one of the children for me. May the Lord bless our babes.

Give my love to mother and all the relatives; also give my respects to Jane and all our friends. And do not forget that my whole happiness depends on you. For many long years before I saw you that tenderest of all sentiments which at sometime glows in the heart of every real person, seemed perfectly insensible! When we first met it began to revive. As our acquaintance ripened into mutual confidence, it kindled into love; and since we have embarked on the voyage [?] of life together, each day has added something to strengthen the affection thus formed. Adieu! I am yours,

John R. Eden

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Clark Co. Illinois  
March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1864

J. Meeker Esq.  
Dear Sir –

I left Charleston yesterday during the riot because I did not deem it safe for me to remain there. After I had left I did not return because I thought from the best information I could get that it would not be safe for me to return during the excitement. I expect to go on immediately to Washington.

Tell the people to remain quietly at home and if possible let this excitement pass away.

The affair at Charleston was terrible. From the best information I can get, six or seven persons were killed and twelve or fifteen wounded, part of both being citizens and part soldiers. I will write again soon.

Yours truly,  
John R. Eden

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Washington City  
April 13<sup>th</sup> 1864.

My Dear Roxa,

Your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> inst. was received by me this day. It was the first word I had heard from you since I left home. I was very anxious indeed to hear from you and I feel truly grateful that I have been permitted to receive this letter and one more, by the silent words of the pen to hear that you are well. My health is good and my spirits much better than when I wrote you from Wheeling. I still however have a dread on my mind lest my friends may suffer at the hands of cowardly and brutal men, for no other reason than that they are my friends and felt a deep interest in my welfare when I was supposed to be in danger. I do hope that they will act wisely and prudently so as if possible to avoid the persecutions of those who have it in their power to do them a very great injury.

As I suppose that neither you nor my friends at home have the remotest idea as to what actually did occur at Charleston, none of the accounts that I have seen being true, I propose to state to you what I saw and heard and what I believe to be substantially the truth. I reached Charleston between one and two o'clock and stopped there, no more apprehensive of danger than I now am. When at Mattoon I heard from citizens and soldiers that the soldiers at Charleston were to come to Mattoon on the next train, which would leave Charleston between two and three o'clock. I think that Cols. True and Mitchel both went to Charleston on the same train that I did. When I went up to the Hotel at Charleston I saw that there were a good many people in town and a

very considerable number of soldiers, many of whom were drunk. The word there also was that the soldiers were to leave there on the next train going west. As soon as I got my dinner I went over to the court house. On my way I saw that there was a good deal of excitement and heard that a number of citizens had been badly abused by the soldiers during the day. When I went in to the court house, the court being in session, I told my friends that owing to the excitement I did not deem it prudent to speak. In this opinion they concurred and so I declined speaking. After remaining in the courthouse a short time, I went out in company with Mr. Scofield to the south side of the court house square, and walked half way round on the east to the opposite point on the north side. During the time we were taking this walk, the soldiers were very noisy and boisterous on the west side of the square. About this time the train came in from the east. We saw a crowd of soldiers coming up from toward the Depot. They were very noisy but we could not tell what they said. At this point we met a friend coming up from the same direction who remarked to us, "There is going to be trouble, the Colonel has countermanded the order for them to leave on this train, and they are coming up here swearing that they are going to clean out the Copperheads." We went in to the court house. The west door was fastened on account of the wind blowing very hard from that direction. In about five minutes after we went in, I heard a fierce yell just west of the courthouse, followed almost immediately by a single pistol shot. After an interval of perhaps a half a minute, there was a volley and a great many shots fired in rapid succession. The balls came in at the windows of the court house, rattling against the walls of the house and the bunches like hailstones in a hail storm. No one in the house could see the persons engaged in the fight. Everybody rushed out at the East door. Mr. Schofield and myself crossed the street together. From what we had heard when out a few minutes before, we supposed that an attack had been made upon the court house because it was supposed that I would commence speaking about that time. We had not the remotest idea that any resistance was being made to the soldiers. We saw one man as we rushed out who was shot in the leg before leaving the house. With what light we had on the subject, we deemed it prudent to leave, which we did. We walked out two miles East where we waited perhaps two hours to get news from town. We sent a young man in who reported to us for the first time that some of the citizens participated in the fight and that several soldiers had been killed. He also reported that two citizens had been shot and killed by the soldiers since the fight, that there was great excitement in town, and that he did not deem it safe for us to return.

We then hired a man to take us in a wagon out to Mr. Robinson's house where we staid that (Monday) night. We remained in that neighborhood until two o'clock on Tuesday. We then started to Marshall on horseback, reached there that evening and I remained there all night. On Wednesday morning, I took the Hack for Terre Haute and that evening took the train for Washington and arrived here on Friday evening. And now you have all that I saw. I however heard the evening of the fight how it commenced and all about it from four or five gentlemen who saw it from the beginning. I have not time to give their story. Suffice it to say that their account is entirely different from what is published and puts the blame almost entirely upon a few drunken soldiers. I will not vouch for the truth of anything that I did not see. Of one thing however I am certain, and that is that the various accounts which have been telegraphed to all parts of the country are total perversions of fact.

I do hope that our people will be permitted to attend to their peaceful avocations without military interference. And to this end they ought to use caution and prudence; ready at all times to submit to and \_\_\_\_\_.

You may show this to any of the friends to whom you may desire to make known my sentiments. Give my love to Mother and the children and my respects to Jane and all the relatives and friends.

I remain as heretofore.

Yours,  
John R. Eden

Do not fail to write immediately.

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Washington City  
April 29, 1864

My Dear Roxa,

Your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> inst. has been received. I was greatly pleased to learn that you were all well but very sorry that you continued so gloomy. You ought to cheer up and not be vexing yourself about imaginary dangers in the future. You only

make yourself miserable without doing any possible good. I am in no sort of danger here and before I come home the probability is that the present excitement will be over .

You should remember that the same men who are now so actively attempting to excite the hostility of the soldiers against me have been engaged in the same business for the last three years, and that though I have been constantly travelling in all parts of the country, no soldier has upon any occasion offered me even an insult. At Charleston before the riot, I passed frequently and freely among them without molestation, and though it is probable that owing to the excitement attending the riot and by the instigation of Noyes, Porter, True and other thieves and murderers, I would not have been safe, yet it is not probable that such things will often occur. You say truly that you know that I am the friend of the soldiers whose conduct is worthy of friendship. I have shown this by voting upon every occasion to increase their pay, and the miserable lying scoundrel who would like to have the soldiers assault me because they are too cowardly to do it themselves cannot point to an instance where a soldier or soldier's family needed assistance and I failed to give aid when asked. Under these circumstances I think you can rest secure.

John writes me that the returned soldiers in our county conduct themselves with propriety. Under these circumstances I think our friends ought to show them all proper attention. If I were at home I should do so and have no doubt but all fair men among them would be my friends. Enough of this.

My health is good. I ought to apologize to you for my neglect in sending you money. I enclose you forty dollars in a draft for which Edgar will give you the money. I will send you some more in a few days.

Give my respects to our good neighbors, my love to mother, our children and relatives, and my kind regards to Jane for all she has done for you during my absence from home. I look forward with pleasing anticipation to the time, I hope not very distant, when I will again be permitted to enjoy your company and to share with you your joys and sorrows at our own home now consecrated by so many pleasant associations during almost eight years of our happy union.

May a kind Providence watch over and protect you and our children.

Adieu,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1864

My Dear Roxa,

Your letters of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> inst. have been received. The information in regard to the sickness of Hartwell gives me great uneasiness. I know that you will take just as good care of him as he would receive if I were there, yet I feel that I ought to be at home to assist you in taking care of him. I do not know that I ever advised you too, but I suppose of course that if he should become dangerous you would notify me by telegraph. In any case of bad sickness in the family, I want you to notify me by telegraph.

I shall not write much more today. My health is very good, and if I knew you were all well at home my spirits would be very good. I hope you will write to me often. I will send you some more money by my next letter.

The fighting is still going on in Virginia. The army under Sigel in the Shenendoah Valley has been defeated. Also the army under Butler operating south of the James River has been defeated. It is rumored that the fight was renewed day before yesterday between the Armies of Grant and Lee. I do not know whether the rumors are true or false. The losses in killed and wounded in these recent battles have been truly frightful. It looks as though this war would continue until the able bodied men in the country will be either killed or wounded, and that the balance of the people would die of famine and pestilence.

Do not fail to write soon and often. Give my love to mother and to the children and my respects to our good neighbors.

If it is necessary for you to have Jane's assistance during my absence, give her two dollars per week.

I remain yours only,  
John R. Eden

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Washington City,  
January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1865

My Dear Roxa,

Just after I had mailed my last letter, I received yours of the 1<sup>st</sup> inst. I write this in the midst of the confusion of a session of the House and you must excuse the manner and the matter. My health continues excellent and my only anxiety is for you and the children.

Your letter gave me some uneasiness in regard to the children. I do hope you will take great care of them.

I sent you forty dollars by my last letter. Let me know whether or not you have received it, also whether or not you need any more just now.

As a matter of course during these uncertain times we cannot make any extensive arrangements for the future. I am becoming reconciled to do the best I can until there is a change for the better. I do not expect that change to come until the whole people have undergone great suffering. I see no way now to avoid or mitigate the evils that must befall the people. God knows that I have used my humble abilities to save them from the distresses that are now inevitable. But I still have hope that after awhile we will emerge from these difficulties and greatly chastened will again pursue a course of peace and comparative happiness.

I am becoming so anxious to see you that I doubt very much if I can remain here until the close of the session. I once thought that happiness might be found in the pursuits of official life. I now look for happiness at home!

If I could only talk to you I would say many things that I now have not time to write.

I want to see you worse than I ever did in my life. I think when I come home you will find no excuse to complain of my not talking. I could talk to you a week now I know.

Write me a long letter and I will write you a longer and a better one next time.

Tell Emma and Rose and Hartwell and Walter that they must not forget their Pa or ever disobey their Ma. Kiss Belle for me. Give my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Wright and the friends generally. Tell James and Eliza not to get married until I get home and we will give them a fine wedding dinner. I think of you always. I am yours,

John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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Washington City  
January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1865.

My Dear Roxa,

Your letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> has been received. I am greatly obliged to you for it. I was anxious to hear about Rose. My health continues most excellent. In that one thing I am greatly blessed.

I send you today your furs, by Express to Mattoon. Also your shoes. I suppose they will reach there by the time the letter reaches you. I have paid the charges. They are in a small box and so fixed up that they cannot be soiled. You ought to send for them at once. If the mail is carried in a hack or buggy, the driver can take them to you.

I got you a cape and muff of the very best quality of mink. I took the judgment of a member from Ohio, a particular friend of mine, he being a good judge of furs. He purchased the same quality for his Daughter. Your shoes I hope will be most excellent for the season of the year.

These things cost much more than you would suppose but I got them on purpose to please you and I do hope they will. Furs you know will last a great while and unless they are fine are very poor ornaments. Write me and let me know when you receive these things.

I have nothing in the way of news to write. I am most desperately homesick and the nearer the time approaches for me to leave here, the more anxious I am to leave.

I do wish you could come on here and see this eastern country. If I did not know that you cannot leave our children I would insist on your coming. If I could know that they were properly cared for and have you with me the remainder of the session, I would rejoice indeed. Why is it when my happiness depends wholly on your society that we are separated so much. It seems to me that since we have been married the fates required that I should nearly always be from home.

Oh, if I could only see you. You are so kind; your friendship so disinterested, your love so pure, that I long to see the day when I can once more enjoy your society! But unavailing regrets are useless; the hour has almost arrived for me to go to the House and witness another day of wrangling among men called "Honorable" but many of whom owe all their prominence to the most corrupt practices.

Speak kindly to the children in my name! Do not forget to kiss the little Belle for me. Give my love to mother and the other relatives and my respects to Eliza, James and our kind neighbors.

Yours affectionately,  
"Rice"

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Washington City  
December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1867

Roxa,

Dear: I must caution you to show my letters to no one, for when I go to write to you I have a meekness ["weakness?"] I would not like for the world to see. I find first I must scold you a little. I received John's letter, dated the 21<sup>st</sup> inst. from which I was glad to learn that you were well. But why have you not written to me. A letter from you gives me the next greatest pleasure to being with you. Does my absence cause you to forget me? If I believed it, I would be miserable. Every day since we first pledged our mutual love you have grown more dear to me. Without you my life would be a blank! Without your love, unchangeable as the moral law, the world to me would be a desolate waste. But I feel childish at myself to be writing love letters; I can however write no other kind to you.

I wish you could come and see me. If our dear little babe was a few months older, I would insist on you coming. I have got to be so tidy. I know you would be pleased. I shave every other day and change shirts as often. Wash myself clean and nice every morning with soap; comb my hair, brush carefully my nice black suit before going out; wear a fine silk hat and silk gloves and have my boots carefully blacked. I state this to you because I think it will please you. I have just ordered a new suit of heavier clothes made, those I have being too light for winter. Do not tell these things to our neighbors. They might think me proud. It is rather a necessity here. How did you spend your Christmas? It was rather dull here. I called on Mrs. Morrison and Mrs. Knapp (wives of two of our Illinois members) that day. In the evening my Landlady invited me in to take a cup of eggnog. She has a very pretty young daughter who sometimes amuses me by playing on the piano and singing. On this occasion they had a very pleasant little party; with good egg-nog, good wine, and nice cake. I retired early which was the close of my Christmas. Your Uncle John Hartwell is still here. He calls to see me nearly every day. He is a very adequate companion. More so to me, because he talks a great deal about you. You seem to be a favorite with him. My stay here would be very pleasant were it not for my separation from you and the children.

I feel uneasy about mother. Be certain to let her know that I remember her always in my letters. A word for the children. "Emma and Rosa, you must be good girls and try to learn your lessons well. Do not go out without asking your Ma. Do not romp and play on the streets. Never play with bad children who speak ugly words." From your Pa.

"Hartwell, you must always do what Ma tells you, always speak the truth, do not act ugly." From your Pa.

And now Roxa, tell Walter he must not forget his Pa. Kiss our innocent babe for me and tell all the children that Pa loves them. Give my respects to Jane and my thanks also for her kindness to you. If James is still with you, give my respects to him also.

You must write to me often if you want me to be happy.

I am still only yours –

John R. Eden

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Washington City  
May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1874

My Dear Rose,

We were very glad to receive your letter a day or two ago. And I am especially pleased that you have the courage to remain at school when your sister is not able to be with you. I think we will get home in time to be at your school when it closes, and your ma may go home sooner. We had a letter from Emma also from Hartwell on yesterday. They were all well. I wrote to Emma today; and sent her the money to pay expenses and directed that she and Hartwell should visit you this week. Do not fail to write us –

Your ma joins in sending love to you.

I am affectionately yours,

John R. Eden

[Editor's note; Rose Eden, born November 2, 1858, was 15 years old in the spring of 1874.]

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1875

My Dear daughters,

I think I have again been somewhat neglectful about writing you. One reason of my delay is that I have nothing whatever of interest to write. For two or three weeks your ma has not been getting along well. She took a very violent cold and it left her very weak. She is now almost well of the cold; and I hope when it no longer hurts her that she will then commence to improve. She takes a ride every day when the weather will admit of it. But we have had a very great amount of bad weather. At length it has got warm, but it is very wet. The spring is about one month later than usual. Your ma has a horse that she drives for herself [torn paper] ...fishing one day ...

Our ... looks beautiful with the fine bluegrass lawn all around, but the house looks desolate and lonely within. Everything lies around much as when you left home.

I begin to want to see you very much and am counting the days as they pass, intervening between the present and the near future when we expect to see you. It begins to look almost as though we had no home. If your ma could only get well so we could commence reforming the old home circle I think we would all be very happy.

My health continues most well and the boys are doing splendidly. Hartwell looks like a young man. I want you to be cheerful and happy and to remember that we submit to the separation from you [paper torn ... bottom of sheet missing ...]

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Sullivan  
July 28<sup>th</sup>, 187\_

My Dear Daughters,

I have not been as prompt writing you as I ought. I have been from Home two or three times during the last week and that will account for it.

Your ma is improving very nicely again. She had a back set [setback?] two or three weeks ago from over eating which stopped improvement for a time. She is now over it and doing well again. She and the boys have gone today to Decatur for the double purpose, one of seeing Barnum's show and getting things preparatory to their expected trip East in September. It rains here every day and night. It is raining now. The rivers are all full and the roads bad. This has been the wettest season I ever saw in Illinois.

Your letters are received regularly and afford us the very highest pleasure. The last we had was Rose's letter to her ma. I am very glad to hear that you are progressing so well with your studies during vacation; and fervently hope that you may reach your much coveted advancement in your classes. At the same time I must warn you during the hot season to take plenty of recreation and be extremely careful of health. I hope you are all well. I miss Belle so much because she had been so consistently with us. Should we all have health the time will soon pass when we can all be together. Your ma and the boys join me in sending love and kindly remembrances. Be of good cheer, obey all \_\_\_ the school, and do not .... [paper torn].

John R. \_\_\_

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Sullivan, Ill.  
Oct 31<sup>st</sup>, 1875

My dear Daughters,

I feel lonely this Sabbath day. Everything is so quiet and still and the leaves and the grass are so tinged by the autumn frosts, that nature seems asleep. Your ma has gone to church and Belle with her pale face sits at the table cutting paper dolls and I am trying to talk to my dear children a thousand miles away. Fancy carries my mind back to the few years ago when you were all

very little children and we were all at home and you were all so happy. You are now preparing yourselves for the stern duties of life, which will come whether bidden or not, and whilst the buoyant days of childhood will return to you no more, I do feel that your diligence and industry in preparing for the future will be the means of many bright days of sunshine for you in your later life. But these reflections must pass away.

Dear little Belle has been sick but is now much better. She caught cold and had her usual attack of sore throat. She was quite sick three or four days.

Your ma is about as usual. We had a hard rain storm night before last and last night a sharp freeze. Mr. Brightman is now our landlord and your Uncle Edgar's folks are just common boarders.

We are made happy only once a week by the receipt of a letter from one of you. The last was from Emma to Belle.

I can write no more now. I hope to see you before many more weeks roll around.

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives,  
Washington D.C. March 23, 1876

My Dear son,

Your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> has been received. I was glad to hear from you; it has been so long since I heard from home that I was getting uneasy. We are all well here; or at least the children were well last Sunday.

I think the best way to fix the fence will be to get some rails and stake and render [?] it wherever the cattle can get through the Hedge. I think there are some rails where the hay stacks used to be. If Wicks [?] don't want to fix the fence, between his twenty acre field and forty acre field, you can get some rails there. If you can get them no where else you can get them temporarily south of the meadow, between the meadow and Wicks field lying south of Milligan's. But if you can get them anywhere else I would rather you would not get them there. You can trim the East half of the hedge between Lilly and me, and half of the hedge between Davis and me; and use that if you want to on the East hedge. If you can't trim the Hedge you may get Mr. Allen to help you. You can get a part of the land and let Mr. Allen have it if he desires to let you have it. I am writing whilst the House is in session and cannot write to do any good.

So I will come to a close and promise to write more next time. You must write very often. Tell me how you are getting along. Tell me how your eyes are. Are you going anything for them. Do not fail to write soon.

You must be kind to your ma, and to Belle and be a good boy. Go to Sunday school and to church and choose your associates among respectable and good people.

I see in the papers that John Perryman killed his brother James. Their father and mother were good to them and as good people as ever lived in Sullivan. These boys were raised tenderly and had as good a prospect for life as any boys that were ever raised in Sullivan. By keeping bad company about Saloons and drinking whiskey, one of them killed his brother and is now an outcast and the family is bowed down with grief. Avoid bad company if you would be useful and respectable.

Affectionately yours,

John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1876

My Dear Daughters, Emma & Rose,

I received your beautiful letters, Emma's of the 16<sup>th</sup> and Rose's of the 19<sup>th</sup>, and the hot weather is my excuse for answering both in one. My health continues very good. The weather has been more oppressively hot. I fear we will be detained here two weeks yet.

I have absolutely no news. I am very glad indeed to hear that Hartwell is getting along so well fencing.

Mrs. Hartzell and Mrs. Sparks are both here yet, though Mrs. Sparks will go home tonight. The Hotel is full of transient boarders.

Some nights the new visitors try to sing me to sleep, but when it is so excessively hot the music is hardly sufficient.

I was exceedingly glad to learn you were all well and sorry to hear of so much sickness in town.

Give my love to all the family. I am absolutely homesick.

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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Charleston, South Carolina  
Dec. 20, 1876

My Dear good wife,

You will see from the caption of this letter that I have changed my location. We are now in the historic City of Charleston where the democracy in 1860 was rent in twain, but where the first gun was fired in the late Civil War, which wrought such sore evils upon the country. As this people have piously [?] said, they have been sorely punished.

They are ruled by [a] set of knaves and thieves aided by a mass of ignorant barbarians, upheld and sustained in power by federal bayonets.

There is no government anywhere among civilized men so perfectly horrible as the government of South Carolina. The Government of Turkey is immeasurably superior to it. Yet the people of the north who pride themselves on their superior civilization permit a vindictive President to inflict this government on these people, against their will, plainly expressed at their ballot box! But I have not time to write a political letter.

I wrote you in my last that I would come home during the Holidays. This I cannot do. I will be detained here until the middle or last of next week, which will prevent it. I am very, very anxious to see you all but I cannot do it. I hope you are all well. I have not heard from the children since leaving Washington. My health is very good. The weather is very cold here for this latitude. I had a letter from Mr. Clark dated on the 16<sup>th</sup>. I am very anxious to hear from you.

Love to Emma, Hartwell & yourself. Yours –

John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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John R. Eden to \_\_\_\_\_ {Rose, by process of elimination}

House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1877

My Dear Daughter –

I found in my overcoat pocket a pair of ladies kid gloves, brownish color, no 6 ½, which came from Perry's and I presume they must be yours, but I don't know how they got there. I have no recollection of them. As I have no way of sending them to you, I will take them home for Emma and you can get another pair.

Love to Belle,

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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John R. Eden to \_\_\_\_\_ [Rose?], undated but sometime in 1877  
First sheet[s] missing.

Eden & Clark  
Opera Building  
Sullivan, Illinois 1877

[Cassius C. Clark, State's Attorney for Moultrie Co.]

.....

as much as you will miss them. I depend on you to take good care of Belle and to give good advice to Walt, and to learn a great deal yourself.

Your school days will now very soon be over. If your ma and I live, we will very soon grow old and will have no joy left us except our children. Should they be intelligent and happy and respected, I shall regard my life of toil fully repaid. I am now growing anxious for school days for all to be over, that the Separation incident to it may come to a close. Kiss Belle for me. Give love to Walt –

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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Sullivan, Ill.  
March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1877

My Dear Daughter,

We received your letter this morning, written to your ma. We were sorry to hear of your illness, and hope you are quite well by this time.

I hope Walt is much better by this time. I became worried about him, and on Monday last telegraphed to Father Healy to know how he was. I got a dispatch from him the same day saying he was getting better. Should he be comfortable and improving, so that he will be likely to be able before long to go on with his studies, he had better remain where he is. There is nothing in the world here for him to do, only should he be able to go on with his studies, to come home would simply be a loss of three months very valuable time. I hope he is much better. If he is not likely to be able to go on with his studies pretty soon, that would make a difference.

When leaving I told you if any of you became much sick to let me know by telegraph; this I enjoin you to do. In such case, if you should need an attending physician for any of you, I desire that Dr. Garnett should be called upon. This I forgot to tell you before leaving. I presume that within two months I will be at Washington.

Let me know in your letters what you may need – more clothing or anything else – and I will forward it.

The weather he is very bad. We are all well – Have no news.

Give much love to Belle and Walter and receive the same for yourself.

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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Sullivan, Ill.  
May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1877

My Dear Rose,

I have time this morning before the mail closes to write you but a line. We are all well. We were very greatly pleased to get the letters from you and Belle, which did not reach us until Saturday. We were becoming impatient. We were very glad to get your tickets.

The called session will not be until October. So I expect I will not come to Washington until just before distribution. [“Distribution” refers to the academic awards granted by the Academy of the Visitation in Georgetown, which Rose attended.]

I enclose you five dollars. Will send you some more in two or three days – when I will write you. Anything that is here, that you will want at the distribution, I can take to you when I go. I suppose we can get Belle’s distribution dress ready made after I go there. Write me and let me know everything you want. Your ma wants Belle to have a dress to wear after she gets home. She will want a dress at school this summer which you must get for her.

The weather has continued wretchedly bad. It rains every day – a cold rain. There is no corn planted and no prospect of planting any.

Give my love to Belle – and receive to yourself the same.

Affectionately yours –

John R. Eden

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Sullivan, Illinois  
June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1877

My Dear Rose,

Tis Saturday evening after five o’clock and no letter from the children this week. This makes us uneasy, and I write a hasty line to urge you to write us immediately, as we will be uneasy about you until we get a letter.

We are all as well as usual. Emma & Jennie Robinson will go with me to Washington. We expect to start on Friday before distribution.

I have not time to write more. I am a good deal uneasy about you. Do not fail to write. Give much love to Belle, and

the same for yourself.

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1877

My Dear Daughter Rose –

Your letter was received, for which I am greatly obliged. I should have written to your ma Sunday last, but the boys were here and both wrote home that day. Having received yours I will now write you and write your ma next time. I was down to see the boys this afternoon. They are both well. I sent to New York for glasses for Hartwell, under the direction of Dr. Morrison. He thinks the glasses will cure the eyes.

I have nothing of importance to write. I never saw it so dull in Washington when Congress was in session. I saw Mr. Barker today. He and Mrs. Barker are living at the national Hotel.

I am glad you have finally found a name for the babe. Blanche I think is a very pretty name.

I hope Belle has quite recovered from her sore throat.

The committees were announced in the House yesterday. You will see the list in the paper I send home today.

I cannot as yet tell when I will be able to go home. It may not be before the middle of December though I hope it will be the latter part of this month.

Whilst I entirely approve of your going to balls and card parties at proper places like your Uncle Edgar's occasionally, and frequently to temperance meetings, I hope you will amuse yourselves much more frequently by music and reading, of evenings at home, especially whilst I am away. It will be such good company for your ma. And it is highly important to cultivate habits of study. You and Emma have a good foundation for an education; but you must constantly build on it; and nothing will contribute so much to your happiness through life, as study, and the reading of good books. I am anxious to furnish you any you may desire, \_\_\_ you have not. The attendance at balls and parties, after a while grows tiresome. Much of the company you meet is not particularly edifying. A continuation of habits of study will furnish sources of amusement and of recreation through life; and as you \_\_\_ on, the interest will continue to grow. But I did not start out to write a lecture; nor yet to complain of any failure thus far on your part, but simply to give you some good advice.

Give much love to your ma, and to Blanche and Emma & Belle, and write very often.

Affectionately yours, John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
Nov. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1877

My dear Daughter Rose –

Yours of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst. was about a week reaching me, but I was very glad to get it then. I am very well. I went down to see the boys last Sunday. They look well and seem well. The glasses relieve Hartwell's eyes; his hearing is much better; and he says he is better of his cold. I will go down and see them again on Thursday of this week.

I have delayed writing with the hope I might tell you when I would be at home; but it now really begins to look as though I would not get home until the holiday week.

Unless I can get away in two or three days it won't be worth while for me to go at all. I would like to write a great deal, but I really have nothing to write. Washington is exceedingly dull. Mr. Knapp or Judge Harris and often both of them spend their evening with me, and Mr. Shutt is in and out at all times.

Were it not for the little salary I can save these hard times, I would be tempted to resign and go home.

I am very glad you find it pleasant to spend five evenings of a week at home. By a little pains, home can be made more attractive than any place else. We ought to so regulate our lives as always to be happier at home than at any other place; and then an occasional absence from home is enjoyed more on account of the anticipated joyful return than on account of anything that occurs during our absence.

I am glad to learn by your letter that Belle was about her lessons. I hope she will learn very fast. Do not fail to keep up your French by talking it and reading it.

I do not write to Emma or Belle because they do not write to me. Give much love to all and kiss Blanch for me.

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1878

My Dear daughter Rose,

Your very welcome letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst. was received in due time. My health is good. I have not seen Walt since last Sunday. I expect to go down there tomorrow. We have had about as bad weather here for the last two weeks as you could possibly have in Sullivan. This is really the first bright day we have had in a long time.

We have been engaged all this week in passing a Resolution to investigate frauds in the last Presidential election. I thought at one time this delay would postpone the time of adjournment to a late day. But we got through our resolution on yesterday and I now expect we will get ready to adjourn from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> of June.

I was never so anxious to get out of Washington as now. I want to see you all very much. Our Hotel will close the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, and I suppose we will then have to find new quarters. If I were at home and you were at Washington, I could think of much to write that would interest you, but I know of nothing here in which you would feel the slightest interest and hence I will close.

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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Tell Emma and Belle that if they want any letters from me they must write. With much love to all the dear ones at home, I am

Affectionately yours –  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1879

My Dear good wife –

I am very well, but I am lonely, very lonely. This is Sunday, always a dull day in Washington, but I think this is the dullest day I ever saw. I long for the time when I can leave here and go home.

I must complain about the neglect in writing to me. The last letter I received from home was written by Hartwell on the 9<sup>th</sup>, ten days ago. I am very anxious to hear from you all. The dear little Blanch is the only one of you that cannot write to me, and I want to hear from her. I know you have a bad chance to write but I think there is but little excuse for the children not writing.

Every day for a week I have looked anxiously for a letter, never doubting but the next mail would bring it. Ten or twelve days ago, I wrote you and sent a check for fifteen dollars. I have not heard whether you received that or not. At the same time I sent one to Trower for \$300.00 and I have not heard from him. I have not even had a paper this week from Sullivan. I do hope in the future you will not be so neglectful. I have no news to write, and will bring my letter to a close. With much love to all, I am.

Yours,  
John R. Eden

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John R. Eden to Roxa, undated ... page(s) missing

... Do not fail to write soon and often. Give my love to mother and to the children and relatives and my respects to our good neighbors.

If it is necessary for you to have June's assistance during my absence, give her two dollars per week.

I remain yours only,

John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1886

My Dear Rose,

This is my 60<sup>th</sup> birthday, and I only have the promise of ten more years to fill out the three score and ten. I ought to have answered your letter sooner, but when I was about to answer yours, I received one from your ma and I had to attend to that first.

Belle was in day before yesterday. She is very well and is doing first rate in her studies.

The weather was so bad yesterday, that I did not go to Georgetown.

I commenced at three o'clock yesterday morning and wrote letters all day, which brought me nearly up with my correspondence.

My health continues very good. I take remarkably good care of myself, except I work very hard. I go to bed early, hardly ever leave my room at night, eat but twice a day, and sparingly at that. My breakfast consists of fried oysters, soft boiled eggs, and sometimes a piece of sausage.

I have nothing new to write. With much love to all at home, and hoping to soon hear from you –

I am yours affectionately,

John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1886

My Dear Daughter Rose –

I wrote your ma today about my arrival here and how I found Belle and as to the state of my health. My great object in life is, and for long years has been, to secure the happiness of my dear children and their good mother. To accomplish this I am willing to undergo fatigue and toil and to endure trials. I have sometimes thought I have not talked as freely as I ought to my daughters in reference to some matters upon which their happiness wholly depends. I have had much more experience in life than any of you, and I know the faults and weaknesses of men better than it would be possible for you to know them. All true men admire modesty and a good degree of reserve in a woman more than any other qualities, and a slight and wholly innocent departure from their ideal of propriety in these regards is liable to produce an unfavorable opinion in the mind of man, especially if he is really a lover.

I have presumed this much because I have heard a rumor that you might be engaged to be married. To this I offer no objection provided your mind is at rest as to the wisdom of your choice. But if the rumor be true, you have reached the most critical period in the life of a young woman. At all times a circumspect and womanly course of conduct toward the opposite sex is of the first importance; but when an engagement exists, these forces are of still greater value for the reason that your affianced, while admiring them in all women, adores them in the woman he loves. Any departure, however slight, from the strict line of propriety of conduct in his presence would lead him to suspect there had been a similar course of conduct in the presence of others.

I do not admire long courtships and have less regard for long engagements. But sometimes the latter may be unavoidable. My own sense of propriety is against long night walks or rides, and is especially opposed to a young lady and young gentleman sitting up late at night – and I do not think very frequent evening visits at all necessary, and I *know* that all right thinking men agree with me in these matters. A young man who has the proper regard and respect for a young lady will not insist on these things, for he knows that it is of the first importance to her not only [that] she be entirely free from reproach, but [from] even the tongue of the most envenomed slander.

Now my Dear Daughter, what I have said may be unnecessary for I do not know there is anything in the rumor; but the counsel will be good at all times. I have written these lines because I love you, and cannot be near to counsel you, and I can put my thoughts on paper better than I can express them verbally.

I never want you to think it necessary to marry in order to have a house, as long as I have one. It is as much yours as

mine and will be for you all while I live. Hoping that you may be happy and read this letter in the same spirit I have written it, I am with much love to you and all at home,

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1886

My Dear Daughter Rose,

I do not know when I have been as well pleased as when I received your loving and dutiful letter the other day. You and all my children have always been kind and good to me. I can hardly say that I ever received an impatient word from one of you. This is and has been a great source of happiness to me. It has always been my desire to so treat you all as to be worthy of your love and affection. My constant regret has been that I have not been possessed of a sufficient amount of this world's goods to provide for you all as I would wish. Our happiness at last depends on contentment of mind, and this can be received by patience under privations which we cannot avoid. I will have to ask you to excuse me from writing a long letter. My health continues good. Belle was out to see me yesterday. She is well and doing well. If her health is good we will go to church on Sunday.

I received a good long letter from your ma this morning. I want you to write me soon. Belle complains none of you write to her. With much love to all at home, I am

Affectionately yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
May 2, 188\_ [1866]

My Dear Daughter Rose,

Your very welcome letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> inst came to hand this morning. I would like to be at home even if the House was topsy turvy. After a man reaches the age of sixty he has no business to remain from home. But for the meanness of Moulton and some others, I would decline being a candidate for re-nomination. I am tired of the place and will never again like it. I may make a little money out of it should I come back again but not much.

I received Mr. Martin's letter and answered it, of which I suppose he advised you. I will feel very lonely when another one of the family leaves.

I am writing now under the shadows of Sunday evening, and my mind reverts to many happy Sundays. Even to those of youth when I had no cares and I can hear in fancy the songs of praise in the old log church, and am again surrounded by companions, most of whom have passed to the great beyond. But the place where my heart rests is at our home and with our own household. There I have always received the tenderest consideration, and each one of the family group has become interwoven in my affections in such a way, that whether they remain or go out from under the paternal roof, the tie will continue to strengthen until the last tie of earth is broken.

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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Belle and I went today to the largest Catholic Church in the City – I forget the name of it. Yet Belle says you and Emma went to it when you were here. We are both well. I don't want you to build upon delusive hopes about the renomination. Whllst everything is as favorable in Macoupin and Montgomery as I had any reason to expect, the contest is not over and I understand Moulton is using large amounts of money; so that I may be beaten, but I think not. I have not got my heart set on it, however, and I will have very few regrets should I fail. You might write oftener. Mr. Paine is a good neighbor and a good citizen, but a poor politician, and will not be likely to have much effect on the contest for county Treasurer.

With much love to all, I am affectionately,

Your father and devoted friend –

John R. Eden

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Vandalia  
June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1886

My Dear Daughter Rose,

I received your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> last night. I was in the county was the cause of the delay. If you have been able to make your preparations to go to Decatur in my absence, all right. It came too late for me to do anything in time for you to go to Decatur this week. I will be at home on Monday. We can then make arrangements for Belle to come home if we think it advisable; but I would not be willing for her to come home alone.

This is a most desperate fight against me in Fayette. If I had had any idea of the nature of the fight I would have staid at Washington and kept out of it, but I got into it so I could not retreat and had to go through. I think I will carry the county, but my nomination will remain in doubt.

Truly yours,  
John R. Eden

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House of Representatives  
Washington D.C.  
June 25, 1886

My Dear Daughter Rose,

Yours of the 23<sup>rd</sup> inst. is received. I wrote your Ma a note yesterday. I am still in good health and spirits. I saw Henry Smysor yesterday. He said he had returned the money sent to Belle, or rather the registered letter. You can use the money for other purposes and I will get the article you request. You will excuse me for not writing a longer letter.

With much love for all, I am

Your loving father,  
John R. Eden

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[Rose Eden and Ivory John Martin were married June 30, 1886, at the Eden family home in Sullivan, Illinois. For the story of their courtship, see *Ivory and Rose: A Year's Courtship*, edited by R. Eden Martin, Chicago, 1997.]

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
Jan 23, 1887

My Dear Daughter, Rose,

This being Sunday, and remaining in my room all day, I have thought much of the home folks. I had a letter this morning from your ma and that brought home and family more vividly to mind. So I felt like I ought to write to you.

I usually receive the "Progress" Saturday of each week. I accept that as in some measure [a] letter from you and Mr. Martin.

As yet (Sunday evening) I have not seen it. You may imagine my loneliness here now all alone. I have been a great deal in Washington, but as you will remember either your ma has been with me here, or some of the children out at Georgetown at School, so that when Sunday came, I would have a happy home out at the connection at the College. Now I am alone here all day Sunday, and all those I love are a thousand miles away. I will really be glad when the remaining five weeks of the session is over so that I can go home. There is plenty of company here, such as it is. We had society here in great abundance, and friendship as hollow as sin. I know these people here care nothing for me and there is no love lost. The great source of my happiness is the knowledge I have that I have the love and affection of all my children and their good Mother. And I write this letter least you might think that since you have gone out of the immediate family circle, there might be a feeling of indifference toward you. I assure you that I feel as deep an interest in you as before, and as devoted an affection for you as I ever did. I feel somewhat as though I was living my life over in my children.

I understand you have had a very cold winter. Your ma writes me she had not seen you for two weeks on account of the bad weather.

I get but few letters from home except what your ma writes. She has been more regular than usual in her correspondence, and whilst the letters she writes me are partly complaining, looking in the direction of the dark side, I am deeply interested in them and glad to receive them. She and the girls are determined to go West and I expect if they can get money enough, they will be gone before I get home.

The only one of the old set that you knew remaining here is Judge Harris. He is always here. I have not seen Mr. Shutz since I returned. I think he is about used up.

If you can find a convenient time to write me, do so.

Remember me most affectionately to Mr. Martin, and appropriate to yourself a very large share of my love.

Yours,  
John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  
February 16, 1887

My Dear Rose,

I have read and reread your letter of the 28 Jan. and have it before me now. It is a very comforting letter. The girls don't write me very often, but your maw generally writes twice a week. I live now in the past and for wife and children. But for the fact that I am still able to be of some service to them, I would regard my work as being done and as only lingering on the shore waiting for the inevitable crossing over. Yet I am better contented and happier than when you were all little children and I was a much more active man. My children are all bright and intelligent and reasonably well educated and seem to be in a fair way to lead honored and useful lives. When at home they are all near me and what more could I desire. I consider that my lot has been cast in pleasant places.

There are many disappointments in politics. Whilst there are many unworthy men who will draw on me for every kind of assistance and when they can get no more, turn and strike me, there are many who are true and faithful. Whilst there is a great deal to \_\_\_\_\_ in the conduct of the ungrateful, yet it is not all evil. Their conduct makes a contrast when compared with the true and faithful friend without which we would not be able to fully appreciate the virtues of the latter. Upon the whole I will be glad when I get out of this treadmill.

I bend over my desk during all my working hours when not attending to other pressing duties here. I am writing this letter at about five o'clock in the morning. I have been up an hour or two. Since dark last evening I have directed and forwarded two large sacks of documents. I am working hard to get ready to leave. My health continues most excellent. I have some anxiety about your health and do hope that you may be well and to hear from you soon. Give my regards to Mr. Martin. Tell him I will select out and send him such documents as I think will be of interest.

With much love, I am,

John R. Eden

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John R. Eden letter fragment, initial sheet missing, 188\_

House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 188\_

.... Washington seems to have such attraction for the old [members?] that it seems when they go out of Congress they can't remain away. I don't see what they find here so attractive. They could not tie me here if I had no business here. I have no doubt Moulton would be here, if he did not put in all his time electioneering to get back here. I have never known a man to act as meanly as he has. He talks largely at home about what a great man he was and what great things he did when he was here. Nobody here seems to know or care anything about him here. He is simply a braggart. He had no standing in the House.

I am writing this letter before breakfast. I will send you ten dollars in a few days. I am pretty \_\_\_ up. Write often. How is Blanche? I never \_\_\_ any more of her.

With much love to all, I am yours,

John R. Eden

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JOHN R. EDEN 1826 – 1909

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John R. Eden to his granddaughter Olive Eden Martin, daughter of Ivory and Rose. J.K. Martin is Joel Kester Martin, brother of I.J. Martin.

Sullivan, Illinois  
November 18, 1905

[Written on stationery of Eden & Martin, attorneys at law. John R. Eden and J.K. Martin, City Attorney. Envelope addressed to Miss Olive Martin, Urbana, Illinois, No. 914, West Ills. Street. Olive was born April 29, 1887; so in November 1905 she was 18 years old.]

My Dear Olive –

I was quite as well pleased to receive your second letter as the first. I knew you had the capacity to succeed and now I know you have the industry and energy necessary to success. There is one thing you must guard against – you can study intently, but you must have rest and recreation to keep you healthy and strong. This means exercise and plenty of fresh air. The school room is a dull place. And I have no doubt you may sometimes become discouraged; and the only way you can avoid this feeling is by success in your studies. Success will drive away all gloomy feelings and make you cheerful and happy.

Your letter indicates to me that so far you are being successful beyond my expectations. I am growing old, and the chief pleasure of my life is in my children and grandchildren. I do not know who of my grandchildren may become most successful; but I am entirely satisfied with your progress. Should you ever be thrown upon your own resources, the best opening for you is as a teacher. I am not very favorably inclined to positions as typewriters for young ladies in law offices or business houses. I hope and believe that if you continue long enough in your studies, you will be competent to teach even in the high schools and colleges. I am not anxious for you to become a teacher, but I am anxious for you to become an educated and accomplished woman. We live in our life when education becomes necessary, either in business, or even as a member of society.

Excuse a short letter this time as I am somewhat hurried. We are all well. Write frequently.

With much love I am very truly yours, affectionately –

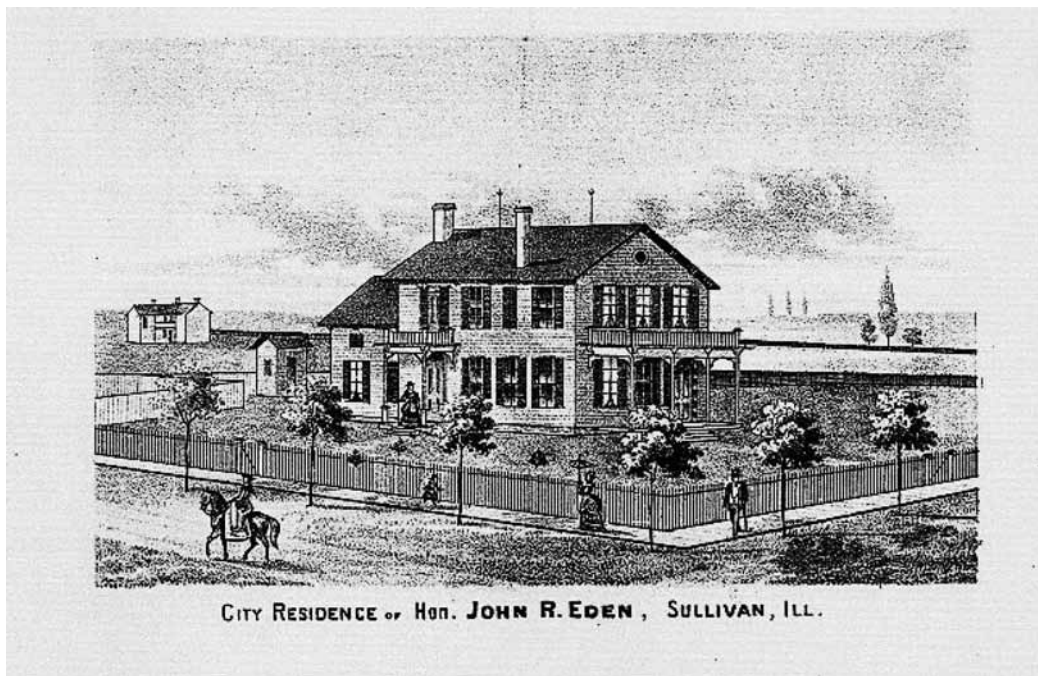
John R. Eden





# XV

FROM ATLAS OF MOULTRIE COUNTY AND  
STATE OF ILLINOIS, CHICAGO, 1875.





# XVI

## NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND NOTE ABOUT JOSEPH E. EDEN

*Decatur Review*, Decatur, Illinois – 6 Dec 1883 – The Eden hotel at Sullivan will be opened this evening with a grand complimentary banquet, tendered Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Eden by the citizens of this place. Wilselmy's orchestra will go over and furnish music for the affair which will eclipse any former social event in Sullivan's history. Many persons in this city have received invitations and several will attend. Tickets cost five dollars per couple.

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*The Daily Review*, Decatur, Illinois – 16 Jan 1902 – Oldest Sullivan Citizen. Past 80 but Still Active in Business. Sullivan, Ills., Jan. 16 – [Special correspondence of The Review] – Joseph E. Eden, one of the oldest citizens of this town was born in Bath County, Ky., in the year 1820, at which place he lived until he was 11 years of age, when he removed with his parents to Rush county, Ind. He attended the country schools in that county. When he became a young man, he taught school in Rush county nine years. He was a popular young man and knew every man in the county and it was said that he had no enemy in that county.

Came to Illinois. He came to Illinois in 1853 and at once engaged in the dry goods business in this city. He conducted the dry goods business here for thirty-five years and also conducted a livery stable and in later years was owner and proprietor of the Eden house, one of the best known hotels in central Illinois. He conducted the hotel until a few years ago when he leased it for a term of years.

His Wife. His wife, Matilda Eden, was in her lifetime one of the most popular landladies in this part of the state and traveling men always tried to reach the Eden house to remain over Sunday.

Mrs. Eden died in 1898 while on a visit to her daughter in Lincoln, Neb.

Postmaster Years Ago. Mr. Eden was postmaster at his place during the administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan and was 'put out' of office as he says the next day after Lincoln was inaugurated president.

He served as county judge five years, during which time some of the most important business was transacted that has ever been transacted in this county. During his term of office the courthouse burned down and the preliminary work for building a new one devolved upon the county officers.

New Railroads. About that time two or three railroad surveys were extended through this county every year and an effort made to get the swamp lands donated to the various wild cat schemes of the railroad companies.

Paid For The Court House. Mr. Eden was largely instrumental in retaining these swamp lands. He had them surveyed, valued and sold and with the proceeds derived from the sale he built the present court house. Although it is a small affair now it was at

that time quite an undertaking.’

With the remainder of the proceeds he urged and finally succeeded in having the county purchase the present county farm, which consists of 160 acres of fine land lying one and one-half miles west of the city. This was a wise purchase as the farm is self-sustaining and one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the county now.

Laid Out The Fair Grounds. In 1872 he purchased the fair grounds at this place and put every tree, shrub and building thereon except one small house.

He was president of the Agricultural association for twenty-five years, during which time some of the most successful fairs were conducted here that have ever been held in this state.

Still in Business. Mr. Eden is still actively engaged in business. He conducts a livery stable and bus line. He has been an Odd Fellow since 1854 and was recently presented with a jewel by the grand lodge of this state.

There are four generations of Mr. Eden’s family now living, viz: Joseph E. Eden, James Finley Eden, his son, A. E. Eden his grandson, and Royal Krebs Eden, his great grandson.

Mr. Eden is well and favorably known all over Moultrie county and his friends are legion.



*The Daily Review*, Decatur, Illinois – 28 Feb 1910 - Made Plans For His Own Funeral – Judge J. E. Eden Dies in Sullivan. Nearly 90 Years of Age. Sullivan, Feb. 28 – Judge Joseph E. Eden, who was born in Bath County, Ky., Sept. 10, 1820, died at the home of his son E. B. Eden on West Harrison street, Saturday night at 10 o’clock. His death was brought on as a result of the fall he sustained several weeks ago when he fell to the floor while attempting to sit down in a chair, and breaking one of his thighs.

Mr. Eden is well known all over the state and has been a lifelong Odd fellow. The Eden house in this city is named after him, he having had it erected several years ago and was in the hotel business for a number of years.

Planned Funeral – He has been in feeble health for a number of years and in January 1905[?] wrote this statement.

January 1, 1905 [?] – I know that I am nearing the end of this life. When it comes I want no funeral discourse, no flowers, no lying in state. If I die today, bury me tomorrow. Song and prayer at the house, band to escort the procession to the cemetery, honors of the order at the grave. Pall bearers, James Dedman, Mat Cummins, William Kirkwood, John R. McClure, Frank Leeds and Tobe Wolfe. Marshall in Command, T. G. Hughs. [Signed] J. E. Eden.

Leaves but Two. Mr. Eden has only two children to survive him, his wife and one son and one daughter, having died a few years ago. The two children who have passed away are Mrs. Link and Finley E. Eden and the two surviving sons are William Eden of Fresno, Cal., and E. B. Eden of this city where he passed away. He has four grandsons, A. E. Eden and Will W. Eden of this city, Joseph Eden of Missouri and Link Eden of California, and one granddaughter, Mrs. Will Sherman of St. Joe, Mo.

35 Years Ran Store. Judge Eden came to Illinois in 1853 and engaged in the dry goods business in Sullivan. For thirty-five years he conducted a store and ran a livery stable also. Later he was owner and proprietor of the Eden House, one of the best known hotels in Central Illinois.

Mrs. Matilda Eden, his wife, died in 1898 while on a visit to her daughter in Lincoln, Neb.

Postmaster; County Judge. Mr. Eden was postmaster at Sullivan during the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan. He was county judge five years. During his term the court house burned and the work of building a new one came on the county officers. He was responsible for many good things being done, such as buying the poor farm.

As He Desired Service. A short funeral discourse was held at the family residence of his son at 2 p.m. Monday under the auspices of the Independent Order of I. O. O. F., only song and a prayer being used as requested by Mr. Eden, interment following at Greenhill Cemetery. [?] indicated difficulty in reading the print]

FROM *Moultrie County Heritage*

SULLIVAN MAN STUDIED HARD WAY

by

Sallie Bristow

We often hear that Abe Lincoln obtained his education, by reading borrowed books beside the light from a fireplace. A Sullivan lawyer could have topped him in that. Joseph E. Eden was born in Bath County in Kentucky in 1820. At the age of eleven, he and his parents moved to Rush County, Indiana where they resided for 21 years.

He assisted his father in clearing out the trees and brush and making way for the new farm. This was at the time that a part of the Indiana territory was nothing but a dense forest. As he helped clear the area, there were left piles and piles of brush that had to be burned and closely watched as the wood went up in flame and smoke. It was beside these burning heaps of brush that young Eden pursued his education. Reading intently, and studying, like Lincoln, every book he could obtain.

Of course there were no school houses in that particular section of the county and very few books. But young Eden read the ones he could get, over and over, determined to learn not only the skills of manual labor, but eager for knowledge from literature of that day and age.

He was so good in learning that he later became a school teacher. It was said his ability as a teacher surpassed any in the county. So, not expecting his pupils to gain knowledge the hard way that he had, he was eager to pass along his knowledge to others.

Joseph E. Eden had several career positions in Sullivan. He was in the mercantile business for 21 years. He was elected county judge in 1833 in which capacity he served four years, gaining the title of Judge in front of his name. Another venture in 1864 was in the hotel business. Things went well until August of 1880 when the hotel burned. Known as Eden House, it was a severe loss to both the Judge and to the community. But the Judge immediately erected, right on the same site, a \$25,000 hotel. One of the best kept hotels in the state, it was a great adornment to Sullivan. As well as the center of much activity. Another business post for Judge Eden was serving as Postmaster, a position he held for eight years.

Judge Eden was married on May 14, 1843 to Matilda Bussell. Their home was said to have been the center of Sullivan hospitality.

So the lad who studied by the light from burning brush, went on to climb the ladder of business and social success, and left the small town of Sullivan richer for his presence.



*THE*  
*MEEKERS*





# XVIII

## THE MEEKER FAMILY

**William Meeker** m. **Sarah Preston**  
1620 – 1690      1626-1666

//

**Thomas Thompson** m. **Mary Waldrop**  
1619-1676      1621-1704

//

**Benjamin** Meeker  
1649-1707

//

m.

**Elizabeth Thompson**  
1654-1745

**Thomas Meeker** m. **Mary Ball Fox**  
1685-1754      1686 – 1721

//

**Timothy** Meeker  
1709-1798

b. Sept 1709, Elizabethtown, Union, New Jersey

1st Wife: Sarah Pierson, 1719 – 1737

2nd Wife: Hannah Munn

3rd Wife: Desire corey, 1710 – 1793

lived Northfield, Essex, NJ.

Children:

Benjamin

Sarah Meeker, 1737

Jonas, 1740

Joseph Pierson b. 1742

Corey Timothy, b. 1748

Mary, 1750

Abigail, b. 1754

David, 1758

**Jonathan Squire**, 1758

Desire, b. 1761

Phoebe, 1762

d Dec 22, 1798, Northfield, Essex, New Jersey

//

**Jonathan S. Meeker** 1758-1820

b. Springfield, Union, NJ

first married Lydia Saunders, 1758 – 1705

then married **Phoebe Tompkins** in 1796

then married Eunice Kent

lived Essex Cty, NJ;

Children:

Denman b 1781

Mary Polly b 1782

Anna b. 1784

Peter b. 1788

Enoch, b. 1797

**Ambrose, b. 1799**

Jonathan Morris b. 1806

Rachel Ball b. 1808

Cornelius Saunders b. 1814

Polly b. 1869

died 1820 Springfield, Union, New Jersey

//

**Ambrose Meeker** 1799-1880 m. **Hannah Hartwell**

b. Orange, Essex, NJ, b. January 23, 1799

d. Moultrie, Illinois

//

**Children of Ambrose and Hannah Hartwell Meeker:**

**Phoebe Roxanna Meeker – married John R. Eden**

**Judge Jonathan Meeker**

\*\*\*\*\*

One of the legends of the Eden and Martin families is that through our Meeker and Hartwell ancestors we can trace our family roots back to the Mayflower families of Standish, Alden and Mullins. This romantic legend is enhanced by the story written by Longfellow in *The Courtship of Myles Standish*.

John Alden is said to be the first person from the Mayflower to set foot on Plymouth Rock in 1620. He was a ship's carpenter and cooper, and became one of the founders of the Plymouth Colony and the seventh signer of the Mayflower Compact. Captain Myles Standish reportedly fell in love with Priscilla Mullins on the voyage to New England in 1620. Alden and Standish then competed for Priscilla's hand and Alden won, marrying her on May 12, 1622.

My two Martin aunts – Olive and Mabel – each wrote about the supposed connection of the Edens to these Mayflower families in their notes on the ancestors of Phoebe Roxanna Meeker, the wife of John R. Eden. (*Infra*, at 348, 356.) Phoebe Roxanna Meeker was the daughter of Ambrose Meeker and **Hannah Hartwell Meeker**. Hannah Hartwell was the

daughter of Nathan Hartwell and **Sarah Ripley Hartwell**. The connection to the Mayflower families was supposed to be via Sarah Ripley.

I have doubted this claimed relationship with the Mayflower families of Standish, Alden and Mullins. Neither Olive nor Mabel were sure about the name of the son of Myles Standish who was one of the critical links in the chain of descent; and neither of them knew the supposed connections between those early Mayflower families and Sarah Ripley, the mother of Hannah Hartwell Meeker.

However, family relationships published on Ancestry.com seem to confirm that the connection is real. I have not tried to verify these relationships by reference to actual historical records, so they should be regarded as no more than tentative.

Here is a brief summary:

1. Captain Myles Standish (1584-1656) married Barbara Allen (1590-1659). Their son was Alexander Standish (1625-1702).
2. John Alden (1599-1687) married Priscilla Mullins (1602-1688). Their daughter was Sarah Alden (1627-1674).
3. Alexander Standish married Sarah Alden. Their daughter was Sarah Standish (1666-1739).
4. Sarah Standish married Benjamin Soule (1666-1729). Their son was Benjamin Soule (1704-1751).
5. Benjamin Soule married Hannah Whitman (1907-1788). Their daughter was Hannah Soule (1742-1820).
6. Hannah Soule married Timothy Ripley (1742-1835). Their daughter was Sarah "Sally" Ripley (1771-1839).
7. Sarah Ripley married Nathan Hartwell (1766-1822). Their daughter was Hannah Hartwell (1800-1847).
8. Hannah Hartwell married Ambrose Meeker. Their daughter was Phoebe Roxanna Meeker.
9. Phoebe Roxanna Meeker married John R. Eden. Their daughter was Rose Eden.
10. Rose Eden married I.J. Martin. They were the parents of Olive, John Eden, Joel Neely, Robert Walter, and Mabel.

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The following is taken from **FACES WESTWARD, VOLUME I**, by Jennie Starks McKee (Edwards Brother, Inc, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1956

Chapter XIV TIMOTHY MEEKER, Sr. Aged Patriot of 1776 Timothy Meeker, Sr., an aged patriot, living in the Elizabethtown, New Jersey area, during the American Revolution could hardly escape being one of the lauded heroes of his time, if one can take into account historical references to his activities with the Revolutionary troops. Some late discovered material covering that period give a number of commendatory stories about the aged fighter. These sources represent Timothy Meeker as a man of unusual strength of character, whose exploits in his fighting career against the British would have been a test of endurance for a much younger man than Timothy, who was near seventy years of age. On July 29, 1776, the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, first made note of Timothy as "an old gentlemen between sixty and seventy doing duty in the Militia, near Newark, New Jersey." The paper further states that "he had about fifteen children living, nine of them serving in the Continental army from privates to Captains." This is verified by the statement of his son Timothy Meeker, Jr., when he stated in his pension application "my father and ten brothers did duty throughout the entire war of the Revolution." Another son, Cory or Carey made a similar statement, - "I was in the battle between Elizabeth Town and Springfield; myself and eight of my brothers were in the same battle. We were commanded by Captain Isaac Reeves and John Edwards (brother-in-law) a first Lieutenant. Captain Isaac Reeves was wounded of which wounds he afterward died."

Source: Shaw's History of Essex County, New Jersey, states "eleven sons and one son-in-law fought in the battle of Springfield on June 23, 1780."

National Archives, Washington D.C., give records of four of Timothy Meeker's sons-in-law who made application for pensions; there may have been more who did not apply. This same source reveals numbers of Timothy's grandsons, and cousins and other relatives of Timothy who were in various units of service. Since he is known to have had forty-two grandsons by the name of Meeker, besides possibly children of his married daughters, the old man's clan of fighting Meekers in itself must have been formidable. It is known that Timothy Meeker, Sr., was a leader, at times, of sizeable companies of defenders; that he was a member of the Essex County, New Jersey militia throughout the war and that he was among the actual combat troops when the British brought their concentrated forces against that section, which is known in later history as the battle of Springfield.

#### Strategy Before the Battle

Early in the war of the American Revolution, the British gained possession of New York City and Manhattan Island, the western end of Long Island and Staten Island. The confirmed Tories from the New Jersey area took refuge on these islands, and some of them were British sympathizers and served as informers. The towns and villages in that section of Jersey between the salt water and the first mountain were subject to surprise raids by parties of British soldiers and Tories. One of the crossings was from Staten Island over the narrow sound to Elizabethtown Point, and then through Elizabeth to the countryside below and to the east of first mountain. These expeditions occupied the American Militia, first to be on the watch, and second to repel them. Several times raiders penetrated as far as Springfield, and possibly farther, but on the whole the people beyond the mountains lived in peace and quiet which was not true of the population living in front of the mountains. Later in the war, patriots in the American cause found it advisable to remove their families to places of residence behind the mountain. This was the situation in 1780. The American Army was in camp near Morristown and stores had been accumulated. Washington had his headquarters in the village; and there was supposed to be considerable discontent among the soldiers. The British commanders had their attention fixed on Morristown and concluded to send expeditions in force and make an attempt to capture the camp and stores. On June 6th, 1780, the British in strength of five thousand men appeared at Elizabethtown Point and on the 7th drove through Elizabeth and Connecticut Farms on the way to Springfield and Morristown, but were stopped by Militia and troops from Morristown on the road between Connecticut Farms and Springfield, and compelled to retreat. On the way back the British set fire to the Presbyterian Church, the Parsonage, and all the houses with a very few exceptions, one being the old Meeker Inn built in 1756. It is said that General Knyphausen used it as his headquarters, and they had to go in such a hurry there was no time to burn it. About two weeks later the enemy decided to try again but this time he first made a point to draw off Washington and some of the regular troops from Morristown. They sent boats and ships loaded with soldiers up the Hudson River as if they might plan an attack farther north, say at West Point. This was reported to Washington and he started north across New Jersey with troops from Morristown camp. About June 22nd, the British again crossed over from Staten Island with their army but with additional artillery and cavalry, and on the 23rd were approaching Springfield {in} dual columns. From the report on the engagement and from the map, it would appear as if the British plan was to turn the American left and separate the American positions. The Americans lacked the strength they had the 7th, because of the men taken on the expedition by Washington, and had to fall back on new positions in the Short Hills where they were able to make the enemy change his plans and again retreat. However, he repeated his destruction at Connecticut Farms and that day set fire to the village of Springfield. The Presbyterian Church and nineteen dwellings went up in flames. Only four houses, including the Parsonage, were saved. The pension applications of numbers of the men who took part in these skirmishes and battles relate what happened to many of the people. One application, that of Susan Skinner Meeker, wife of Caleb Meeker, son of Joseph, son of Timothy Meeker, Sr., quotes, -"My father's - (Jonathan Skinner) house and furniture were all consumed and the whole family were turned out into the street without shelter or food, and with no clothing except the suits we then wore. The gardens, cornfields and harvest field were all laid waste and destroyed."

#### The Battle of SPRINGFIELD

When the British forces came that terminated in the battle of Springfield, the Militiamen and others living behind the Mountains needed no indoctrination, their issue was simple and crystal clear. They had seen what had happened to their fellow citizens below the Mountain in various raids and only recently at Connecticut Farms when the British and Hessians were out in force. Now on June 23, 1780, the enemy was nearer, stronger and the Americans were weaker because of the absence of Washington with part of the regular troops from Morristown. With British in Springfield the danger became acute. If they were able to get through and over the country back of the Mountain there was no telling how many homes and barns and stored crops would go up in flames, and how many more people be destitute. It was a personal matter; the safety of their own homes and families were at stake.

Doubtless the men behind the Mountain appreciated the danger more keenly than the regular professional soldiers {a} long way from distant homes. One can imagine how the alarm spread and how most any man who had and could carry a gun and shoot was on the march. They must have come down into Short Hills and in back of Springfield by the dozens and perhaps the hundreds. It made no difference what military organization or militia group each belonged to in such a crisis; doubtless they fought as individuals. The fact is, they were able to stop advance of the enemy and he made his retreat to Staten Island. Jonas Meeker, in his pension application, stated, - "I was in the battle of Springfield, not under any commander. I fired several times at the British." This to be accepted as the truth. There is a legend that William Meeker (1762 - ), older son of Captain Samuel Meeker, that day shot a British soldier he found setting fire to the Presbyterian Church in Springfield. William was a contemporary of Jonas Meeker; they served in the American cause in true spirit just as much as the Regular Regiments of the Line. Timothy Meeker's clan lived only about three miles from Short Hills and about four miles from Springfield crossroads. It would not have taken them long to be on hand and they were there.

#### GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS

Timothy Meeker, Sr. direct ancestors Meekers live in and around Elizabethtown, New Jersey, when it is said there were only seven other white families.

The first Meeker of Record is that of **William Meeker** who is said to have come from Leamington, Warwickshire, England, first to Connecticut and then to have migrated to near Elizabethtown, New Jersey. This William Meeker appears in the general court files of New Haven, Connecticut, under date of January 4, 1643 (January 14th, 1644, N.S. calendar). He took the oath of fidelity there July 1, 1644. He was one of the subscribers to the New Haven Fundamental Agreement dated June 4, 1639. William Meeker was possibly born between 1620-1625, and when he came to America in 1635 he must have been in the care of some older sons. William Meeker, of the first generation, was born at Leamington, Warwickshire, England; he died at Lyons Farms, Elizabethtown, New Jersey. By 1646 or 1647 he was married in New Haven Colony to **Sarah Preston**, born on January 18, 1626, Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, England. She was the daughter of William Preston and Elizabeth Sale, first wife. This William Meeker was the first constable of Elizabethtown and is mentioned in many of the various Histories ... of Elizabeth, New Jersey. He was the first Meeker to settle at Lyons Farms and left a will in Essex County Probates, dated December, 1690. In this will his widow was Hannah and among heirs are sons, Joseph, Benjamin and John. Joseph, born 1648, married Comfort Marsh. Benjamin, born March 17, 1649/50, married Elizabeth Tomson. John, born September 7, 1666, married Hannah Ogden.

**Benjamin Meeker**, of the second generation, son of William (1) Meeker, resided near the center of Elizabeth. In 1690 he inherited real estate from his father, William (1), which may have been in or near Lyons Farms. Benjamin Meeker, born March 17, 1649/50 in the New Haven Colony, married **Elizabeth Tomson** on June 18, 1673 at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Benjamin Meeker died in May of 1707 at Lyons Farms, Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Elizabeth Tomson, born at Easthampton, Long Island, New York, the daughter of Thomas Tomson and his wife Mary from Scotland, survived her husband Benjamin Meeker. The will of Benjamin (2) Meeker, which he dated 28 April 1705 names his children as: Benjamin, Jr., William, Jonathan, Daniel, Samuel, **Thomas**, and Joseph. The first four sons named left wills. It is supposed that all left descendants.

William Meeker, of the third generation, the son of Benjamin, the son of William, was born October 13, 1677 at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He married Hannah Potter, born perhaps 1677, Wallingsford, Connecticut, the daughter of Samuel Potter and perhaps his second wife Deborah. Hannah Potter Meeker survived her husband who left a will, (Document No. 1327 in Office of Secretary of State, Trenton, New Jersey). In his will, William Meeker names none of his children except indirectly as: Jonathan, Isaac, and David. The will names a daughter-in-law, Abigail widow of son David deceased, and their children as grandson David and grand daughter Hannah.

The list of original proprietors of Elizabethtown shows one "Meaker" - as Joseph in 1664 and Benjamin Meeker perhaps a brother of Joseph made a proprietor in 1699. William Meeker (English spelling) took oath of Allegiance February 19, 1665. (Elizabeth History) The associates first list includes William and Joseph Meeker. The list of 1695 contains the names of Joseph, John, and Benjamin Meeker; the list of 1699 has only Benjamin Meeker. A Dutch Census of September 11, 1673, gives William, Joseph, and Benjamin Meeker. The logical conclusion drawn from the records of the first settlements down to the Revolutionary War is: that Timothy Meeker, Sr., the grand old man who served in the war with his eleven sons and four sons-in-law and number of grandsons, probably had a number of nephews and cousins and other relatives serving during the same period.

Until such records are discovered that give the month, day and year of birth of Timothy Meeker, Sr., a genealogist hesitates to

accept the many published versions of traditions included in the bibliography that Timothy Meeker, Sr., was son of William (3), son of Benjamin (2), son of William (1). Numerical Meekers confuses the issue and makes satisfactory conclusions impossible without documentary verification.

#### THE PERSONAL TIMOTHY

Timothy Meeker, Sr., born perhaps 1708/9, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, died Sunday morning, December 22, 1798, aged about 90. Reference: Abner Ball's Book. He lived in the Springfield, Orange, and Northfield area, originally in the outlying part of Newark Township, which was later set off as Springfield Township, still later as Livingston Township. Timothy Meeker, Sr., is said to have had three wives and eighteen children, two died early. One wife was ? **Munn**, and Aunt of Judge Aaron Munn born 1765. Another wife was **Sarah Pierson**, who died "January 10, 1737 in her 19th year." (Old style calendar) She was the daughter of Joseph Pierson "Died 25 August 1759, in his 66th year" and his wife "Hepzibah Camp, "Died 12 November 1769 age 73 years." All were buried - First Presbyterian Cemetery, Orange, Essex County, New Jersey. Sarah Pierson Meeker was an elder sister of Jemima Pierson who married Benjamin Munn (1730-1818) and were the parents of Judge Aaron Munn on his mother's side.

Reference: Orange Presbyterian Cemetery Records and Newark Probates. One wife died after having children Joseph and Sarah. Reference: Enoch Edwards grandson of Timothy Meeker, Sr. Timothy Meeker, Sr., married (1740) a third wife, **Desire Corey** (Carey); she had nine sons and five daughters and maybe more died in infancy. Ref: Professor John R. Burnett, quoting Enoch Edwards. It appears that Timothy Meeker attended church located near his farm that he bought in 1745. This Congregational Society was organized in 1719 and was known as the Church at Newark Mountain. After 1748, it was known as a Presbyterian Church and was incorporated in 1783 as a Second Presbyterian Church in Newark. In 1811 an act of the New Jersey Legislature changed the title to the First Presbyterian Church in Orange. Many of Timothy Meeker's friends, associates, and family are buried in the cemetery of this First Presbyterian Church of Orange, Essex County, New Jersey.

At the age of twenty three, Timothy Meeker, Sr., married and bought a farm one and one half miles above Springfield meeting house, the same farm where David Edwards now lives (1850). At that time the Indians had a number of settlements and were numerous in the region. About the year 1745 Timothy Meeker sold that farm and bought a large tract on the second mountain where he lived and died ... He built the first frame house that was erected above Springfield." Quote: Enoch Edwards, grandson of Timothy, as given to Professor John R. Burnett in May 1852. Today in 1950 this first farm lies north of the village of Milburn and east of the residential section known as "Short Hills" in the township of Milburn in Essex County, New Jersey. The second farm was situated in the old township of Newark on the western slope of the second Watchung or Orange Mountain, and lay in what later became Springfield Township and still later Livingston Township, in Essex County, New Jersey.

Contemporaries of Timothy Meeker, Sr., say that he was a very tall old man and that his sons were also very tall, that they were giants compared to others, all of them well over six feet tall. So it would seem that Timothy must have appeared a rather doughty old warrior when he led fighting Meekers and their neighbors to defend their homes. He fought during a period when enemy troops crossed and recrossed their villages and farms. He was a busy man. Desire Corey died June 25th, 1793. Timothy Meeker, Sr., died December 22, 1798.

Summary for Timothy Meeker, Sr.:

Father: Thomas Meeker b: 1685 in Essex Co, NJ

Marriage 1 ? Munn b: C 1708

Marriage 2 Sara Pierson b: abt 1718

Marriage 3 Desire Corey b: Abt 1710

Married: 1740 in New Jersey

\*\*\*\*\*

HUSBAND AMBROSE MEEKER

Born Jan., 1799 Place New Jersey -Orange  
 Marr. 1824 Place Newark, Ohio (Licking Co.)  
 Died 14 June, 1880 Place Moultrie Co., Ill.  
 Bur. Place Greenhill Cemetery

Husband's father Jonathan Meeker -b. 1758 Husband's mother Phoebe Thompkins

Husband's other wives m. Sarah Hibbard, 1849 -d. 12 May, 1850  
 m. Deborah Hibbard 1857 -d. 1883

WIFE HANNAH (HARTWELL) MEEKER

Born Jan. 1808 (1803?) Place Plymouth, Mass.  
 Marr. 1824 Place Newark, Ohio  
 Died 30 Mar., 1848 Place Sullivan, Ill.  
 Bur. Place Greenhill Cemetery

Wife's father Nathan Hartwell -b. 1765 at New Bedford, Mass. Wife's mother Sara Ripley

Wife's other husbands

sex	Children	When born	Where born	First Marriage	When died
	1. (possibly, a son, Hartwell, who died at 18 before family left Ohio)				
	2. f	Cordelia	ca. 1830	Ohio	ca. 1847
p 54	3. m	<u>Jonathan M.</u>	25 Jul., 1831	Delaware Co., O. <u>Nancy Parker</u>	1900
p 76	4. f	<u>Phoebe Roxanna</u>	6 Jan., 1834	Delaware Co., Ohio <u>John Rice Eden</u>	9 March, 1888
	5.				
	6.				
	7.				
	8.				
	9.				
	10.				
	11.				

Sources of information

Other marriages



THE LINE OF TIMOTHY MEEKER  
 From Records in the possession of Grace R. Meeker, Ottawa, Kansas

1) The Line of Timothy Meeker, Senior,  
 of New Jersey.  
 Copied from records in the possession of  
 Grace R. Meeker, 709 S. Mulberry St.,  
 Ottawa, Kansas.

Timothy Meeker, Senior branch.  
 Timothy Meeker, Senior, born 1708; died Dec. 1798.  
 Married - first - Sarah Pierson, born 1718, died June 10, 1787. 7 children.  
 Married - second - Munn. Children: -  
 Joseph, who married Molly Smith.  
 Sarah, who married Isaac Smith.  
 Married third Desire Cory - Children:  
 Jonas, who married Sarah Osborne.  
 Timothy, who married Sarah Parsel (various spellings)  
 John, who married first - Perry, second Rachel Force.  
 William, who married Hannah Titchener (Died Nov. 9, 1790)  
 twins Amos, who married Joanna Force  
 Cory, who married Vanity Ward.  
 twins David, born 1768, died Sept. 1830. married Phebe Parsel  
 Jonathan, born 1758, died Aug. 1816. married first Lydia Saunders  
 second Phebe Tompkins  
 Tompkins.  
 Isaac, born 1760 died 1825; married Peggy M<sup>rs</sup>. Cheaney.  
 Hannah married Capt. John Edwards.  
 Polly, married Daniel Day.  
 Diana, married Rev. Moses Edwards, died Sept. 9, 1793.  
 Phebe, married John A. Fogler.  
 Abigail, married James Walsh or Walsh.

—  
 Capt. Joseph and Molly Smith had children: -  
 Caleb, who married Susan Skinner,  
 Elisha, who died young.  
 Enoch,  
 Joseph, who married Ellen Ryall.  
 Aaron, born July 6, 1784 married Joanna Young.  
 Keziah.  
 Rachel.

2) Jonas, who married Sarah Caborn had children: -  
 Jonas  
 Aaron  
 Timothy, Junior, who married Sarah Parrel had children,  
 Jephtha, born March 16, 1775 married Abigail Allen born  
 Nov. 5, 1775.  
 Bethuel, who married Janima Towmley.  
 Jonathan, who married Mary Deem.  
 Stephen, who married Catherine Reeves Aug 13, 1800.  
 (Both of the Parish of Northfield, Township of Northfield  
 County of Essex, New Jersey)  
 Luther, who married Elizabeth Towmley.  
 Calvin.  
 Jasad, born May 29, 1788, died July 25, 1867 married Esther Tichenor  
 (Ought the date of birth be 1791?) J.W.M. says aged 79.  
 John, who married, first - Perry, second Rachel Force - had children,  
 Jonas, born 1775 Married 1860 - Elizabeth Miller  
 Manning, born 1786 (This date from J.W. Meeker does not agree  
 with J.V. Meeker, brother of Ezra, a  
 descendant of Manning who lives 1784)  
 Married Hannah Thompson.  
 Mary (?) 1788-1854  
 Ugal  
 Benjamin (Jonas and Abram given as sons of  
 first wife. See "Book 2" Mrs. Wards note  
 book, J.V. Meeker's letter)  
 William  
 Abram  
 William, who married Hannah Titchener had children,  
 William  
 Elijah  
 Henry  
 Josephine  
 Rhoda  
 Amos  
 Jonathan  
 David.  
 Amos - who married Joanna Force had children -  
 Aaron, Squire, Jacob, Timothy Johayng,  
 Cory - married Vanity Ward - Nothing further known,  
 David, who married Pthebe Parrel had children: -  
 Elias, who married Hannah Earl, His son, Jeremiah,  
 married Harrietta daughter of Jephtha Meeker  
 Hannah who married Samuel Meeker.  
 Lucinda, who ~~was~~ died young.  
 Betsey, who married Peter Deen.  
 Jonathan, who married - first Lydia Saunders, born 1759 died Feb, 1795  
 had children by this marriage: -  
 Polly, born May 1, 1762 died Feb. 1, 1869 - Married Samuel McCherry  
 Ann, married Aaron Titchener.  
 Peter, married Eunice Hunt.

3) Jonathan, who married <sup>second</sup> Phoebe Tompkins, <sup>married</sup> Jan 17, 1796, <sup>had children by this marriage.</sup>  
 Enoch, born June 2, 1797; died Oct. 4, 1877; <sup>Married</sup> <sup>Mary</sup> <sup>Wise</sup> <sup>B. A.</sup>  
 Ambrose, born June 22, 1799; died June 14, 1880. <sup>Married first</sup> <sup>Hannah</sup> <sup>Hartwell</sup>, <sup>second</sup> <sup>Sarah</sup> <sup>Hilbard</sup>, <sup>third</sup> <sup>Deborah</sup> <sup>Hilbard</sup>  
 Jonathan, who married <sup>third</sup> Eunice Kent - <sup>had children</sup>  
 Jonathan Morris, born Oct. 6, 1806; <sup>died</sup> <sup>Mar 30, 1870</sup>, <sup>married</sup> <sup>Jane</sup> <sup>Johnson</sup>  
 Cornelius, born 1813; died Apr. 11, 1891. <sup>married</sup> <sup>Jane</sup> <sup>Lyon</sup>.  
 Rachel - <sup>married</sup> <sup>Nathan</sup> <sup>Swain</sup> <sup>Junior</sup>.  
 Isaac, who died 1825 aged 65 - <sup>married</sup> <sup>Margaret</sup> <sup>McChesney</sup> <sup>born</sup> <sup>at sea</sup>  
<sup>Married</sup> <sup>Aug 9, 1795</sup> - <sup>Had children</sup> -  
 Samuel, who married Hannah Meeber daughter of David Meeber  
 Oliver - <sup>drowned</sup> 1821.  
 Timothy went to Ohio and married Mary Mann.  
 Nancy married Smith Tompkins, Newark, New Jersey.  
 Gerusha, married Felix Canfield.  
 Charlotte, married Amos Harrison.  
 Jane - <sup>married</sup> <sup>Henry</sup> <sup>Morrison</sup> (son Abigail's daughter  
 Charlotte M. Joseph Collier.)  
 Desire, who married Rev. Moses Edwards - <sup>had children</sup> -  
 Joshua, Jonathan, Caleb, Enoch, Abner, David, Rebecca.  
 No further record of Phoebe who married John A. Frazier  
 No further record of Abigail who married James Walsh  
 (or Walsh)  
 Timothy Junior who married Sarah Parsel had children:  
 Jephtha, born Mar 16, 1775, died 1850, married Abigail Allen,  
 born Nov. 17, 1773 had children: -  
 Silas, born 1798 - died in Ohio.  
 Ithamar, born 1800 died May 12 - 1831 - Livingston, New Jersey  
 Abijah Sherman, born 1802. died 1854 Newark, New Jersey  
 Timothy, born 1804 died 1860 " " " " "  
 John, born 1804 " 1900. " " " "  
 Henrietta born 1809 " 189 - " South Orange " "  
 Diadema, born 1806 " 189 - " Newark " "  
 Ithamar, married Mary Teed had children:  
 John  
 Ithamar  
 Abijah married Julia Ann Wade - had children  
 Sarah Jane who died in infancy.  
 Jesse  
 Sarah Jane married M. L. Ward.  
 Silas Bentley married 1st Eliza Burnett Squire  
 George Halsky. 2nd Emily Juliette Squire

4)

Timothy married Phebe Wilkinson, had children,  
Edwin, Lohman, John.

Record of children of Jephtha Meeher son of Timothy jr,  
and Abigail Allen, continued -

John married Eleanor Young, had children;  
Melancthon, Wallace, Mary, Frank.

Diadema married Abner Dickenson, had children,

Phebe Ann

Mary Frances

Eudline, who died young. - All unmarried.

Henrietta, who married Jeremiah Meeher, had children,

Catherine Louisa, born Sept. 15, 1839 married George <sup>Duke</sup>

Abby Marie, married Walter Cummings,

Emeline, born May 6, 1849 - married Amos Brown.

Caroline, born Dec. 1852, married James Everett Allen.

Alice, born Dec. 25, 1864, married George Wilcox

Elias Halsey, who died very young.

Charles Henry, who also died very young.

Continuing record of Jonathan son of Timothy  
Senior, who married 1<sup>st</sup> Lydia Saunders &

Jonathan and his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife Phoebe Tompkins <sup>had</sup> children,

Enoch, born June 2, 1797 died Oct. 4, 1874 - married

Joanna B. Morehouse

Ambrose, born June 22, 1799 Died June 14 - 1880,

married first Hannah Hartwell,

had children by this marriage.

Jonathan, born July 25, 1831 - died Dec. 7, 1900

married Nancy Parker Nov. 20 - 1860.

Nancy Parker born Nov. 8, 1824 died Feb. 23, 1907

Gertrude born Oct. 17, 1861, Died Jan. 12, 1927

Estella, born July 21 - 1863, Died May 4, 1936 -

married Murthay M<sup>r</sup>. Donald 19 - 30

Jace Clara Belle, born May 7, 1867

married Charles Brockway Stearns Feb 19 - 1896

Raymond Delos born April 7 - 1869.

Grace - born Mch 19 - 1871 - died Oct. 16 - 1941.

5) Jonathan, son of Timothy and his 1st wife Lydia (Elizabeth) Saunders had a son Jonathan Junior who married Margaret Skinner, their daughter Elizabeth - born April 25, 1825 died Mar. 30 - 1866. Res. Hamilton Co. Ohio, married Francis C. Manning, born Nov. 1 - 1827 died Dec. 10 1859, married Nov. 5 - 1845 - Res. Monterey Ohio. Their daughter: -  
 Mary Belle Manning, born June 30, 1852 married Oct. 8 - 1868.

Erastus Henry Mc Nutt born Oct 1844 Res. Kansas City, Mo. Their son Harry William Mc Nutt, born Mar. 21, 1873 - gave me this record. J. R. M.

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Ezra Meeker Line -  
 Manning Meeker, born 1786 married Hannah Thompson  
 Their son -  
 Jacob R. born and reared in northern New York State, removed to Ohio where he married. 1880 at  
 Ezra, was born Dec. 3 - 1880  
 a cross roads place called Huntoville -  
 The third son of the family.

This page was not among Grace R Meeker's Records - I made it out for myself from her records and from memory. Maybe you would like it for some of the dates - so will send it with the others.

Timothy Meeker, Senior Branch  
 born 1708 died Dec. 1798.

Jonathan (twice of David)  
 born 1758 - died Aug. 1816,  
 married 1<sup>st</sup> Lydia Saunders,  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Phoebe Tompkins.

Children by second marriage.  
 Enoch, born June 1797, died Oct. 4, 1874  
 married Joanna B. Mowhouse.

Ambrose, born June 22, 1799, died June 14, 1880.  
 married 1<sup>st</sup> Hannah Hartwell. 1821  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Sarah Hibbard.  
 3<sup>rd</sup> Deborah Hibbard.

Children of Ambrose and Hannah Hartwell  
 (Meeker)  
 3<sup>rd</sup> Jonathan born July 26, 1831, died Dec. 7, 1900  
 married Nancy Parker Nov. 20, 1860  
 4<sup>th</sup> Roxey born 18- died 18-  
 Married John Rice Eden.

1<sup>st</sup> Cordelia  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Hartwell (Nancy Parker Meeker born Nov. 1834  
 died Feb. 23, 1907)

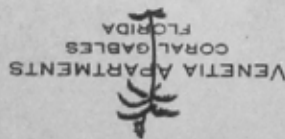
Children of Jonathan and Nancy Parker Meeker  
 Gertrude, born Oct. 17, 1861, died Jan. 12, 1927  
 Estella, born July 21, 1863 - died May 4 - 1935.  
 married Murray M. Donald - 19- (?)

Jace Clara Belle born May 7, 1867 - died  
 married Charles B. Schwaner <sup>Sturms</sup> Feb. 19, 1892  
 died Oct. 11, 1926

Raymond Delos born April 7, 1869 d -  
 Grace - born Feb. 19, 1871 - died Oct. 16, 1941

Children of John Rice + Roxey Meeker Eden  
 Emma, Rose Hartwell, Walter, Belle,  
 Finley, Edgar, Blanche.

Children of Jace C. B. M. and Charles <sup>Brockway</sup> ~~Stearns~~  
Thomas Meeker, born Nov. 2 - 1896  
John Karleton, <sup>one child</sup> born June 3 - 1930, married Bernadine M. Caig Nov. 25, 1921 (?)  
died Feb. 15 - 1899,  
Charlene Gertrude, born Oct. 24 - 1900  
1st married Francis J. Gould May 31 - 1930, divorced 1942  
2nd " Charles Maxwell Dec. 8 - 1944  
Charles Brockway Stearns Jr., born Oct. 23, 1902  
married Katherine Julia Warren Oct. 9, 1929.  
Children:  
Charles Brockway III born 1938  
died 1938  
Warren Charles, born April 2 - 1940  
Raymond Robert Parker, born April 10 - 1907  
Married Bartholde Geisel who had a  
daughter, Carlota, by 1st marriage,  
born Sept. 1930



# XVIII

## MRS. JOHN R. (ROXANNA) EDEN

### *Sullivan Progress news clipping, undated.*

On the morning of Friday, March 9th [1888], the people of Sullivan were startled with the announcement that Mrs. Roxanna Eden, wife of Hon. John R. Eden, was dead, the sad event occurring about 5 o'clock a.m. of that day.

Mrs. Eden was well known in this community and had the respect of all her acquaintances, and as a consequence the event shaded in gloom our city and vicinity and the sympathy of all is extended to the bereaved husband and children whose hearts are filled with sorrow by the loss of a devoted wife and mother, whose life had been consecrated to their happiness and comfort.

Mrs. Eden was born in Marysville, Licking County, Ohio, January 6, 1834, and was at the time of her death, 54 years, 2 months and 4 days old. She was the daughter of Ambrose Meeker, who died in Sullivan a few years since, an honored man full of years, and the sister of the widely known and truly able lawyer, Judge Jonathan Meeker.

In the fall of 1846 the family moved to Hancock County, Illinois, remaining there until the fall of 1847 when a move was made to Clark County, Illinois, finally settling in Sullivan, Moultrie County, Illinois, in February, 1848, where a large part of Mrs. Eden's life has been passed.

Soon after their arrival in Sullivan, Mrs. Meeker, mother of Mrs. Eden, died and the burden of the housekeeping was imposed on her, the duties and obligations of which were faithfully performed until her father's second marriage, which occurred a few years after. In August, 1856, she was united in marriage with the already noted young attorney at law, John R. Eden, to whom she was devotedly attached and always anxious to aid in all his aims in life, making for him a model wife faithful to all his trusts and whose loss he deeply feels in his lonely and grief-burdened desolation. Eight children blessed their union, of whom five are living, honored and influential members of society, namely: Emma, Rose (Mrs. I.J. Martin), Walter (county treasurer and mayor of Sullivan), Mabel and Blanche. Three have already passed the dark river, Hartwell, a young man at his death; Joseph Edgar, and Finley R., both in childhood.

In the fall of 1866, Mrs. Eden became a member of the church of Christ in Sullivan, Illinois, and ever faithful to its duties keeping sacred its obligations always. She was a woman full of charity and good works, was kind to the poor, courteous and obliging in the relations of life, having a deep and relieving sympathy for the sufferings of our race. Her life was such as may well be imitated by all wives and mothers and referred to with pleasure by her children. The funeral was on Sunday, March 11, at 10 o'clock a.m. and was largely attended, all of the churches deferring their usual services for that purpose. A large procession followed the remains to the Sullivan cemetery where she was laid beside her departed loved ones.

Dr. A.L. Kellar

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## A Funeral Notice.

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*The funeral of Mrs. John R. Eden will take place from the residence on Sunday at 2 o'clock, P. M. Services by Dr. A. L. Kellar. Friends of the family are invited.*

SULLIVAN, ILL., March 10th, 1888.

# XIX

## JUDGE JONATHAN MEEKER

**From *Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 187.***

Judge Jonathan Meeker, who has been since 1877 judge of the Moultrie County Court, is a native of Delaware County, Ohio, and was born on the 25th day of July, 1831. His father, Ambrose Meeker, was born near Orange, N.J. He was a descendant of a family which had settled at an early date in Connecticut, and removed from there to New Jersey. About the year 1821, he emigrated to Ohio, making the whole journey on foot. At Newark, Ohio, in 1824, he married Hannah Hartwell, who was born in Plymouth, Mass. Through her mother she was connected with the Ripleys, one of the early New England families.

Jonathan Meeker, the subject of this sketch, was the third of a family of four children. Two died on reaching the age of eighteen, and two Judge Meeker and his sister Mrs. John R. [Roxanna] Eden are now living. His father was a blacksmith by trade, and carried on that business for many years, which he finally quit to engage in farming. When Judge Meeker was about a year old, the family left Delaware County, and afterward lived in Aetna, Ohio, and at Marysville, in Union County, where he was principally raised.

In the fall of 1846 the family moved from Ohio to Illinois. One year was spent in Hancock county, and then in the fall of 1847 they went to Clark County, where the winter was spent with Judge Meeker's uncle, Enoch Meeker, and then in February, 1847 they became residents of Sullivan. On the 30th of March 1848, a short time after their arrival, his mother died. He had attended school but little in Ohio. After coming to Sullivan he attended the high school two or three winters, and secured a more thorough education. He learned the blacksmith trade with his father at which he worked till twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

He began the study of the law at Sullivan in 1857, and in 1858 was admitted as a member of the bar. On the 20th of November 1860, he married Nancy, daughter of Robert Parker; she was a resident of Jasper County, Indiana, where the marriage took place. From 1862 to 1864 he acted as deputy circuit clerk, and had the entire management of the office. In 1864 he was the Democratic candidate for prosecuting attorney for the judicial district comprising Macon, Moultrie and Piatt counties. The district was strongly Republican, and he was defeated by a few votes. In 1867, on the adoption of township organization, he was elected the first member of the board of supervisors from Sullivan township, and the first chairman of the board. He was re-elected in 1868 and 1869, and each term served as chairman. He was also a member of the board in 1876 and 1877.

In 1870 he was elected to represent Moultrie County in the twenty-seventh general assembly. This was the first session of the legislature after the adoption of the new state constitution. A revision and remodeling of the laws became necessary, and the legislature was in session the greater part of the time for two years. He was elected county judge in 1877 which position he held for nine years. In addition to the practice of the law, he has been engaged in farming. He has five children. He has been an active Democrat in politics.

[An article about Jonathan Meeker, almost identical to that which appeared in the 1881 *Combined History*, was published in the *Moultrie County News*, December 23, 1886.]

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*Moultrie County News*, Sullivan, Illinois, Friday, December 14, 1900.

Judge Meeker is Dead – The End Came Suddenly Last Friday Afternoon – Has Held Many Positions of Trust And Honor and Was A Prominent Figure in the History and Growth of Moultrie County.

Judge Jonathan Meeker, who has been a familiar figure in this county for the past half century, died at his residence on West Jackson street last Friday afternoon at 3:30 o'clock. He had been afflicted with an affliction of the heart for nearly a year and for several months had not been able to be at his office except at rare intervals, the last time being the Thursday following election when he was downtown for a short time and spent a few minutes at his office in conference with his son, Ray, regarding a case in which they were interested as attorneys. While somewhat enfeebled from the effects of his disease, yet he was able to be about the house and on the day of his death had seemed to be much better than for many days. A few minutes previous to the end he had been assisted from a chair to his couch by his daughter, Stella, and she had no sooner turned away than her attention was again directed to him only to find that life was extinct.

Judge Meeker was a native of Ohio, in which state he was born July 25, 1831. His father, Ambrose Meeker, descended from a prominent New Jersey family and in an early day he went from that state to Ohio, walking the entire distance. In the year 1849 the family came to Illinois and after spending a year or more in Hancock and Clark counties, they came to Sullivan, Judge Meeker then being about fifteen years of age. At that time Sullivan was, of course, a mere hamlet and young Meeker assisted his father at the blacksmith trade for several years, the shop, a primitive log structure, being located near where the Maxey restaurant now stands. He also devoted considerable time to study and attended the old High school, which stood near the present site of G. N. Todd's residence. Judge Coakley, a man of fine intellectual attainments, but somewhat eccentric in his manner, was the principal.

After a course of reading in the office of John R. Eden he was admitted to the Bar in 1858 and afterwards formed a partnership with his legal preceptor, which continued several years. The first official position occupied by Judge Meeker was that of village trustee, to which office he was elected in 1852 and served several terms. He was deputy cir. Clerk from 1862 to 1864, serving under Arnold Thomason, and having entire management of the office. He was the first supervisor from Sullivan township after the township organization in 1867. He was reelected two succeeding years and served as chairman each term. In 1870 he was elected a member of the twenty-seventh general assembly and as this was the first session after the adoption of the new state constitution the legislature was in session the greater part of the time for the entire two years. He was elected county judge in 1877 and held the office nine years. His decisions are said to have been generally sustained, when presented to the higher courts. Probably no member of the Moultrie county Bar was more thoroughly versed in the principles of the law than Judge Meeker and his advice was often sought on difficult legal points by younger members of the profession.

At a session of the circuit court, held Monday morning, Judge Cochran appointed a committee of three, consisting of J. B. Titus, R. M. Peadro and J. T. Grider to draft appropriate resolutions commemorating the death of the judge and then on a mark of respect to his memory court was adjourned until 1:30 o'clock p.m. Upon reassembling at the appointed hour the committee, through its chairman, J. B. Titus, presented the following resolutions:

*"Whereas the death of Hon. Jonathan Meeker of Moultrie county a member of this Bar, occurred on Dec. 7 at 4:00 o'clock p.m. at his home in this city.*

*Therefore, be it resolved by the Bar of Moultrie county, that in the death of Judge Jonathan Meeker, this Bar has lost one of the oldest and ablest members, a man ever true to his clients, just and considerate with the court and whose judgment and legal education were of a high order.*

*Resolved further, that we hereby express our sorrow at the death of Judge Jonathan Meeker and we extend to his family and relatives our heartfelt sympathy for their loss in the death of so good and just a man.*

*We therefore move the court that these resolutions be adopted by the Bar and be ordered by the court spread upon the records of this court and that the clerk to directed to furnish an engrossed copy to the family of deceased.*

*And your committee would recommend that the members of the Bar and the officers of the court attend the funeral in a body."* Signed, J. B. Titus, R. M. Peadro, J. T. Grider, committee

Hon. John R. Eden: May it please the court; I feel like I ought to say something. I knew Judge Meeker longer and was more intimately acquainted with him than the other members of the Bar here, on account of our ages and on account of our family

relations. I became acquainted with Judge Meeker in 1853, when I first located in Sullivan. At that time he was quite a youth and I think was a student in the school kept by the Rev. James Freeland. He had already learned the blacksmith's trade in the shop of his father.

Soon after I came here he commenced the study of law in my office and continued until he was admitted to the Bar, the time I am not certain about, but probably Mr. Titus gave you the time. From the time of the admission and for a great many years following that admission he was my law partner.

As a lawyer he was well grounded in the elementary principles of law especially; he studied Blackstone and Chitty, the [?] books of the law until he had become well versed in the principles of the law. In his prime he was an able advocate and presented his case strongly to the jury. [A few lines illegible here due to damage by a fold in the paper.]

I do not know but if he had been located where his practice could have been larger, he would have been a distinguished lawyer. It is a rare, yet suitable occasion to meet together and place something on the records to keep the memory of one of our departed members; to keep that memory from fading entirely away. A lawyer whose reputation depends simply upon his profession has nothing particular to perpetuate his memory after he passes off the stage of action. If you want to know what a lawyer has done go to the records of the court; hence, I think it well to place on the records of Moultrie county these resolutions so that the memory of our friend will not be forgotten.

There is one more thing that might be said of Judge Meeker that could be said of no other lawyer and of very few citizens of the county. I believe there is no man possibly I am mistaken, that has kept and filled official positions as long a time as has Judge Meeker. I think when you take into consideration his term in the legislature, as surveyor, county judge, county attorney and justice of the peace, there has probably been no citizen of the county that kept official positions as has Judge Meeker. I think in all those positions there is not any shadow of a stain that rests upon his character. As the county judge, really the most important office in the county, the interests of the estates were carefully guarded and the interests of minors were carefully guarded. I do not know that any decision he ever made, possibly there were such, that was reversed. Possibly there were such. It was fortunate if they were not reversed, if they were, I think they were rare.

There is one thing more. I do not know of but one or two people now living in Sullivan that have lived here as long as Judge Meeker. I do not know whether there are more than one or two. He came here in 1847 when this was a wilderness, if you call a prairie a wilderness. He has lived in this county over fifty years. I think he has had fewer enemies for a man who was placed where the public eye was attracted to his conduct than any man I know. We will miss him. In the last forty-five years there has been no court probably where Judge Meeker was not present. And, it might be added, that his treatment to the lawyers was that of kindness and courtesy.

His failing health for the past few months, in fact, I might say in the last few years impaired him to some extent. He bore his suffering patiently. I called upon him frequently and his only complaint was the inability to care for those near and dear to him. I believe that in my practice there have been but three members of the bar who died here. The first was Mr. Barker. A number of years ago Captain Lee died and also Captain Green.

We must look at the seriousness of this situation. On yesterday afternoon I expected to call upon Judge Meeker and he was advised that I would be there. He sat in his chair and talked to his family and his relatives. One of his relatives departed and expressed the wish that he might pass a comfortable night. He sat in his chair and smilingly bid the relative what proved to be his final farewell. In a few minutes he had passed over that river that divides this world from the next.

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M. A. Mattox: May it please the court: While I am young in the practice of law at the Bar of Sullivan, I have known of the name which our deceased member of the Bar bore. Begin a native of the same state and some of my grandparents being Meekers, my family and Judge Jonathan Meeker were brought closer together than we otherwise would have been. Coming to the county 35 years ago, though young, I soon became acquainted with the reputation of Judge Meeker and afterwards became personally acquainted with him. He was a man who always had an encouraging word for the young men. Often have I met him on the streets and in his office since I became a member of this Bar, and he always seemed interested in my welfare, as well as other young members of the Bar. We younger members of this Bar will miss the face of our old time friend truly as great as the oldest member of the Bar. His vacant chair and place at the Bar must be filled by some one of the younger members. Let it be our motto and guide

that we may be able to gain the confidence of the people, Bar and court as fully as our deceased brother. While his sudden death teaches us that we, though young in life, must someday cross the river of darkness to gain our reward. And may it be our aim “as well as to gain honors at the bar,” to live as our deceased brother and gain honors in the world to come. I second the resolutions.

.....

Judge Meeker was married Nov. 20, 1860 to Miss Nancy Parker of Jasper county, Indiana, who, with their five children, Gertrude, Stella, Tace, now Mrs. C. B. Stearns of Chicago, Ray and Grace survive him.

The funeral services were held at the family residence Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock, conducted by Elder E. E. Curry of the Christian church, assisted by Rev. T. N. Tull, pastor of the M. E. Church, and was attend

*FAMILY  
MEMOIRS  
AND  
RESEARCH*



# XX

## OLIVE MARTIN'S NOTES

Olive Martin, daughter of I.J. and Rose Eden Martin, wrote these notes about the Eden and Hartwell/Meeker families. Philip Martin had the original notes in his files in Sullivan, and on April 24, 2011, made them available to me for use in this compilation of materials on the Eden family. This is the typed version of those three handwritten sheets.

### The Edens

#### **Jeremiah Eden.**

Was born in Maryland – a relative of the last Royal governor of Maryland, Sir Robert Eden, who was an ancestor of Anthony Eden. My grandfather [John R. Eden] said he was a nephew. Another Eden, Charles Eden, was a Royal governor of New Jersey. His reputation was a bit shady, for there was a tunnel leading from the governor's mansion to the hiding place of a notorious pirate. The governor's secy. was convicted on a charge of collecting graft from the pirate. The pirate fell in love with the governor's daughter who was engaged to another man. The pirate kidnapped her lover, took him off on his pirate ship. Then he sent a box to the girl. It contained her fiancée's hand. The shock was so great that according to one published account, "Miss Eden languished and died."

Jeremiah Eden migrated to Kentucky where he lived to a very old age. He had a large family, including:

#### **John Paul Eden** – married Catherine Cann.

Born in Kentucky in 1795, died in Indiana in 1830. The Edens in Kentucky engaged in feuding and fighting. There is a rumor that John Paul left Kentucky to escape the consequences of a fight. A Decatur lawyer said grandfather [John R. Eden] told him the story. It seems incredible that he should tell such a story to a comparative stranger and never mention it to any of his family.

#### **Catherine Cann.**

Nothing of her family is known except that her parents did not speak English – though what language they spoke is not known. They opposed her marriage to John Paul Eden. She eloped with him with her father and brothers chasing them on horse-back.

She had several sisters from whom are descended Cliff Miller and his sisters, and the Burns family – Byron, Bill, Pauline and Eugenia.

She is remembered as a very handsome, erect, aristocratic old lady who always dressed in black silk. She is buried in Greenhill Cemetery. Five generations of her family are represented there too.

Children of John Paul Eden and Catherine Cann Eden:



### Joseph Edgar

Born in Ky. In 1820 – lived to be very old – his late nineties. Married Matilda Burrell. Came early to Sullivan. Was in the hotel business – and was for a number of terms county judge. Was always an active democrat. Was almost blind at the end of his life, but died after a broken hip failed to heal.

Children:

William Wallace – located at Fresno, Cal in the abstract business.

John Finley – postmaster for years. Three sons: Ned, Will, Link.

Feastus [sp?] Bussell (Bus)

Susan – m. Dr. Oliver Link.

### John Rice

#### Julina

Married “Abe” Moore and lived for years in Bruce. Had one son, John, who had one son, Ed Moore. One daughter Mae married a Bragg. Roxie Moore married an Attebury and it was on her account that her brother-in-law .... [not clear if something lost or Olive just stopped writing. Perhaps she decided not to write what happened: Grant Atterbury was lynched on Feb. 12, 1896 for assaulting his sister-in-law “Mrs. Roxy Atterbuыр.” I remember reading somewhere that the Atterbury’s lived at 108 E. Jackson in the little house that became Hattie Pifer’s.]

#### Jane

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## The Hartwells and Meekers

### Nathan Hartwell m. Sarah Ripley

Nathan Hartwell was born in New Bedford, Mass. in 1765. At 15 he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army and served to the end of the war in 1780. He is the only ancestor whose name I know who can give his descendents membership in the D.A.R. or the Sons of the Revolution.

Sarah Ripley was descended from both John Alden and Miles Standish. Sarah Alden was married to Miles Standish’s son – Nathaniel, I think the name was. Five of her ancestors came over on the Mayflower – John Alden, Priscilla Mullins, Priscilla’s parents, who died in the plague that fell on the colonists the first year, and Miles Standish. The Ripley family was well known in New England in literary and religious circles. Some of them became Catholics. My Mother’s piano teacher at Georgetown, Sister Jane Frances – who had studied under Liszt, was a Ripley, and distantly related to my Mother.

Children of Nathan Hartwell and Sarah Ripley Hartwell:

John – a Philadelphia merchant.

Nathan (?) – One of his children was Mary Hartwell Catherwood, a popular novelist in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. She lived in Hoopston, Ill., wrote Romance of Dollard, Story of Tonti, and Lazarre.

### Hanna [see below]

Roxanna – a school teacher at Nauvoo, Ill. soon after the Mormons left. Later she went to California where she continued to teach. Her daughter, Sarah, was one of the first women doctors. She was twice married. Her second husband, whose name was Harrell, had been one of her pupils – 17 years younger than she – but she outlived both him and her daughter. She spent the

winter of 1894-95 visiting Ill. friends. She was then 80 – a dainty little woman, witty as could be. She wore white wool dresses all winter, and at 82 she returned to California and built a home where she expected to live alone.

And probably others, one of whom lived in Nauvoo Illinois in 1847.

### **Hannah Hartwell m. Ambrose Meeker**

**Hannah** (1800-1847) was born in 1800 in Plymouth, Mass. The family came to Ohio, where she lived during most of her married life. The family came first to Nauvoo, Ill., where some of her relatives lived. They then came to Sullivan, and she died soon after in 1847. She was the second person buried in Greenhill cemetery. Five generations are represented there now.

**Ambrose Meeker** – A blacksmith by trade, and probably something of a carpenter too. I have a slipper [?] chair which he made. He was married three times. His second wife was a school teacher in Sullivan. She was a lovely person and his two children adored her. But she lived only a year, and he remained a widower for 7 years until his daughter married. Then he became engaged to her sister – a Vermont spinster, sight unseen. She was an odd woman with a shrewish temper who remained in Sullivan for a year after his death wearing the deepest mourning. On the anniversary of his death she came out in a bright green silk dress, announcing that she had nothing to mourn for now – took all of his and her property and went back to Vermont. Any Hartwell or Meeker heirlooms went to Vermont!

### **Children of Ambrose Meeker and Hannah Hartwell Meeker:**

1. **Hartwell** – died in Ohio in late boyhood.

2. **Jonathon** – was a lawyer and county judge for years. Before he became judge he was in a law partnership with his brother-in-law, John R. Eden. He had four daughters and one son:

**Gertrude** – educated in a conservatory of music – was for a long time a soprano soloist and a teacher of piano and of public school music.

**Stella** – also a piano teacher, married Murray McDonald.

**Clara (Tace)** – also a music teacher, married Charles Brockway Stearns, a Chicago publisher (Red Book) who was reared in Sullivan. He was at one time a millionaire but his widow and children lost everything in Florida real estate. They had four children.

1. Thomas – who married a Sullivan girl, Bernadine McCoy. There is one son, Thomas Jr.

2. Charlene Gertrude – who is in South America with a second husband and an important job as an instructor with the Aviation industry.

3. Charles Brockway – who has one son.

4. Robert – a graduate of Butler university, now living in Indianapolis.

**Raymond P. Meeker** – a graduate of Butler Uni. A lawyer who served several terms in the legislature.

**Grace** – a graduate at The Art Institute. At one time a rug designer for Marshall Fields.

3. **Cordelia** a young school teacher, died at 17 in Nauvoo, Ill. of “quick consumption.”

4. **Phoebe Roxanna** – Born in Ohio, 1834 and died in Sullivan, 1888. She was said to have been a very beautiful girl and woman with large black eyes and black hair and a lovely complexion. She was embarrassed all her life by her meager education for schools were poor and she had little time to attend, for after her mother’s death when she was barely thirteen, she kept home for her father and brothers. Her step-mother put her back in school until her death a year after her marriage to Ambrose Meeker. Roxie was always apologetic about her letters and felt ill at ease in Washington where the ladies of her acquaintance had all had better educations. That was why she was so insistent on her children having all the “advantages” possible. She died after a long

illness from what the doctors called “dyspepsia” – but what present day doctors would probably call another name.

She was a nervous woman inclined to worry a great deal about the health of her husband and children. When her husband was in Congress during the Civil War, she remained in Sullivan with her family of small children – her fifth child was born four months before the oldest child was six. I have a series of letters – beautiful letters – which he [John R. Eden] wrote her from Washington. When he returned to Congress some ten years later, she accompanied him. They lived at the Willard Hotel and placed their three daughters in the Academy of the Visitation at Georgetown, and the two boys in Georgetown University – both of them Catholic Schools.

She was a member of the Christian Church and all of her children except Hartwell became members too. He admired the pastor of the Methodist church very much, and so joined it.

# XXI

## HISTORY OF MY MOTHER'S FAMILIES: THE MEEKERS AND THE EDENS BY MABEL MARTIN GEORGE

### PREFACE – R. Eden Martin

Mabel Eden Martin George was the second daughter and youngest child of I.J. and Rose Eden Martin. She was born January 8, 1899. One of her brothers was Robert W. Martin – my father.

My Aunts Olive and Mabel took a great interest in family history, though Mabel wrote more about it than Olive. Partly at my urging, in the early 1980's Mabel undertook to write a history of her Mother's family – the Edens and the Meekers. She focused on them partly because her father, I.J. Martin, had already written an extensive history of the Martin side of the family. The I.J. Martin family history – along with other materials relating to the Martin family – appears in *Fragments of Martin Family History* (Chicago, 1990), and on my history internet site (edenmartin.com). Mabel George contributed a chapter on I.J. Martin to that volume, and also helped me with the chapter about my father.

Mabel was in her early 80's when she worked on the Eden/Meeker side of the family history. She was 90 when she wrote the chapter on I.J. Martin for inclusion in my book. I told part of the story in the *Martin Family History* (pp. 5-6):

Mabel wrote these recollections [of her father, I.J. Martin] during the last few months of her life. I had been badgering her to write them for several years, but she had been busy working on her Eden and Meeker history. Once she sat with me for an hour or so answering questions into a tape recorder. Other times she patiently explained in telephone conversations certain details of family history – for example, describing the houses where her family lived in Sullivan when she was growing up, and explaining how it happened that her father and brothers joined two different churches. After she moved from Urbana to the Illinois Masonic Home in Sullivan, she agreed to write down some of her recollections; so I sent her a writing pad and a couple of fresh ball point pens. By this time Mabel was 90 years old, and her health, which had been fragile for several years, was failing. Nevertheless, she undertook the task with enthusiasm, writing a few pages at a time. The first part of her draft was written in July 1989. I deciphered and typed her draft and sent it back to her for proofreading. She read the typed copy and returned it with a few corrections.

Then, on August 3, 1989, Mabel suffered a massive heart attack, and was taken by ambulance from the Masonic Home in Sullivan to a hospital in Decatur. She was revived only through the vigorous efforts of the paramedics and doctors. The family was virtually certain that she would not survive, but she fooled everybody. The doctor installed a pacemaker, and Mabel returned to the Masonic Home.

While she was in the hospital and during the period when it was uncertain whether she would recover, Mabel told one visitor that she had only one regret – that she had not had time to finish her essay about her father. Now she had a new – but perhaps short – lease on life; so she set to work again. About September 25, she finished the concluding parts of her essay, ... I received these last few pages of her essay in Chicago on September 27, 1989. One week later, on October 4, 1989, Mabel suffered another massive attack, and was again rushed to the hospital in Decatur, This time she was beyond saving. She died on October 24, 1989.

The family owes a great to Mabel for her work on family history. Her writings from the 1980's about the Edens and Meekers appear below for the first time. This work would not have been possible if she and her son John George, and his son John Martin George, had not saved and organized several binders of letters and documents relating to the Edens/Meekers, as well as the Martins.

Mabel had one reservation about her Eden/Meeker family history. She wrote it in the form of a story – or novel – rather than as a history or biography. Thus, it is not always easy to distinguish the factual portions from the imaginative portions. In a letter to me of July 23, 1982, she wrote:

Sometimes I think it might have been better to have done the traditional formal way, giving bare facts with no effort to depict personalities.

It seems to me that her way – telling the history as a story – works well enough. It is not very difficult for the reader to distinguish the factual skeletal outlines from the imaginary connective tissue. There are a few exceptions. One is her story about the interview between John R. Eden and President Lincoln after the Charleston Riot. I have not seen any reference to such an interview anywhere else and doubt that it occurred.

It would be helpful in some places to know what Mabel's sources of information were for her facts. Some came from letters no longer available to me. Some probably were handed down to her verbally by her father and other relatives. If one cannot be absolutely sure of the accuracy of the latter, it is also true that one can't be sure of what is written in documents either. Probably the picture set forth in her narrative below is as close as anyone could get – now, at this distance – to the reality of what was going on within these families a century or two ago.

One thing is quite sure: we know much more about the Edens and Meekers because of Mabel's research and memory – and her work in setting it down on paper – than if she had not cared or had not bothered to preserve the stories. It is a source of satisfaction to me that her work will now see the light of day.

Robert Eden Martin

Chicago, 2011

## FOREWORD

Some forty years ago, my father, I. J. Martin, wrote a complete history of his family. I treasure that document and am glad that it will be available to my grandchildren, should they ever want to learn more about their heritage.

But Father's writing is only a part of the story; nothing has been written about my mother's family, the Edens and the Meekers. Since I am the only one of my mother's children still living, I feel that I should try to do for her people what Father did for his.

For the past several years I have been studying old letters, records and papers, gathering material for this project. I have had the past so much in mind that I almost feel that I have been living in it, and that I have known its people.

I would like to write in such a way as to give readers that same sense of involvement and the same feeling of warmth and understanding that I have experienced. In order to do that, I am writing a series of personality sketches, hoping to depict real individuals and make them live again in the minds and hearts of their descendants.

## AMBROSE MEEKER

The hands of the clock on the mantel shelf were straight up midnight, but Ambrose Meeker still sat staring at the few faintly glowing embers on the hearth. The fire had been lit in the afternoon by a thoughtful neighbor who hoped that the warmth and cheer would be of some comfort to a grieving family when they returned from the burial ground.

Everyone had been kind. Although the Meekers had lived in the small settlement of Sullivan only a short time, people had been quick to offer help and sympathy when they heard of Hannah's death. Two of the townswomen had come in to prepare the body for burial and lay it in the hastily made pine coffin. Others had sat beside it all through the night and stayed to prepare breakfast in the morning. Enough food had been brought in to last for days - roast chickens, baked hams, large loaves of crusty bread, freshly churned butter, jars of preserves and several dried apple pies.

It was the last day of March, 1848. The skies had been dark and cloudy all day and the air chilly and damp. The road to the area chosen to be the graveyard was deep with mud from the early spring rains, and the wind whipped the heavy clothing of the mourners as the minister read the graveside service. There had been few deaths among the settlers and Hannah was the second woman to be buried in what was later named Greenhill Cemetery. It was hard to leave her in such desolate surroundings, but an elm tree near where she lay was already showing green and behind it was a grassy slope that stretched down to an alder lined stream. It would be pretty here when summer came. It might have been some comfort to Ambrose if he could have known that sixty years later on winter days when the ground was covered with snow, his great grandchildren would bring their sleds, and laughing and shouting, slide down that hill onto the frozen stream.

As the day was ending, Ambrose tried to make plans for the future. He faced the responsibility of establishing a home and a business in a land that still seemed strange to him, and being both father and mother to two teen-aged children. It was natural that he should have wished that they had all stayed in Ohio where they had relatives and friends, and where Hannah and Cordelia might have had a better chance for life. Coming to Illinois had been a mistake, but it was one that could not be rectified. He could not let his mind dwell on the past, for the problems of the present were too urgent. He must cope with them and make plans for the days to come.

He had confidence in himself and felt that he was equal to all these responsibilities, except one - his daughter, whom he called Roxy. A thirteen year old girl needed a woman to guide her and teach her the things as young lady should know. Roxy was quiet, gentle and loving, and he wanted to do his best to see that she had a chance for happiness. She did not enroll in school as her brother did. She was now the woman of the family and must stay at home and keep house for her father and brother. Ambrose wished it did not need to be that way, for he and Hannah had always wanted their children to have an education.

It was not long before the Meeker home was running smoothly and Ambrose had a thriving business established. Sullivan was a small settlement with a sprinkling of frame houses occupied by retired farmers or people who provided services

for farmers. The rich black soil of the surrounding country made farming profitable and agriculture was the only industry of the area.

Jonathan was no problem to his father. He did well in school and also learned the blacksmith trade and helped Ambrose in his work. He was an outgoing person and made friends easily. One of the teachers in the school took a special interest in him. Her name was Sarah Hibbard and she had come from Vermont the year before, so she too was far from home and lonely. She became acquainted with Roxy too, for Sarah taught a young people's Bible class at church. Roxy liked her and invited her to come to her house for dinner. Soon she became a friend of the entire family. A year and a half after the death of his wife, Ambrose married Sarah Hibbard.

This marriage brought a happy change to the Meeker household. Sarah was kind and loving, and she relieved Roxy of her house work and sent her back to school. She was a good manager and an excellent homemaker, wife and stepmother. With her in charge, there was order and contentment in the house of Ambrose Meeker and his children. This happy circumstance did not last long. A year and a half after her marriage Sarah Meeker died in childbirth, and she and her still-born son were buried beside Hannah in Greenhill Cemetery.

Ambrose wondered why fate had treated him so harshly. Other men had happy and secure homes and large families of children. His father had reared eight children and his grandfather twice as many, but he was now past fifty; he had lost two wives and only two of his five children had survived.

Life had never been easy for him. He was born near Orange, New Jersey in 1799. He came from sturdy stock. His ancestry can be traced back to **John Meeker** who came from **Warwickshire, England** with his brother, Robert, and settled in Massachusetts Colony as early as 1630. He was a strong character, and there is quite a bit of information about him. He was a founder of Elizabethtowne and Newark, New Jersey. His great grandson, **Timothy Meeker**, was also a colorful character. He was seventy years old when the Revolutionary War started, but he enlisted at once and headed a company in which three of his sons and two grandsons also served.

**Timothy Meeker** was the grandfather of Ambrose. When he was a widower for the second time at the age of fifty, he already had ten children. He married a third wife who presented him with six more. Large families were common in those times, but Timothy must have set some kind of record by rearing sixteen sons and daughters to adulthood. He had sixty-six grandchildren and lived long enough to enjoy them.

Two of the sons born to Timothy were twins - Jonathan and David, and it was **Jonathan who fathered Ambrose**. Four children were already in the Jonathan Meeker home ahead of Ambrose whose mother was the second wife of Jonathan. She had borne a son two years older than Ambrose; his name was Enoch. His mother died when Ambrose was a baby and his father married a third wife; three more children joined the family group.

The sons of Jonathan Meeker worked hard on the farm, helping their father provide for his large family. There was a division of labor and Ambrose who was big and strong by the time he was fifteen, learned to shoe the horses and that was one of his special tasks.

When he was in his early twenties, Ambrose decided to emigrate to Ohio, hoping to find better opportunities for himself there. He had little money so he walked all the way to Newark, Ohio, where he found work as a blacksmith. He followed that trade for thirty years, and it was in many ways a hard way to make a living. But he did not mind doing strenuous work and was not dissatisfied with frugal living. It was seeing his loved ones suffer and die that made him feel that providence had been hard on him and his family. Again, he turned to his work to ease his mind and provide for his family. He prospered and was able to save enough money to buy a farm not far from town. He and his two children moved into the rambling frame house that was on his land and he became a farmer.

I remember that house well. My Uncle and Aunt lived in it and many of the happiest hours of my childhood were spent there playing with my cousins. As far as I know, there are no pictures of that house, but in my mind it still exists. Low ceilinged, brown and weather-beaten, with a porch around two sides, it stands in my memory. The narrow path which led out to the road with large lilac bushes on each side, the yard where children and dogs romped, the orchard east of the yard, whose trees produced yellow fruit which we called jelly apples because when they were ripe, the center turned to a clear delicious jelly, - I think of them as still being there. Sometimes I feel that if I went back there today, I would find Aunt Belle in the kitchen frying chicken and

keeping a kettle of sweet corn boiling on the back of the stove. A pan of biscuits would be in the oven and another ready to put in after the first was emptied.

But to get back to Ambrose. It was seven years before he again thought of marriage. Since Sarah's death he had corresponded with her sister, and they must have conducted a courtship by mail, for after both of his children were married, Ambrose went to Vermont and when he returned, he brought with him a new bride - Deborah Hibbard, Sarah's sister.

Everyone was happy for him, thinking that his new wife would be like her sister and bring him the happiness he so well deserved. But it was soon clear that Deborah was quite different from Sarah. She was meanhearted and selfish and seemed to enjoy making all around her miserable, especially her husband. She did all she could to ruin him emotionally and financially, and he lived the last twenty years of his life with a shrew. Probably he never considered leaving her. In those days among middle-class small town people, when a couple were married, they were expected to stay that way, happy or not.

Deborah Meeker was dissatisfied on the farm and her husband was not as successful a farmer as he had been a blacksmith. He ran into financial difficulties and in 1865 he made a business deal with his son-in-law in which he gave up the farm and acquired a house in town. According to the memoirs of his grandson, Walter Eden, this house was located a block and a half southwest of the courthouse square. Ambrose and Deborah lived there until his death in 1880.

Although the last twenty years of his life were spent under unhappy home conditions, Ambrose was not without comfort and satisfaction. He took great pride and pleasure in his children and grandchildren. **Jonathan** had studied law after he finished school and was successful in that profession. He became a prominent leader in the community and for a time held the position of County Judge. He was happily married and had a family of five children - four daughters and one son.

**Roxy** married a young lawyer who was also successful. Ambrose had great respect for his son-in-law and was especially close to his daughter and her six children. When Ambrose Meeker died, his widow put on deep mourning for a year. On the anniversary of his death, she came out in a new bright green dress and said she no longer needed to mourn. She settled his estate and went back to Vermont, taking the Meeker heirlooms with her. However, she must have sold some things before she left, for years later an old lady told Jonathan's son, Ray Meeker, that she had a sugar bowl that had belonged to his grandmother. She said that she bought it at a sale. She gave the bowl to Ray and a short time before he died, he gave it to me. I have no picture of my great grandfather, Ambrose Meeker, no letters written by him, and no mementoes, except for the baby thumb print glass sugar bowl into which he dipped his spoon to sweeten his breakfast coffee.

## HANNAH HARTWELL MEEKER

Hannah Meeker shivered and drew her shawl more closely around her shoulders as she bent over the table. She was writing a letter, and the flickering flame of her candle threw shadows over the paper so that it was hard to see what she was writing. It was mid-winter in the year of 1847. The ground was covered with snow and the wind howled around the corners of the frame rooming house which was her temporary quarters. She hadn't thought that Southern Illinois would be so cold, and she wished she were back in Ohio where she had lived most of her forty seven years.

She had come to Illinois in the fall of 1846 with her husband, Ambrose, and two teen-aged children. Ambrose's brother, Enoch, was living in Nauvoo, and Hannah's sister, Roxie was also there. The Ambrose Meekers had stopped at the little town of Melrose which was not far from Nauvoo. They had planned to go on farther north to a settlement called Sullivan where they hoped to establish a home. But Ambrose, who may have been an indecisive man, had not been pleased with prospects in Illinois and began to feel that it would have been better to have stayed in Ohio and gone into business with his brother, John Henry, who was a merchant in Cincinnati. He had gone back to talk things over with his brother and perhaps change his plans.

Hannah had been left in Melrose with a seventeen year old daughter, Cordelia, who was ill, and a son, Jonathan, who was two years younger. A third child, thirteen year old **Phoebe Roxanna**, had stayed in Cincinnati with her uncle, perhaps to finish her schooling. As the days went by, Hannah grew weary with waiting and was worried about what was going to happen to her family. She was writing a letter to Ambrose urging him to make up his mind about what he wanted to do. She wrote:



Melrose, Jan. 8, 1847

Dear Husband,

We received your letter and were sorry to hear that you had been sick. Cordelia is about the same as she was when you left. She is feeble and desirous of getting home. She wants to see you very much and she craves lemons as much as ever. The rest of us are all well. I am sorry that you had such a tedious journey. Snow was eighteen inches deep here three days after you left and lasted two weeks. It snowed again yesterday and we have ten inches.

I want you to do what you think best. You are there and know what the prospects of business are. Wherever you are best satisfied is my choice to go. I think I could be happy to see my family settled any place and feel myself at home. I want you to make up your mind as soon as possible so that we can have our family together again. I feel uneasy about you and Roxy and I think it hurt Cordelia to have you go. She is so anxious to see you and to get a home. I don't want you to leave it to me to say what to do, for I do not know what is best. Cordelia says she can't stand it much longer. She wants to get home. Let us hear from you quick as possible. Give my love to John Henry and the children. Tell Roxy I want to see her. I hope to see you both before long.

Hannah Meeker

P.S. If you decide to stay there and send for us, tell us what to do with the colt; leave him with Ezra? He is doing well and is as big as a common colt of eighteen months.

In Cincinnati, Ambrose had already made his decision and Hannah received a letter from him soon after she had sent hers. He wrote that he was coming back to Melrose and that they would go on to Sullivan as planned. Hannah wrote again at once to give him advice about the trip. Only a part of that letter was saved. It read:

“Do not let Cordelia's lemons freeze. It will make them bitter. And fetch two loaves of baker's bread, as her appetite is poor. When you come, do not leave Roxanna unless you are sure of going back. I want to see her more than ever since I heard that she was sick. Cordelia has the chills and fever every day. Her cough still bothers her. She is tired of this place and says she can't stand it much longer if she doesn't get home soon. It is very cold here and that adds to her misery. She says she never wanted to see you so bad in her life before. So hurry and take us to one place or the other, Sullivan or Cincinnati, whichever you like best. It is your choice as I will be happy any place you want to go. Please write as soon as you get this and let me know about Roxanna. I am well. Hannah.”

These letters give a clear picture of Hannah's character - her patience, unselfishness, courage, wisdom and loving nature. They also inspire a desire to know more about her life. She was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1800. Her father was **Nathan Hartwell**. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, joining the Army when he was fifteen years old and staying until the end of the war in 1783.

Her mother was **Sarah Ripley**. It was through the Ripley family that her ancestry could be traced back to the Mayflower. In the early nineteenth century two of Sarah Ripley's great granddaughters, Gertrude and Stella Meeker, took a long look up their family tree and learned that five of their ancestors were on that illustrious ship. The three most prominent were Priscilla Mullins, John Alden and Miles Standish.

It may sound surprising that Alden and Standish, who Longfellow said were rivals for the hand of the fair Priscilla, should have a common line of descendants. The explanation is that although Standish was hurt at the loss of Priscilla, and angry at what he considered a double-crossing by his trusted friend, Alden, he did not wait long before finding another love. He married and had children, and his son, Nathaniel, married Elizabeth Alden, who was the tenth and youngest child of John and Priscilla Alden. One of the children of Elizabeth and Nathaniel Standish married into the Ripley family. I haven't figured out how many generations it took to get down to Sarah Ripley, but she truly was a descendant of John and Priscilla Alden and Miles Standish.

Little is known about Hannah's childhood except that much of it was spent in Plymouth, and she had a brother and a sister. There may have been other siblings in her family, but only John and Roxanna were mentioned in family correspondence. Judging from her letters, she must have had a fair education. I picture Hannah as having dark hair, a round face, even features and eyes that were almost black. She was of small stature but had a rounded figure. I have never seen a photograph or read a description of her, but I have seen pictures of her sister and her daughter and their resemblance was strong. She was probably of similar appearance.

Her family moved to Newark, Ohio and it was there that she met and married Ambrose Meeker in 1824. In 1828 they had a son whom they named Hartwell. Three more children were born to them - Cordelia, Jonathan, and Phoebe Roxanna.

Ambrose was a blacksmith, of stocky build, muscular and strong. Hartwell, his son, did not inherit that strength. He did not learn his father's trade, but spent his time with books and studies. He did well in that field and at the age of sixteen obtained a job teaching school. But his health failed and he died at the age of eighteen.

It may have been his death which made Ambrose and Hannah dissatisfied in Ohio and decide to go to new surroundings. Hannah's sister, Roxie, and Ambrose's brother, Enoch, probably had written glowing descriptions of life in Illinois and urged them to join them there. Anyway, the Meeker family loaded their most cherished possessions, along with necessary supplies into a covered wagon and traveled from Ohio to southern Illinois. There is no record of their being part of a wagon train so I presume that they made the trip alone.

When they were driving through Indiana, they stopped at a country school house to water their horses. The tall young man who was teaching there was named John Rice Eden. He was so gracious and helpful to them that they always remembered him. Hannah was especially impressed with his looks and manner. Afterwards she told her younger daughter about him, saying, "That young man had the most beautiful blue eyes I ever saw in anyone's head."

They made this trip in September. The weather was good all the way and they had no unusual hardships, but they were glad to reach their destination. Cordelia was most relieved, for she was not strong and had developed a bad cough which was aggravated by the dust of the road. Southern Illinois is beautiful in the fall and they must have liked what they saw there. It was good to be with Enoch and his family again and for the two sisters, Hannah and Roxie, to be reunited.

Roxie had married a man named Davis and it was under the name of Mrs. Roxie Davis that she was teaching school in Nauvoo. She may have been widowed at the time. Later she married a Mr. Harrell and I have a number of her letters which were sent to my mother. They are signed, Your loving Aunt, Roxie Harrell.

If all had gone as planned, the family of Ambrose Meeker would have visited with their relatives a while and then gone on north and settled in Sullivan before winter arrived. But Cordelia had become so ill that they decided to wait until she was better. So they found living quarters in Melrose.

It was then that Ambrose began to waver and have the doubts that took him back to Ohio. When he finally returned to Melrose, Hannah was happy to have her family together again and began to prepare for the trip to Sullivan.

It was not an easy journey in winter. Perhaps it would have been wiser for them to have waited until Spring. But they were tired of marking time in Melrose and wanted to get settled in their new home at once. So again they loaded their wagon, said their goodbyes and started on their way, but it was a saddened family that reached Sullivan early in February. Cordelia did not get her wish to be at home again, for she died on the way to Sullivan.

Her death was caused by what in those days was called "quick consumption." In caring for her, Hannah contracted the disease and she too died. She lived only a month after reaching the home she desired so much.

She was the first woman to be buried in Greenhill Cemetery. A few years ago, when I visited that burial ground where four generations of Meekers, Edens and Martins now lie, I stood by her grave and my thoughts were with the brave and loving woman who was my great grandmother, Hannah Hartwell Meeker.

## JOHN PAUL AND CATHERINE CANN EDEN

A small wagon moved slowly along a road that was hardly more than a path through the woods. It was pulled by a gray horse that was no longer young, and loaded with household furnishings, simple farm tools, and enough provisions to keep a young couple from going hungry for some time. Bags of corn meal, buckets of lard, and a goodly supply of cured meats were piled in the front of the wagon along with stone jars of apple butter and pear honey.

At the rear there was a makeshift coop which confined a rooster and three fat hens, a modest beginning for a flock of chickens. A mooley cow was tied to the back of the wagon, slowing progress on the thirty mile trip from the home of a bride to the farm where she and her husband would begin their life together.

Catherine Cann Eden was finding it hard to sit up straight on the hard seat at the front of the wagon. It had been two days since she had said goodbye to her mother and five sisters and left her girlhood home in central Kentucky. She was weary and she wondered how long it would be before they would reach the clearing her husband had told her about and the cabin which would be her new home.

She turned and looked at John Paul, who was sitting beside her, holding the reins loosely and letting the horse go at its own pace. He was tall, lean and muscular. His naturally fair skin was tanned by much outdoor living and his blue eyes were rimmed with black lashes in contrast to the thick, light brown hair which was trimmed close to follow the lines of his well-shaped head.

Catherine thought her husband looked quite handsome in his rough buckskin clothes, just as handsome as he had in the dark wool suit and linen shirt he had worn at their wedding. That suit and her white wedding dress were packed carefully in the small trunk under the wagon seat, along with other treasures that warranted special care.

Catherine and John Paul talked little along the way, mostly because they had a language barrier. He was English and spoke no other language, although he did know a few French words and was quick at interpreting inflections and gestures. Catherine spoke only French. Her father was of French Huguenot ancestry and his family had held on to French ways. He had insisted that French be spoken exclusively in his household.

Catherine's mother was German, but after her marriage to **Joseph Cann** she was quick to learn her husband's language, and she spoke it well, albeit with a strong guttural accent. Catherine was trying to learn English and was determined to master it, for she intended to use her husband's language the rest of her life.

She smoothed the ruffled skirt of her gray linsey-woolsey dress. It was a little heavy for a Spring day and she would rather have worn her blue linen, but her mother had said that the gray dress was more suitable for traveling. She loosened the strings of her bonnet and let it fall to the back of her neck, allowing the light breeze to blow through her dark hair.

John Paul too was eager to reach the end of their journey. He hoped that Catherine would not be disappointed when she saw the cabin which was to be their home. He had tried to explain to her that it was nothing like the strong log house her father had built for his family. Joseph Cann was skilled in carpentry and had the proper tools for his work. He had built a house that had four rooms and a porch across the front. It had puncheon floors and the windows were well-shuttered. Would Catherine be shocked when she saw their one room cabin with hard-packed dirt floor and one staring window? Could she be content to live in such a home?

It was nightfall by the time they reached the clearing, and if the sight of the cabin caused Catherine any dismay, she was quick to hide it. They were both too tired to put all of their belongings in the proper places, but John Paul carried the feather bed to the trunk at the end of the room and Catherine arranged the pillows, sheets and covers. She was proud of that bedding for she had made it all herself, spinning the thread and weaving it into cloth. She had fashioned the bags for the bed tick and pillows and filled them with goose feathers. Her small, skillful hands had hemmed the sheets, sewed the pillow cases, and quilted the coverlets.

John Paul built a fire in the fireplace and then took a wooden bucket to the spring to get water so that they could have tea. He put the horse and cow in the half shed at the back of the cabin and the chickens in a pen. After he fed and watered them, he came in to share with Catherine what was left of the food which her mother had prepared for their trip. They ate thick slices of baked ham with cornbread and grape jam and drank mugs of strong, hot tea to give warmth to the meal.

After the supper things were cleared away, Catherine and John Paul sat for a while on a bench in front of the dying fire

and planned their activities for the next day. It was April the fifteenth in the year 1819 and the John Paul Edens were at home.

Spring and summer were busy seasons for the young Edens. The middle of April was a little late for planting crops. Corn should already be inches high, but there was plenty of time for seeds to grow and crops to ripen before frost. John Paul worked from dawn to dusk, planting corn, flax, and pumpkins and keeping his fields free from weeds. The clearing was not large and would produce only enough for their needs. He planned to clear more land during the winter months. Next year his crops should be doubled and there would be corn to trade for the provisions they could not grow.

He was not an experienced farmer. He had grown up in hill country where there was no room for fields large enough for growing corn, and the soil was not rich enough for productive farming. John Paul and his brothers, William and Jeremiah, hunted and fished with their father, tanned hides, smoked venison, and prepared furs to take to the trading post.

As a small boy he had helped his mother put in a garden of beans, potatoes, turnips, and onions, and had gone to the woods to pick berries, wild grapes, and plums for making jam. It was his mother who had encouraged him to leave the hills and become a farmer. She had helped him put away money so that, when the opportunity came, he was able to buy farm land.

The daughter of a neighbor had married a young farmer who died the next year of lung fever. The widowed bride returned to her father's house and, when John Paul offered to buy the land where she had spent her short married life, she was willing to sell.

As he worked his fields, John Paul thought tenderly of his mother and wished she could see his rows of growing corn. He seemed to feel her presence and could almost hear her voice giving him words of encouragement.

He knew that his mother's life as a child and young woman had been different from the one she had after her marriage. Her father, **Jason Rice** was a successful farmer and owned 800 acres of land in Maryland. He had worked hard and prospered and he was proud of his holdings, his comfortable home and, most of all, his family.

Jason was ambitious for his children. Someday, he hoped, his sons would take over the responsibilities of the farm and add to it through their own efforts. His **daughter, Mary** would choose a husband from the sons of neighboring farmers and live nearby, where she and her children would be a joy and comfort to him in his old age.

When he realized that Mary fancied herself in love with a young nobody from up in the hills, he was furious and forbade her to see **Jeremiah Eden** again. John Paul had heard the story about how his parents eloped, with Mary's father and brothers riding after them, but not fast enough to catch the young lovers and prevent the marriage.

Jason Rice never forgave his daughter. He disinherited her and gave orders that her name was not to be mentioned in his presence. Mary Rice Eden never saw any of her family again. That saddened her; but if she ever regretted leaving her comfortable home for a primitive log cabin in the hills, no one ever knew it.

Catherine was as busy as her husband all summer long. Like him, she arose early and worked until nightfall. She did what she could to put her house in order and make it more comfortable and attractive. She laid straw mats on the dirt floor, made curtains for the window, and spread a linen cloth on the rough pine table.

Most of her time, however, was spent outdoors. She put out a vegetable garden and tended it religiously, and in front of the cabin she planted seeds she had brought from her mother's flower garden. When pinks, bachelor buttons, and marigolds began blooming, she felt that she was really in her own home.

She was also a great help to her husband. Unlike him, she knew about farming. Since Joseph Cann had no sons, Catherine and her elder sister, Nancy, had helped him in his farm work. From the time she was nine years old she had spent hours every day – caring for the animals and working in the fields. She knew when and how seeds should be planted so they would grow best, and she could advise John Paul about tending his crops. She helped with the harvesting and storing of the products of their labor. She liked to work beside him to keep the rows free from weeds and her small hands could shuck and shell corn quickly and cleanly. It would be hard to say which of the young people was more proud when they took their corn to the mill, ten miles away, to be ground into meal. When they returned home, Catherine baked a pan of bread using their own cornmeal. Both she and John Paul agreed that it was the best bread they had ever tasted.

There was no ceasing of work during the winter months. John Paul was busy every day clearing more land for spring planting. He cut down acres of trees and grubbed out their roots. The trees had to be chopped into firewood and it was a little discouraging to see how slowly the work went. Catherine was busy too, spinning, weaving, and sewing. She also turned her attention to learning to speak English, and by spring she could carry on a conversation in her husband's language, with a French accent that was delightful and sometimes amusing.

When the planting season came Catherine again went into the fields with her husband. With extra acres to farm they worked more diligently than ever. But by midsummer Catherine quit doing field work. There was to be a new member in the family before harvest time.

To neither of the prospective parents was childbirth a mystery. In their work with farm animals they had both learned about the coming of new life. And in the small cabins of the early settlers, where families experienced real togetherness, there were few secrets.

Catherine remembered well the birth of her youngest sister, Lucinda. When his wife's time came, Joseph Cann rode for the Granny woman, leaving his two eldest daughters to look after their mother. Lucinda had not waited for help to arrive, so it was 10-year-old Catherine and her sister Nancy, only two years older, who officiated at her birth. When Joseph Cann and the Granny woman rushed in the door, Catherine and Nancy already had their mite of a sister warmly wrapped and lying beside her mother. Catherine remembered how surprised her father had been and also how quickly he hid his look of disappointment at learning that the baby was another girl instead of the son for whom he had hoped..

Much greater than his disappointment at not having a son, however, was the relief and joy he felt at knowing his wife and new baby were all right and that all was well. He was not usually a demonstrative man, but that day he hugged Nancy and Catherine tight and praised them for the way they had handled such a big responsibility.

For Catherine, the months before the birth of her first child were happy ones. She felt strong and confident and whenever John Paul showed signs of anxiety for her, she assured him that there was no cause for worry. And she was right. On the tenth of September, 1820, a son was born to Catherine and John Paul Eden. A Granny woman from a neighboring farm ushered the baby into the world, and her skill along with Catherine's strong constitution made the event go smoothly. The baby was named Joseph Edgar.

The acres John Paul had added to his growing area gave good results. At harvest time in 1820, he took twice as much corn to the mill as he had the year before, and when he returned with sacks of cornmeal, he brought sugar, tea, coffee, a sack of wheat flour and some baking soda. He also had a present for Catherine and their newborn son, a sturdy cradle which he had bought from the miller, whose children were all grown.

When it was time to butcher, Josh Logan, a farmer John Paul had met at the mill, came to help him. They cured hams and bacon and rendered the lard. Catherine was glad to have the good meat to add to their winter menus and a supply of fat for cooking. Josh brought his wife with him and she and Catherine became good friends. Mary Logan was ten years older than Catherine and an experienced housewife and mother. Catherine often turned to her for advice, especially about the baby who had a tendency to be croupy. Mary rubbed goose grease on his chest and told Catherine to keep a kettle of water boiling so that the steam could relieve Joseph Edgar's coughing and distress.

It was through Josh and Mary Logan that the Edens were drawn into some enjoyable social life. The families from miles around sometimes gathered at a farm home for an all day party. They shared a noon meal and in the afternoon the men helped the host with whatever job he had planned. Meanwhile the women could sew and quilt, exchange recipes, talk and laugh while their babies napped and the older children romped in the yard. A big supper was prepared and, after appetites were satisfied and the dishes cleared away, it was time for the fiddlers to get out their instruments and play for a barn dance. It would be late when the children were wakened and bedded down again on the straw in the back of wagons for the drive back home. Often dawn was breaking when the Edens drove into their own barnyard. It would take a day of rest to recover from such a party, but the satisfaction and pleasure it provided lingered in the memory and made a life of hard work easier to bear.

Catherine was homesick to see her mother and sisters and in the fall of 1821 she and John Paul decided to go for a visit. The trip was much easier than the one they had made before. This time the horse was young and strong, the wagon was not heavily loaded, and there was no cow tied behind.

They stopped first at the Cann home where they found Catherine's mother and sisters well and happy. Two of the girls had married young farmers and lived in the vicinity, but Nancy was still at home with her mother and the two younger girls, Milly and Lucinda. It was a happy reunion and Joseph Edgar was a delight to his grandmother and aunts.

After several days of visiting at Catherine's home, John Paul took his wife and child up into the hills to see his family. Again there was a glad welcome. Jeremiah Eden shook hands with his son and, almost overcome with emotion, drew him close in a bear hug. He greeted Catherine warmly and kissed her cheek with real affection, and when he took his grandson in his arms and looked into eyes as blue as his own, his heart overflowed with happiness.

There were tears of joy in the eyes of Mary Rice Eden when her tall son lifted her off her feet in his warm embrace. But she quickly freed herself to greet her daughter-in-law and to compete with Jeremiah in admiring their grandson. She took him from his grandfather's arms and held him close to her heart, making little cooing noises in his ear and telling him what a dear, beautiful boy he was.

John Paul's brother, William, was no longer at home, but when Jeremiah Jr. came in from the woods, the two brothers slapped each other on the back and the expression on their faces showed how glad they were to see one another again. At first Jeremiah Jr., or Jerry as he was called, was a little reluctant to do more than admire his nephew. He had never been around babies and did not know how to treat so young a child, but he soon lost his shyness. By the next day, Uncle Jerry was carrying Joseph Edgar all over the place to show him the chickens, pigs, sheep, and his pets, Scamp, a dog of uncertain parentage, and a gray tabby cat with her six kittens.

The visit was all too short, for the young Edens felt that they must get back home to finish their preparations for the winter. Some of the products of the field and garden needed to be stored and there was still butchering to be done. So again there were the goodbyes, loving and a little tearful, and John Paul and his family were on their way home.

They had enjoyed every minute of their visit, but it was good to be home again. The fall and winter hurried by. John Paul worked every day clearing more ground for planting. He added some sheep to his growing number of livestock. Next year Catherine would have wool to make into warm clothing. She had brought some yarn from her mother's supply and she set to work at once knitting sweaters, caps, mittens, and mufflers, for there was often a real chill in the winter air. They even had some snow in January of 1822.

That was not a good year. March and April were rainy and the fields too muddy for planting. The summer was hot and dry. There was not enough moisture for the corn to develop properly, and at harvest time the ears were sparsely kernelled. Catherine's garden did not do well either and there were few vegetables to be stored for the winter. The fields produced little more corn than was needed for their own use. There was no surplus to trade or turn into money to add to their small savings.

It was disappointing to have so little to show for their hard work, but they didn't lose heart. Next year would be better.

It was a delight to watch Joseph Edgar grow and develop, learn to walk and talk. He was sturdy and handsome, and when the farm families got together, John Paul and Catherine were pleased and proud to see how much brighter and better behaved their son seemed to be in comparison with other children of the same age.

It was the custom to dress little boys the same as girls until they were four years old. Therefore Joseph Edgar was still in skirts when his sister, Juliana, was born in February 1823. A baby girl was just what the family needed and John Paul and Catherine were happy to have the cradle filled again.

It was that year which brought bad news to their friends, the Logans. They were notified that the title to their land was not good. Their problem, not an unusual one for early Kentucky settlers, resulted from the defective land law system in the state. There had never been a general survey of the territory, and pioneers had been allowed to settle where they pleased and were responsible for their own surveys. Not surprisingly, the results were vague and unprecise, causing law suits and much sorrow.

Eviction papers were served on Josh Logan and he was sued as a trespasser. The land he had been farming for years was part of a 10,000 acre tract surveyed in 1784 and patented to a man named Middleton. Josh Logan was only one of many alleged squatters. Three men who claimed to be heirs of Middleton were the plaintiffs, and when the case came to court the Logans learned that the only way they could stay on the land they thought they owned was as tenants. Half of what they produced would

go to the landlord. Josh was furious but there was nothing he could do to change the verdict. He determined some day to find a place where he could be sure that he owned the acres he tilled.

John Paul was angry too at the way his friend had been treated. He was uneasy about his own land until he learned that it was not in the Middleton tract and was probably safe. There was a feeling of uneasiness among the farmers of the state and many decided to emigrate.

The following years were full of hard work and loving associations. Sometimes the crops were good and the Edens felt rewarded for their efforts, but other times there were killing frosts, summer droughts, or so much rain that the seed rotted in the ground. In the bad times they felt discouraged, and when Josh Logan and others talked about emigrating they wondered if they might better themselves in a different location.

Two more children joined the family. In February 1826, a son was born and named **John Rice**, and in 1828 another little girl arrived. She was named Nancy Jane after Catherine's sister and mother. A family of six crowded the cabin and it required more work to keep them fed and clothed, but John Paul and Catherine were proud of their brood and were willing to make any sacrifice for their welfare.

In 1829 there was great talk about opportunities for farmers in Indiana. It was a rather wild area and most of it was wooded and would have to be cleared for farming, but the soil was rich and everything was promising for good production. Josh Logan went to see for himself what advantages this rough country could give. He came back with an enthusiastic report about what he found. He and Mary decided to take their family and move to Indiana. Seth and Hester Taylor were going with them.

The Edens considered the matter for some time and then told Josh that they would join the emigration. In 1831 they sold their 200 acres to a neighboring farmer whose son was getting married and needed a place to farm. The selling price was \$300, an amount that would equip them for the trip to Indiana and make a payment on land there.

The fifteenth of September was the date set for the move. It seemed wise to stay in Kentucky until the crops were harvested and provisions could be prepared for the trip. They needed enough extra supplies to sustain themselves through another growing season. The young man who had bought the Eden farm came to help with the harvesting, butchering, curing of meats and rendering of lard.

Catherine washed all the clothes and linens and put them in strong bags. She packed her most treasured things in the little trunk she had brought from her girlhood home. They decided not to take the furniture but to leave it for the new owners. Tables, benches, stools, and bunks could easily be made after they reached their new location. However they would take the spinning wheel and the cradle, which would have a new occupant after the first of the year. They acquired a team of horses to pull the prairie schooner which was to carry them, their children, and all their belongings to a new home.

The wagon had to be loaded carefully. There had to be room for the family to ride in comfort and to bed down whenever the weather was too cold or rainy to sleep in the open. After the household furnishings and tools were in place, all the remaining space was filled with provisions: hams, sausages, and sowbelly, which is salt pork; sacks of cornmeal, potatoes, beans, turnips, and onions; kegs of lard and sauerkraut. There were also stone jars full of apple butter and pear honey.

The packing job was finally finished after sundown on the evening before the trip was to begin. The Edens spent their last night in the cabin, and early the next morning 11-year-old Joseph Edgar, Julina who was three years younger, and John R. who was just five, climbed into the wagon. Catherine lifted Nancy Jane, who was not yet three, in beside the other children before she took her place on the driver's seat. She picked up the reins and held them loosely as she looked back at the cabin which had been her home for twelve years. She was thankful for the blinders on her sunbonnet which hid her brimming eyes from the excited children.

John Paul planned to ride horseback and herd his livestock ahead of him: two cows, four pigs, and seven sheep. When he gave the sign, Catherine slapped the reins on the backs of the team and they were on their way to the Logan place where they would meet the others to start their journey.

There were four families in the caravan. Ben Sampson had decided to join the Logans, Taylors, and Edens in the venture. Josh Logan and his sons had gone to Indiana in early May, after the crops were in, and marked out four claims, each eighty acres, and cut enough logs for the construction of shelters where the families would live until they could build cabins. Josh

was a carpenter as well as a farmer. He would supervise the building of homes for his friends and sheds for their animals.

When Josh and his boys returned they told of the richness of the Indiana soil and the woods teeming with wild game. Surely Indiana would be a good place to live.

Three wagons were ready to roll when the Edens reached the Logan farm and the four families headed north at once. The first day of the journey was not difficult. The roads were fairly smooth and the driving was not too tiring. Everyone was in a happy mood when they stopped in the evening and built fires to prepare supper. After they finished eating and cleared up the gear, Ben Sampson got out his guitar. They sang rollicking songs, old ballads, and hymns before they bedded down for the night.

After the second day on the trail, the going became rougher. There were streams to be forded. At one point the horses had to struggle through fast-flowing water up to their flanks. The little trunk tied on the back of the Eden wagon tore loose from the deer hide thongs that held it and fell into the river. There was no time for Catherine to look back to see where it sank. She needed all her energy and attention to urge the horses up the far bank. It was not until they were again on solid ground that she turned her eyes toward the river. The trunk had disappeared beneath the rushing waters, taking all her keepsakes with it.

On they went through dense forests, up and down hills, over creeks that had no bridges. The adventure had lost its charm and there was no longer any music in the evenings. Everyone was too tired to sing, and mothers were busy soothing weary children and quieting wailing babies.

Arrival at the Ohio River was a big thrill for the travelers. Here they could take a day off to rest at the settlement named Thompson Ferry. It was a bustling place full of interesting sights. There was a wood yard where river boats could refuel and a trading post with all sorts of supplies for settlers.

The pageantry of the river was impressive. There were flatboats and barges, some loaded with merchandise bound for the South, others carrying families with their furnishings and animals. There were even pleasure boats with bright-colored awnings and well-dressed men and women lounging on the decks. Sometimes a steamboat went by. The first time little John R. saw one of these, he thought it was on fire and he was very frightened. Joseph Edgar, older and wiser, laughed at his little brother's fears and explained to him why the boat was spouting smoke.

The four families rested a day and a night. Then they drove their wagons and animals onto the ferry and were carried to the Indiana shore. They were beginning the last lap of their long journey.

They followed a trail that was not a fit road for wagons. It was rocky and rough, tangled with roots and shambled with berry bushes, dogwood, and sumac. The branches of the tall forest trees intertwined above them so that they seemed to be passing through a tunnel to nowhere. Hanging vines of wild grapes had to be cut away before they could penetrate the forest. The men hacked their way through a wilderness and the horses strained to pull the heavily-loaded wagons through the openings. Catherine said a prayer for her family's safety as the wagon lurched and tipped precariously.

If the daytime experiences were frightening, the nights were even worse. The darkness was filled with strange sounds. Twigs snapped, animals howled, and stealthy movements could be heard in the trees surrounding their camp. Golden eyes gleamed in the reflected glow of the campfire. Sleep, so desperately needed to regain strength for another day's travails, was fitful and rest was uneasy.

There was beauty along with the hardships. The forest was bright with fall colors and the great trees were majestic with shafts of sunlight giving an awesome and holy atmosphere to the scene. At times Catherine found herself forgetting her aching back and tired arms, feeling only a thrill of excitement at going into this new land.

They came through at last and reached a clearing. There on a knoll with woods dropping away on all sides, the Edens saw the site of their new home and the pile of logs the Logans had cut for their temporary shelter. The children clambered from the wagon and began running around, happy to be exercising their young muscles.

John Paul started at once to build a camp, and when he had it finished Catherine did what she could to make the place comfortable. They would have to live in this shelter until a cabin could be built. They would sleep in the wagon since there was not room for bunks in the shed-like structure. The spinning wheel was carefully unloaded and John Paul placed it in a convenient



spot. He also made a crude table and two long benches. They carried stones and made a ring around the fire in front of the camp. The fire was kept burning all day and then banked at night so that there were always glowing embers to furnish some heat. It was the only light they had.

The day after their arrival John Paul began felling trees and splitting logs to build a permanent home. He worked from sunup until darkness fell and finally he had enough material for a good-sized cabin. The weather was beginning to get cold before his friends came to help him raise the walls. With all hands working the framework was soon up and one week later the cabin was finished.

Catherine was thrilled when she stepped inside the house. There were three large rooms and a loft overhead. There were strong walls, shuttered windows, and a thick door to keep out the cold. The stone fireplace was huge, a wonderful place for cooking, and capable of keeping the cabin warm in the coldest winter months. But the thing that pleased her most was the puncheon floor, split logs fitted close together with the smooth side up. She would be able to keep them scrubbed clean and white. Tears of happiness came into her eyes and she thought: "This is a place where I can make a real home."

The Edens wasted no time in moving their belongings and their brood into their new home. They were grateful to be in the shelter of its tight roof and strong walls and to feel the warmth from the burning logs in the fireplace. It was November. Luckily the cold of winter had not yet arrived. Although there had been days when there was a chilly snap in the air and some of the nights had been frosty, they had not really suffered from the cold.

Mary Taylor had an explanation for the unusually mild weather that year. She said: "The good Lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb." Catherine thought that the term "shorn lamb" fitted them well. She was grateful to a merciful providence which had watched over them.

Soon after the Edens were settled in their new home the cold came, and for three long months it held them in a tight grip. Catherine had not expected Indiana winters to be so severe, with snow storms, blizzards, and days of bitter cold. John Paul found it invigorating and the children laughed and frolicked in the snow, but Catherine could only shiver and long for Spring.

She was not well. She was weak and tired and her back ached. The child within her seemed to be a burden dragging her down, and she sometimes could not summon the energy to do the work she had always before accomplished joyfully.

Getting enough food on the table for six people was a problem. The supplies they had brought with them from Kentucky were running low and if it had not been for the abundance of wild game and John Paul's skill as a hunter, the family would have been hungry. Corn meal had to be rationed and each member of the family was allowed just one small hoe cake a day.

For the first time, Catherine felt uneasy about giving birth., She had borne four children with the minimum of discomfort, but with this baby something seemed different and she had a deep feeling of anxiety as she neared the time of delivery. Rose Taylor was coming to take care of her. Catherine had confidence in her friend for she knew that Rose was an excellent midwife, but that did not make her forget her fears.

The baby was not due until March but on the 15th of February Catherine was awakened at 2 a.m. by a sharp pain. At first she thought that if she remained quiet everything would be all right, but she soon knew different. At three o'clock she awakened John Paul. He dressed hurriedly and went for Rose.

Catherine's feeling of foreboding was justified. The birth was difficult, taxing the strength and endurance of both women who were striving to bring a new life into the world. Two days of pain and exhausting effort went by before a third Eden daughter was born. And what a tiny scrap of humanity she was.

Catherine's strength was entirely spent and Rose found her arms shaking with weariness as she washed and dressed the new arrival, whose reluctance to enter the world had caused such hardship. It took Catherine a long time to regain her strength. The baby, who had been named Susan, did not thrive as the others had done. Susan wasn't getting enough nourishment and had to be given cow's milk, which didn't agree with her. She was fretful and colicky.

Rose stayed on to take care of Susan and look after the rest of the family. John Paul said that it was too much to ask of a friend, but Rose assured him that her own family would get along without her. Her children were old enough to take care of

themselves and the two girls, who were fifteen and sixteen, knew how to keep house.

A month passed by before Catherine was strong enough to resume her responsibilities and it was April before she felt like her old self again. Little Susan was still fussy and required a great deal of attention, but she had begun to gain weight and to lose her appearance of frailty.

As the weather warmed, Catherine's heart gladdened. To her, Spring had always been a time of joyous awakening and this year it seemed like a miracle. Clouds of birds filled the air with the rushing of wings. Trees burst into bloom. Creamy dogwood, pink crabapple and wild plum were breathtaking in their beauty and the hawthorns hung with fragrant white clusters.

The cares and hardships of the winter were forgotten and Catherine's heart thrilled to the songs of birds while her mind was filled with plans for a big garden and a summer of productive effort.

She wanted to do something nice for Rose Taylor to repay her for her devotion. Rose was not a skilled seamstress. The clothes she made for herself and her daughters were poorly cut and ill-fitting. Catherine decided to make dresses for Rose and the Taylor girls, Samantha and Deborah. They were at an age when they wanted to be attractive and Catherine would take pleasure in using her flair for dressmaking to help them look their best.

She was again filled with the joy of being alive. As she looked at her family, all well and happy, and remembered the good friend who had been her mainstay in time of trouble, she thought she must be the luckiest woman in the world.

The arrival of Spring spurred John Paul's spirits and ambition too. He went to his newly-cleared fields with eagerness, preparing the rich soil and planting his crops. It was thrilling to see the green sprouts spring from the earth and grow into well-cared stalks of corn. Everything flourished and his hard work was rewarded.

Catherine did not help him with the farming for she was busy with the house, children, and garden. But Joseph Edgar, strong and tall for his eleven years, worked beside his father. Julina was eight and John R. was six. They did many of the chores.

When the harvesting was finished and the products of field and garden stored for the winter, John Paul and Catherine felt secure in the knowledge that they could provide for their family through the coming years. There would be no more need for the rationing of food.

There was enough surplus corn to trade for other items that were needed. High on that list were shoes and boots for those could not be made at home. The Edens were a happy family when they went to a store in the little town of Rushville and came out with six pairs of new footwear. Little Susan could still do with knitted booties and leather moccasins.

Rushville was not far from the Eden farm - less than two miles. When John Paul learned that school would be conducted there he signed up for Joseph Edgar and Julina to attend. He wanted his children to have the education that he had missed.

Joseph Edgar had gone to school for a few months when the family was still in Kentucky, but to Julina school would be a new experience. John R. could wait another year. However, when his brother and sister brought their lessons home, John R. studied too and by the end of the school term he could read, write, spell, and do numbers almost as well as if he had gone to school. Even Nancy Jane had a slate and learned her letters and how to print her name.

The second winter in Indiana was milder than the first and seemed to pass more quickly. Catherine was kept busy caring for her home and family, spinning, weaving, sewing, and knitting to provide clothing for all. John Paul wasted no time either. He worked long hours clearing more land for the Spring planting.

In the fall of '33 the harvest was even better than the year before. The friends who had come with them from Kentucky had been successful in their farming too, and after the harvesting they all met at the Eden farm for a big feast.

Wild turkeys were prepared on spits, turning over open fires. There were great mounds of boiled potatoes, onions, turnips, and piles of yams roasted in their jackets. Jars of cucumber, green tomato, and watermelon pickles were put on the specially made long table along with corn bread, honey, apple butter, jams, and jellies. Rose Taylor brought a 10-gallon stone jar of spiced peaches. Mary Logan and Sophie Sampson provided honey cakes, cookies and spicy apple turnovers.

Feasting and merrymaking continued through the day. Children romped in the yard and played at hide and seek in the edge of the forest. The young people, who felt themselves too mature for such games, went for long walks in the woods and came back with branches of bittersweet in their arms and stars in their eyes.

After games of horseshoes, the men relaxed in front of the fire and discussed farm problems. The women talked and laughed as they cleared the table, put the food away, washed the dishes and scoured the kettles. The work was made easy by their pleasure in just being together.

When the day was coming to an end, the visitors gathered their families together for the trip home. Josh Logan got out his guitar and, as he played, everyone joined in singing the old songs that had cheered them in their journey from Kentucky two years before, ending with a hymn of Thanksgiving.

After all had departed and the children were asleep in their beds, Catherine told John Paul that she was again pregnant. She had kept that from him for two months for she knew he would be worried about her because of the difficulty of Susan's birth. She assured him that there was no need to worry for she felt well and had none of the fear and anxieties that had preceded her last confinement.

The winter months passed and in the Spring another daughter joined the family group. She was named Mary and soon became the pet of the entire family. Nancy Jane was especially thrilled with the new sister. She devoted herself to little Mary, caring for her needs and playing with her as though she were a precious doll.

John Paul had worked every day during the winter clearing more land and at the end of the summer of '34 the harvest was again plentiful. He was confident of the future.

The eighty acres of rich land was paid for and, with the deed in his possession, he felt that he and his family were secure. The Edens were no longer hill people but landed farmers with every prospect of continued prosperity and success. In a few more years he would be able to add to his holdings, and with the help of his sons could build up a family estate of which all could be proud. The children would get a good education and become successful. They would marry and go to homes of their own, and he and Catherine would have years of ease and comfort to enjoy their grandchildren.

John Paul decided to change his winter routine. Instead of clearing more land, he would spend his time building new shelters and enclosing areas for his livestock. Cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs had increased in numbers and the flocks of poultry had tripled in size. New pens and sheds were needed.

By February the work was finished and he was proud of his accomplishments. The weather was cold and raw and the children had been home from school several days with colds but were well enough to go back to their books. Even John Paul, who prided himself on being immune to such ailments, had been coughing and sniffing.

One evening he came in from checking on his livestock and announced sternly: "Someone left the gate open and the cows are gone." He told Joseph Edgar to put on his coat and cap and come to help him find the animals. A cold rain was falling and Catherine hated to see them go out in it, especially since they were just recovering from colds, but the cows must be found before they wandered too far away.

It was several hours before the father and son returned, tired, wet, and shivering with cold. Catherine hurried them into dry clothing and plied them with scalding hot tea, to which she had added a little medicinal whisky to ward off congestion.

In the morning she was not surprised to find that John Paul and Joseph Edgar were both coughing. Joseph Edgar was not feverish and he insisted that he was well enough to go to school, but John Paul felt ill enough to stay in bed. By evening he was worse and suffering with intermittent chills and fever.

Catherine sat by his bed all night, giving him sips of hot toddy and applying mustard plasters to his chest. In the morning she sent Joseph Edgar for the doctor. It was late afternoon before he came, for he had been held up by a difficult confinement case. After he examined John Paul, his expression was grave. He told Catherine that her husband's illness was more than a cold – it was pneumonia. He left medicine and instructions as to the patient's care and said he would be back in the morning.

Catherine's heart was tight with fear as she saw John Paul, who had never been really sick in all the years they had been together, lying helpless and struggling for breath. She was relieved when Rose Taylor came to be by her side. When night came, Rose insisted that Catherine lie down. She had not slept the previous night and was so exhausted that she complied. But even in her fitful sleep she could not escape the sound of John Paul's raspy breathing as he fought to get air into his tortured lungs.

When the doctor came the next morning he could give no encouraging report. He did not leave and, in spite of all he and the two devoted women could do, by nightfall John Paul was gone.

To Catherine it was as though time had stopped and she was moving in a vacuum. Good friends came in to give comfort and assistance but she was hardly aware of their presence and her ears were deafened to their words.

Chores were done, meals prepared, and children tended but Catherine did not notice. Joseph Edgar and Julina took turns sitting beside her and holding her hand, but she looked at them with vacant eyes and her cold fingers did not return her children's loving clasp.

On the second day, she stood beside an open grave with friends on each side of her, holding her arms and giving her support. It was not until the pine box was being lowered into its resting place that realization came to her and the pain of its blow shook her frame and weakened her knees. She clutched at Rose, buried her head in her friend's shoulder, and the tears came. Great sobs wrenched her as Rose held her trembling body close and soothed her as though she were a child.

When the paroxysm was over and Catherine had regained control of herself, she turned to look for her children. They were standing in a row behind her, Joseph Edgar with his baby sister in his arms, Julina keeping a tight grasp on two-year-old Susan, and John R. with his arm around a tearful Nancy Jane.

She was filled with love and compassion for them – and remorse that she had let them go through the past two horrible days with no word of comfort from their mother.

When the children saw the look of love in her eyes, they crowded around her and their warmth and their need gave her strength. She took the baby from Joseph Edgar and held her close.

"Come, children," she said, "We must go home."

Joseph Edgar and John R. did not finish the school term that year. They stayed at home to help their mother with the farm work. In the middle of March they began preparing the land for planting. The spring and summer were filled with nothing except hard work, Julina and Nancy Jane took care of the cabin and looked after their small sisters, and at evening when their mother and brothers came in from the fields, tired, hot, and dirty, supper was always ready to be put on the table.

When Catherine looked at her four eldest children, taking on the duties of adults in what should be carefree youth, her heart ached for them, but she was also filled with pride. The boys and Julina were tall, blond, and blue-eyed like their father. Of her six children, only Nancy Jane and Baby Mary were petite and dark-eyed. Their French blood was evident and Nancy Jane especially had the looks of the Cann family.

The harvest that year was small – hardly sufficient for their needs. Josh Logan and his sons came to do the butchering and to help render the lard, make sausages, and smoke hams. When they went home Catherine insisted that they take with them spareribs to cook with sauerkraut and pork loin for roasts and chops.

In October four of the children went back to school and Catherine and the two youngest girls were alone through the long winter days. But there was no lack of work for Catherine to do. Providing clothes for her large family, spinning, weaving, and sewing, filled the hours of each day and the evenings were often spent knitting stockings, vests, caps, mittens, and mufflers so that her children could have warm clothing for the winter.

She was skillful with the needle and clever in design. Her daughters' dresses were becoming to their slender figures and daintily trimmed. The pants and coats she made for her sons had a tailored look.

Spring was late in coming and when it arrived Catherine was glad to get back outdoors and resume the routine work of summer. The crops would be better than last year, for the workers were more experienced. Catherine hoped for a good harvest.

April, May, June, and July passed. Everything flourished and the prospects for Fall looked good. But in August fate dealt the Edens another tragic blow. Both Susan and Mary fell ill, and in spite of the tender care of their mother and sisters and the ministrations of the village doctor, they became steadily worse as the days went by. They were suffering from what was called milk fever, a disease that was often prevalent during the summer months. There was no known cure. The ailment had to run its course and only the strong survived it. Susan and Mary did not have the stamina to withstand its ravages, and before the end of the month they were buried beside their father.

Catherine and her sons went into the harvesting season with heavy hearts. Hard work helped to ease the pain but did not lighten their grief, and the return to the cabin in the evening brought no joy. Julina's days were filled with sadness and she went about her household duties with an unwonted listlessness. Nancy Jane was inconsolable at the loss of the little sisters who had been both her charges and her playmates.

Days, weeks, and months dragged by; seasons passed and time brought healing.

The following years were a struggle for Catherine and her children, but they were strong and persistent and all worked diligently. The boys became skilled in farming and taking care of the animals, but neither wanted to make that his life's work. Joseph Edgar was especially gifted in mathematics and he wanted to be a business man. During the winter months he often worked on Saturdays in the general store in Rushville, first as an errand boy and later as a clerk. He had dreams of someday having a store of his own.

John R.'s interest ran more to reading and learning about the world and its people. History and geography books fascinated him and he read every one that was available to him. His teacher was impressed by his desire to learn and arranged for him to visit an affluent and erudite friend, John Rigley, who had an extensive library. John R. spent most of his spare time in Mr. Rigley's study, a room where the walls were lined with well-filled book shelves. Sometimes he was allowed to take a book home with him. He would have kept a candle burning all night if his mother had not insisted that he put down his borrowed book and get some sleep.

The years when her children were growing up were hard on Catherine. Almost every minute of each day and sometimes hours into the night were spent in planning and working so that the family could have the necessities of life – food, clothing, shelter, and warmth.

There were needs of a different nature to be filled and other goals to be reached. Catherine was glad to sacrifice herself so that the children might get a good education, and she encouraged and urged them to study and work to take the most of what opportunities they had.

Spiritual needs were not neglected. Sunday found the Eden family attending services in the Presbyterian Church. When Catherine bowed her head in prayer, she gave thanks for the strength that sustained her and for the four loved ones who were her joy, and she asked for guidance in all of their lives.

Her hard work, sacrifices, and dedication brought good results. Her children thrived, grew, learned, and developed good characters. She looked proudly at her two tall, handsome sons. One, John R., was so like his father that it was almost as though John Paul lived again. Julina, blond, slim, and strong, was developing into a statuesque beauty, and the dark-eyed Nancy Jane, a contrast to her sister, was just as lovely.

When Joseph Edgar had finished all the courses offered in the Rushville school, he acquired a job as a teacher. The school term ended early in the spring and he worked on the farm as usual during the summer.

At the age of 16, John R. also became a schoolmaster. He liked to teach but had other ambitions. The subject of government and law had always interested him and in his spare time he studied law under the tutelage of a local attorney.

Joseph Edgar continued to work in the store on Saturdays during the winter, and just as it might have happened in a story book, he fell in love with the boss's daughter. In 1844 he married Matilda Bussell. The young couple set up a home of their own and the Eden cabin's occupants were diminished by one.

In 1846, Julina married James Moore, and Nancy Jane did not wait much longer without choosing a life's partner. She

married a young farmer, John Sampson, and went to a farm home of her own.

Catherine had reached the time of which John Paul had dreamed when he planned their future. She would soon enter the grandparent stage of life, but would not have John Paul beside her to share in that fulfillment.

The cabin was lonely, especially in the winter months when she could not work outside, and Catherine began to consider selling the farm and making other plans for herself. The boys still worked beside her in the summer and James Moore and John Sampson were good to help, but she knew that Joseph Edgar and John R. both had other ambitions for their lives and her sons-in-law had farms of their own to work. The time would soon come when they would all have to concentrate on their own affairs.

In the early 1840's there was much talk about great opportunities in Illinois. Rich farm land could be obtained almost for the asking and towns were springing up in the neighboring state where merchants and business men would be needed. Joseph Edgar decided that Illinois was the place where he could make his dream of owning a store come true. In 1850, he and Matilda packed their belongings into a covered wagon and went to make a new home in the small village of Sullivan, Illinois.

Joseph Edgar opened a store there and it soon began to thrive. He wrote letters to his family back in Indiana, giving glowing reports about the opportunities to be found in Illinois and urging his relatives to come to that area.

After finishing his law studies and passing the bar examination, John R. decided to follow his brother's advice. In 1852 he went to Illinois, going first to a town named Shelbyville and then to Sullivan where Joseph Edgar was well established in business.

Catherine continued to run the farm with what outside help she could get. It was strange to be alone in the cabin which once had overflowed with life.

Her sons-in-law farmed rental land and both wanted acres of their own. They were impressed by the reports from Illinois and began to consider moving to that state. Julina and Nancy Jane were willing to be a part of such a venture, but only if their mother would go too.

Catherine had a difficult decision to make. It would be hard to abandon the cabin which had been her home for so many years and the land she and John Paul, with the help of their sons, had worked so hard to tend. But her love for her children and the desire to be near them outweighed all other considerations. So the farm was sold and the autumn of '53 found Catherine along with the Moores and the Sampsons packing their household goods and farm tools and heading west to Illinois.

Catherine was reminded of the other two times she had traveled to new homes. This trip was different. The prairie schooners were larger and more comfortable, the roads better and easier to follow, and although there was sadness at leaving her home, she felt no anxiety for the future. Her most active and productive years were behind her, all big responsibilities were now on younger shoulders, and from now on she would just be going along for the ride and could take time to enjoy the view.

Catherine did not establish a household of her own in Illinois. Her eldest son, who had quit using the name of Joseph and was known just as Edgar, and both daughters wanted their mother to come and live with them. John R., after his marriage in 1856, asked her to make her home with him and his wife Roxanna. She spent time with each of her children, but it was with Julina that she felt most at home.

The Moores bought an eighty-acre farm southeast of Sullivan and built a frame house that had four bedrooms, one of which was for Catherine. She had brought her own bed and chest from Indiana. The chest had been packed with linens and the keepsakes and treasures which were dear to her. She soon had her room arranged so that it was comfortable and had an atmosphere of home.

There was work to be done and keeping busy and being needed made her feel that she was a real part of the Moore family. She helped Julina with the household chores, tended children, and in spring and summer worked in the garden. She took joy in making things grow and was proud of the fine vegetables that were the result of her efforts.

All around the house she planted flowers – the pinks, bachelor buttons, and marigolds which brought back memories of her childhood and her mother's flower garden. Her fingers were still nimble and had not lost their skill with the needle. During

the winter months she made clothes for the family. She had always liked to sew, and there was an added pleasure now because she did not have to spin the thread and weave the cloth for the garments she made.

In Edgar's store there were bolts of material: cottons and linens for summer, wool, silk, and even velvets for winter. She loved to go into the store and see those materials, feel their texture, admire their colors, and choose the ones needed to make clothes for her grandchildren and dresses for the women of the family.

Edgar knew of her love for pretty clothes and had seen her look longingly at the bolts of cloth in the Rushville store. One of the things that had urged him to success was the desire to give his mother some of the niceties of life she had never had. He and John R. had often talked about that as they were growing up. They had both planned for the time when they could give Catherine a few luxuries to make up for the sacrifices she had made for them.

Edgar gave her material with the instructions that she should make dresses for herself. He had an Eastern paper in which were pictures of the latest styles in women's clothing. Catherine made herself three dresses which were excellent copies of the newest creations from Paris.

After John R. was elected to Congress, he sent her from Washington a plush cape with a fur collar, a velvet bonnet, and a pair of soft, kid shoes. For the first time in her life Catherine knew what it was like to be dressed in the lovely clothes for which she had always had a longing.

Her beautiful clothes were a mixed blessing. When she went to the little country church, the farm women with whom she would have liked to be friends turned away from her. They thought she was too civilized with her fine clothes and French accent, and they did not include her in their quilting bees and other social meetings. This hurt Catherine deeply and she put aside her dresses of wool and silk and her plush cape. From then on she wore her homespun garments except when she went to town to visit in her sons' homes.

The years went by and Catherine was happy in the love and companionship of her children and grandchildren. She did not lose her zest for living, but she became frail in body, and in 1869 she had to give up the activities in which she had taken such pleasure.

Julina saw that her mother was failing and she gave her the most loving care. The doctor was not able to diagnose her illness and the tonics he prescribed did not give her strength.

On Christmas Day the Edens and the Sampsons gathered at the Moore home for a holiday celebration. Catherine, propped up with pillows on the couch, could be little more than a spectator at the festivities but she enjoyed it all. To her, the sound of dear voices in happy conversation, laughter, and song was delightful music, and the atmosphere of love that prevailed warmed her heart and lifted her spirits.

Nancy Jane sat beside her to open gifts: a warm bed jacket, knit slippers, lace-edged handkerchiefs, tortoise shell side combs for her hair, a flowered tin box containing three bars of scented soap, and a cameo pin much like the one that had gone to the bottom of a river with her treasure trunk so many years before.

At dinner time Catherine was made comfortable in an armchair at the end of the table, which had been lengthened to accommodate everyone. All the traditional Yuletide foods were brought in: roast turkey with dressing and gravy, baked ham and candied yams, bowls of fluffy mashed potatoes, and creamed onions. Already on the table were five varieties of pickles, and eight kinds of jams, jellies, and preserves. Cornbread and hot biscuits were passed around and Julina urged everyone to eat heartily but to save room for the pumpkin and mince pies.

Catherine could eat very little but that did not bother her. She looked around the table with pride. Her gaze rested on each of her children, Joseph Edgar still straight and strong but with tinges of gray in his hair and beard as he neared his fiftieth birthday, John R. in his prime and the handsome image of his father, and her two daughters now maternally but still lovely in her eyes. She looked at the grandchildren, many of whom she had helped usher into the world. They were growing up fast. Only one was small enough to need a highchair. Catherine's eyes were misty as she thought of how proud John Paul would be if he could see the family he had founded.

When the day was over and all the goodbyes had been said, a tired but happy Catherine was helped to bed. Afterwards,

as Julina went about tidying her home before herself retiring, she was sobered by the realization that this might be the last such gathering with the family intact.

Early in the spring Catherine slipped away in her sleep. She was buried in Greenhill Cemetery beside two of John R.'s sons who had died in infancy. A tall, slender headstone was placed at her grave. On top of it was an urn.

I remember going to the cemetery with my grandfather when I was a small child and being lifted high so that I could put flowers in that urn. To me it was hardly more than a game, but to John R., my grandfather, it was a loving tribute to his mother, Catherine Cann Eden.

## JOHN RICE EDEN

The news spread quickly and within a few hours everyone in the little town of Sullivan, Ill., had heard it. John R. Eden was dead.

Although he was past eighty, his death came as a shock because of its suddenness.

"I saw him just yesterday," his neighbor Mrs. Gauger said to her daughter Cora. "He went by on his way to his office at 8 o'clock, as he always did. You could set your clock by John R. He was walking as briskly as a young man and holding himself straight and tall."

"John R. certainly wasn't stooped with age. Of course he carried a cane, but he didn't depend on it much."

Downtown, groups of men gathered on the street corners. Their faces were serious and they spoke in subdued voices.

"This town will miss John R." said Mr. Steele, the banker. "He was a man we could all look up to."

Sam B. Hall, who owned the drugstore, nodded his head in agreement. "An honest man if ever I saw one," he said. "And a wise one too. He was more far-seeing than most, and when he took a stand on any question, you could be pretty sure it was the right one."

Mr. Corbin, on his way to his furniture store, stopped and listened to the conversation. His eyes were sad and he kept stroking his gray beard, nodding his head and saying, "Ja." As he turned away to go and open his store he remarked, "He was a good friend."

A number of lawyers stood near the courthouse door.

"It's hard to realize that John R. is gone," said Judge Cochran. "He was in the courtroom just yesterday. He wasn't trying a case – just sitting by his partner and watching the proceedings."

Eden Jennings spoke up. "It hasn't been long since he took an active part. Of course, he couldn't hear anything that was going on. J.K. [Joel Kester Martin, I.J.'s brother] sat beside him, writing down what was said. John R. always had a case so well in hand that when he got up to speak, you would never guess that he hadn't heard every word of the testimony."

E. J. Miller agreed and added, "The way he could sway a jury was downright miraculous. I ought to know, for I was the lawyer on the other side often enough."

Ike Hudson remarked, "A client was lucky to have John R. for a lawyer because he was the best, and a fine public servant he was, too. I was proud to vote for him for Congress and for Governor, and I would have voted for him for President if he had run."

But John R. had defended his last client and held his last public office. His daughter, Emma, had found him when she came downstairs at 6:45 that morning. He had risen early, as he always did, to build a fire in the kitchen stove so that it would be hot enough to bake biscuits when Emma got up. After the fire was going well, he had fixed a glass of lemonade and taken it into the



living room where he sat down in his Morris chair. And there he was when Emma came into the room. His hand was still around the glass of lemonade on the flat arm of the chair. His head had fallen forward until his white hair mingled with his snowy beard. After 83 years and four months, on June 7, 1909, the eventful life of John R. Eden was over.

It had been a good life, in spite of many hardships, disappointments, worries, fears and griefs. As a small boy he had worked beside his father and brother on a small farm near Rushville, Indiana. He was nine years old when his father died, leaving his mother to rear six children alone.

John R. and his 15-year-old brother, Joseph Edgar, worked like grown men to help their mother keep the farm going, tilling the soil, planting seed, cultivating the fields and harvesting the grain. There was little time for childish play and only a few winter months could be spent in school, studying the books he loved.

For two years after his father's death the farm failed to produce enough for the family's needs. John R. knew what it was to be put on short rations, wear hand-me-down clothes and walk through the snow in boots that needed resoling.

He was sustained by the strength and love of his mother and the companionship of his brother and sisters. He took pride in the knowledge that he was important to them – one of the providers. And he early developed an ambition and determination to be a success and some day to be able to give his mother some of the luxuries he saw other women enjoying.

Some day, he thought they would have a house like Mr. Stanley's with its comforts and conveniences. Maybe they would even have a carriage with a pair of high-stepping bays to drive around the countryside on Sunday afternoons.

The death of his two youngest sisters brought tragedy to him and his family. It was months before they could adjust to being a family of five instead of seven. He had been a favorite of little Mary. Every day she would watch for him and run to meet him as he came in from the fields or home from school. She would take his hand and walk happily beside him, looking up at him with her smiling face filled with adoration. At supper time she would sit beside him and would even eat her carrots, which she didn't like, if her brother fed them to her.

In their grief the family grew even closer. In time the cabin again became a happy, cheerful place and 13-year-old Juliana's voice could be heard singing as she did the housework.

It took 11-year-old Nancy Jane the longest to regain her lively spirit. She found it hard to amuse herself without the playmates who had made the days pass so quickly. She too began to watch for John R. to return and often walked to meet him.

He loved his sisters and was proud of them, but his brother, Joseph Edgar, was his idol. There was a difference of nearly six years in their ages, and the older boy took on almost a father image to his brother.

Joseph Edgar set a fine example to follow. His cheerful disposition and kind manner won him respect and love, and he led the way diligently in his determination to make the most out of every opportunity. Through all of his days, John R. turned to his brother for advice, encouragement and appreciation. Joseph Edgar never failed him.

Now John R. was gone and no one wanted to break the news to his brother. J. K. Martin, John R.'s son-in-law and law partner, was appointed to the task.

He went to the Eden Hotel, where Joseph Edgar lived, and gently told him of his brother's death.

The 88-year-old man slumped down in his chair and tears fell from eyes that were almost blind. He said softly: "Why couldn't I have been the one to go?"

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John R. Eden came to Illinois in 1852 at the age of twenty-six. For eight years he had been teaching school in Indiana during the winter months, farming in the summer and studying law in his free time. He was qualified to practice law in Indiana.

His brother had moved to Illinois several years earlier and he urged John R. to join him there. He felt that the

opportunities for a lawyer were excellent in the new community.

John R. decided to take his brother's advice. He was sorry to leave his mother alone on the farm, but she told him he must do what he thought best for his career. She assured him that she could manage all right. Her sons-in-law would help her with the farming and she could hire Josh Logan's youngest son to do the chores and care for the livestock.

So he packed his clothes and traveled by train to Terre Haute, Ind., and then by stagecoach to Shelbyville, Ill., a town about 40 miles south of Sullivan, where his brother lived. There was no stagecoach to Sullivan so he would have to continue his travels on horseback.

John R. was favorably impressed by the town of Shelbyville. It was one of the older towns of the state and had a good-sized business district and an attractive residential area. The people seemed friendly and he decided to stay there a while and see what the town had to offer.

Before he could practice law it was necessary for him to pass the Illinois bar examination. He made the proper application and was instructed to be in the town of Vandalia in a fortnight to take an oral examination.

He would have preferred a written test, one which would allow him time to consider each question and compose a well-worded answer. He would have to be on his toes to pass an oral examination, especially if the questioners should be antagonistic and try to trip him up.

After an anxious two weeks John R. went to Vandalia, which was not far from Shelbyville. He was there a day early and stayed all night in the Globe Hotel where he was to meet the three lawyers who would examine him the next morning.

He did not sleep well that night and was up early the next morning. Eager to look his best, he bathed, shaved, and put on a white linen shirt and his dark worsted suit. He also polished his boots before going down to the dining room for breakfast.

Thinking it best to eat lightly, he ordered biscuits, jam and coffee. After breakfast he went into the lobby to await the arrival of his inquisitors. They came through the door at nine o'clock. He saw them go to the desk to make inquiries and went forward to introduce himself. A short, stout man with keen blue eyes behind steel-rimmed glasses seemed to be the spokesman for the group. His name was Springer and he introduced John R. to the others. Mr. Chapman was elegantly dressed. He had a blond Van Dyke beard. The third man towered over the others. He had deep-set, dark eyes and a shock of unruly, black hair. His clothes hung loosely on his gaunt frame, giving him an ungainly appearance. His name was Lincoln.

The desk clerk informed them that they could use a private parlor off the lobby for their meeting. When they turned in that direction, Mr. Lincoln said, "I wonder if you two would mind handling this examination without me. I am very tired and I would like to rent a room and get some sleep."

Mr. Springer and Mr. Chapman looked surprised, but they could see that Mr. Lincoln did, indeed, look exhausted, so they agreed to conduct the test without him.

They went into the parlor where Mr. Springer set a straight-backed chair in front of two easy ones, and the three men sat down.

The two lawyers indulged in small talk before starting the proceedings. They commented on the weather, which had been unusually dry, and discussed a meeting they had attended the night before. Then they turned to the business in hand. Eden was informed that they would take turns asking questions.

Mr. Springer started the examination by asking what the verdict was in the Shively Dale case. Then Mr. Chapman asked a question about corporation law. The answers seemed to be satisfactory, and John R. braced himself for the next questions. He thought they probably would get more difficult in each successive round.

To his surprise, Mr. Springer stood up, pulled down his vest, and said, "All right. What say we all go get a drink?" John R. Eden had passed the Illinois bar examination.

Three weeks later he received his license to practice law. The first of the three signatures at the bottom right hand of

the page was Abraham Lincoln.

Shelbyville was a town that welcomed newcomers and it did not take long for the young lawyer from Indiana to become acquainted with its people. He took a room in a boarding house, and the woman who ran it looked upon her boarders as her family. She took special interest in John R. and soon knew all about him, his family and his background.

She was a person who enjoyed sharing her information, and within a week everyone in town knew that her new boarder was 26 years old, single and unattached, and that he was neat and mannerly, did not smoke or drink, and had been brought up in the Presbyterian faith.

John R. started practicing law at once. A 60-year-old lawyer, James Parker, gave him space in his law office. Mr. Parker, who did sometimes imbibe to excess, was glad to have an assistant. Things went well until mid-winter when John R. became ill with "la grippe." That left him weak and he developed a bad cough. He had recurrences of aching spells and fever. Often he was unable to take care of the law cases that came his way. Discouraged, he began to wish that he had stayed in Indiana.

He kept in communication with his brother, who urged him to come to Sullivan where he could recuperate and plan his future. Joseph Edgar assured John R. that he and Matilda would be glad for him to make his home with them. When John R. heard that his mother and sisters were planning to leave Indiana and settle in the Sullivan area, he decided to go there too.

It was in the spring of 1853 when he felt well enough to make the journey. Since there was no stagecoach to Sullivan, he made the trip on horseback. He was two days on the road and the last ten miles of the ride was made in a driving rainstorm.

His first sight of the town of Sullivan was a gloomy one. Small unimpressive frame houses and log cabins were scattered along streets deep with mud. When he reached the business district the aspect was just as dismal. There were no sidewalks in front of the places of business, and the only building of importance was the two-story brick courthouse in the middle of a square. It was surrounded by a wooden fence to keep out the cows and pigs that wandered freely through the town. This fence also served as a place for hitching horses, and a half dozen of these saddled animals as well as a wagon team were tethered there, all looking forlorn in the rain.

This town could in no way compare with Shelbyville, and John R. felt sure that he would not consider making it his future home.

He rode along the west side of the square, passing a harness store, a blacksmith shop, and the doctor's office. On the northwest corner of the square there was a two-story frame building with the sign "Eagle Hotel" above the door.

On the north side of the square he passed a livery stable and two saloons, and on the east side he saw a store whose sign identified it as "The Emporium". That, he realized, was his brother's store and he thought to himself that the name sounded a little fancy for its appearance. He tied his horse to the fence opposite "The Emporium" and walked across the muddy street, opened the door, and went in.

There were no customers in the store and Joseph Edgar was at the back, standing at a high desk working on his books.

"Who's tending the store?" called out John R.

His brother let out a joyful whoop as he heard the familiar voice. He hurried forward and gave John R. such a warm welcome that he almost forgot about being weary, wet and cold.

"You look half drowned," said Joseph Edgar. "We'll have to get you home and out of those wet clothes before you catch your death of cold."

He called to his helper who was in the storeroom. "Steve, you close the store at the usual time and then come on to the house. Matilda is expecting you for supper." John R.'s horse was taken to the livery stable.

The two brothers walked through the mud in the rain to the small frame cottage which was the home of Joseph Edgar and Matilda Eden. "We'd better go around to the back door," Joseph Edgar said. "Matilda won't want us dirtying up the front room carpet."

When they reached the back stoop, Matilda opened the door to greet them. She was delighted to see her brother-in-law, but said, "You two take off those muddy boots before you set foot in the house. I just scrubbed the kitchen floor and I'll skin anyone who traipses mud in on it."

John R. was glad to see that there was a bright blaze in the fireplace because he felt chilled to the bone.

"Both of you, get out of those wet clothes," Matilda ordered. "I'll fix you some hot coffee and put a mite of whisky in it to ward off pneumonia."

The rain continued for two days and the town of Sullivan looked more and more unattractive to John R. His brother could see that he was not favorably impressed and he thought some explanations were in order.

"This town may not look like much," he said. "But there are good people here and it has a promising future. It did not happen as most towns do. There was no small settlement here that grew into a town. When Moultrie County was formed, the commissioners had to choose a county seat. There were several villages that wanted the honor and, rather than choosing between them, it was decided to lay out a new town and make it the county seat.

"In 1845, a tract of land was purchased in this area which was known as Asa's Point. The surveyor who laid out the town trained his instruments at the courthouse site on a flagpole. He tied a whisky jug to the top of the pole to make it more visible, and it has always been a joke that Sullivan was laid out with a whisky jug. This was the county seat before a single person lived here."

John R. thanked his brother for the information but it was obvious that he was not convinced that Sullivan was the place for him.

Joseph Edgar didn't give up easy. He continued, "A lot has happened since then. There are 500 people living here now and we have churches and a school. More businesses are opening up all the time and farmers from all around come here to trade. The town will grow, John R., and it is a good place to start a law practice."

A week later John R. met a young man named Jonathan Meeker, who asked him for help in the study of law. They were surprised to learn that they had met before. Five years earlier, when the Meeker family traveled from Ohio to Illinois, they had stopped to water their horses at a county school in Indiana. John R. was the teacher at that school who had helped them.

He remembered the incident and asked about the Meeker family. Jonathan told him of the events of the past five years, about the deaths of his sister and mother. Then he invited John R. to visit.

"My father will be glad to see you again. And my sister, Roxie, will be pleased to meet you. She was not with us when we came through Indiana."

The very next evening John R. rode out to the farm home of Ambrose Meeker. He knocked at the door. It was opened by a young woman. He looked down into a pair of dark eyes and felt that his life would never be the same again.

His evening with the Meeker family was enjoyable. He talked with Ambrose and Jonathan about past experiences and prospects for the future. He also promised to help Jonathan with his law studies.

Although his conversation was with the Meeker men, he was always conscious of the young woman who sat quietly at her mending. She said little, but he sometimes felt her eyes upon him, and when he looked in her direction, she smiled before turning back to her work.

As John R. rode back to his brother's house that night, he was thinking that Sullivan did, indeed, hold promise for him. He decided to stay and develop with the town.

Once John R. had decided to remain in Sullivan he began to see the town in a different light. He looked for things that would justify his brother's belief that it was a good town with a bright future.

Years later, he described the town as it was when he started his law practice there. He wrote:

“At that time the village had no policeman, and some of the rougher elements that usually get out as soon as civilization is established still remained in the county. This part of the population made the saloons their headquarters. At times they indulged in fist fights and other kinds of disorderly conduct. Because of this the north side of the square was called Sod Corn Row. But in spite of that atmosphere the town was mainly inhabited by responsible citizens.

“This much is true,” he continued, “without ordinances and municipal officers and with few peace officials of any kind, the people of Sullivan were as orderly and law-abiding in 1853 as they have been at any time since.”

It was a religious community. The Methodists had built a church in 1848. The Christian organization also used that building for a while, but later had built a church of its own. Like most churches of that period, it had two entrances: one for men and one for women. The Presbyterians had been meeting in the home of their pastor, but they were building a brick church three blocks from the town square.

It was evident that the town had a desire to improve. An elementary school had been in operation since 1848, and in 1850 a secondary school had been started. The Presbyterian minister was responsible for that and was one of the two teachers. A two-story, brick building was being erected to house this school, which was to be named The Academy.

Plainly, Sullivan was becoming a better and more cultured community. John R. looked forward to a time when the main part of the town would have sidewalks, and cows and pigs would be confined to pastures and pens. He saw new business places opening and better connections with other towns established. A stagecoach route from Shelbyville was already planned, and he believed that within ten years there would be a railroad. Sullivan might, in time, become a railroad center with tracks running north and south between St. Louis and Chicago, and east and west between Terre Haute and Springfield. His brother was right. This was a good place for an ambitious young lawyer to settle.

Every day John R. found something new about Sullivan to interest, amuse, or inspire him. He hung out his shingle and was surprised at how quickly the clients came. The cases were not of great importance – arguments over land boundaries, theft of cattle, unpaid bills, and minor quarrels and assaults – but they were encouraging and gave him a chance to try his legal wings.

The courthouse was of special interest to him. Built in 1848, it was a two story brick building, 38 feet square. In the northeast corner of the basement was a room that was used as a jail. This facility was inadequate, and most prisoners were taken to neighboring counties for incarceration. John R. was told that of the only four overnight inmates, two escaped and one of the others was a donkey, placed there by pranksters. Perhaps that was the reason the jail was usually spoken of as “the stable.”

In a pioneer village with meager facilities for entertainment, one of the most exciting diversions enjoyed by the people of the area was to go to a town where court was in session. If a town visitor could not get into the crowded courtroom, he could always gossip with his friends around the square, wet his whistle on Sod Corn Row, or do some trading with the merchants.

The town had a village paper called the *Sullivan Express*, and an article in that paper described the activities of a typical court day:

“Circuit court is in session – docket not as full as common - fair representation of legal profession from neighboring towns - quite a number of political speeches made – sod corn whisky in demand – town constable very busy – northeast corner of courthouse lower floor somewhat crowded - town constable charged with being drunk, arrested, tried and acquitted - peddlers make a big fuss selling Yankee notions – all who advertise in Express very busy - those who do not advertise not trading much - would tell more but because of ill health not able to take items.”

John R. attended the summer court session. Judge David Davidson from Bloomington was on the bench. He was a nervous man who could not ponder legal questions unless he could do something with his hands. So he usually got out his knife and whittled while a trial proceeded.

He insisted upon decorum in his courtroom and required spectators to remain in their seats. One day a band of Indians passed through the town, attracting much attention. One of the courtroom spectators made frequent trips to the window to watch them. The judge’s irritation increased each time the man walked to the window. Finally, he told the sheriff to “put that hoss in the stable” and the offender of the court’s dignity was locked in jail.

John R. learned that Abraham Lincoln had often pleaded cases in this courthouse for he rode that circuit for three years. There were many tales of his skill as a lawyer and of his quick wit.

One time Lincoln was defending a client. The prosecuting attorney, whose name was David Campbell, had been in a fight during which the seat of his pants was torn. Some of the lawyers suggested that they take up a collection and buy Mr. Campbell a new pair of pants. When they approached Mr. Lincoln with the proposition he said, "I can not conscientiously contribute to the end in view."

Although John R. did not sue for the hand of Roxanna, he was often in the Meeker home at the invitation of her brother Jonathan, whose law studies he was directing. Ambrose Meeker liked John R. and he was soon accepted as a friend of the family. He spent many happy hours at the Meeker home.

In the fall of 1853 there was a joyful reunion with his own family. His mother came from Indiana, along with his two sisters, their husbands and children. The Edens were together again. They had shared much happiness in years past and had also lived through troubled times filled with hardship and grief. They had always drawn strength from each other and now they were confident that they could cope with anything that was in store for them in Illinois.

With his family around him and his profession established, John R. felt that his prospects looked good. The only thing needed to make a bright future certain was the assurance that the black-eyed sister of Jonathan Meeker would share it with him.

The developments which John R. Eden hoped to see and experience in the first ten years of his residence in Sullivan did not all occur, but his professional and personal life went much as planned. He at once began to take an interest in community affairs and soon became a leader in all projects designed to benefit the area. He also became involved in local politics.

In 1854 the contest for the Democratic Congressional nomination aroused great interest. The Democrats of Moultrie County were divided in their loyalties. Those living in Sullivan supported a man named Allen, while the outlying settlements favored the State Senator, Nathaniel Parker.

The Allen adherents called a mass meeting of Democrats in Sullivan on such short notice that many of the Parker supporters were not aware of it until it was all over. This so infuriated them that they compelled the county leaders to hold a primary to elect delegates to the district convention. The Parker people won and at the convention two sets of delegates attended and demanded to be seated.

John R., who was a delegate from Sullivan, met with John N. Martin [father of I.J. Martin], who represented the Parker faction. The two of them worked out a compromise in which both sets of delegates would be seated. It was agreed that they would vote as a unit for Allen until it was certain that he could not win, and then they would shift their support to Parker. Allen was nominated and elected. It could be said that John R. had won his first political victory.

Professional and political activities kept him busy, but he always found time to enjoy the company of his family. He still lived with Joseph Edgar and Matilda and there were frequent gatherings of the Eden clan either in Sullivan or in the farm homes of his sisters. He kept in close contact with his mother, who had always been a big influence in his life, ever ready to listen and to give counsel when asked.

He also kept up his association with the Meeker family. He coached Jonathan in the study of law, talked farming and politics with Ambrose, and enjoyed just breathing the same air with Roxanna. In 1855, when he felt confident of success in the practice of law, he no longer hid his special interest in her and began to court her openly. She was responsive and her father and brother seemed pleased at the prospect of having John R. as a member of their family.

On August 7, 1856, John Rice Eden and Phoebe Roxanna Meeker were married. They made their first home in a small cottage a block from the southwest corner of the square. John R. had the life companion he wanted and his professional prospects were excellent, but the developments he had envisioned for the town of Sullivan were not all accomplished.

Wooden sidewalks had been laid in front of the business places all around the square and livestock no longer roamed at will, but the streets were still a sea of mud in the spring and ankle-deep in dust during the summer. The north side of the square with its three saloons continued to live up to its nickname of Sod Corn Row.

Most disappointing of all was the failure of his dream that Sullivan would become a railroad center. A committee had been appointed to work on the project and bonds had been voted to provide funds to entice railroad companies to favor Sullivan. Nevertheless, all that the taxpayers had to show for their generosity was a little grading and surveying for the two railroad schemes that had failed.

John R. was deeply concerned about this for he had headed the committee that handled the project and had worked hard for the bond issue. But he did not allow this setback to dampen his spirits. He and Roxanna, whom he called “Roxy”, were so happy in their marriage that even failure of the railroad to materialize seemed of minor importance. The joy and comfort he found in his home would always mitigate any hurt that the outside world might inflict on him.

John R. Eden was a Jacksonian Democrat. He believed strongly in states’ rights. He saw the country as a confederation of sovereign states, each with its own laws and each managing all the affairs inside its borders with no interference from the federal government. The states were banded together for mutual defense and for conducting business with other nations.

He was instrumental in organizing the Democratic party in Moultrie County and was the speaker at many political rallies. These speeches and the articles he wrote for the *Sullivan Express* made him a person of influence in the community and surrounding country.

His interest in politics did not interfere with his law practice or his involvement with his family and in-laws. He kept in close contact with his mother, his brother, and his sisters. He also enjoyed a warm relationship with the Meekers, Ambrose and Jonathan.

In 1857, he and Jonathan formed a law partnership. Their announcement in the *Express* gave this information about their service:

“Particular attention given to the collection of claims. Office located next door east of Perryman’s store, where a member of the firm will always be found.”

John R.’s mother was often in his home, although she spent most of her time with her daughter Julina, who lived on a farm east of town. She was in her son’s house in October 1857 when Roxanna’s first child was born. She stayed until the baby girl, who was named Emma, was a month old. During that time the Eden home was a happy three-generation household.

The following year, the 1858 senatorial race stirred up a great deal of interest. Stephen A. Douglas was running for re-election and Abraham Lincoln was his opponent. The two men appeared in debates in a number of towns in the district.

Sullivan was not scheduled for such a debate, but in July the local Democrats appointed John R. to contact Douglas and ask him to appear at the rally they were planning for September 20. Douglas agreed to come. He and Lincoln were to have a debate on the 18th in Charleston, so he would be in the vicinity.

Two weeks before the rally, the Lincoln supporters decided to hold a rally of their own on the same day that the Democrats had chosen. They arranged for Lincoln to be the speaker. The Democrats were not pleased with that, but the two factions got together and agreed that neither would interfere with the other.

The Douglas program would be held early in the afternoon on the east side of the square, and Lincoln would speak later in Freeland Grove on the north edge of the town.

Douglas spent the night before the rally at the home of John Guin a few miles east of town. He came into Sullivan early the next morning.

People from the surrounding farms and villages had been pouring into town since sunup. When Douglas appeared at a reception at the Eagle Hotel, Eden led the waiting crowd in cheers, three for Douglas, three for the Constitution, and three for the ladies present.

When it came time for Douglas to speak, it was Eden who introduced him and made the welcoming address. According to a Springfield newspaper, the *Illinois State Register*, Eden’s speech possessed the greatest of all recommendations: brevity. And

yet in it were references to many points of interest in the political world of the day. It also touched on the highlights of Douglas' career, such as his support of Clay's Compromise Measure of 1850, the Illinois Central Railroad Land Grant, etc.

Douglas began his two-hour speech at one o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile, the Lincoln people had been gathering a few blocks west of the square. At two o'clock, they formed a procession headed by a brass band and marched toward the courthouse square. They reached the southwest corner of the square and then turned to proceed along the south and then the east sides of the block.

They were not as large in number as the Democratic aggregation, but they made up for that in their enthusiasm and noise-making.

Douglas, taking notice of the disturbance, asked his audience to ignore the demonstration. He said, "Let the howlers pass, for I can speak louder than their noise."

When the parade reached the corner of the square, instead of turning toward Freeland Grove, it turned and marched right into the Douglas crowd on the east side of the square. Almost immediately there was general confusion. The *Express* reported afterwards: "There were fist fights and clubs flourished in the air. Everything seemed favorable for a big melee. One of the features of the Lincoln parade was a wagon carrying animated exhibits depicting the evils of slavery. This wagon was the target of a shower of missiles, which sent the men who were operating the animated figures scurrying for cover. The parade finally managed to make its way on around the square and it finally headed north to Freeland Grove where the Lincoln meeting was scheduled. There Lincoln made his speech."

After a time, Douglas was able to regain the attention of his audience and finish his oration with even more fire that he had shown at the beginning.

A state of turmoil continued in the town that evening. There were threats of more violence, but luckily it did not materialize. John R. was quite late getting home, but Roxanna had kept his supper warm until his arrival.

Baby Emma was asleep for the night when her parents sat down to a meal of ham hocks, beans, cornbread, and apple pie. John R. was so excited by the events of the day that he hardly knew what he was eating. In telling Roxanna about what had happened, he gave Douglas nothing but praise for his conduct. The man had remained calm and poised in spite of the rowdy interruption and had made a stirring speech, impressing everyone with his wisdom and strength. "Douglas is short in stature," John R. said, "but he lives up to his nickname, the Little Giant. He will win this election and I expect to vote for him for president someday."

The opportunity to vote for Douglas in a presidential election came sooner than John R. expected.

In 1860 the Democrats nominated him for president. It took two conventions for them to pick a candidate to head the ticket. The first one was held in Charleston, South Carolina, and was so filled with dissension and turmoil that the delegates could not agree on anything. John R. was a delegate to that convention and he tried to smooth the troubled waters. He felt sick to see how much animosity was expressed between the different factions.

Their main disagreement was about slavery, and the party was split three ways on that subject. A small section was made up of abolitionists. A middle group did not approve of slavery and would have liked to see it end, but believed it was a problem that should be settled by each state, not by the federal government. To the southerners, slavery was a way of life and they felt it was necessary to their financial survival. They suspected that many of the northern abolitionists were not as concerned with the plight of the slaves as they were with keeping the South subservient, and that they were using the slave question as a smoke screen to make political gains.

There had been much talk of secession and some southerners, resentful of the hold the northeastern banks had on them financially, felt that they would be better off to leave the union and form a confederation of their own.

John R., strong in his belief in states' rights, held that the slave problem should be settled by each state, but he was not pro-slavery. Actually, he knew very little about the black people and had no real understanding of their capabilities and potential.



He considered them to be a primitive race with inferior intellect, who would be unable to take care of themselves in a civilized society. As political editor of the *Express*, he had ample opportunity to present his views.

The entire nation had been shocked in October of 1859 when John Brown, a fanatical abolitionist, attacked the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in order to arm the slaves so that they might revolt against their masters.

On November 3, 1859, John R.'s editorial dealt with that event. He stated that Brown's unlawful actions had been brought on by the radical speeches of northern abolitionists. He wrote:

"The abolitionists are urging a wave of extermination against the slaveholders. Such actions are also a threat to the non-slaveholding Northwest. Should the minds of the people become so crazed as to induce them to ruin the South by turning loose the Negro race upon that section of the country, we need not think that we can look on complacently without becoming involved in the calamity.

"Because of this danger," he continued, "emancipation is a threat to both areas." He was sincere in his belief that freeing the slaves would create more problems than it would solve.

The second Democratic convention in 1860 was held in Baltimore. After much argument, Stephen A. Douglas was nominated. The southern delegates were not satisfied. They called a convention of their own and nominated John A. Breckenridge. So it was a divided party that went into the election.

The new Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln, who had run for the Senate in 1858 on the Whig ticket. The Whig Party nominated a candidate too, but he soon bowed out and Lincoln had the backing of both parties.

John R. found politics exciting. He had always been interested in government and thought he might like a career in that field. He was nominated as a candidate to the Illinois State Senate and planned to campaign extensively both for himself and for Douglas.

The only thing that bothered him about this was that it would prevent him from spending as much time at home as he otherwise would. There were now two children in that home. On November 2, 1859, a second daughter had been born. She was given the name of Rose.

Roxanna thought that her husband might be displeased that their second child was not a son. His brother Joseph Edgar had three sons, the youngest about the same age as little Rose. But John R. made it clear that another girl suited him well. He said, "How could a man not be pleased with two lovely little daughters?"

He remembered the two small sisters he had loved so much and was happy to have two little girls of his own. Roxanna's brother Jonathan and Mary, his wife, were also parents of two girls. The two families were often together and the four girls, two toddlers and two babes in arms, were the center of attention. To Roxanna, Mary was a dear and loving sister, and the tie she had always had with her brother Jonathan was as strong as ever. John R. and Roxanna were often with Joseph Edgar and his family too, but Roxanna and Matilda were so different in disposition that they did not form a close relationship.

Matilda was a brisk, rather aggressive person, inclined to be domineering. She was a meticulous housekeeper and always had everything organized so well that her home ran like clockwork. Roxanna felt overpowered by such efficiency and energy. However, the two women were on good, if not affectionate, terms. Neither wanted to spoil the pleasure their husbands took in being together.

The months before the election were disturbing. The dread of civil war made everyone uneasy. John R. abhorred violence of all kinds and, to him, a war between the states was unthinkable. Surely, he thought, the people of a nation could find a way to settle their differences without killing each other.

The election was not a good one for the Democrats. Their party was so divided that their opponents had everything their own way. In Illinois, Lincoln defeated Douglas 171,000 to 158,000. Few Democrats on the state ticket were elected. Eden was not among the winners.

This was a disappointment to him and he thought perhaps a career in government was not for him. Although he was

disheartened by being denied public office, he felt worse at the defeat of Douglas. He feared that the election had killed all hopes for peace.

The nation had come to a turning point. Convinced that the election of Lincoln would result in anti-south national policies, the state of South Carolina announced its secession from the Union on December 20, 1860. She was followed by the Deep South states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. These states joined to form the Confederate States of America.

President Lincoln called on the loyal states to supply troops to put down the rebellion. The states of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, refusing to aid in the suppression of their fellow southerners, joined them in the Confederacy.

The thing John R. had most feared had happened. The nation was divided and war was imminent. He had spoken out many times in favor of states' rights, but he did not consider secession to be one of those rights. If necessary to save the Union, the North must fight.

His defeat in the race for the state legislature did not lessen John R.'s interest in politics, but he decided to work from the sidelines in the future instead of seeking office for himself.

A month after the election, Roxanna bore another child – this time a son. He was named Thomas Hartwell, but always called by his second name. Roxanna chose that name in the memory of her oldest brother Hartwell, whom she had adored as a child but who had died at the age of eighteen.

Again, Catherine Eden came and stayed in her son's home until the baby was a month old. John R. then insisted that Roxanna get a neighbor girl to come every day and do the housework and help care for the children. That was a happy arrangement. Three-year-old Emma, Rose at a little past one year old, and the baby Hartwell thrived under the loving care of their mother and her helper.

John R. focused his attention on his law practice and worked overtime in order to get it well established and to provide for his growing family. When he came home in the evening, he found an orderly house, a happy wife, and three adorable babies, all with their mother's dark eyes. As he sat down to a well-cooked meal he thought no man could be more lucky than he. If only there were no clouds of war to darken their lives, happiness would be complete for him and Roxanna.

The state of Illinois was strong in its support of the policy to fight for the preservation of the Union. When Governor Yates called for 6,000 troops, it took only five days to form 60 companies and the total number of volunteers far exceeded the quotas.

Everyone thought the war would be over in six months. The Union would be saved and its people could again settle down to peaceful living. But after a year of war the Union seemed further away from victory than it had been at the beginning of the fighting. The terrible losses at Bull Run and Shiloh shocked the people and made them lose faith in those who were in charge of the war effort.

Coupled with the hatred of war in general was the alarm caused by a change in the stated war aims. In the summer of '61, the Congress of the United States passed resolutions that said the war would be waged solely for restoration of the Union. The agreement stated no intention of curtailing the rights of any state. Yet when Congress met again in December, steps were taken to expand the war aims and include the abolition of slavery.

The thought of a long war was distressful and John R. was also saddened by the death of his friend and hero, Stephen A. Douglas.

It was a united Democratic Party that faced the 1862 elections. Party members joined in their disapproval of the federal government's policies and the way the war was going.

There was another reason that made them eager to overcome the opposition. Democratic leaders had expected Governor Yates to appoint a man of their party to finish the term of the Little Giant. At the beginning of the war, Douglas had gone to President Lincoln and offered his services in any way he could help. Lincoln asked him to urge his followers to support the national

policy and the war effort. This Douglas did faithfully, spending much time and energy in making speeches all over the state and working to gain support for the President.

The Democrats of Illinois, along with many Republicans, thought that Governor Yates, out of appreciation for the cooperation of Douglas, should have appointed a Democrat to take his place.

However the Governor did not make this bi-partisan gesture. He selected Orville H. Browning, a Quincy Republican, as the man to succeed Douglas. The Democratic Party, in spite of some differences, united to oppose the Republicans.

That meant the prospects were good for electing Democratic congressmen. The leaders of the party wanted John R. to be their candidate, but his experience in 1860 made him reluctant to seek office again. He discussed the matter with his brother Edgar, whose advice he had always valued. (Joseph Edgar had, by this time, discontinued using his first name.) Edgar told John R. that he should announce his candidacy for the nomination.

“You have always been interested in government,” he said. “This is your chance to start a real political career. I have a feeling that this is the year for the Democrats in this state, and you are the logical one to lead the party in that victory.”

John R. was not convinced. He was doing well in his law practice and did not like to interrupt it. More importantly, he did not think that he should leave his wife and children for long periods of time. Another son had joined the family. He had been named Charles Walter. Leaving Roxanna with four children, all under five years old, seemed out of the question.

“Discuss it with Roxanna,” his brother suggested. “Let her make the decision.” That is what John R. decided to do.

He had already mentioned to Roxanna that friends were urging him to run for Congress, so she had been considering the problems that might result. It gave her a sinking feeling in her heart to think of her husband being far away for months at a time. The realization that, when he was in Washington, she would have to make all the decisions about the home and children frightened her. She thought that if she were like Matilda, who managed her household so well, she would not feel that great fear of responsibility. On the other hand, she knew that her husband really desired a political career, and she did not want him to give up this chance because of her temerity.

“What if he were going to war as many women’s men folk are?” she asked herself. That would be much worse. If he could serve his country by helping to make its laws, she should be thankful that he could do that without physical danger. If other women could watch their husbands march off to battle, surely she should be strong enough not to stand in the way of his serving in an important position that suited his talents.

So when John R. broached the subject to her, explaining all of its dim looks and telling her that he wanted her to decide what he should do, Roxanna didn’t hesitate. She told him he should run for the office of Congressman.

On September 2, 1862, he accepted the Democratic nomination for Congressman of the 7th District, which consisted of twelve counties. In November he was elected by the clear majority of 1,357 votes.

The new Congress did not convene until December 1863, so John R. had plenty of time to get his business and home affairs in order before going to Washington City. He knew he was leaving his law practice in good hands. His brother-in-law, Jonathan Meeker, with the help of a young lawyer who was sharing the same office, would look after the business well, and Jonathan would also keep in close touch with his sister and take care of her financial needs.

Roxanna was trying not to worry about the situation. She was kept so busy caring for her home and children that she had little time to think of anything else. She was again pregnant. The new baby was not due until December and her husband would probably be in Washington City at the time of its birth.

The house was too small for the expanding Eden family, so two rooms were added. One of these rooms would be occupied by Jane, the young woman who had been coming in every day to help Roxanna. She would now live in the Eden house. Jane was strong, efficient, and likeable, devoted to the children. Roxanna found her to be a good friend as well as a capable helper.

The war had brought changes in every home. Bright-faced young men had been leaving every week to join the army, all expecting to be back home in a few months. It was thought that the war could not last long. When the South saw what a formidable

force was ready to fight for the Union, the rebellion would soon be over. But a cloud of dread, fear and foreboding hung over every home.

Things had not gone well for the North and numbers of families had been notified that their brave young soldiers would not return.

Although the people of Illinois were ready to defend the Union and the Constitution, there was no feeling of hatred against the rebel states. Many families had emigrated from the South and still had relatives there. Most of them thought that the differences between the sections of the country could be settled peacefully if only the leaders of both sides would get together. There should, at least, be an effort made to try to come to an agreement which would stop this fratricide – the killing, maiming and destruction that comes with war.

John R. played a prominent part in meetings of anti-war Democrats. In late May 1863, while the papers were carrying the details of the Mississippi raid made the previous month by Colonel Benjamin Greerson and his Illinois cavalry, Eden went to Indianapolis to speak at the Indiana state convention. The mood of the convention was anti-war and companies of infantry and cavalry were present to watch the Democrats. According to the *Peoria Morning Mail*, batteries of artillery were charged, spotted, and trained upon the stage where free men were standing to express their sentiments in regard to administration policies. The military units also commanded the streets which led to the place of the meeting.

Eden's strong belief in the importance of preserving the Union was matched only by his devotion to the principle of free speech. Every citizen had a right to speak his mind as long as it was done in a lawful manner. There was no law against parties or groups whose ideas differed from those of the administration meeting in an orderly fashion and expressing their views.

The Illinois Democrats continued to meet and on June 7, 1863, Eden was one of the speakers at a mass meeting in Springfield. According to the Democratic press at the time, 75 to 100 thousand people were attracted to the meeting held at the State Fairgrounds. However, later writers revised that figure to about 4,000.

At this meeting resolutions were passed denouncing Governor Yates for proroguing the state legislature and for the suppression of the anti-war Chicago newspaper, the *Chicago Times*. The speakers decried the arbitrary arrest of Illinois citizens suspected of being Copperheads.

The most significant resolution reflected the attitude of Illinois citizens about the war. It stated:

“The further offensive promotion of this war tends to subvert the Constitution and the government, and entails for this nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy.”

After that meeting John R. made no more speeches but stayed in Sullivan to look after his business and spend time with his family.

Walter, who was a little more than a year old, always recognized his father's footsteps on the porch and, chanting “PaPa”, hurried on wobbly legs toward the door to be lifted high to a seat on his father's shoulder. Two-year-old Hartwell was just as excited but waited his turn. By the time John R. was really in his house, he had both small sons riding so high that their heads almost touched the ceiling. He swung them to the floor to greet his wife and daughters and to listen to the happenings of the day.

When September came, Emma started to school. She was a shy child and a little afraid of new experiences. Her father walked with her every morning across the town to the schoolhouse and watched until she turned to wave at him from the schoolhouse door. Often he was there when school was let out. Hand in hand the tall brown-bearded man and his small daughter would make their way home, Emma doing her best to match the strides of her father.

Four-year-old Rose would always be watching at the window for their homecoming. She was different from her sister. She had an outgoing, affectionate nature and was almost always smiling and happy. Already she was showing some musical ability. She learned to sing every song she heard, and her prize possession was a small music box which her Uncle Edgar had given her for Christmas. It was imported and played a French tune, “Frere Jacques.” Her grandmother Catherine, who had grown up speaking French, taught her the words. Many times a day in the Eden home, a sweet childish voice could be heard singing the song, accompanied by the lilting sound of the little music box.

Rose was always glad when the family went to the home of her Uncle Jonathan. Aunt Mary played the organ and often when the rest of the family was busy with other things, Rose would slip into the parlor, reach up to finger the smooth keys lovingly, imagining that she was making music. When John R. saw her so entranced with the instrument he vowed that as soon as she was tall enough for her feet to touch the pedals he would buy her an organ.

Frost came early that year and was followed by a month of Indian summer. Whenever John R. could take an afternoon away from his office, he would rent a rig from the livery stable and, leaving Jane to mind the children, he and Roxanna would drive along the country roads in wooded areas to enjoy the beauty of the fall colors. Those happy times would stay in their minds through the long months of separation ahead of them.

The days slipped by and all too soon winter came and it was time for John R. to go. Sullivan was still without railroads, so he traveled to Mattoon by stagecoach. From there he went by train to Terre Haute, Indiana. After a night spent in a hotel, he took an early morning train to Washington City. The country boy and small town lawyer was on his way to a political career in the nation's capitol.

It was dusk when John R. reached Washington City. As he stepped off the train he felt as though he were entering a new and strange world. Everywhere there were people hurrying one way or the other. Shouts of newsboys, hack drivers and vendors filled the air, and from the streets leading into the station area he could hear the clop-clop of horses' hooves on cobbled pavements.

He stood for a while, just taking it all in. On a side track, a troop train was unloading. It had brought sick and wounded soldiers from the battlefield. John R. was shocked at seeing lines of litters, on which were maimed young men, their faces pale and drawn by their suffering. Following those were the walking wounded, some on crutches with an empty pant leg folded up over a stump, which was all that was left of a lower limb. Others had only one arm or a bandaged head. They were all loaded on wagons to be taken to hospitals.

He turned from that unpleasant sight and followed the sound of a hack driver who was calling, "To the Metropolitan Hotel." He climbed into the vehicle and sat with three other men.

They rode to the edge of the business district and stopped at an impressive brick building, which had a striped awning over the entrance. A drizzle of cold rain had begun to fall. It was a relief to get inside the lobby of the hotel.

John R. registered and was assigned a room on the second floor. He was pleased to see that it looked comfortable and pleasant.

He was tired from the long trip and dirty from the coal dust on the train. He was also hungry and it did not take him long to wash, put on fresh clothing, and go down to the dining room for a good meal. He talked with no one and sought no entertainment, but after eating went straight to his room and to bed. He slept well and long on his first night in the nation's capital.

He had decided to try to find lodging in a boarding house instead of staying at the hotel. In the morning he looked in a newspaper and saw an advertisement for a place that sounded promising. It was within walking distance of the capitol building, and when he went to investigate he found it to be suitable to his needs. He would get lodging and two meals a day for a reasonable rate, and when he saw the room which was for rent, he knew that he had found the place which would be his home during the congressional term.

This may have been a mistake. If he had stayed at the hotel where many congressmen had rooms, he would have had congenial companionship and an interesting exchange of ideas that might have prevented him from feeling lonely during those first few months in the city. His letters to Roxanna told of his great loneliness and his longing for her, the children, and home.

He was disturbed because he was unable to do anything about changing the course of the government, and it made him unhappy to realize he was so ineffective. He wrote to J. B. Titus, a Democratic friend in Sullivan:

"If our friends expect that we can do any good or check the ruinous course of the party in power, they will be woefully disappointed."

When he had been in Washington three weeks, he received word that Roxanna had borne a daughter. He wrote her a letter telling her of his love for her and how much he wished he could be with her and see his new daughter. He added:

“I chose the names of the other children and I believe you should name this baby.” Later in the same letter he added, “I have always thought that Laura was a pretty name.”

Roxanna followed his first suggestion that she name her fifth baby herself. She gave the little girl the name Belle.

The Democratic sweep in Illinois had not been duplicated in other parts of the country, and the party of Lincoln was firmly in power. Its members elected the Speaker of the House - a Republican from Indiana.

When the appointments to committees were made, John R. was placed on one handling Revolutionary pensions and another on Accounts. Being a freshman member of a minority party, he could not expect to be given a responsible place on an important committee. The meetings of his groups were uninteresting and bordering on boredom.

Soon he began to feel disillusioned about many of the Representatives who had great power. This mood showed itself in a letter to Roxanna in which he wrote:

“The outside world is all heartless and cold. Among the men who are called great, I find few who are worthy of the name.”

In spite of loneliness and disappointment, he found the city of Washington fascinating. Like any tourist, he made it a point to see the most popular sights soon after his arrival. He marveled at the statue of Andrew Jackson on a rampant charger, and was impressed by the construction that was in progress on the capitol building,

“The Capitol building is immense,” he wrote, “much larger than I had supposed. They have been working on it for 60 years and it is still unfinished. The prospect now is that the government will not endure long enough for the Capitol to be completed.”

Although he knew that his efforts in Congress would have little effect, he remained true to the platform he had helped to draft and on which he had been elected.

He wrote to Roxanna: “I have unfailingly voted in Congress with the most radical Democrats there, and we have some who withstand the terrors of this administration in the darkest period of our history.”

It was March before he went home for the longed for reunion with his family. On the day of his arrival Roxanna was watching for him and when she saw him coming down the street she could hardly contain her joy. She slipped quietly to the front door without disturbing the children at their play. She was there to greet her husband when he stepped over the threshold, and they shared a warm embrace alone. Both were so filled with emotion that for a moment they did not speak.

The early spring day was chilly and damp and the children and Jane were in the kitchen where the cook stove provided warmth. Walter did not recognize his father and instead of running to him on unsteady legs, he turned and went into the safety of Jane’s arms. Hartwell was shy at first, but he soon came to be lifted to his familiar place on John R.’s shoulder. Emma and Rose had not changed except to grow taller. They had known that their father was coming and had been atwitter with excitement for days.

There were gifts for everyone: a black lace fan for Roxanna, a blue scarf for Jane, china-headed dolls for the girls, a picture book for Hartwell, a box of blocks for Walter, and a rattle box for little Belle.

It was a happy family that gathered around the supper table that evening. Little Belle was already asleep in her cradle, so four children and three adults sat down to enjoy the meal that Jane had prepared. Nothing that John R. had eaten in the nation’s capital had ever tasted as good as Jane’s chicken and dumplings.

The joy he felt at being at home with his family made him resolve that if he were elected to a second term in Congress, he would take his family to Washington with him.

John R. was home for four days, all filled with happy associations. Edgar and Matilda entertained all the Eden family on the second day of his home visit. Catherine Eden, with her two daughters and their families, drove in from their farms. Jonathan Meeker with his wife and two daughters also were there. Everyone wanted to hear about Washington City and John R.'s experiences there.

His friends and business associates gave a party for him at the hotel. This affair was not all jollity. There was great concern about the war and how long it would last. Numbers of those present had lost sons in the fighting and others lived in dread of tragic news.

Early on the morning of March 16 John R. left on his return trip to Washington City. He was scheduled to stop in Charleston to give a speech at a Democratic rally. That speech was never given, for the rally was broken up before it got started. There are a number of accounts of that event, which came to be called the "Charleston Riot." Ned Hostetler, a farmer on Whitley Creek ten miles south of Sullivan, gave his neighbor, J. N. Martin, some information as to how the riot started.

Ned was in Charleston on business and had stopped in a saloon for refreshment. There was a large number of soldiers at the bar, drinking and roughhousing. They had expected to take a noon train to Mattoon where they were stationed, but the orders to leave had been canceled.

The men were disgruntled and bored and were consoling themselves with liquor. On the saloon wall was a poster which announced a Democratic rally which was to be held on the courthouse yard at two o'clock. The Hon. John R. Eden was to be the speaker.

One of the soldiers pointed to the poster and said, "We aren't going to let the God damned Democrats have a rally, are we?" The answer came in a many-voiced "No!" and the soldiers poured out of the saloon into the street.

Ned didn't want to get mixed up in any trouble, so he got on his horse and headed for home. Later, when he heard about the riot, he was thankful that he had not stayed to witness it.

When John R. reached Charleston that day, he noticed that there were a great many soldiers in town. He hoped that their presence did not mean trouble. He went to the hotel to have lunch and to rest a while before the meeting. When he left the hotel and started over to the courthouse yard, he saw a group of roistering soldiers come out of the saloon. That made him apprehensive.

The Democrats of the area had reason to fear the soldiers for it was believed that men of the 54th Division had attacked two Democrats who had been outspoken in their views. According to the stories circulating in the community, soldiers had beaten the two Democrats to death and had threatened other Democrats with the same fate.

Before John R. reached the meeting place he heard two shots and then a volley of gunfire. He turned and saw a man fall with a bullet in his leg. John R. hurried to get inside the courthouse where a number of people had already taken shelter. That proved to be the focus point of the conflict, and bullets came flying through the windows and rattling across the floor.

John R. decided to leave. He and two friends went out the back door and walked two miles out of town to wait until the rioting was over. They received word that the fighting was continuing, and John R. thought it wise not to return to Charleston. He hired a wagon to drive him to the nearby town of Marshall, where he took a hack to Terre Haute, Indiana. From there he went by train to Washington.

He did not know that word had gone to Sullivan that he was one of the nine men killed in that riot. Roxanna was devastated at the news and could not be consoled. Edgar went to Charleston at once to find out about his brother, but he had a difficult time trying to track down information as to his whereabouts. Finally he met a man who said that he saw John R. and two other men leave the courthouse and head east.

That relieved Edgar's mind and he felt sure that John R. had returned to Washington and that they would hear from him soon. It was a week before they could be absolutely sure. A letter came from John R., saying he was back in Washington City and there was no reason for anyone to worry about him.

The pro-administration papers had a field day with what they called the “Charleston Massacre.” The story was so exaggerated and distorted that it gave the impression the riot was caused by a meeting of the “traiterous Copperhead Democrats” and that their main supporter, Congressman Eden, gave an anti-war speech. It was implied that when the soldiers remonstrated about Eden’s words, which were inciting rebellion, the Copperheads responded with gunfire.

John R. had been back in the capital city only a few days when he was summoned to appear before the president. Lincoln rebuked him for causing a riot with his speech in Charleston, and when John R. said, “But, Mr. President . . .” Lincoln stopped him by saying, “Wait until I have finished, Mr. Eden. Then I will hear what you have to say.”

He continued to reproach John R. for things he had said in his speech and gave him a lecture on the proper behavior of a congressman and loyal American.

Twice John R. tried to break into the harangue but was told to be quiet. When the President had said all he wanted to say, he ended with, “Now, Mr. Eden, what do you have to say?”

“Mr. President, what I have been trying to tell you is that the riot in Charleston could not have been caused by anything I said, because I did not speak. There was no Democratic rally held that afternoon. The meeting was broken up by the gunfire of the drunken soldiers before the program started. And now, Mr. President, may I be excused?”

Lincoln studied a minute, looking straight across into steady, blue eyes on the same level with his own. What he saw there convinced him that John R. was telling the truth. “Mr. Eden,” he said, “if I have misjudged you, I am sorry. I will look into this matter and we will discuss it again.”

The two Illinoisans shook hands and John R. left the room.

The war was over. The South had not only been beaten, it had been devastated. John R. had hoped that the southern states would be allowed to return to the Union with dignity and be welcomed back as prodigal sons. But there was a strong faction in Washington that would not be satisfied until the rebel states were totally crushed and denied any influence in the national government.

The Democrats in Congress were dismayed by the horror that was perpetrated on the South near the end of the war. They considered the destruction in Georgia to be unnecessary and cruel. In a single long march by 60,000 men, General Sherman destroyed every town, rail yard, and plantation across a sixty mile wide swath from Atlanta to the sea.

In Washington there were powerful people who feared that if the South were allowed to return to the Union without weakening punishment, a Democratic majority would be formed and Congress would be controlled by men who had lately been traitors.

Plans were being made to put the southern states under military control, denying all Confederates any position in state or national government. That would mean that no white man could hold public office.

John R. was counting on Lincoln to thwart those plans. He had not supported the president on many of his policies, but he knew him to be honest, fair, and compassionate. Lincoln was strong enough to keep control of the government.

His speech at Gettysburg showed that he was without malice and wanted to bind up the nation’s wounds, not inflict new ones.

Being a minority member of a lame duck Congress was not to John R.’s liking. He did his work as best he could, but the days were dull and draggy and he longed for the end of the term to come and free him from such boredom and frustration.

He was concerned with conditions at home. Roxanna and the children had all been ill with La Grippe, and Hartwell was not making a good recovery. By the end of March, the worried father decided to leave Washington, where he felt he was of so little consequence, and go home where he knew he was needed.



What he found there was not encouraging. Roxanna looked pale and thin and she was still weak from the fever of her illness. The girls and Walter were doing well, but their eyes were big in faces that had lost their color and roundness. Only baby Belle, happily cooing in her cradle, showed no signs of having been ill.

It was Hartwell who was causing the most worry. He burned with fever and whimpered with pain from an infection in his ear. His small body was often shaken with paroxysms of coughing. Jane, the only member of the household who had not been ill, stayed by his side, giving him his medicine and applying the poultices prescribed by the doctor. Her devotion could not have been excelled by the most devoted and loving mother, but she showed signs of exhaustion.

John R. told her to go to her room and rest and he would look after Hartwell. For three nights he sat by his son's bedside, doing all he could to soothe and care for him. The doctor came every day to check on Hartwell's condition and direct his treatment, but there was little to be done except to let the fever run its course.

In the middle of the fourth night John R. noticed that the boy's breathing was easier. The flush of high temperature left his face and his body, so small under the cover that it hardly made a mound, relaxed. The fever had broken. Hartwell drifted into a quiet, restful sleep. John R. bent his head forward and covered his face with his hands. Tears of relief slipped through his fingers.

By the end of the week Hartwell was up and playing with the other children. The Eden family was back to normal. With his wife and children again in good health and with the war over, John R. felt that things had taken a good turn and all would be well.

He turned his attention to his law practice and to making plans for the future - plans that did not include a political career.

His brother Edgar had been elected county judge. He had also bought the hotel and remodeled it so that it was an establishment in which he could take pride.

Matilda, his wife, was in her element. Taking care of her small house had never been enough to satisfy her energetic nature. She was happy to be the mistress of a 25-bedroom inn where she could use her organizing ability and household skills more fully. Matilda had a good head for business and her husband soon left the bookkeeping to her. The hotel, which was called the Eden House, did not interfere with Edgar's activities as a merchant or with his judicial duties.

Spring came early and by April the grass was green. The trees leaved out and the fragrance of lilacs was in the air. Into this lovely, peaceful world there came a tragic, sky-darkening cloud: the news that President Lincoln had been assassinated. Everyone was shocked and saddened. John R. had a feeling of grief and foreboding.

Although he and Lincoln had been in disagreement on government matters, there had never been any personal enmity between them. Even when John R. had spoken out in violent disapproval of the President's policies, he had felt a kinship with him and sympathy because of the great burden Lincoln bore. John R.'s heart had gone out to Lincoln at the time of his son's death and at the rumors of unhappiness in his personal life. It seemed unbelievable that he could be gone.

John R. believed that the country was still in great danger. Vice President Andrew Johnson must take over the reins of government. He was a good man but lacked Lincoln's wisdom and strength. John R. feared that the power-hungry politicians who wanted to keep the South in a secondary position would have their way. How ironic, he thought, that John Wilkes Booth, in trying to avenge the South he loved, had destroyed its main source of protection.

## PHOEBE ROXANNA MEEKER

The supper dishes were washed, dried, and put on the shelf. Roxanna Meeker took off her apron and smoothed her hair before going into the living room to join the other members of the family. She had been alone all day and would have welcomed some conversation but, as she looked fondly at her father and brother, she saw that none would be forthcoming.

The pleasant companionship which she and her brother Jonathan often enjoyed in the evening would be missing, for Jonathan was deep in studying a law book and did not look up as she entered the room. Her father was already dozing in his chair. Poor man, he worked hard all day and was entitled to a nap after his supper. But he must wake up soon, for they were to have company later in the evening.

In the village that morning, Jonathan had met a newcomer, a young lawyer whose name was John R. Eden. Jonathan felt that he had met him before but at first he could not remember where. Then it came to him that this was the young man who was teaching a country school in Indiana where the Meeker family had stopped to water their horses five years before.

When asked about it, John R. remembered the incident and was glad to know that he had acquaintances in Sullivan, which was to be his new home. Jonathan asked him to call, and he was coming that evening.

Roxanna had not met John R., for she had not been with the family on their first trip to Illinois, but she remembered her mother telling her about him – how handsome he was and how helpful and gracious he had been. She felt excited at the prospect of meeting him but also was a little nervous and uneasy.

She was not as outgoing as her brother and did not make friends easily. Her life had been quiet since she became the woman of the house at the age of fourteen. She had been content to stay at home for she liked to keep house, cook, weave, sew, and garden. She was happy taking care of her father and brother and feeling that she was necessary to them. She depended on them for companionship and made no close friends her own age.

Supper had been early, while it was still light, but it was now beginning to get dark. Roxanna lit the candles and, sitting down in a low chair, she picked up her work basket, which was full of socks that needed attention. Her men folk were hard on socks and her work basket was seldom empty. She threaded her darning needle, put a small gourd in the toe of a gray sock, and started to work. Before she was half finished with her task, she heard the dogs barking and then a knock on the door.

Ambrose Meeker roused from his napping and said, “Go to the door, Daughter, and let the young man in.” She put down her work, brushed the lint from her skirt, and hurried to the door. When she opened it, she looked up into a pair of deep blue eyes which must have stirred her heart immediately. She remembered that when her mother had told her about the handsome Indiana school teacher, she had said: “That young fellow had the most beautiful pair of blue eyes I ever saw in a man’s head.”

That memory had more meaning to her now.

Ambrose and Jonathan greeted their guest warmly and the three men were soon in a friendly conversation about the experiences since their first meeting and their plans for the future. John R. felt optimistic about his prospects. Sullivan had been chosen county seat and there was only one other lawyer in the area. Roxanna went back to her darning and seldom joined in the discussions, but she was an interested listener and her eyes often turned toward the tall, young man who had come to call.

After that evening, John R. was a frequent caller at the Meeker home and became a close friend of the family. He often had Sunday dinner with them, and he praised Roxanna’s cooking, listened to the stories her father loved to tell, and helped Jonathan with his law studies. Although he enjoyed the companionship of Ambrose and Jonathan, it was soon evident that it was the daughter of the house who was the main attraction. On August 7, 1856, Phoebe Roxanna became the bride of John Rice Eden.

The months before that marriage was a time of great happiness that stayed in the memory of both Roxanna and John R. Years later, he wrote a letter to her from Washington, D.C., describing the days of their courtship. The letter was dated Feb. 14, 1874. In it he wrote:

“When I take my pen in hand to write you a few lines, my mind goes back to the happy days I have spent with you. I even now am thinking of the days of our courtship, when we used to sit on your father’s porch and talk of love and of the enjoyments of life when we would be united by the tender relationships of husband and wife, – when we walked on the prairie in the shadow of evening and first learned to repose in each other that mutual confidence, which I thank God after long years and many struggles incident to life has never been broken, – when we first pledged ourselves to share together the joys and sorrows of this world.”

After their marriage, Roxanna and John R. set up housekeeping on a modest scale. He had made a good beginning as a lawyer but was far from a state of affluence. Roxanna felt a little guilty at leaving her father and brother to fend for themselves, but they assured her that they could manage. Henry, the man who helped with the farming and lived nearby, said that his wife would come every day during the week and fix them a good hot meal and put the house in order; and Roxanna and John R. would spend Sunday at the farm.

Roxanna was happy caring for her own small house, and her life was still the quiet existence she had always known, except that now she had a husband to look after as well as a father and brother. They were, more or less, a closed circle, and she made few contacts outside it. Soon there were others added to this family circle. In 1857 the young Edens welcomed their first child, a daughter who was given the name of Emma. Roxanna had been fearful in the months before Emma's birth, although she was careful not to let her husband know of her feeling of anxiety. She was haunted by the memory of the agonizing time when her stepmother died giving birth to a son who never knew what it was to breathe. But when Roxanna's time came all went well and little Emma was a strong, healthy baby and a delight to her parents.

In the first ten years of her marriage, Roxanna bore seven children: Emma, Rose, Hartwell, Walter, Belle, Finley, and Edgar. She saw two of those children die. Finley was always a sickly child and succumbed to the measles before he was three years old, and Edgar lived only a few months. The loss of these two loved ones made Roxanna fearful and overly anxious about her other children.

It is understandable that in those years she developed no social life outside her home. Her husband, quite to the contrary, took a big part in local affairs. In his profession he met many people, was well liked, and soon became a leader in the community. He held several town and county offices and in 1862 was elected to Congress, where he served five terms. In 1868 he was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois, an office which he did not win.

Roxanna was proud of her husband's successes and hated to see him fail in anything, but she could not help feeling relieved that he was not elected Governor. That would have meant moving to Springfield; and the thought of being First Lady of the state, living in the Governor's Mansion, and taking on social duties for which she did not feel fitted frightened her.

She was glad that John R. was not downhearted at his defeat. He had not expected to be elected for, while he had a loyal following in his district, the state was strongly Republican, and the Democrats had little chance of taking over the State House. It pleased him that he ran ahead of his ticket.

Her husband's public life made it necessary for Roxanna to look after the house and take care of the children without help from him much of the time. In those days, Congressmen did little commuting between home and Washington City, as the Capital was then called, and John R. was away from Sullivan for months at a time. He was not there when Belle was born or when Baby Edgar died. There were many times when Roxanna needed his strength and wisdom, but he was many miles away. She was not a strong, decisive person and it was hard for her to face family emergencies alone and to shoulder responsibilities that ordinarily would have been shared by her partner.

She was not without assistance. A young woman was a live-in helper. Her name was Jane and she did the heavier household tasks and aided in caring for the children. James, a handyman, came every day to do the outside chores. He milked the cow and escorted her to and from pasture, spaded up the garden in the spring, cut the weeds in the summer, and shoveled snow and brought in fuel in the winter. A romance developed between the two helpers. In one of John R.'s letters to his wife he wrote: "Tell Jane and James to wait until I get home to get married and we will give them a big wedding."

Although Roxanna was a loving and somewhat indulgent mother, she could be a strict disciplinarian when necessary. Her son, Walter, in his *Childhood Memoirs*, wrote:

"I did not like to go to school. I think the old school house had something to do with it. It was a ramshackly two story building. A man named Donaldson was at the head of it. I remember well that after I had been to school the first day, I didn't want to go back any more, and my mother followed me all the way, brandishing a switch taken from an apple tree."

Walter wrote about another incident when his mother corrected his behavior:

"I never stole anything but once, and that was when we were living in Decatur. We had a regular grocer with whom

we traded. One day when I was in the store he had a lot of pennies spread out on the counter. Right before his eyes, I nipped five of those pennies. I suppose I thought I was one of those sleight of hand performers. Of course the grocer saw what I did but he said nothing. A boy of my age had a sled he had made out of merchandise boxes, and he sold it to me for those five pennies. When I got home, my mother set in to quiz me about where I got the sled. I was unable to hold my own with her and soon confessed to her what I had done. She gave me five cents and told me to go back to the store, tell the grocer what I had done, and give back the pennies. He bragged on what a fine boy I was and gave me some candy. It had been a fine lesson to me. I never wanted to steal anything again.”

Years of childbearing weakened Roxanna and there was a long period when she had poor health. She became a prey to fears and anxieties which marred all of her days. She worried about the health and welfare of her children and, during the war years, was in constant fear that danger would come to her husband. She had good reason to be concerned about him, for John R.’s political views differed from those of the administration, and he was outspoken in his criticism of the government and the way the war was being conducted. He was an effective orator and was in demand to speak at meetings and political rallies. His life had been threatened on several occasions.

At one time there was a riot in Charleston, Illinois, where John R. was to speak. Several men were killed and it was reported that John R. was one of them. Although Charleston was only forty miles from Sullivan, it was two days before Roxanna heard that her husband was alive and well. She never got over the shock of those days when she thought she was a widow and her children fatherless.

John R. tried to lessen her fears without success. In his letters, he assured her that he was in no danger and that newspaper accounts of political disturbances were exaggerated, but she was not convinced and did not breathe easily until the war was over.

In 1865, when Ambrose Meeker was in financial difficulties, John R. bought the farm from him, and some time later the Eden family moved out to Roxanna’s old home. Walter Eden in his *Childhood Memoirs* wrote a description of activities on the farm:

“We children all had the measles the winter we lived on the farm, and my little brother Finley, about two or three years old, died. They took his body away for burial in a little casket in a wagon, on a cold winter day, surrounded by the family, except those of us suffering with the measles. There were very few buggies or carriages in the country at that time, and most everyone rode either horseback or in a wagon bed. Any day they celebrated, or that drew the people together, they would furnish chairs or other improvised seats and fill up the wagon bed for the journey. No shock absorbers, either, or smooth pavements to ride over.

“Mother had a big iron kettle and a big copper kettle, each of twenty gallon capacity. She made her own soap. We always had a big ash hopper in the back yard, in which we saved all the wood ashes, and we had no other kind, as we used only wood stoves, both for heating and cooking. From these ashes she made her lye, and she would save all her fat scraps of meat, especially from her smoked meat, and she always got a large quantity of soap.

“Every fall she would make up twenty gallons of apple butter and about ten gallons of mince meat – and the mince meat was rich with plenty of good meat. She always had a pantry full of jams, marmalades, and jellies. Every meal we had hot biscuits and several different kinds of preserves. We always filled up the cellar with the finest kind of winter apples out of our orchard on the farm.”

In 1869 John R. decided to move his family to Decatur, a town about 25 miles west of Sullivan. He practiced law in Macon County successfully, but Roxanna was not happy in their new surroundings, and in 1872 they moved back to Sullivan. John R. bought two large lots on which he built a Colonial style house as a home for his family. Roxanna was glad to be back in her home town near her father and brother. She and Jonathan were still close and she liked his wife and loved their children.

She was proud of her new house and busied herself picking out furnishings and putting everything in order. But she was not well, and in 1874 her doctor advised her to try some of the health resorts whose mineral springs were supposed to cure any and all ailments. Since she would be away from home for long periods of time, it was decided to put the children in boarding school. Emma and Rose had completed the courses offered in the local schools and were ready for more advanced learning, and they and Belle were enrolled in a convent school in Georgetown. Walter and Hartwell were put in a boys’ school, also located in Georgetown. John R. wanted his children to be near Washington City so that he could see them often.

Roxanna was not happy to see her family separated and her home left in the care of others, but she realized her condition and knew that she was no longer able to cope with responsibilities. She worried about the expense of this change in their way of living.

The 1874-75 catalogue for the girls' school shows that their tuition was \$500 each. The boys' schooling probably cost the same. Their father lived in a hotel in Washington and Roxanna was with him part of the time, between her stays at health spas.

A Congressman's salary in the 1800s was not large, but John R.'s law practice was still lucrative, and he assured his wife that there was no need for her to worry about financial matters. All he wanted was for her to get well and for his children to have good care and get an education. When Congress and school were not in session, they could all be back in Sullivan together.

Hartwell and Walter did not want to go to boarding school. They asked for permission to stay in Sullivan and live with their Uncle Edgar, who owned a hotel there. But their father insisted on having them near him, so in the fall of 1874 all five Eden children were in school in Georgetown. Both schools were Catholic but welcomed Protestant pupils.

The girls were contented in their convent school, and Walter soon adjusted to his situation and was a good student. Hartwell was not happy and did not do well in his studies. He was subject to ear infections which impaired his hearing, and was also very nearsighted.

In his letters to his mother, he often complained of these handicaps and wrote that his teachers scolded him for inattentiveness and would not believe that he had not heard instructions clearly or had difficulty reading the fine print of the textbooks. If he had been fitted with glasses to correct his eyesight as children are today and given antibiotics to cure his ear infections, he probably would have been a good student like his brother.

The family were all home again in the summer of '75 and when fall came Emma and Hartwell did not go back to school but stayed at home with their mother, who was considerably improved. Emma took over the task of running the house and Hartwell spent much of his time on the farm, where he prided himself that he made a good hand. He could work only on weekends and after school on weekdays, for he attended the academy in town on insistence of his parents. Three years later all the children were home and John R. gave up his political career and devoted all of his time to his law practice and his family.

Roxanna was happy to have her family together again, and soon there was another member of the circle. In her forty-fourth year, Roxanna bore her eighth child, a girl who was at first called Pauline but later given the name of Blanche. In that same year, the family suffered a great loss. Hartwell was stricken with typhoid fever and, after a few weeks of illness, died. At that time little was known about the proper treatment for typhoid fever and, instead of keeping him on a bland diet, his devoted family fixed Hartwell his favorite foods, hoping to tempt his appetite and give him strength. A generation later, typhoid patients survived by being kept on a diet of boiled milk. Again, Hartwell was the victim of his time.

Roxanna never recovered from the shock of her son's death. Although she lived for ten more years, she was never well and suffered spells of deep melancholia. Emma took over the care of her baby Sister; Rose and Belle managed the house, and all members of the family devoted their time to making life as easy as possible for Roxanna. They did all they could to try to calm her anxieties and fear, some of which had become obsessions.

One of these overpowering fears was of fire. As long as she lived, she would never allow an oil lamp in the house. It was lit by candles, which must have been difficult in the large high-ceilinged rooms. She was afraid that an oil lamp might be, dropped and explode, setting the house on fire. There were large silver candelabra in the parlor, living room, and dining room. Each member of the family had a silver candlestick for personal use.

The first of the Eden children to leave home was Walter. He married a young woman who had come to Sullivan a year before and worked as a milliner in the dry goods and clothing store. Her name was Mae Mulvey and she came from Cincinnati. At that time, when a lady wanted a new hat or bonnet, she went to the milliner, looked at the prepared samples, and ordered the style that pleased her. The milliner usually started with a wire frame, covered it with silk or velvet, and trimmed it according to the customer's desires. The results were often real works of art.

When the family heard of Walter's plan to marry, they were not pleased. They thought that at twenty-two he was too young to take on the responsibility of a wife and family. But no obstacles were put in the way, and John R. and Belle went to Cincinnati to

attend the wedding. It was thought best that Roxanna not attempt such a tiring trip. She and her daughters prepared to welcome the newlyweds. When they came, they had with them a six year old girl. She was Mae's orphan niece, and Mae had promised to take care of her. So the young Edens started their married life with a ready-made family. The next year a daughter was born to them. She was named Martha and by the time she was a year old, she had a brother who was given the name of John Rice.

Roxanna was happy to be a grandmother and little Martha and John did much to lighten her spirits. In 1886 Rose was married to I. J. Martin and in 1887 another granddaughter [Olive] was born to give added joy to her grandmother's heart. But Roxanna did not have long to enjoy her grandchildren, for in 1888 she died of heart failure. She had felt as well as usual the day before, but sometime in the night her tired heart stopped beating. When John R. awoke in the morning, she was lying lifeless beside him.

She was fifty-four years old, and through those years she had been a loving daughter and sister, a devoted wife and mother, and a doting grandmother. All of that was over. Gone too were the anxieties, fears, and obsessions that had plagued her mind. It did not matter that the night after her death, when neighbor women came to sit by the casket until the morning hours, they brought in a coal oil lamp to light the room in which she lay.



# XXII

## A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN R. EDEN

By John Martin George, 1970

John Martin George, a lawyer in Chicago, is a grandson of Mabel Martin George, who in turn was a granddaughter of John R. Eden. The paper which appears below was his honors thesis, written at the University of Illinois. John Martin George went on to earn a PhD in History from Columbia University and his law degree from Harvard Law School. John and the compiler of this compendium were partners at Sidley Austin, a Chicago-based law firm, for many years.



A Political Biography  
of  
The Hon. John R. Eden of Illinois  
by  
John Martin George, Jr.

A senior thesis submitted to the Department of History  
of the University of Illinois in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

May, 1970

Thesis directed by Robert W. Johannsen, Ph. D.

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
I. The Young Lawyer.....	1
II. Congressman Eden.....	13
III. The Repudiated Copperhead.....	50
IV. Gubernatorial Candidate, 1868.....	62
V. Vindication of a Copperhead.....	91
VI. Retirement.....	115
VII. Conclusions.....	119
Notes.....	121
Bibliography.....	133

List of Illustrations

	following page
Map, Seventeenth Judicial District, 1856.....	4
Map, Seventh Congressional District, 1862.....	16
Letter, John R. Eden to Jonathan Meeker, March 29, 1864.....	33
Map, Eden's campaign trip, 1868.....	90
Map, Fifteenth Congressional District, 1872.....	91
Chart, Confederates at the Metropolitan Hotel.....	93

Introduction

This paper is a study of the life of John R. Eden, a Central Illinois politician active in the movement for peace during the War Between the States and a leader in state and national politics during the Reconstruction era. Eden was neither the most nor the least prominent Congressman of his time, but he had ideas and prejudices which were important in Nineteenth Century Illinois politics. In some ways typical of his contemporaries, and in many ways quite different, Eden had an impact on the political developments of the 1860's and 1870's. His career reflects in part the changing attitudes during the war and Reconstruction. He did not exist in a vacuum and his beliefs were not given him directly by the hand of God; he was a product of his environment and he reflected beliefs that were held by others in his community, in his state, and in his party. The value of this study will be in examining the development of his political philosophy in order to gain a greater understanding of the attitudes of less conspicuous Democrats in Illinois and in the country.

Chapter I  
The Young Lawyer

John Rice Eden was born February 1, 1826, on the banks of the Licking River, eight miles across the backwoods from Owingsville in Bath County, Kentucky. He was the third child born to thirty year old John Paul Eden, a farmer who had been brought as a child to Kentucky from Maryland in 1801 or 1802. In 1831 the Eden family moved to Rush County, Indiana, and in 1835 John Paul Eden died, leaving his wife Catherine with six children for whom to care, the oldest, Joseph Edgar, being but fifteen years of age. The burden of supporting the family did not fall directly upon John R., but he nonetheless had responsibilities on the farm. At the age of eighteen - too poor to fulfill his desire of a college education - he began teaching in a small country school, receiving the customary salary of twenty dollars a month plus board.<sup>1</sup> He taught for seven years, holding school in the fall and winter and farming in the spring and summer. He always had had a love of reading. As a boy his favorite books had been Parson Weems' biography of George Washington and a biography of Francis Marion; as an adult he read widely in history and philosophy.<sup>2</sup> John Paul Eden had been a Jacksonian Democrat and John R. was influenced by his Jacksonian principles, as well as by Thomas Jefferson's political thought. In 1848 twenty-two year old John R. Eden cast his first vote in a presidential election for Lewis Cass, and he remained loyal to the Democratic party ever afterward.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1850, Eden began formally reading law as a student in the law firm of Bigger and Logan in Rushville. Two years

later, his studies completed, Eden took a train to Terre Haute, Indiana, transferred there to a stage, and crossed the Wabash River into Illinois, settling in Shelbyville in Shelby County. Shortly thereafter, in May, he passed a legal examination given by three jurists, one of whom was Abraham Lincoln, and was admitted to the Illinois bar.

Eden did not remain in Shelbyville for long. His oldest brother had settled in the town of Sullivan, Moultrie County, and Eden joined him there in August, 1853, the move being prompted largely because of John's ill health. At that time there was only one other lawyer in the county, so Eden became involved in local politics almost immediately.<sup>4</sup>

In 1854, the contest for the Democratic congressional nomination from the Illinois Seventh District aroused a great deal of local public interest. James C. Allen of Olney sought re-election, but he was opposed for the nomination by, among others, State Senator Nathaniel Parker of Coles County. The Moultrie Democrats were divided in their loyalty to the two men, Sullivan supporting Allen and the outlying settlements of Whitely and Nelson supporting Parker, whose brother Daniel was a popular Baptist preacher in their area.

Rather than risk a primary which would likely go against their man, the Allen supporters called a mass meeting of the county's Democrats at the courthouse in Sullivan. The meeting was conducted on such short notice that most of the Parker people were not aware of it until it was over. This so infuriated them that they compelled the county leaders to hold a primary to elect delegates

to a county convention. As the Allen people had anticipated, the Parker delegation won in the primary. Thus, at the district convention, Moultrie County had two rival delegations demanding seats, the one elected at the mass meeting felt that its claim was just and the one elected by the primary felt that its claim was just. It was John R. Eden, along with John Neely Martin of Whitely, who worked out a compromise allowing both delegations to be seated, with the vote split between them, on the condition that they would vote as a unit for Allen until it appeared that he could not win, at which time they would all switch to Parker. Allen won the nomination and the election. Because it appears that Eden was an Allen man - he was a Sullivan delegate, which meant that he was probably elected at the mass meeting, and he worked out the compromise with Martin, who was the leader of the Parker delegation - this can be said to be Eden's first political victory.<sup>5</sup>

After the election, the Republicans charged the Democrats with having perpetrated a voting fraud by burning several hundred Republican ballots. Eden and Captain A.B. Lee, the other Sullivan lawyer, were accused of having been present when the votes were destroyed but Eden maintained that he had left the room where the votes were being counted before the alleged fraud was committed and that he had had no knowledge of any misdoing until the Republicans raised the issue. Allen had to go through a special election to exonerate himself, but no one appears to have seriously believed that Eden was involved in the duplicity.<sup>6</sup>

Eden came to the fore again the following summer during the debate on the Maine liquor law. The state legislature put the issue

-4-

of state-wide liquor prohibition, popularly called the "Maine law" after the first state to undertake it, to a popular referendum, and in Moultrie County the matter became so controversial that a public debate was held on the subject in Sullivan before the election. Colonel John W.R. Morgan, pastor of the Sullivan Methodist Church and a firm believer in total abstention, argued in favor of the law while Rezin Martin, a predestinarian Baptist preacher, spoke against it. John Eden presided at the meeting.

The debate took place in mid-July in the auditorium of the Christian church, then the largest hall in the county. The crowd was greater than most had expected. It not only filled the church, but knots of people gathered around outside the windows in order to hear the proceedings. The debate lasted the entire afternoon, with the two protagonists each giving two or three speeches. When they finished the people called on Eden to sum up the arguments and give a judgement on the outcome. Eden, no more foolish than the state legislators who had preferred a popular referendum to risking a personal committment on the issue, announced that it was up to the people to pronounce judgement at the ballot box and refused to make a public statement one way or the other.<sup>7</sup>

Apparently this acumen appealed to the people, for in 1856 Eden was named chairman of the Moultrie County committee to plan the celebration for the eightieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence,<sup>8</sup> and in November he was elected State's Attorney for the Seventeenth Judicial District, composed of Macon, Piatt, Effingham, Fayette, Moultrie, Shelby, Bond, Christian, and Montgomery Counties. That same year, on August 7, he married Roxanna Meeker,



Seventeenth Judicial District,  
1856



the daughter of Ambrose Meeker, a local Democratic leader, and Hannah Hartwell Meeker, a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and a relative of the Ripley family of New England prominence.<sup>9</sup>

In 1857, Eden was appointed to the State Board of Education, a body created by the legislature for the purpose of establishing a normal school for the training of teachers. Most of early 1857 was occupied with selecting a site for the school, the contest being between Peoria and Bloomington. Bloomington eventually won and the Illinois Normal School (now Illinois State University) opened its doors in October, 1857. Eden's term expired in 1860 and, after serving on the Committee on By-Laws and Course of Study and the Committee on Officers, he did not seek another term.<sup>10</sup>

His duties on the school board did not consume all of his time, however. On September 24, 1857, the Sullivan Express printed the announcement that John R. Eden and Jonathan Meeker, attorneys and counselors at law, had formed a partnership. "Particular attention will be given to the collection of claims. Office next door east of Perryman's store, where one of the firm will always be found."<sup>11</sup> Both Eden and Meeker, who was Roxanna's brother, were active in the formation of the Tolono and Pana Railroad Commission, which proposed to establish a railroad through the county to connect with lines at Tolono and at Pana. Meeker was the secretary of the stockholders association and Eden was secretary pro tempore of the Board of Directors for most of late 1857. Eden presided over the meetings of the commissioners and was extremely vocal in urging the citizens of Moultrie County to support the proposed railroad. In one of his speeches on behalf of the railroad's stock, Eden claimed that the

prosperity of the county and the maintenance of land values depended upon an effective transportation system to encourage immigration. His support was vindicated when the citizens of the county overwhelmingly endorsed a proposed tax to pay for the railroad.<sup>12</sup>

Eden was also active in the formation of the Sullivan Literary Society, which treated the townspeople to public debates about once a week. Eden's first debate was, naturally enough, on behalf of the railroad tax, but he also advocated other causes of a more national character. In early November he argued on behalf of the annexation of more territory to the United States and a month later he took the negative side on the question "Do the signs of the Times indicate the downfall of our present government?" Still later he took the affirmative on "Is the Dred Scott Decision right?" and in January, 1858, he urged the annexation of Cuba.<sup>13</sup>

The calls for greater acquisition of territory to the United States were in line with the traditional ideals of the Democratic party, which included among its forefathers Thomas Jefferson, who made the Louisiana Purchase, and James Knox Polk, who took the slogan of "54° 40' or fight!" on the question of the northern boundary of Oregon territory and who waged a war against Mexico over a dispute on the southern boundary of Texas. Eden's optimism over the future of the government stemmed from the fact that a Democrat - James Buchanan - was leading that government. The Dred Scott decision, however, resulted in a stand which cannot be explained in terms of simple party politics.

When he denied the federal government and the territorial legislatures the right to decide about slavery in the territories,

-7-

Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, himself a Democrat, struck both at Republican ideas on restricting slavery and at Illinois' Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas' plan of "popular sovereignty," which would allow the people in a territory to decide whether or not slavery would be permitted in their midst. In spite of this, Douglas argued that the decision did not impair popular sovereignty. The right to bring one's slave into a territory

necessarily remains a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected, and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation. These regulations and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the Territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local legislatures.<sup>14</sup>

Eden's stand on Taney's decision was thus in line with Midwestern Democratic thought.

By 1858, Eden had become firmly established in county politics. On July 17, he addressed the County Democratic Convention, proclaiming the sanctity of traditional Democratic policies and imploring the people to adhere to them. In the regular business of the meeting, Eden was chosen for the eight-man County Committee, as one of four delegates to the District Congressional Convention in Decatur on August 11, and as one of three men to invite Senator Stephen A. Douglas to speak in Sullivan during his campaign for re-election.<sup>15</sup>

The Democratic party had split over the issue of Kansas' proslave Lecompton constitution and the Illinois party reflected this division. Douglas, running on a popular sovereignty platform, faced

the hostility of those Democrats who sided with President James Buchanan on the Kansas question. Opposing Douglas in the Senatorial election was the Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln, pledged to the position that slavery was wrong and hence should be restricted. The campaign, a strenuous one for both candidates, was highlighted by a series of seven joint debates.

On September 20, two days after the joint debate at Charleston, the two men spoke separately at Sullivan. Douglas had made his appointment early in the campaign; Lincoln, possibly because the Sullivan area was strongly pro-Douglas, decided to come at the last minute. Douglas spent the night before his rally at the farm of John Ginn a few miles east of town, but he came into Sullivan early the next morning for an elaborate reception at the Eagle House, the Sullivan hotel. When the Senator arrived, Eden led the awaiting crowd in cheers: three for Douglas, three for the Constitution, and three for the ladies present. Lincoln, in contrast, visited quietly with friends at the home of County Judge James Elder.<sup>16</sup>

When the time for Douglas' speech came, it was Eden who made the introduction and address of welcome. According to the Democratic Springfield Illinois State Register, Eden's speech

possessed the greatest of all recommendations, brevity, and yet in it were referred to many of the interesting points of interest in the political world of the day. It also touched upon many of the prominent acts of Mr. Douglas' career, as, for instance, to his support of Clay's compromise measure of 1850, to the Illinois Central railroad land grant, etc.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, neither the text of Eden's speech nor that of Douglas has been preserved, so it is not known what "interesting

points of interest" Eden considered important enough to mention. It is significant that he considered especially laudable Douglas' support of the Illinois Central bill, which provided for a large government land grant to encourage railroad construction, and the Compromise of 1850, which allowed popular sovereignty in the new territories of Utah and New Mexico and provided for a new and strict fugitive slave law. The meeting at Sullivan is most remembered for the brawl which resulted when Lincoln's campaign parade and hired brass band passed by Douglas' rally while the Senator was still speaking, in spite of an agreement made in the morning to insure that the meetings of the two men would not conflict with one another.

Douglas' presence had its desired effect of inspiring the local Democrats to further action. On October 4, 1858, the following announcement appeared in the Sullivan Express:

#### Democratic Club

The Democracy of Sullivan and Vicinity will hold a meeting at the courthouse in Sullivan this evening at early candle light, for the purpose of organizing a Democratic club. All white men thinking themselves better than negroes are invited to attend.

John R. Eden, Esq., will address the meeting. <sup>18</sup>

In October of <sup>the next</sup> ~~that~~ year, the entire nation was alarmed when John Brown, a fanatical abolitionist, attacked the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in order to arm the slaves of the South so that they might revolt against their masters. Eden became the "political editor" of the Sullivan Express at about this same time. His first editorial on November 3, 1859, was devoted to an attack upon the abolitionists like Brown. Brown's raid was "the legitimate

fruit of the higher lawmen," those who claimed that God's Divine sanction against slavery was more potent than the civil law which permitted it. The abolitionists were "waging a war of extermination against the slaveholders" and creating a smoke screen to shield their entry into office. Abolition was even a threat to the non-slaveholding Old Northwest.

Should the minds of the people become so crazed as to induce them to ruin the South by turning loose a vagabond negro race upon that section of the country, we need not think that we can look on complacently without becoming involved in the calamity.

Because of this danger, he argued, emancipation was a threat to both races. Nonetheless, he endorsed Douglas' popular sovereignty, thinking it best to let the people themselves decide about slavery.<sup>19</sup>

Several Northern states had passed laws designed to nullify and frustrate the Fugitive Slave Law. Eden thought these Personal Liberty Laws were a terrible mistake. He maintained that most Southerners were sound conservatives who loved the Union and that the radical Republicans were playing right into the hands of a few Southern demagogues by giving them a cause. The Republicans were creating sectional parties, contrary to the spirit of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson. Eden found Alabama fire-eater William L. Yancey to be particularly loathsome in his advocacy of disunion at the slightest provocation. After the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in late April, 1860, failed to nominate a candidate for President, Eden placed the blame squarely upon the "Yanceyite disunionists." After the second convention nominated Douglas in Baltimore, Eden predicted that the Senator would

-11-

win in spite of the efforts of enemies like Abraham Lincoln, William Seward, William Yancey, and Jefferson Davis.<sup>20</sup>

Eden also concerned himself with a few less critical issues during his days on the Express. He recommended abolishing the right of change of venue in criminal cases because he felt that venue changes too often resulted in wrongful acquittals. (He was still State's Attorney at this time.) He wrote that individuals could remedy nation-wide recessions by selling their personal property to pay off their debts and electing officials who would "let the nigger alone, reduce the taxes, and then let the people take care of themselves." He supported efforts for a Homestead Bill to provide cheap land for settlers in the West and he boasted that Democrats like Andrew Johnson of Tennessee were doing more to make the bill possible than were the Republicans.<sup>21</sup>

Eden's political career flowered during the time he wrote for the Express. He was Moultrie County's candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina, and although he was not one of those finally slated to go there, he did attend the Springfield convention of the Douglas Democrats in June. (The Buchanan Democrats held their state convention in July.) After his brother Joseph Edgar was elected president of the Sullivan Democratic Club, John R. was named to the Democrats' executive committee for the Seventh Congressional District. John then became a candidate for the state legislature. The pressure of all these commitments forced him to resign from the Express.<sup>22</sup>

The election of 1860 was not a good one for the Democrats. With the party badly splintered over slavery, the Republicans had



-12-

the election sewed up. In Illinois, Lincoln defeated Douglas for the Presidency by approximately 171,000 votes to 158,000. The Republicans carried all the state offices, but only four of the nine congressional seats. They controlled both houses of the new legislature. Eden was not among those few Democrats who were elected.<sup>23</sup>

Chapter II

Congressman Eden

The election of 1860 was a turning point for the American nation. Convinced that the advent of the hated Republican Abraham Lincoln would result in anti-Southern national policies, the state of South Carolina announced its secession from the Union on December 20, 1860. She was followed by the Deep South states of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, which joined with her to form the Confederate States of America in Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861. After the fall of the beleaguered Federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor in April, 1861, President Lincoln called on the loyal states to supply troops to put down the rebellion. The states of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, refusing to aid in the suppression of their fellow Southerners, joined them in the Confederacy.

These events had their expected impact in Illinois. Immediately after the news of Sumter's fall reached Governor Richard Yates, he issued a call for six thousand troops to fight for the Union. Within five days, sixty companies were formed, with the total number of volunteers far exceeding the quota. So complete was the response of the Sucker state that the War Department was able to accept only a quarter of the companies volunteered, so that many patriots crossed into adjacent states and joined companies there. Even when the war proved longer and more rigorous than expected, Illinois continued to provide large numbers of recruits. In the summer of 1864, after national conscription had been imposed because of the shortage of volunteers from other states, Illinois

-14-

had an excess of 35,000 men eager to join their country's armed forces. The ten southern-most counties, in the triangle of the state known as Egypt, exceeded their quotas by almost fifty percent.

Yet all was not harmony in Lincoln's home state. Even in early 1861, when war fever was at its height, there were men like State Assemblyman William H. Green of Massac County who opposed Northern coercion of the South. Green declared that while he would defend the North against invasion from the South, "if the North were marched upon the South, her forces would be met on the prairie and made to march over the dead bodies of the men who people them."<sup>1</sup> As the war progressed and the number of casualties mounted, more and more men became convinced that the North had no business invading the South.

After a year of war, the Union seemed farther away from victory than it had been when the fighting began. The terrible losses at Bull Run and Shiloh discouraged the people, who had been led to believe that the Confederacy would be annihilated after six months. Then too, this was a whole new type of war, Missourians whose fathers and uncles had fought Indians and Mexicans found themselves in mortal combat with their fellow Missourians at places like Wilson's Creek and Pea Ridge. Men who had been foundry workers before the war found themselves being fired upon by weapons of their own making, captured from federal arsenals when the war began. Thus the irrationality and total madness of war were brought before the people.

Coupled with this hatred of war in general was an alarm over the change in course of the war aims. In the summer of 1861, the

-15-

United States Congress passed resolutions declaring that the war would be waged solely for the purpose of restoring the Union; the federal government had no intention of curtailing the rights of any of the states. Yet, when Congress met again in December, 1861, Republican leaders took steps to expand the war aims to include the abolition of slavery. Between December, 1861, and July, 1862, Congress passed a joint resolution offering financial compensation to any state which began gradual emancipation; freed slaves in the District of Columbia and the territories; forbade the military to aid in the apprehension of runaway slaves; and freed all slaves who fought in the Union Army, along with their families. The crowning touch to all this was the Second Confiscation Act, passed on July 17, 1862. It would have set free all slaves owned by persons supporting the rebellion.<sup>2</sup> While President Lincoln supported the idea of gradual emancipation, he felt it was politically inexpedient to make the Confiscation Act national policy at that particular time. Therefore, he did not enforce it, although he did discuss the possibility of a Presidential emancipation proclamation with his cabinet on July 22, 1862.<sup>3</sup>

Citizens of the Old Northwest found the idea of freeing the Negro slaves especially abhorrent. There was strong anti-black sentiment in this area, as evidenced by the laws which had been passed. By popular referenda, the states of Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin had defeated proposals to enfranchise the Negro residents within their borders. Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois had strict laws prohibiting Negro immigration and Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois had severe anti-miscegenation statutes.<sup>4</sup> It was natural

-16-

for the citizens of these states to become alarmed when the national government seemed bent on a policy of emancipation. When this alarm was coupled with disgust for an apparently unsuccessful war, it turned into a desire for positive action to return the country to the ante-bellum condition.

This was the situation in the country when John R. Eden decided to seek the Democratic nomination for Congressman from the newly-redrawn Seventh Illinois Congressional District, composed of the counties of Iroquois, Ford, Vermillion, Champaign, Piatt, Macon, Moultrie, Douglas, Edgar, Coles, and Cumberland. These counties had never been a Democratic stronghold. In 1848, only Macon, Piatt, and Iroquois had supported Democratic Presidential candidate Lewis Cass against Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, while the state as a whole went for Cass. Likewise in the 1854 race for State Treasurer, which had importance beyond simple state politics because of the issue of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, Illinois supported Democrat James Moore, but the counties of the Seventh District, with the exception of Cumberland and Iroquois, went solidly for Republican James Miller, who campaigned on a platform opposed to the extension of slavery beyond the limits set by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In 1858, the debates between Senatorial candidates Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln brought the national political issues into sharp focus and, while the citizens of the state could not vote directly in Senatorial elections, they did register their preferences by electing five Douglas Democrats and only four Republicans to the House of Representatives. The Seventh District went Republican, just as it did two years later.<sup>5</sup>

# Seventh Congressional District, 1862



-17-

To counter-balance the anti-Democratic trend, there were many citizens in the Seventh District who had Southern connections. This was true of Moultrie County where, for example, John N. Martin, the Democrat from Whitely with whom Eden had dealt in the delegate dispute of 1854, had two <sup>brothers</sup> ~~sons~~-in-law who enlisted in the Union Army and one, an emigrant to Texas, who had been drafted into the Confederate Army.<sup>6</sup> A garrison of troops was stationed at Matton for most of the war, and they did nothing to assuage the uneasiness of the anti-war citizens. The cavalry detachment frequently went "night-riding" through the adjacent counties to arrest persons who it felt were talking too much. Few of those arrested were held for longer than a day; most were released after being questioned by secret service officers, but all those who were detained, no matter for how long, felt themselves to be victims of the Army's harassment. The memories of this treatment lasted long after the momentary inconvenience had passed.

There were two kinds of military activity in the Seventh District. On the one hand, the district kept up its draft quotas without any problems, and the men who went into the service were more conscientious about staying there than were their comrades from other areas. From June 1 to October 10, 1863, two thousand and one deserters were arrested in Illinois; only one hundred twenty-four of these were from the Seventh District. On the other hand, there was also a secret Copperhead militia called the "Sons of Liberty." A man calling himself Colonel Powderhorn, or Johnny Powderhorn, and claiming to be a Kentucky bushwhacker, was the chief organizer of this armed band, which had cells in various towns

-18-

in the area. Powderhorn confined his activities mainly to Coles County, but he did have a group of supporters at Whitely Creek in Moultrie County. The Whitely organization had been training for some time when the Colonel told Bill McClain, the militia's elected leader, that he should make plans to send south all those men who wanted to fight for the Confederacy. McClain was somewhat taken aback by this suggestion. He told the Colonel that the men were in the Copperhead group because they were opposed to armies. If any of the men wanted to risk their lives in combat, it would likely and properly be on the side of the North. In other words, the Whitely "Sons of Liberty" was really just a social club for anti-war Democrats who liked to get together and talk politics. After the war it was popularly rumored that Johnny Powderhorn had been a federal spy sent to neutralize the Copperhead threat in Central Illinois.<sup>7</sup>

As a long-time Democrat and an ardent foe of Republicanism and abolition, John R. Eden could count upon the support of all Democrats who supported the party as a matter of course as well as that of the "conservatives" who opposed Lincoln's extraordinary war-time powers. Of course, he could also depend upon those who sympathized <sup>with</sup> the secession and slavery. The Republican party, seeking to absorb as many different factions as possible in order to expand their base of support, called itself the Union party for most of the 1862 campaign, and put a few war-Democrats, like E.C. Ingersoll, on the Illinois ticket.

Many Democrats were reluctant to jump on the Union party's band-wagon because of dissatisfaction over the selection of a



-19-

successor to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who had died shortly after the beginning of the war. Douglas had worked hard to unify his Democratic followers behind the war-policies of President Lincoln, and most of the party's rank-and-file had expected that Douglas' efforts would be rewarded with the appointment of another Democrat to succeed him. However, Republican Governor Richard Yates decided not to make this bi-partisan gesture, but instead selected Orville H. Browning, a Quincy Republican, as the man to succeed the Little Giant. The Democrats felt that Yates had had an obligation to name one of their own and they thought themselves betrayed by the choice. Therefore, the party stalwarts, in spite of differences over the waging of the war, were united in opposing the Republicans. When a convention was called for the purposes of drafting a new state constitution in early 1862, only twenty-one of the seventy-five delegates were Republicans.<sup>8</sup>

Matters looked fairly bright for the Illinois Democracy as the election of 1862 approached. Eden received the Democratic nomination for Congress on September 2 and eight days later he was at the party's state convention in Springfield. He was appointed to two committees - the committee on permanent organization, which reported the names of the officers of the convention, and the committee on resolutions.<sup>9</sup>

It was not a perfectly harmonious convention. One-third of the state's counties were not represented at all. Apparently those who stayed away did so for fear of being associated with party leaders like James C. Robinson, Anthony L. Knapp, and Colonel William A. Richardson. All three men had had dealings with

-20-

Clement C. Vallandigham, the notorious Ohio Copperhead, and they made no secret of their bitter opposition to the war. The shortage of delegates gave the Democratic party the appearance of weakness, but appearances proved to be deceiving in this case.<sup>10</sup>

The fears of the absentee Democrats were realized when the committee on resolutions, of which Eden was a member, reported its recommendations to the convention. The first resolution declared the superiority of the United States Constitution and called upon all citizens to aid in the legal suppression of the rebellion, but the second resolution condemned equally the Southern extremists who had started the war and the Northern extremists whose methods for waging it "will leave to the nation but little hope for the restoration of the Union." In case there was any doubt as to who those extremists were or what methods they employed, the next four resolutions went on to oppose emancipation of slaves by government payment to compensate the owners, unlawful military arrests, the stifling of free speech and free press, and the corruption of the national administration. Three resolutions dealing with economics called a new national excise law unjust, demanded the reduction of the salaries of state officials, and urged the collection of all taxes in U.S. Treasury notes. Two more anti-black resolutions were next on the list: emancipation was opposed as a war aim and the enforcement of the state law prohibiting the immigration of Negroes was demanded. Finally, the Democracy of Illinois gave thanks to the brave men who had fought for the Union at Belmont, Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Fredrickstown, and Lexington.<sup>11</sup>

The Democrats were on firm ground with their anti-emancipation,

-21-

anti-black resolutions. In June of the same year, Illinois citizens had defeated a proposed new constitution by 24,515 votes, but they had approved a separate article permanently prohibiting Negro immigration and suffrage by well over one hundred-thousand votes.<sup>12</sup> The campaigns of all the Democratic candidates were thus given a substantial boost when, after the bloody and indecisive battle of Antietam in mid-September, President Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Dated September 22, 1862, it provided for the freeing of all slaves in the states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863. While the Proclamation gave the Union the appearance of moral righteousness to the rest of the world, it hurt the Republican campaign in Illinois. The people there, as in the rest of the Old Northwest, did not think of themselves as Northerners, but as Westerners, and to them states' rights were an important part of Jacksonian Democracy. Therefore, they sympathized with a state's desire to regulate its own institutions, peculiar ones along with the others.<sup>13</sup> Lincoln's proclamation offended them on an ideological plane as well as on an emotional, racist level.

Eden's own campaign for Congress was somewhat rugged. The Springfield Illinois State Register called him a "sound Union man,"<sup>14</sup> but his platform did not appeal to the Union party or to those who wanted a strong war policy. The Champaign County Democrat, for example, had endorsed Eden at first and dutifully carried his speaking schedule for the county. In late October, after Eden had spoken in Champaign, Mahomet, and Urbana, the Democrat dropped its support for him, changed its name to the Union, and endorsed

-22-

Elijah McCarty, the Union candidate from the Seventh District.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of this defection, Eden won the election, 11,361 to 10,004. In fact, the Democrats were successful in most of the Illinois contests. The major offices were not at stake this year, but the Democrats did manage to elect a State Treasurer and a Superintendent of Public Instruction. All fourteen Congressional seats were being contested and the Democrats won nine of these, including the prestigious post of Congressman-at-large.<sup>16</sup>

Congress did not convene for over a year following Eden's election. In the meantime he played a prominent role in the meetings of anti-war Democrats. In late May, 1863, while Republican papers were carrying details of the Mississippi raid made the previous month by Colonel Benjamin Grierson and his Illinois cavalry, Eden went to Indianapolis, Indiana, to speak at the state Democratic convention.

The mood of the convention was anti-war and companies of infantry and cavalry were present to watch over the Democrats. According to the Peoria (Illinois) Democratic Morning Mail, batteries of artillery were "charged and shotted and trained upon the stage on which freemen were standing to express their sentiments in regard to the administration policy, and commanded the streets which led to the place of meeting." Cavalry was drawn up in the streets next to infantrymen with bayonets affixed to their muskets.<sup>17</sup>

The Republican Springfield Illinois State Journal defended the presence of the troops, saying that they were necessary in order to prevent disorder. The fact that forty or fifty Democrats

had to be arrested for carrying concealed weapons or for cheering for Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, was regarded by the Journal as proof of the need for the soldiers. The Journal's city rival, the Register, charged that the military had exceeded the measures necessary to maintain order by twice trying to disrupt the meeting while speeches were in progress.<sup>18</sup>

Along with Eden, the speakers were Indiana's Senator-elect Thomas A. Hendricks, Richard Merrick of Illinois, and Daniel Vorhees and James F. McDonald of Indiana. All five speakers made no secret of the fact that they were there to air their grievances before the floor of the convention and to attack the administration's war measures. At three in the afternoon, the speaking concluded, resolutions were passed denouncing the illegal arrests of those who opposed the war-effort and extending sympathy to Clement C. Vallandigham, a prominent Ohio politician who had been imprisoned by General Ambrose Burnside for his anti-war speeches. The party declared itself unalterably in favor of the preservation of the Union, but charged that the administration was actually engaged in two wars, one against the Confederacy and one against the Constitution.<sup>19</sup>

The meeting was concluded in very high spirits and the delegates returned home, many by rail. On several of the trains the delegates fired at soldiers and at homes along the track. Army officers ordered the trains stopped and searched, and about five hundred revolvers were confiscated and several arrests made.<sup>20</sup> The Republican press did not let this go unnoticed. The Champaign County Patriot (formerly the Union, formerly the Democrat) dismissed

-24-

the entire meeting with the brief statement that "the Democratic convention at Indianapolis yesterday resolved itself into a copperhead mob and fired on soldiers' houses while returning home."<sup>21</sup>

Nonetheless, the Democrats continued to meet, and on June 17, 1863, Eden was one of several speakers at the Democratic Mass Convention in Springfield. According to the Democratic press at that time, seventy-five to one hundred thousand people were attracted to the meeting, held at the State Fairgrounds. Recent writers have revised the figure to about four thousand.<sup>22</sup>

It was a very hot day of a very hot summer, but that did not slacken the enthusiasm of the Democrats. Vallandigham's name was repeatedly cheered. Resolutions were passed denouncing Governor Yates for proroguing the legislature (which had had a Democratic majority eager to embarrass their Republican governor by passing anti-war resolutions) and decrying the suppression of the anti-war Chicago Times and the arbitrary arrests of Illinois citizens.<sup>23</sup> The most significant resolution reflected the attitude of Illinois Democrats towards the war:

The further offensive prosecution of this war tends to subvert the Constitution and government and entails on this nation all the disastrous consequences of misrule and anarchy.<sup>24</sup>

While many took this to be no policy at all - the Republicans thought it almost a joke - the Democrats firmly believed that it was in the best interests of the country. As proof of their good faith, they raised over forty-seven thousand dollars for the benefit of the sick and wounded Union soldiers from Illinois.<sup>25</sup>

-25-

Some of the Midwest's most important Democrats were at the meeting. The principal speakers were William Richardson, the Democrat elected to complete Douglas' unexpired term in the Senate; Congressman Samuel S. Cox of Ohio, the Democratic floor leader in the U.S. House of Representatives; John Reynolds; S.S. Marshall; James C. Robinson; and three veterans from the Indianapolis meeting, John Eden, Richard Merrick, and Daniel Vorhees.<sup>26</sup>

Meetings like ~~these~~<sup>these</sup> were the high points of the Democratic year, since the war situation changed considerably before Congress met in December. In the East, the disastrous Chancellorsville campaign of April and May, 1863, was followed two months later by the Battle of Gettysburg. Raging for the first three days of July, the battle was the penultimate death blow for General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Never again would it be able to wage an offensive campaign against the North. In the West, General Ulysses S. Grant captured the key city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, on July 4, 1863, and ended the Confederate control of the Mississippi River. This success was followed almost immediately by the capture of Fort Hudson, Louisiana. The Confederacy was cut in half and Grant's army was free to move eastward from the Mississippi into the heart-land of the South. Only temporarily impeded at Chickamauga in September, the Union armies in the West went on to maul the Confederate Army at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in late November. The last engagement around Chattanooga was the Battle of Missionary Ridge, fought on November 25. On December 7, the Thirty-eighth Congress met for its first session, with the course of the war as one of its primary concerns.

-26-

The Democratic sweep in Illinois had not been duplicated everywhere in the country and Lincoln's party still held a solid majority in the House. As a sign of the confusion in the country, eight men were nominated for Speaker of the House. Eden stayed with the majority of his party and voted for Samuel S. Cox of Ohio, who received forty-two votes against one hundred and one for Schuyler Colfax, an Indiana Republican. Thirty-nine votes were divided among the other candidates. Among the house-keeping duties of immediate concern was the appointment of the members to various committees. Eden was placed on the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions and the Committee on Accounts.<sup>27</sup>

Soon after the start of the session, Eden wrote several gloomy letters to his wife, who had stayed in Sullivan, telling her of the uneasiness he felt as a new Congressman. "The outside world is all heartless and cold. Among the men here, that are called great, I find few worthy of the name." He was a relatively young man of thirty-seven, away from his wife for an extended period for the first time and, rather than stay at a major hotel as many of his colleagues did, he chose to stay at a small boarding house with "a genteel and clever family." This physical isolation from the other Congressmen was probably responsible for part of his loneliness. He found the city of Washington to be a very attractive place and like many tourists before and since he made it a point to see the more popular sights soon after he arrived. He marveled at the statue of General Andrew Jackson upon a rampant charger and he was impressed by the construction which was in progress on the Capitol building.



-27-

The Capitol building is an immense structure, much larger than I supposed, and a very fine building. They have been working on it for Sixty years and it is still unfinished. The prospects now are that the government will not endure long enough for the Capitol to be completed.<sup>28</sup>

He was equally pessimistic in letters which he wrote to his Sullivan constituents. In mid-December he informed J.B. Titus, a Sullivan Democrat, that the prospects were not bright for a change in the direction of the war. "If our friends expect that we will be able to do any good or even to check the ruinous course of the party in power, they will be wolelfully mistaken." He gloomily predicted that before the session ended slavery would be abolished and Negroes elevated to the same position as that of whites.<sup>29</sup>

Eden did his best to prevent his predictions from coming true. After a little over a month in Congress, he felt that he had remained true to the platform which he had helped to draft and upon which he had been elected. He wrote his wife saying

I have uniformly voted in Congress with the most radical Democrats there, and we have some who have withstood the terrors of this Administration during the darkest hours of our country's history.<sup>30</sup>

By radical Eden meant what modern writers would identify as ultra-conservative, since the term "radical" has been reserved almost exclusively for abolitionist and egalitarian Republicans. By examining his votes on issues pertinent to the war objectives, to the army, to civil liberties, and to slavery, it is possible to evaluate the character of Eden's conservatism.

-28-

In December, 1863, several attempts were made by both Republicans and Democrats to introduce resolutions concerning the conduct of the war. On December 17 a strict, uncompromisingly pro-administration resolution which labeled all men as either patriots or traitors was passed by the House by a vote of ninety-three to sixty-four.<sup>31</sup> This established the tone for the rest of the session. Peace Democrats would introduce resolutions calling the war a failure, but these were generally tabled without reaching a vote. Eden opposed the December 17 resolution, just as he opposed all moves to table the anti-war measures, but his efforts were always unsuccessful.

It was not until February 29, 1864, that the House voted directly on two opposing war-aims resolutions. Alexander Long of Ohio introduced a lengthy and elaborate peace resolution which declared war to be an improper instrument for the settlement of the issues at stake. Long asked that the President appoint a peace commission, composed of Milliard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and Thomas Ewing of Ohio, along with other men selected by Lincoln, to meet with representatives of the Confederacy for the purpose of negotiating a peace settlement. Neither Fillmore nor Pierce were universally respected statesmen and the reading of this resolution was greeted with whoops of indecorous laughter. Two Congressmen facetiously presented amendments to the proposal, one to add the name of James Buchanan to the list, the other to add the name of Clement Vallandigham. The majority of the House took the measure no more seriously and it was defeated, twenty-two yeas to ninety-six nays. Eden voted yea.

-29-

Robert C. Schenck of Ohio then introduced three proposals, to be voted on separately, supporting Lincoln's offensive strategy for the war. The first stated that the war was an "unjustifiable rebellion" and that all those who actively engaged in it or were sympathetic to it were "public enemies and should be treated as such." This passed easily without a roll-call vote. The House also supported the second resolution, which was a less-stringently worded call to put down the rebellion and remove the causes for it. The vote was unanimous, one hundred-nine to nothing, Eden voting with the others. The third resolution, which stated that there could be neither indifference nor neutrality in the war, since a person was either loyal or traitorous, also received unanimous support, but Eden and eight other supporters of the Long proposal did not vote at all.<sup>32</sup>

Plainly Eden was more extreme in his hatred of the Administration's war policy than were many of his Democratic colleagues. In a speech on Lincoln's proposed plan for reconstruction, Eden on February 27, 1864, called the war a colossal failure and used Lincoln's own words as proof. Quoting from the President's speech of July, 1861, wherein Lincoln had stated that in every Southern state except South Carolina, the majority of the citizens were loyal to the Union, Eden demanded to know why Lincoln had now established that before a seceded state could be fully restored to the Union ten percent of the citizens had to take loyalty oaths.

In July, 1861, when the horrible phantom of this fratricidal war had barely made itself visible to the people, more than one-half of the voters in each of the insurrectionary States, save one, were firmly

-30-

attached to the Union. In December, 1863, when Lincoln had announced the ten percent plan after two and a half years of war, most of this under radical policy, the President thinks that perhaps one tenth of the population, in some of the rebel States, may be almost ready ready to range themselves on the side of the Union.

At this rate, said Eden, there would soon be no loyal men left in the South.

For Eden the question of secession was a very simple one. The Constitution had no provision allowing states to withdraw. Therefore the articles of secession passed by the Confederate states were null and void on their face. Following this reasoning, Lincoln's plans for restoring the states were at variance with strict constitutional law, since the states had not given up their full rights and would never be able to do so.<sup>33</sup>

Eden's opposition to Lincoln's war-policy and plans for reconstruction carried over to some extent to the issue of raising and funding the Army, but he was not strictly anti-military. He plainly thought that the patriotism of many of the soldiers was misplaced and that they had been duped into giving up their lives.

Each call for troops to fill the broken and bleeding ranks of the Army was met by the swelling tide of freemen, swarming to the field of carnage and death, their hearts fired with the holy zeal, under the belief that the sacred cause of the Union invoked the sacrifice.<sup>34</sup>

But he was neither so idealistic nor so foolish as to think that the Army should be denied all the means by which to fight the ill-advised war.

-31-

For instance, he was a supporter of U.S. Grant and in February he voted for the bill to revive the rank of Lieutenant-General and the amendment which asked that Grant be appointed to that position. When at the end of the month the committee of conference between the House and the Senate reported that the amendment should be dropped, Eden voted on the losing side not to accept the report.<sup>35</sup>

More than the officers, though, it was the common soldiers who had Eden's attention. One of his first acts as a Congressman was on behalf of Northern prisoners of war when, on December 9, 1863, he supported a resolution by Samuel Cox calling on the President "to take immediate steps for the exchange of such of our prisoners as are now confined to the prisons of the South." The House, however, preferred a counter-resolution which Elihu Washburne of Illinois introduced in support of the existing Presidential policy.<sup>36</sup> In the long run the Administration's policy was the most humane for soldiers since, although some sickened and died in Andersonville Prison in Georgia, the war was undoubtedly shortened because rebel soldiers who would have been exchanged to fight again remained in Federal prisons like Rock Island and Johnson's Island. At the time, however, many sincere patriots believed that the best course of action was to free the Federal prisoners as soon as possible. Eden was convinced of the righteousness of the latter argument and voted in an identical manner each time the issue of prisoner exchanges was raised.

Eden also was constant in his support of higher pay for soldiers and increased bounties for enlistments, even in the

face of criticism from James A. Garfield, at that time a radical Republican congressman, that the bounty system was too expensive. Eden's support in this area is even more meaningful when one considers his usually overweening desire for thrift in government.<sup>37</sup>

Congressman Eden's loyalty to the soldiers was put to a severe test, though, in the early spring of 1864 when he returned home for a short speaking tour. On March 28 he went to Charleston in Coles County to give his last speech before returning to Washington. When he arrived in town, he found that a large number of soldiers from the Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry and the Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry had come from nearby Mattoon, where they were stationed. The Democrats in the area had a very real fear of these soldiers, since it was popularly believed that the men of the Fifty-fourth had beaten two Democrats to death for being too forward with their views and had threatened many other citizens with similar treatment.<sup>38</sup> The soldiers were in the town in order to hear Eden and to see Judge Constable, another prominent anti-war Democrat, whose activities had led to his arrest earlier in the year. Also present in Charleston in large numbers were armed Copperheads, led by Sheriff John O'Hair. Both the soldiers and the civilians had been drinking for most of the morning, so that when Eden arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, he found the situation very tense. According to a letter written by Eden to his wife some two weeks after the incident, he and his supporters had at first believed that the soldiers' commander had ordered them to return to Mattoon by train, but the colonel had countermanded the order after the

-33-

troops had assembled at the depot, so that the men then set out in a loosely organized mob in search of the Copperheads, most of whom Eden had earlier persuaded to return home. The soldiers later testified that they had been minding their own business and had attempted to be friendly until the Copperheads unexpectedly began firing upon them. Eden was on the street when the shooting began and, after seeing a man near him shot through the leg, he took refuge in the courthouse. This building proved to be in the thick of a fierce battle between soldiers and Copperheads, with volleys of musket balls passing through the walls and rattling along the floor, so Eden and his friends ran out the back door and walked two miles out of town, where they waited for the violence to subside. After a short wait, they decided that it would not be safe to return at all and Eden hired a wagon to take him to Marshall, in Clark County. From there he went by hack to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he caught a train to Washington.<sup>39</sup>

The day after the riot, Eden wrote to his law partner, Jonathan Meeker, telling him that he had escaped unharmed.<sup>40</sup> This was welcome news to Roxanna Eden. She had heard from first reports that her husband had been among those killed. The final toll was nine men dead and twelve wounded, with the Democrats having the advantage. They had slain six soldiers and wounded five more, while losing only two dead and five wounded, not counting a Republican the soldiers had killed by mistake.<sup>41</sup>

The newspapers were filled with various accounts of what was at first called the Charleston Riot or the War in Coles County, but which later came to be known as the Charleston Massacre. The

Clark Co. Illinois  
March 29<sup>th</sup> 1864.

J. M. McKee Esq.

Dear Sir

I left Charleston on yesterday during the riot, because I did not deem it safe for me to remain there. After I had left I did not return because I thought from the best information I could get that it would not be safe for me to return during the excitement. I expect to go on immediately to Washington.

Tell the people to remain quietly at home and if possible let this excitement pass away.

The affair at Charleston was terrible. From the best information I can get six or seven persons were killed and twelve or fifteen wounded, part of both being citizens and part soldiers. I will write again soon.

Yours truly,

John R. Eden

Until her brother received this letter, Roxanna Eden thought that her husband had been among those killed in the riot at Charleston on March 28, 1864.



-34-

Springfield Illinois State Register and the Chicago Times justified the Democratic point of view by claiming that Eden had been arrested by Colonel Mitchell, the commander of the Fifty-fourth, and that the Copperheads had clashed with the soldiers while trying to effect his rescue. The Journal scornfully exploded this myth, ridiculed the pathetic attempt at finding the alibi for the Copperheads, and gleefully printed the following squib from the Charleston Plaindealer:

Col. Mitchell offers a reward of one Red Cent for the arrest and delivery of Hon. John R. Eden, M.C., and John Scholfield of Marshall.<sup>42</sup> When last seen they were breaking for the bush.

A week later the Journal charged that General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate cavalry commander, had sent emissaries to instigate the riot in order to embarrass the Union war efforts.<sup>43</sup>

Back in Washington, Eden wrote soothingly of the affair to his wife, who apparently feared that even in the capital his life was in danger. He assured her that he was safe and that by the time he returned home again the sensation caused by the riot would be dissipated.

You should remember that the same men who are now so actively attempting to incite the hostility of the soldiers against me have been engaged in the same business for the last three years, and that though I have been constantly traveling in all parts of the country, no soldier upon any occasion has offered me even an insult.

He said he had always before found Charleston to be very congenial and that it was only the agitation of "thieves and murderers" which had provoked the hatred towards him. "I am the friend of the soldiers whose conduct is worthy of friendship. I have

shown this by voting on every occasion to increase their pay."<sup>44</sup>

While Eden would support a man already in the Army, he was not especially eager to force anyone into the service and he consistently voted against a revised conscription bill which the House considered in June and July of 1864. He was in favor of continuing the existing system whereby a man who had been drafted could offer payment in lieu of service and he was against expanding the draft to include men forty-five to fifty, but these were the only conscription issues which also attracted the support of a majority of the House. He called the conscription law "odious and unconstitutional" and was always in the minority in opposing every provision which would expand or even maintain the system.<sup>45</sup>

Most of Eden's opposition to the draft can be traced to concern for individual civil liberties. Always a foe of strong executive power and usurpation of the rights of the people, on December 17, 1863, Eden voted on the losing side in favor of a resolution condemning Lincoln's suspension of the right of habeus corpus in cases involving imprisonment of opponents of the war. The resolution, which failed by sixty-seven yeas to ninety nays, denied both the President's power to suspend the writ and Congress' power to give anyone that power.<sup>46</sup> In February, 1864, when Congress considered the practical application of Lincoln's suspension, the President's policy received even more support. A resolution was introduced denouncing the arrest and subsequent banishment of Clement Vallandigham for being too outspoken in his criticism of the war and the war leaders. Eden supported Vallandigham, but only forty-six other Congressmen voted with

-36-

him, and they were arrayed against seventy-six who favored the Ohioan's suppression.<sup>47</sup>

On July 1, 1864, Eden made a personal commitment to habeus corpus by asking the House's consent to introduce the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to furnish the House of Representatives a report of the names of all citizens of the State of Illinois, not being in the military or naval service of the United States, now confined in any prison without the limits of said State, under any military order, as well as the date of their arrest; Also a list of such prisoners whose names have been furnished to the judges of the courts, in compliance with the act of Congress approved March 3, 1863, entitled "An act relating to habeus corpus and regulating proceedings in certain cases.

However, objection was made by Representative Godlove Orth of Indiana and, under the rules of the House, the resolution could not be voted upon.<sup>48</sup>

In his February 29 speech, Eden castigated the Administration for the arbitrary arrests and attempts to stifle free speech in the country. In April he saw free speech stifled in the House itself. On April 8 Alexander Long of Ohio made a speech in which he stated that the Confederate states had indeed seceded from the Union and had since become an independent power, and he added that he personally could not see "restoration [of the Union] by the power of the bayonet." Long's remarks aroused some furor in the House and the next day Speaker Schuyler Colfax stepped down from the chair to introduce a measure to expel Long for his unpatriotic sentiments. Debate was begun, and Benjamin G. Harris of Maryland, who had always voted on the peace side, rose

-37-

to defend his fellow Democrat, declaring, "I could not sit here and see an attempt made to tyrannize over one who entertains sentiments ...which I have long entertained."

Harris was highly agitated and as his defense of Long continued his agitation reached new heights. He made reckless and provocative statements which the House members greeted with laughter and astonishment.

I am a peace man, a radical peace man; and I am for peace by the recognition of the South, for the recognition of the confederacy; and I am for acquiescence in the doctrine of secession.

He said it would be preferable to divide America into two happy governments at peace with one another than to have one big government at war with itself. Then heedlessly, he told the House,

The South asked you to let her go in peace. But no, you said you would bring them into subjugation. That is not done yet and God Almighty grant that it shall never be. I hope you will never subjugate the South.

Immediately the House erupted into confusion with cries for order and attempts by various members to gain the floor. Speaker pro tempore Edward Rollins of New Hampshire ruled Harris out of order and told him that under the rules he must sit down. Wasburne of Illinois announced that he would prepare a resolution condemning Harris for invoking the name of the Diety on behalf of the rebels, explaining that "I for one protest against any man uttering such language on this floor."

"You mean you are afraid of it," responded Harris.

-38-

Long's comments had been mild compared to Harris' and the Ohioan's case was temporarily forgotten as members hurried to prepare resolutions against the new transgressor. Washburne's resolution quoted Harris' reference to Almighty God aiding the South, declared such language to be treasonable and disrespectful of the House, and demanded Harris' expulsion. Such a resolution required a two-thirds majority and it failed eighty-one to fifty-eight, Eden voting on the smaller, but prevailing side. Robert Schenck of Ohio then introduced a resolution <sup>severely</sup> ~~severely~~ censuring Harris' speech and asking that he be declared an unworthy member of the House. Only eighteen members, with Eden among them, voted against this resolution.<sup>49</sup> Long was later dealt with in the same manner, but with a less lopsided vote.<sup>50</sup>

Considering Eden's vote on the censure of Harris, one must conclude that the Illinois Congressman had a fairly strong commitment to the right of free speech. Certainly his stand cannot be construed as support for Harris' statements in themselves, since in his February 29 speech he spoke bitterly about rebel traitors who were murdering poor Union soldiers. Neither was he following the instructions of his party leaders. The possibility that Eden might have been a personal friend of Harris is ruled out by the Marylander himself, for in the fatal speech Harris repeatedly said that in his beliefs he was "solitary and alone" among the Democrats, who in comparison with him were all strong supporters of the war. The only explanation left for Eden is that he believed so strongly in the holiness of free speech that he could not acquiesce in its suppression in the halls of Congress.

Perhaps, too, Harris' pathetic, lonely condition aroused some sympathy within Eden, who admitted himself to being lonely on more than one occasion while in Congress. On Valentine's Day, 1864, he wrote a long and moving letter to his wife, beginning with his longing to be home again. (He had been away a little over two months.)

When I take my pen in hand to write you a few lines, my mind is carried back to the happy days I have spent with you. I even now am thinking of the days of our courtship when we used to sit on your father's porch and talk of love and of the enjoyments of life, when we should become united by the tender relations of husband and wife - when we walked on the Prairie in the shadow of the evening and first learned to repose in each other that mutual confidence, which I thank God after long years and many struggles incident to life has never been broken - when we first pledged ourselves to share together the joys and sorrows of the world - I almost realized the emotion I felt when the word was pronounced that made us husband and wife. Since then the nearest and dearest pledges of love have been added in that we have children to call us father and mother. I have never so fully realized that my happiness wholly depends on you as since this long separation. I begin to count the weeks and days intervening before the time I hope to meet you. If I again meet you and the children, all of us in health, I am certain that that day will be the happiest one of my life.<sup>51</sup>

Besides this longing for his wife, Eden had concern for his son, Hartwell, a sickly youth whose condition so vacillated that Eden in May considered leaving Washington early to return home to care for him.<sup>52</sup> Eden also had a very real hatred of big cities like Washington, calling them "nurseries of vice and crime,"<sup>53</sup> so it is probable that he felt uncomfortable the entire time he was in Congress. He did have friends with whom he ate dinner and socialized. These were William R. Morrison, James C. Robinson, William J. Allen,

-40-

and James C. Allen - all Democrats from the Illinois Congressional delegation - and Congressman Daniel Vorhees of Indiana and Governor Powell of Kentucky.<sup>54</sup> It is possible then, when one weighs all the evidence, that part of the reason behind Eden's vote on behalf of Benjamin Harris was that Eden sympathized with the plight of a lonely, unhappy man who thought himself friendless. This does not mean, however, that Eden's concern for free speech was any the less important in shaping his final decision on the vote of censure.

The fact that Eden could become concerned over freedom of speech did not mean that he was in favor of civil liberties for all men; he drew a very definite line when it came to considering the rights of Negroes. During his entire tenure in Congress he consistently opposed every measure introduced by the Republicans for the benefit of the blacks. In December he voted against a resolution by Owen Lovejoy of Illinois to put black and white soldiers on an equal pay scale and in favor of a finance bill amendment which would have prevented using any of the money appropriated to raise, arm, equip, or pay Negro soldiers. Lovejoy's measure passed easily and the amendment, introduced by Aaron Harding of Kentucky, was as easily defeated, with even well-established peace-men like Fernando Wood voting against it.<sup>55</sup>

Blacks were taken into the Army anyway, thanks to the work of men like J.B. Grinnell of Iowa, who in early February, 1864, introduced a resolution calling on the government to increase the enlistment of black soldiers. Once blacks were in the Army, Eden felt no particular need to take their part. He voted against a

a bill to put the pay of white and black soldiers on equal footing every time a portion of the measure came to vote, in spite of the fact that it included many provisions which were more discriminatory than egalitarian. For example, black soldiers, at the discretion of the Secretary of War, could have up to a third of their pay withheld and sent directly to their families.<sup>56</sup> In May, Eden voted against a measure to provide for homesteads for soldiers on confiscated estates because, in part, the bill treated black and white soldiers alike.<sup>57</sup>

On the controversial subject of the abolition of slavery, Eden remained equally consistent. In February, 1864, he voted against a resolution by Isaac Arnold of Illinois "that the Constitution shall be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof forever." The motion carried, seventy-eight to sixty-two.<sup>58</sup> Eden missed the debate and vote on the first reading of the resulting abolition amendment due to his trip home, but he was there to vote against the bill on its second reading on May 31, 1864, the motion to reject it failing fifty-five to seventy-six. Eden's side was more successful on June 15 when the anti-abolition men managed to block final passage of the bill by preventing the necessary two-thirds majority, with ninety-three in favor of passage and sixty-five against.<sup>59</sup> This victory was mitigated, though, by the repeal two days before of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, the controversial measure which had compelled Northern states to return escaped slaves to their Southern masters. Eden had voted against repeal,



-42-

just as in March he had voted against establishment of a Freedmen's Bureau to aid newly emancipated blacks.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to these votes, there is other evidence of Eden's antipathy towards blacks. In a speech given in Congress on February 27, 1864, he lamented that

four million slaves, an inferior and degraded race, whose education and habits wholly unfit them for self-control, are to be thrown upon society to roam at will through the land. Yes, and the sword of the nation is to be placed in the hands of this servile race, thus opening their way to the ballot box and to social equality with the whites.

At a recent Presidential levee they had imparted "a foreign odor to the gorgeous splendor of American royalty."<sup>61</sup>

Thus we have the rationale for the votes in Congress, the explanation for why he would not vote to allow them to risk their lives for the Union, even though the risks were being made before slavery was abolished or the Fugitive Slave Law repealed. The "sable objects of abolition idolatry" were being treated on a par with white men, and this, he feared would lead to valuing the blacks more than white men.

The repentent rebel, who may have murdered in cold blood the white soldier thrown into his hands by the fortunes of war, upon taking the prescribed oath is pardoned and taken into the bosom of the Republican party. But the planter within the lines, who has in nowise raised his hands against the Government, who attempts to recapture his slave which has been stolen from him and put into the Federal<sup>62</sup> Army, is beyond the reach of executive clemency.

This race hatred was caused by two factors, the inherent Western antipathy towards the blacks and a terrible frustration

that the war had been made to last so long because of the abolitionist's fanaticism. There is an interesting side to this type of anti-Negroism. In describing the blacks, Eden used largely passive terms which imply a weakness of the Negro's character. As a Westerner, Eden prided himself on his self-reliance and sturdiness of character and he therefore could not understand a people which allowed themselves to be "degraded." Not for him were the stereotypes of the Negro as a virile, violent threat to white society. Instead he describes the <sup>stereotype</sup> ~~stereotype~~ of the shiftless black who would ultimately have to be cared for by his white superiors. Unable even to assert himself for his freedom, Eden's typical black man had to have "the sword of the nation ...placed" in his hands. (Emphasis added.) This viewpoint shows a misunderstanding of the nature of slavery and its effects upon both slave and master, but it is a viewpoint which many held elsewhere in the country. The Republican Chicago Tribune, for example, once remarked that the Negro's "kindly and affectionate nature" prevented him from being "agitated by the profound passions which belonged to his superiors," thus reinforcing the "shiftless" stereotype.<sup>63</sup>

Indians, on the other side of the racial coin, had an image which would appeal more to Westerners. Generally thought of as a war-like people or even, as in the case of the Cherokees in the South, as a somewhat civilized people, the Redmen were popularly thought to have some noble qualities. Moreover, they were largely west of the Mississippi or confined to reservations in the South and there was no danger of their attempting to migrate to any states in the Old Northwest. For these reasons, Eden

could support paternalistic bills on behalf of the Indians without compromising his white-supremacy viewpoint. Twice in May, 1864, he voted to aid the Western Indians, once to re-imburse them for funds lost through governmental duplicity and once to maintain the allowance for various bands of the Souix tribe at \$150,000 per year, as opposed to lowering it to \$50,000.<sup>64</sup>

Eden's anti-war and anti-black actions did not go unnoticed by the home-state Republicans. His speech in Congress on February 27, delivered before an almost empty House of fifty members,<sup>65</sup> was scornfully reported by the Radical press, the Springfield Illinois State Journal not even bothering to mention it until a month later, when the editor printed Eden's promise that

Should the Democracy succeed in the next presidential election, the Union will be restored under the Constitution in less than six months...without the necessity of shedding a single drop of blood.<sup>66</sup>

The paper explained that "Eden undoubtedly means...that a Copperhead administration would transfer the loyal States to the dominion of Jeff. Davis."<sup>67</sup>

On non-war issues, Eden voted for thrift in government and lower taxes. On May 23, 1864, after a debate during which charges of disloyalty were hurled against both sides, Eden voted with the majority which successfully defeated a Senate-passed amendment to an appropriations bill to increase the salary of the Treasurer of the United States from five thousand to six thousand dollars per year.<sup>68</sup> As if to show that he was not merely against government spending on the higher levels, Eden voted against a bill in late

June which would have established a set pay scale for postmasters.<sup>69</sup> He was opposed to federal taxation, saying that "taxation and tyranny are synonymous terms."<sup>70</sup>

Currency notes, or "greenbacks," were a popular medium of exchange in the West, where exclusive use of gold had caused "tight money," and Eden constantly stood on the side urging a greater dissemination of paper money. On April 18, 1864, he voted against a resolution by Illinois Congressman Isaac Arnold to tax the currency of the state banks in order to cut back on their circulation which, Arnold believed, produced waves of "ruinous speculation." Likewise, in late June, Eden voted to make currency the legal medium for payment of all debts arising out of federal revenue bills. This last measure, introduced by Samuel Cox of Ohio, attracted the support of only thirty-four members of the House, indicating that only a small, hard-core minority was insistent on paper money.<sup>71</sup>

In Sullivan in 1858, Eden had praised Douglas' support of the Illinois Central Land Grant Act, which contributed so much to the development of Illinois transportation by giving liberal allotments of land to the railroad as an inducement to build. Now, Eden took steps himself to aid the railway industry, but he made sure that the railroads built were in the West. He voted to lower the tariff on railway iron, but he stood against government subsidies for a railroad to run from New York to Washington, D.C.<sup>72</sup> He did, however, support the proposed Northern Pacific Railroad, to be built from the Old Northwest to the Far West. He favored only one limitation on the company, that it be required to carry troops and government

-46-

property free of charge. What is interesting on this particular bill is that Eden voted against many of the party stalwarts with whom he was usually allied. For instance, on a May 16 vote which temporarily defeated the bill, Eden was allied on the losing side with James A. Garfield of Ohio, William Kelley of Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Steven of Pennsylvania, and Francis Kellogg of Michigan against old Democratic comrades Samuel Cox, Sydenham Ancona of Pennsylvania, Joseph Edgerton of Indiana, and Fernando Wood of New York.<sup>73</sup>

In May, 1864, the war re-opened in earnest. In the East, Grant crossed the Rappahannock with the Army of the Potomac and became embroiled in the Wilderness Campaign, while for the first time there was sharp fighting in the Shenandoah Valley. In the West, the long campaign against Atlanta began with fighting around Rocky Face Ridge, Georgia. The Confederacy was in bad shape by this time but Eden was still pessimistic. Near the end of May he wrote

The losses in killed and wounded in these recent battles have been truly frightful. It looks as though this war would continue until the able-bodied men in the country will be either killed or wounded, and that the balance of the people would die of famine and pestilence.<sup>74</sup>

Throughout his time in Congress, Eden was concerned enough to keep in touch with his fellow Illinoisan in the White House in order to learn first hand reports of the progress of the fighting. Unfortunately no records of these meetings are extant, other than a laconic ending to a letter to his wife that "I was up today to see Uncle Abe. No incident occurred worthy of note."<sup>75</sup> Lincoln

-47-

could afford to be hospitable to his political enemies, for as 1864 wore on, it became obvious that the war would soon be won. The loss of life was still tremendous, but with Grant pressing in from the East and Sherman from the West, the Confederacy was slowly caving in upon itself, and the people knew it. There was a new thrill about the war. The men who died heroically at Kenesaw Mountain and Cold Harbor were as dead as those killed ignominiously at Bull Run, but the people now saw that the war was going to end. They thrilled when at Spotsylvania Sam Grant shoved his hands into his rumpled uniform pockets, chomped down on his cigar, and announced, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The people liked the determination, and they took part of it for themselves.

Congress adjourned in June. On June 7 the Republicans met in national convention and renominated Abraham Lincoln for President and selected Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as their Vice-president. The Democrats did not meet until August 29, when they nominated General George B. McCellan for President and George H. Pendleton for Vice-president. McCellan had commanded the Army of the Potomac and had been responsible for the Union fiasco on the Virginia peninsula early in 1862. Scarcely an untarnished military hero, McCellan was hardly a good Democratic choice, and he confounded his allies by departing from the peace-plank in the party's platform and advocating a stern war policy.<sup>76</sup>

The day after McCellan's nomination, Atlanta fell. The Confederacy's fate was sealed; the Administration's policy vindicated. Thus robbed of their main target, the Democrats

entered the election foredoomed.

Eden himself was at a double disadvantage. Not only was he attached to a peace-platform which had long ago become an albatross, but he was also running as a Democrat in a district which had not especially cared for Democrats in the past. As well, there was a slight tinge of graft associated with him at this point. His political enemies had stirred up rumors that while State's Attorney he had illegally profited from a dispute with the Federal Government over the Moultrie County swamplands. One of Eden's first letters home while in Congress contained a statement on the issue which he hoped would end the stories. A man proud of his honesty, he was personally pained by the insinuations and wanted Roxanna to tell his friends that, rather than having made money, he had actually lost some three or four hundred dollars of his own because of the dispute, which he had not wished to instigate and which he had undertaken only because the County Court, under Lincoln's friend Judge Elder, had asked him to do so.<sup>77</sup>

While in Congress he had always kept his eye on his political fences, doubtlessly realizing that the nature of his particular district made his own position perilous, and in an early letter he said that he daily wrote letters to "all parts of the district." Yet, in the final analysis, it was all futile. The people were no longer interested in prophets of doom. Convinced the Union was going to win, they wanted elected officials who told them so. In Illinois in 1864, the Republicans elected the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State,

Auditor, Treasurer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and eleven of the fourteen congressmen. Lincoln carried the State by about 190,000 votes to 159,000. Eden lost to Republican H.P.H. Bromwell by 15,363 votes to 12,027.<sup>78</sup>



Chapter III

The Repudiated Copperhead

When Eden returned to the House in early December, 1864, for the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, he was a "lame duck." His party and his principles had been rejected by the voters and he knew that what he did in this session might be struck down by his successor. Still, he stood by his old ideals.

One of the big issues of the session was the Enrollment Bill, which was considered and amended in late February and early March, 1865. On February 23, James G. Blaine of Maine introduced an amendment which proposed that all quotas for all political districts would be considered filled only when the prescribed number of men were actually mustered into the service. This carried eighty-four to thirty-six, Eden voting against it.<sup>1</sup> The next day Eden further defined his stand on enrollment by voting in favor of a motion by Philip Johnson of Pennsylvania to strike from the bill the section which required registration for the draft and imposed fines and imprisonment for failure to comply. Johnson's motion failed, fifty to eighty-five.<sup>2</sup> If successful the motion would have emasculated the entire draft system, since men would be under no obligation to register. Eden's vote can thus be taken as a symbol of total opposition to the draft.

Also on February 24, Eden voted on the winning side when he supported an amendment by Hiram Price of Iowa to strike from the Enrollment Bill a section which provided for sanctions against a man whose substitute deserted. The vote on Price's motion was one hundred-five yeas to thirty-four nays. Only the hard-core radicals

-51-

like James A. Garfield voted against it, while moderate Republicans like William D. Kelley voted for it.<sup>3</sup>

The same issue of desertion by substitute was brought up in a slightly different form on February 25 when John Driggs of Michigan introduced an amendment to the Enrollment Bill providing for immediate induction as the penalty for helping one's substitute to desert. This passed fairly narrowly, seventy-one to sixty-seven, with Eden voting nay.<sup>4</sup>

On February 25, the House also considered an amendment designed to end some of the inequities in the quota system. Francis Kernan of New York charged that some states were not providing as many men as one might wish, considering their sizes. As an example, he cited the case of Massachusetts, which under the July 18, 1864, quota gave only 21,670 men, while Illinois, a state with almost the same population, gave 52,000. Thomas D. Eliot of Massachusetts rose to defend his state, saying that, while her population was the same as that of Illinois, she had fewer young men of military age since most had gone west. Eliot then began to glorify Massachusetts' contributions to the war effort, but was cut short by Eden, who asked what the Bay State's quota had been under the most recent call. Eliot at first tried to evade the question, but Eden returned to it. Eliot gave the quota under the July call, but Eden pressed on, demanding to know the quota for December 19, 1864, and Eliot was forced to admit that he did not know what it was. However, this was a hollow victory for the Democrats. When the House voted on the Kernan resolution, which would <sup>have</sup> required that a state's quota be proportional to its population, the resolution

failed, fifty-one to ninety-one. Eden, of course, voted in favor of it.<sup>5</sup>

The following Monday, February 27, 1865, Eden's side lost again, on a much greater matter. Section eleven of the original Enrollment Bill had provided for extraordinarily draconian penalties for failure to comply with the draft: loss of citizenship and forfeiture of all rights under the Constitution. Philip Johnson of Pennsylvania introduced an amendment reducing the crime of non-compliance to the rank of a misdemeanor and referring cases under it to any court of competent jurisdiction. When the measure came to a vote, sixty-three men were in favor of it and eighty-two against, Eden again in the minority.<sup>6</sup>

The great issues surrounding the Enrollment Bill were finally crystalized a few moments later when a Representative moved to strike from all acts of Congress any portion which alluded to conscription.

Mr. Speaker, my object in offering this is to give an opportunity to those upon this floor who conscientiously and earnestly believe that the whole system of the draft is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and opposed to the welfare of the our people to place their vote upon the record.

This call was answered by twenty-seven men, Eden among them. They were opposed by ninety-five. The enrollment measure then passed, eighty-three to forty-six.<sup>7</sup>

Eden's opposition to the bill and all of its parts was consistent with his anti-draft, pro-civil liberties stands in the first session. Obviously, his sharp defeat in November did not

-53-

make him feel compelled to abandon his principles. He felt that the causes he had supported before the election were still valid and deserving of his support, and that support never wavered. This is shown by two other measures which had civil liberties manifestations. On February 23, 1865, he voted against a bill to deprive rebel landholders of their fees, and on March 2 he supported a bill to provide that no person could be tried by courts martial in areas where the civil courts were still in operation, unless that person was in the United States military or was a rebel emissary charged with being a spy.<sup>8</sup>

Neither did Eden change his attitude towards the emancipation of blacks. On January 31, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment came up for consideration once more. Eden voted against it, but the coalition which had defeated abolition in the first session was broken and the measure attained the two-thirds majority necessary for passage.<sup>9</sup> On March 3, he voted to table the report of the Committee of Conference on the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau. When this attempt to prevent passage failed, the report was passed without a role call.<sup>10</sup>

March 3, 1865, was a bad day all the way around for the conservatives. After the failure to block creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, Republican Robert Schenck of Ohio introduced a resolution condemning an order issued by the commander of the Department of Washington requiring all black men leaving the city going north to have a pass. Schenck contended that the order was "an obvious discrimination, in conflict with the law of the United States" and he asked the President to order an immediate repeal. The House

-54-

agreed and the resolution carried, seventy-five to twenty-four. Needless to say, Eden voted against it. In fact, in considering the entire issue of race and abolition, it is significant that Eden's last act on this last day of the session was to demand the yeas and nays on a resolution to table a measure to prohibit disqualifying persons from carrying the United States mails because of color.<sup>11</sup> To modern persons, this might seem like a fairly petty matter, but for conservatives like Eden it was all tightly bound up with the issue of racial equality. If blacks were permitted by federal law to be employed by the government on an equal basis with whites, it would only be a short time until Negroes would be demanding more and more concessions and the era of white supremacy would be at an end. In his letter to J.B. Titus over a year before, Eden had fearfully predicted that "Congress will pass laws abolishing slavery...and placing the negroes as far as Federal rights are concerned on perfect equality with white citizens."<sup>12</sup>

Because it was obvious by the start of the session that the North was going to win the war, the anti-war leaders made no attempts to introduce resolutions decrying it or declaring it a failure. Opposition to the few bills relating to the nature of the war was scarce. In late January the House voted its thanks to General Sheridan, but Eden and other anti-war men refrained from voting at all, although they must have been present in the chamber, since they did vote on a measure considered a few moments later.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, both sides showed restraint on January 30, 1865, when a resolution was introduced giving President Lincoln the thanks of Congress for relieving from service General Benjamin Butler. While this type

of resolution would have sparked a great deal of heated debate in the previous session, now it was quietly tabled by a vote of ninety-seven to forty-three, with Eden on the prevailing side with Democrats like Fernando Wood and Republicans like Garfield, Kelley, and Grinnell against, among others, Democratic stalwarts like Cox, Sydenham Ancona, Charles Eldridge, and Alexander Long.<sup>14</sup>

As before, Eden continued to support increased pay and benefits for soldiers. On February 18, 1865, he voted to raise the pay of Army acting assistant surgeons from one-hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars a month but one week later voted to strike from the Enrollment Bill a section which provided for increased pay for provost officers.<sup>15</sup> Only from a superficial standpoint would these two votes seem to be in opposition to one another. Plainly, Army surgeons provided a very necessary service. Some one who had always taken the part of the common soldiers, as Eden had done, would of course want to see that service continued and improved. Provost officers, on the other hand, performed an entirely different function from that of saving lives. They administered the odious martial law where it was in effect and subverted the rights of free white citizens.

Occasionally, however, tempers did flare among the Congressmen. William D. Kelley, a Pennsylvania Republican, was assaulted at his hotel by A.P. Field, a member of the Louisiana delegation seeking admission to the House. Kelley was one of the leaders in the fight to keep the Louisiana men from being seated. A resolution to reprimand Field for his violent action was introduced in the House and passed eighty-two to forty-eight, with Eden voting

-56-

with the minority.<sup>16</sup>

In a similiar case, Representative Lucien Anderson of Kentucky was investigated by a Congressional committee on charges of corruption, bribery, and malfeasance in office brought against him by General Speed S. Fry and Colonel John Mason Brown, both of Kentucky. The charges were made in a letter written on September 1, 1864, to the Governor of Kentucky, who forwarded it to the House on January 5, 1865. Anderson's fellow Kentuckian Green Clay Smith introduced a resolution on January 18 calling for a committee of investigation. On March 3, the last day of the session, the committee reported that the charges were not sustained by the proof. The House voted to accept the committee's decision, seventy-nine yeas against twenty-nine nays. Eden was again on the smaller side.<sup>17</sup>

These two votes show again that Eden's principles had not changed since he and a handful of others had stood by their fellow Democrat Benjamin Harris when it looked as if free speech would be stifled in the House. Eden viewed the characters of the various members of the House with a cold, clear eye and was not afraid to strike out on a path different from the rest of them, whether in defending one or opposing another. On January 24, 1865, six days after Smith had introduced his request for a committee of investigation on Anderson, Eden wrote to Roxanna about his fellow Congressmen. "The hour has almost arrived for me to go to the House and work up another day of wrangling among men called 'Honorable' but many of whom owe all their prominence to the most corrupt practices."<sup>18</sup>

Only a few reconstrction bills were brought up in the

-57-

second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, and these were always successfully tabled. Eden, undoubtedly knowing that his side was still in the minority and could hope for no better than tabling, consistently supported that means to defeat the legislation.<sup>19</sup>

If there were fewer war and reconstruction measures considered in this session than in the last, there were still many bills on economic matters. The Congress and Eden explored a wide variety of financial issues, from reciprocity treaties to tax bills.

One of the first of these was the reciprocity treaty with Great Britain, considered during the first part of the session. The treaty allowed the duty-free import of certain commodities and therefore had appeal to free trade interests, but England's quasi-friendship with the Confederacy was also a factor for consideration. On December 13, 1864, the House voted to terminate the treaty. Eighty-five Congressmen were in favor of termination and fifty-seven, including Eden and Republican leader James A. Garfield were against it. Some question was then raised over Congress' competence to deal in matters so closely related to foreign policy and on December 19, a bi-partisan majority, with Eden among the group, passed a resolution declaring that

any declaration of foreign policy by Congress is sufficiently proved by the vote which pronounces it [and]...is not a fit topic of diplomatic explanation with any foreign power.<sup>20</sup>

On February 24, 1865, members of Congress further delineated their belief in strong Congressional power when they defeated an amendment to an Indian bill which would have given the power of investigation into Indian affairs to a three-man commission



appointed by the President rather than to a joint committee of Congress. Eden voted in favor of Congressional power here as he had done elsewhere in both sessions of the Thirty-eighth Congress,<sup>21</sup> an action in keeping with his hatred of the enlargement of the executive power. Eden himself had denounced arbitrary executive power in his speech during the first session and his opposition to it had not slackened.

Railroad bills came before the House in the second session and Eden consistently voted to strengthen the railroads' position. In February he voted to aid three separate railroads in three separate bills. On February 16 he voted with the majority when they granted an extension of the time limit requirement for the completion of the Minnesota land grant railroads; on February 17 similar favors were extended to the Michigan and Wisconsin land grant railroads; and on February 27, in spite of a charge by Elihu Washburne that Congress was taking land away from the soldiers, Congress decided overwhelmingly to aid construction of a railroad between the Pacific Railroad and the Columbia River in the West. To Eden, support of these measures was obligatory and was as great a service to the country as had been Douglas' support of the Illinois Central Land Grant Act. The votes also show the degree to which Eden thought himself to be a Westerner. In the first session he had opposed the New York to Washington railroad; yet in this session he supported a Far Western railroad. In spite of the fact that Illinois was closer to New York and Washington than to the Columbia River, Eden could vote against a railroad for one area and vote for a railroad for the other

simply because he was a Westerner. He mistrusted Eastern interests and favored Western ones.<sup>22</sup>

On matters of taxation, in early December, Elihu Washburne introduced a resolution which in effect called for a tax on all stocks of domestic liquors on hand at the time. Eden supported this measure and it passed, fifty-three to fifty-one, with such disparate types as Cox and Garfield and Ancona and Kelley allied against it. On February 18, 1865, the House voted a tax on liquor production of one dollar per thirty gallons. Eden voted for this tax, which passed seventy-two to sixty. Likewise, Eden that same day supported a fifteen cents per pound tax on smoking tobacco, but this failed, seventy-four to sixty-six.<sup>23</sup> Eden's support for these taxes is understandable considering his personal ethic. By coincidence, at this same time Eden and Jonathan Mecker were defending a man in court for having murdered a friend while drunk. In a letter to Mecker, Eden called liquor a "poison" which results in barbaric behavior.<sup>24</sup>

In January, 1865, the House overwhelmingly endorsed a resolution introduced by Washburne calling for establishment of a three percent tax on printing paper to replace the old fixed-amount tax. Eden was in the majority on this tax, undoubtedly because a percentage tax was more beneficial to small businessmen than was a fixed amount.<sup>25</sup>

Two other important taxation matters were dealt with in the second session, both on February 18. The first was a tax on all passenger and property transporters of two and a half percent on all receipts under three thousand dollars and five percent on all receipts above three thousand dollars. This measure carried,

eighty-four to fifty-eight, with Eden on the prevailing side. He was with the minority on the second bill, however, when he voted against a ten percent tax on all bank notes.<sup>26</sup>

As was shown, Eden supported more taxing measures this session than he had in the last. In his speech in February, 1864, he had flatly stated, "Taxation and tyranny are synonymous terms." Now, though, the necessity of paying for the war, which plainly was going to be won, forced him to refine his view. Also, it was only fair to tax the transporters if the government was subsidizing land grant railroads in the Midwest and Far West. The taxes on liquor and tobacco can be rationalized as taxes on vices.

Taxing bank notes, though, would only inhibit their circulation and Eden was too much a man of the people to stand by and allow them to be harmed by recessionary tactics. Therefore, he maintained his opposition to that type of a taxing maneuver, though he gave ground on some others.

Eden was as home-sick during the second session as he had been during the first. In January he sent Roxanna a mink cape and muff and a pair of shoes and bemoaned their separation in tones as longing as in the Valentine's Day letter of 1864. There can be little doubt, then, that he wasted no time in returning home after Congress adjourned on March 3.<sup>27</sup>

He was thirty-nine years old when the people retired him from public office. The war was almost over, the Union obviously victorious, so that the issues which had been his vehicle to public office were no longer relevant. Moreover, Lincoln would die in April and rob Eden and the Democrats of a valuable political

-61-

target. The Illinois Democracy was in especially bad shape after the November rout. For the next few years, Eden turned his attention to his law practice. His brother had begun a hotel business in 1864 and Eden probably had some hand in its management.

He was in Washington again in December, 1866, apparently on personal business. He visited with Judge Warren P. Noble of Ohio, a veteran of the Thirty-eighth Congress whom Eden now called an intimate friend. He wrote to Roxa and, obviously thinking of his political future, told her that he would like to have her accompany him to Washington should his friends again confer public office upon him. He doubted, though, that that would ever be the case.<sup>28</sup>

Chapter IV

Gubernatorial Candidate, 1868

The spring of 1868 was the high point of Congressional Reconstruction. In February, Radical leader Thaddeus Stevens started the wheels turning for the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, a former Democrat considered by the Republicans to be too lenient towards the South. In March, Congress passed a law prohibiting the Supreme Court from hearing cases arising out of the Reconstruction Acts, the laws passed for the purpose of purging the Confederacy of all vestiges of the slavocracy.

The conquered South was nearly prostrate. Hampered by economic hardship, the "Sinful Ten" - those rebel states which had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment - were under the iron grip of martial law, administered through five military districts. "Bloody shirt oratory," bringing forth memories of the evils of the war, kept the rest of the country on the side of the Republican Congress. Robert G. Ingersoll of Illinois was not at all opposed to waving the bloody shirt:

Every man that shot Union soldiers was a Democrat. The man that assassinated Abraham Lincoln was a Democrat.... Soldiers, every scar you have got on your heroic bodies was given you by a Democrat.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of Ingersoll's rhetoric, Illinois in 1868 was a fairly moderate state. Most Illinoisans were opposed to radicalism and Illinois politicians did not carve out names for themselves through demagogic attacks upon their opponents. Illinois Republicans were usually very restrained in their thinking. The

-64-

As the Springfield Illinois State Journal so deftly expressed it,

The Democratic State Convention is to meet in this city on the 15th, the anniversary of the day when Abraham Lincoln was foully [ sic ] assassinated by the hands of a Copperhead Democrat....It is probable... that the 15th of April was deliberately chosen from the fact that it is "assassination day," and therefore the more fitting for the friends of J. Wilkes Booth to hold their orgies on.<sup>4</sup>

It was inevitable that Republicans should notice the connection between the two dates and it is curious that no Democrat had the presence of mind to select a better one. The Republicans, though, did not exploit this slip as much as one would suppose. They had no need to.

On the day before the convention, it was still not clear who would be the party's choice for Governor. The Chicago Tribune correspondent reported that three men were in contention - James C. Allen of Cairo, a previous nominee who had been one of Eden's close friends in the Thirty-eighth Congress; Colonel Samuel A. Buckmaster; and "James R. Eden." (During all of April, newspapers had trouble getting Eden's identity right. He was called at various times James Eden and J.K. Eden, and if the papers had his name correct they were as likely as not to attribute him to Coles County or to Sullivan County, which does not even exist. Nothing shows more graphically the surprise at his nomination than this confusion over exactly who he was and where he was from.)

The Tribune's man at first thought that Allen had the best chance for the nomination because Allen and the majority of the convention delegates were disciples of Theodore "Brick" Pomeroy, another veteran of the Thirty-eighth Congress, turned New York

-65-

newspaper publisher turned Midwestern newspaper publisher.<sup>5</sup> In a dispatch written the morning of April 15 and published the next day, the reporter changed his prediction. Allen was no longer in contention, having been replaced by Daniel Morrison of St. Clair County, but the Tribune was certain that Eden, "of Coles County," would get the nod. "He is a Copperhead of the intensest kind, and was during the war doing his utmost to make the war a failure."<sup>6</sup>

Apparently Morrison was not a serious candidate, for once the convention started the field was narrowed to Buckmaster and Eden. The Springfield Journal was somewhat sympathetic to Buckmaster and printed a scathing condemnation of the manner in which the nomination was conducted, charging that Buckmaster had been duped into believing that he would be the party's choice, only to be cruelly betrayed at the last moment. Said the Journal:

The manner in which the Democratic Convention went through the ceremony of nominating their state ticket very clearly indicated that they considered it a mere form, rendered necessary in order to keep up appearances.<sup>7</sup>

Actually, the convention had proceeded to a roll call vote on the gubernatorial nomination and was about half-way through when it became obvious that Eden was going to win. One of Buckmaster's aides then called on the convention to make the selection unanimous. If the party leaders had done any conniving at all, it was to dragoon someone into running, not to prevent the Colonel from winning.

The Journal's opinion of Eden was very low. He was called

-66-

a drag in the party, an avowed anti-war man, a leading Knight of the Golden Circle....Eden... broke into Congress once, but his constituents very considerably never allowed him to go back again. Since then he has not been heard of outside his own bailiwick, except occasionally during the war when rumors have come to the ears of the public about the bloodthirsty doings of the anti-draft partisans of that section of Illinois.<sup>8</sup>

The Tribune found Eden's record in Congress to be "thoroughly odious and detestable" due to his affinity for George Pendleton, Josh Allen, and Fernando Wood. He had, reported the paper, done his best to aid the Southern cause and insure a rebel victory and, indeed, one could expect no better of a Kentuckian, "by birth and education," who believed slavery to be "the normal condition of the black race." When his name was first mentioned at the convention he "was regard as a myth." He was a Copperhead and a "peace sneak."<sup>9</sup>

In Eden's old Congressional district the Republican press was equally vehement in its denunciations. According to the Champaign Gazette and Union, Eden, again misplaced in Coles County, was "a Copperhead of the meanest stripe and off the same piece as [such] men as C.L. Vallandigham, Fernando Wood, and Brick Pomeroy." The writer then libeled the state of Kentucky and proceeded to describe incidents surrounding a speech made by Eden in Champaign in the spring of 1863. He was there "for the purpose of airing his treason, making a speech, and running for Congress." (This last does not make sense. Eden had been elected in the fall of 1862. It was too early for him to be campaigning for re-election to a body he had yet to attend.) At any rate, the report sounded



-67-

suspiciously like the stories circulated after the Charleston Massacre.

In the course of his remarks a little "onplesianness" arose which made it necessary or at least the better policy for John...and some others to jump out the back windows of the public hall and run off. So if any Radical thinks Eden will not run well, he's mistaken, for there are any number of people who have seen him do it. Mr. Eden thinks slavery the normal condition of the black race; believes the government indebtedness should be turned into water and the water spilled immediately; and believes John Wilkes Booth to have been a saint of the highest degree.<sup>10</sup>

The Democratic papers were caught by surprise by his nomination and did not do nearly as well extolling his praises as the Republicans did in maligning him. The Springfield Illinois State Register honored him with the title of Judge, saying that he had held public office since 1856 and had served in the Thirty-eighth Congress "before that body became corrupt and dishonored. He deserves and will receive the votes of the people, and will discharge the duties of chief magistrate with fidelity and ability."<sup>11</sup> This hardly constituted a ringing endorsement. Likewise in his home district, the Champaign Illinois Democrat could not rise above the simple platitudes that he was the best man for the job and would perform well when elected. His loyalty to the Democratic party was praised and his service in Congress called "invaluable," but this could not cover up the fact that Eden did not have the background in government which would have made him a strong candidate. The paper proudly stated that his abilities were undoubted, yet it did not reveal what those abilities were.<sup>12</sup> The Peoria Daily National Democrat, a newspaper with more than its share of loyalty to the

-68-

Democracy, was unable to account for Eden's nomination at all. The editor reported the results of the convention and placed Eden's name below the masthead, but an early promise to publish a detailed biography of the nominee was never fulfilled, although biographies were published for the candidates for Lieutenant Governor and Congressman-at-large. Taken alone, this might seem to be a simple oversight; taken in comparison with the response of other papers, the omission must be seen as a sign of the weakness of the Democratic nomination.

The Republicans, meeting a short time later, nominated John M. Palmer, a lawyer and politician with some claim to military distinction. Palmer had served with Sherman during the war and the fact that he had resigned his command under somewhat petty circumstances while the Army was in front of Atlanta did not in any way harm his popularity with the Republicans. Far from an extreme Radical, Palmer would in 1896 run for President of the United States as a Gold Democrat. The Democrats found little to criticize and the Republicans much to praise in him as a candidate, in marked contrast to the response to Eden

If the Republican reaction had been spirited on such short notice, it could become even more so after the editors had time to search their back files and send out investigators. The Charleston Plaindealer, in a widely reprinted account, dragged up an old story on the Charleston Massacre which placed the blame squarely upon Eden, charging that he had armed men and formed companies for the express purpose of impeding the operations of the draft and had stirred up citizens all across the state during his

time in Congress by denouncing the soldiers as "Hessians" and "Lincoln hirelings." He had also supposedly urged the people to withhold their taxes so as to disrupt the economy. The article concluded with a prayer that God would save Illinois from the likes of such a man.<sup>13</sup>

Eden's views were not adequately explained in the Democratic press during these crucial first days of the campaign. One of the earliest attempts was made by the Champaign Illinois Democrat, which on May 1 printed a bitter denunciation of Eden from the Danville Times with the simple explanation that "the above is from the Danville Times, Radical. Comment is unnecessary."<sup>14</sup> While the inference was that the article was a good example of irresponsible Republican vehemence and that Eden was quite the opposite of the caricature of him presented in the Radical papers, this was too subtle a method to use in a situation which demanded forceful, positive action.

What Eden did not need were articles like the one which the Springfield Register reprinted from the Pike County Democrat. Eden's short tenure in public office, mistakenly increased to four years in Congress, was a blessing, ran the argument, because it meant that he was not a professional office seeker.<sup>15</sup> He was getting apologists instead of advocates. While, of course, the effect of variables like inaction cannot be studied apart from the other realities of the campaign, undoubtedly this lack of a forceful initiative hurt his campaign chances - already very, very slim - more than did anything else the entire year. The Radical press, without fear of contradiction, hooted at his insignificance, the

-70-

Mattoon Journal printing a list of the various home counties which the Democratic press had attributed to him.<sup>16</sup>

At the national level, the Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax for President. Grant had earned the Radicals' affection by refusing to accept Johnson's appointment as Secretary of War after the President had tried to dismiss Edward Stanton from the position. The Democrats fielded a weak ticket, popular with nobody. Horation Seymour of New York was the nominee for President with Frank Blair, a newly converted Democrat, as his running mate. Their nomination amounted to strike three for the Eden campaign.

Near the end of May the Illinois Democrats began a strong newspaper campaign on behalf of Eden. The Cairo Democrat, in an article reprinted in the Champaign Illinois Democrat, described in glowing terms a speech the candidate had made before the Pana Democratic Club in mid-May. There was almost a tone of surprise in the article, as if the writer had not expected a "nobody" to be such an eloquent speaker. Eden hit upon corruption in the Republican party and the revolutionary intentions of their leaders, which shows that he knew the right strategy to use in a campaign among moderate-conservative voters. The Democrat was positively gleeful about having him on the ticket.<sup>17</sup>

The sudden enthusiasm had come too late, however. For over a month, the only views on Eden which had been given adequate public attention had been Republican. Two days after the nomination the Springfield Illinois State Journal had called Eden a "tiresome speaker who drove even loyal Democrats away, so it is doubtful that

-71-

the Democrat's new evidence to the contrary would be able to undo all the damage that had been done.<sup>18</sup>

April, May, and June were slow months for the campaign. Reports of Eden's movements during those months were limited and apparently he was not yet working hard for the election. On June 18, he went to Decatur, in Macon County, to speak before the Democratic Club there, but as yet no large rallies had been held.<sup>19</sup>

The opening shot of the campaign was fired in Mattoon on June 24 when Eden spoke before the Democratic Club there. The Springfield Illinois State Register gave the speech front page coverage on two successive days in mid-July. Eden did not limit himself to state issues, but instead spoke mainly on national problems, finding an easy target in the Radical Congress. Wisely realizing that issues relating to the war would do him no good, since the mention of them would only give his opponents another chance to accuse him of treason, he opened his speech with a quiet, rational appeal for restraint.

In presenting my views upon the great questions now attracting the attention of the people, I shall confine myself to a discussion of the immediate questions involved in the pending political contest.... It would have been strange indeed had the whole people of the north agreed as to the best mode of treating the great political questions which arose during the progress of our late civil war.... Should we now turn aside to wrangle and quarrel over the issues arising out of the war, which are settled beyond recall, to the neglect of those matters of vital importance to us today, and in all future time, we would commit the fatal blunder of allowing our passions and prejudices to govern us, to the detriment of all our material interests.

The rest of his speech was taken up with matters of

-72-

economics. Stating his belief that the people should govern since they would never succumb to the corruption which ruined politicians, Eden charged the Radical Republicans with attempting to bankrupt the country through graft and extravagant spending. From 1851 to 1861, said Eden, the average annual ordinary expenses of the government, not counting bounties and pensions, came to \$56,000,000. For the fiscal year 1867, those same expenses totalled \$170,000,000. Radical rule, said Eden, costed the people \$114,000,000 more than Democratic rule, even though it had been the Republicans who had accused the Buchanan administration of extravagance. Extravagance may not seem a fault to some politicians, Eden went on in mock seriousness, but he was not appealing to the politicians; he was appealing to the common people, the honest businessmen who knew the value of money. Under the present expenditures, these common people were forced to pay eighty-five dollars per household per year for the upkeep of a band of robbers. Money was being wasted everywhere, in the Treasury Department, where there was a "veritable army" of twenty thousand office holders (more than had been in the regular Army prior to the war); in war expenditures; in naval expenditures; and in the Indian Bureau. He opposed curtailing the pensions of widows and orphans and crippled soldiers but he demanded that means be undertaken to economize elsewhere.

Talk of economy was idle, though, as long as the corrupt, Radical officials robbed the government, thus increasing the people's burden of support for it. Specifically, he singled out the whiskey tax officials and cited figures provided by the Republican special commissioner for internal revenue to prove that the people

-73-

were being bilked; he quoted Republican Congressmen's attacks on corruption in their own government. Naturally, Eden pointed out, one could hardly expect an honest government when the constitutional balance <sup>between</sup> executive and legislature was disrupted and one controlled the other. During the war Eden had accused Lincoln of usurping the powers of Congress; now he accused the Congress, led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner of usurping the power of the executive. This comment was especially relevant due to the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson during the first half of 1868. Bitter newspaper duels had resulted, Republicans denouncing the President and Democrats denouncing the Congress. Eden said that the fault with Johnson was that the Republicans had taken him "before he had worn out, all the garments with which the democracy had clothed him."

Corrupt Congressmen had too much to say about too many areas of government to suit Eden. He quoted one cabinet official who had testified before a Congressional committee that nineteen-twentieths of the employess of the revenue service were cronies of Congressmen. Radical campaign promises for reform were idle, said Eden.

The truth is, the services of the corruptionists cannot be dispensed with. They are the props that support the desperate fortunes of the men in power, and the services are mutual.

The harshest terms were reserved for those who benefited from inequities in taxation. \$265,000,000 in taxes was collected in fiscal year 1867, and the burden of most of that fell upon labor and active capital; the holders of government bonds paid next to

-74-

nothing. Eden drove this point home by citing a hypothetical case in which a farmer worth ten thousand dollars paid a tax of two hundred dollars; a crippled war veteran reduced to living on a farm worth eight hundred dollars with farm equipment valued at another two hundred had to pay twenty dollars; and a war profiteer with one hundred-thousand dollars in government bonds, receiving six thousand a year in interest, paid but four dollars as a tax on his buggy. The bond holders, Eden reminded his listeners, were going to vote Republican.

Eden also attacked the currency system, maintaining that since currency was acceptable for payments for debts, it should be used. Instead, bankers drew interest in gold in return for loans made in currency. With gold valued higher than greenbacks, the rate for loans was thus made higher. "Will you continue a system of banking that enables capitalists to rob the laboring people, and all classes involved in other pursuits, at such a ruinous rate?"

Eden's solutions for the ills facing the country were simple: drive out the corrupt office holders; reduce the ordinary expenses of government to one hundred-million dollars (a reduction of not quite one-half); reduce the size of the standing army since "we do not need a standing army of 60,000 men in time of peace, at a yearly cost of \$100,000,000," abolish the Freedmen's Bureau, since it cost "untold millions...to feed and clothe lazy, idle negroes, and still more worthless white officials;" abolish the national banks; smash the "rings" of corruptionists; and pay off the national debt in greenbacks.<sup>20</sup>

Obviously Eden's views had not changed from those he had held



while in Congress. He still stood by his votes for economy, small armies, and power to the white people.

The speech in Mattoon and the earlier one in Pana were to Democratic Clubs, not to large, mixed audiences. Therefore, the campaign had to expand, and on June 30, 1868, the following notice, signed by Democratic State Central Committee Chairman John A. McClernand, appeared in the Springfield Illinois State Register: "Hon. John R. Eden, democratic candidate for governor of Illinois, will address the people on the political issues now before the country, at the following times and places...." The campaign was finally starting to move, beginning at Westfield, Clark County, on Saturday, July 11.<sup>21</sup>

Eden's strategy of campaigning in the Southern part of the state first might be questioned. He was already hampered by reports that his supporters were mainly former Copperheads, and since the majority of the Copperheads were in southern Illinois, commonly called Egypt, he would seem to have played into his foes' hands. Every Republican paper in Illinois was printing articles charging that Eden's supporters were "men who used all their influence for Jeff. Davis and treason,...men that met by night to plot against the laws."<sup>22</sup> The problem was that no one could say these charges were groundless. The former Copperheads and Knights of the Golden Circle would naturally support Eden. The Peoria Daily National Democrat unwittingly illustrated this by sponsoring a contest to encourage the formation of Democratic Clubs. Anyone who formed a club of twenty or more members would receive an

-76-

elegant Photographic Likeness of either of the following gentlemen: Washington, Jefferson, Douglas, McCellan, Sherman, Stonewall Jackson, R.E. Lee, or the nominee of the Democratic party for President in 1868.<sup>23</sup>

Republicans would have no difficulty imagining a southern Illinois Copperhead attending one of the Eden rallies with an "elegant Photographic Likeness" of Stonewall Jackson under one arm.

Yet, Eden's strategy did have two strong points. For one, his opponent, General John M. Palmer, was from Crawfordsville, which was farther south even than Sullivan, and therefore the General could seem to have some Egyptian influence of his own. Since it was still early in the canvass, Eden had no way of knowing how many votes that might bring in for the Republicans. It was a good idea, then, for Eden to get down there early and secure the area so that he could concentrate on the doubtful counties for the balance of the campaign. Secondly, it never hurts a weak candidate to start a campaign with big, successful rallies. The Eden strategists probably reasoned that it would be good publicity to be able to report a highly enthusiastic opening of the canvass. The reports would help attract larger crowds when Eden had to venture into the hostile regions.

Such an opinion is reinforced by the publicity given the Eden campaign. At the end of July, the Springfield Illinois State Register tried to drum up interest in a big Democratic rally on July 28 by printing the following story:

Hon. John R. Eden, democratic candidate for governor, was in town yesterday. He had just left the inspiring ratification scenes at Mount

-77-

Vernon, Salem, and other portions of Egypt, and was consequently in the best of spirits and good health. The reports from southern Illinois are exceedingly invigorating. Egypt is all ablaze for Seymour and Blair, and the people determined on victory.

Governor Eden has entered the canvass with all his harness on, and will continue the brave work until November records a glorious triumph.<sup>24</sup>

It was not an easy time to campaign. July was unbearably hot, with the temperature often as high as eighty-eight or ninety degrees at six a.m. and one hundred to one hundred-three degrees at noon. Since Eden's rallies began at one p.m., this meant that he had to deliver an extended oration in temperatures over a hundred degrees and the unusually high early morning temperatures meant that resting at night would be very difficult.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it is likely that Eden welcomed the brief respite in his campaign when he had almost a week between his last scheduled speaking engagement in Louisville, Clay County, on July 21 and the big Springfield meeting on July 28.

The Springfield rally was an evening one, which was a mixed blessing, since even at six p.m. the temperature still stood at eighty-eight degrees. Possibly this deterred a large crowd from attending. Although the Democratic Register made no complaint about the number in attendance, the Journal said that the Washington Cornet Band had to twice leave the Statehouse, where the rally was being held, to "drum up passing stragglers," most of these being "Republicans who were anxious to see the Copperhead menagerie." The Journal charged that Eden attacked the blacks for "half an hour," but this is doubtful, since the Register made no mention of such an

-78-

attack and Eden's speeches were usually devoted to economic matters, anyway. Possibly the Republicans were incensed by Eden's statement that Reconstruction was based upon a policy of subjecting eight million whites to four million Negroes, but this was almost standard Democratic rhetoric and it hardly constitutes a thirty minute attack. (In fact, periodic efforts were made by Democratic leaders throughout 1868 to form black Democratic Clubs in order to have a defense against Republican charges of racism.)

Again, Eden called for financial retrenchment. Under President Polk's administration, which had fought a war with Mexico, the Army expenses had totalled ninety million dollars. Since the close of the Civil War, the peacetime Army expenses had come to over ten times that, and most of this was being paid by the North and the West. Eden's solution was to reduce the size of the standing Army and equalize taxation for all parts of the country. As before, he called for a speedy payment of the national debt and abolition of the national banks in order to obtain more greenbacks.<sup>26</sup>

According to the Journal, he ended his speech

with a confused peroration, in which it was difficult to understand whether he meant that the American flag, etc., was to be elevated, or whether the rebel horde of the South were again to rule the land, - and judging from the way it was received, both wings of the Democracy present construed it to suit themselves.<sup>27</sup>

By balancing the two accounts, one has to conclude that the crowd was smaller than had been expected but that Eden delivered a clear and effective, financially-oriented speech. The fact that the Journal followed their first article charging Eden with race-baiting with another one the next day<sup>28</sup> indicates that his

-79-

comments on financial irresponsibility hit close to home. By raising the race issue, the Journal hoped to obscure Eden's popular-based appeal for more currency. (The majority of the Illinoisans probably favored paying the national debt in greenbacks.)<sup>29</sup>

The race problem was one which Eden never satisfactorily met during the campaign, probably because he honestly felt that the majority of the voters were against Negro suffrage. Overtly racist arguments would have brought up memories of the Knights of the Golden Circle and suggested an affiliation which was not present, so apparently Eden hoped to remain vague enough on the issue to attract as many votes from as many different quarters as possible.

While Eden was denouncing the Radical Congress and the bondholders, his opponent, General Palmer, was attacking Democratic Presidential candidate Horatio Seymour and Vice-Presidential candidate Frank Blair while extolling Republicans Grant and Colfax. Palmer paid no more attention to his opponent and to specific state issues that did Eden. It was the national issues which had the most appeal for both candidates and voters.<sup>30</sup>

By August 11, Eden had won the grudging admiration of even some die-hard Republicans because of his eloquent and effective speeches. On that day, the Illinois State Journal printed a report of an Eden rally in Jacksonville in terms which were flattering, if a trifle condescending. The Journal reporter estimated the crowd at from ten to twelve thousand and said that Eden's

speech was gentlemanly in its language and high-toned throughout. He did not in any respect descend to the low slang and vulgarity which disgrace too many of his colleagues in the party. He confined himself almost exclusively to the question of finance.

In spite of this, though, his speech contained a number of "glaring absurdities," Eden's statements against the inequalities in taxation being particularly absurd. "He proposed to pay the public debt, but he failed to show how a Democratic administration could do the job cheaper than any other."<sup>31</sup>

Considering the vehemence with which the Journal had usually discussed the Eden campaign, this was lavish praise indeed. Naturally, the Democratic press did not pass up the chance to exploit it for all it was worth. The Register proudly stated that "no man has more rapidly won distinction than Mr. Eden in his unpretending but determined deportment." The excellence of Eden's speeches resulted in many new friends who relished his

powerful logic and wonderful condensation of material; his lucid expositions of the plunders that have marked the course of the rump [meaning the Radical Congress] and his exposure of their long continued assaults upon the liberties of the people.<sup>32</sup>

Apparently someone at the Journal had some second thoughts about their unaccustomed exuberance for an opposition "Copperhead." The same day that the Democratic press was gloating over their windfall, the Republicans published a personal attack upon Eden and his abilities. As proof of how limited those abilities were, the Journal published a few of Eden's remarks in the Thirty-eighth Congress, claiming that they comprised his total output while an

-81-

elected official. There was no mention of his major speech on February 27, 1864, nor of any of his votes.<sup>33</sup>

Undaunted, Eden continued to campaign throughout the state. On August 19, the Register reported that many Republicans were impressed by his "eloquent and fair discussion of the current issues" and that conversions were "as plentiful as blackberries in mid-summer." The reason for these conversions - whose existence later proved to be ephemeral - was easily explained:

He is the most logical, argumentative, and conciliatory speaker. There is neither fustian nor furbelow about him. What an old observer of men and things called "horse sense" abounds, dressed up in the best apparel. One who hears him ten minutes wants to listen an hour, and hearing him an hour will sit and listen two or three.<sup>34</sup>

Nothing more clearly shows the change of heart which the Democratic press had undergone than comparing this last article with those written immediately after Eden's nomination. At that time the Democrats had not really known what they were getting in the way of a candidate and they were naturally lacking in enthusiasm. Now, they could not say enough good about him. Eden had entered a race which most professional observers both then and later regarded as hopeless. Judging from the praise he received at this point, he was acquitting himself well.

The apogee of the Eden campaign was the mass rally in Chicago on the evening of August 29. The Springfield Register publicized it, something the paper rarely did for an out of town event, and the Chicago Tribune reported a paraphrase of his speech. Dismissing Eden as

-82-

a resident of this State, who is believed to be respected in the village in which he lives, but who was little known outside of it until at the recent Democratic Convention at Springfield, he was, from his very insignificance, and from the fact that he was so thoroughly unknown, selected as the Democratic nominee for governor,

the Tribune admitted that a fairly good-sized crowd attended the meeting.

Eden was quite hoarse due to a heavy speaking schedule which easily drained a man not accustomed to that type of campaigning. Nonetheless, his remarks were met with a great deal of enthusiasm. As usual, he began with an emphasis upon financial matters, and although he adhered to the standard form for most of his speeches, he did insert fresh examples and comparisons. In citing the wastefulness of the Radical Government, for example, he now charged that its budget was two million dollars higher than that for the British Empire. The blame for this should not be placed upon Andrew Johnson, whose election had been opposed by the Democrats in the first place, but rather should be placed at the feet of the Republicans in Congress. Eden admitted that Ulysses S. Grant had been a great general and then snatched back his endorsement by saying that that did not mean Grant would be a good President. He challenged Grant to clearly define what his politics were. Further, he charged that the election of Grant would make the way open for an eventual military take-over of the country.

Again he called for the abolition of the national debt. He also paid a little more attention to charges of disloyalty against the Democrats. If the Republicans felt that they were the ones



-83-

who wanted to maintain peace while the Democrats wanted to re-open the war to allow the South to win, why was it that the Republicans continued to incite sectional hatred by upholding unconstitutional state governments in the former rebel states? He acknowledged that Wade Hampton of South Carolina was a Democrat, but he reminded his audience that Joseph Brown, who had been Confederate Governor of Georgia, had converted to Republicanism and had even addressed the Radical National Convention in Chicago. Only one word had to be associated with Brown for the people to know of whom Eden spoke, and that word was "Andersonville." Eden closed with a pledge to constitutional government.<sup>35</sup>

This was one of Eden's better speeches. It had a number of telling points in it, such as the comparison of the U.S. budget with that of Britain, and the reference to Joe Brown was ingenious. It was natural for Eden to bring Brown's case up, since while in Congress he had warned that some forth-right secessionists would hypocritically take the loyalty oath and join the Republican party to enjoy its benefits while many planters, who had been either opposed to or lukewarm on secession would suffer under the Reconstruction governments. He could hardly have hoped for a more spectacular fulfillment of his prophesy than Governor Brown, who while a state executive had fielded two Confederate regiments before the Confederacy was formed and had personally captured the United States' arsenal in Atlanta.<sup>36</sup>

Eden's constant call for thrift in government did not always sit well with the opposition. The Chicago Post, for example, grumbled that "if Eden is elected we shall have the cheapest

governor on earth."<sup>37</sup> On the whole, though, Eden's strategy was sound, since everyone favors a government which saves as much money as possible.

In early September new life was breathed into the campaign by a controversy over an alleged statement by Republican Senator Richard Yates. Apparently Yates had made a speech in which he claimed that Frederick Douglass, the famed Negro abolitionist and newspaper editor, was intellectually superior to John R. Eden. This was probably intended as a reply to Eden's occasional references to the "inferior" Negro race. Because few men of either race could match the achievements of Douglass, Yates was on pretty safe ground. The Chicago Times, however, took umbrage at the remark, which might have passed by almost without notice, and aroused so much commotion that it came to the attention of everyone in the state. The Chicago Post facetiously suggested that the Times hold a contest to see which man actually had the highest intelligence. It would have been better for Eden had the Times allowed Yates' statement to die a quiet death and it is difficult to explain why the Democrats indulged in such a humiliating combat. It is impossible to believe that the Times' editors were so naive as to imagine that they could benefit from publicizing a story so damaging to their own cause, yet that is exactly what they thought.<sup>38</sup>

Eden continued to draw large crowds throughout September. On the seventh he spoke in Ottawa to an audience which the Ottawa Republican sadly admitted was as large as the one which had gathered to hear Republican John Logan the week before. As usual, Eden's speech was mainly devoted to financial matters and "his

-85-

harangue was applauded...throughout, except when he alluded to the masterly qualities of Grant as a soldier." The crowd, however, was not completely Democratic.

Many Republicans were at the meeting, attracted by a very natural curiosity to see the man so green as to accept the democratic nomination for governor and canvass the state, in view of the fact that he will be beaten by at least a 50,000 majority.

Just in case this certainty was not enough to discourage some from voting for Eden, the Republican printed a story told about him while he was a member of Congress. His dislike for Lincoln was so well known in his district that a group of Sullivan friends once asked what he would do if he ever had the President in his power. Eden replied, "I would make bull frog bait out of him mighty quick." With Lincoln now regarded as a martyr in almost all sections of the state, this harmless bit of bravado had a sinister ring to it and was presented as proof of the inherent wickedness of the Copperheads, despite the fact that during the war Radical Republicans had said as much, if not worse, about their own feelings towards the President.<sup>39</sup>

On September 23, Eden spoke at Metamora, in Woodford County. The crowd was huge, with a procession of wagons and men on horseback and on foot stretching three miles in length according to the Democratic reports. It was estimated that it was the largest meeting ever held in the county.<sup>40</sup>

Eden also had a good-sized group of listeners when he spoke in Peoria on October 1. The weather was rainy but it did not discourage Democrats from coming to hear him, and according to

-86-

friendly sources his audience listened in rapturous silence. The Peoria Daily National Democrat, which in April had had trouble adjusting to his candidacy, now enthusiastically compared him to the much revered Stephen A. Douglas. In explaining his financial views, Eden struck a popular chord by calling on the people to recognize the policies of Congress as a threat which had to be destroyed before they destroyed the liberties of the people.<sup>41</sup>

This was not an easy campaign for Eden physically. Conscious of the fact that he had to run from behind, he drove himself hard, giving each audience the best he could. At a rally in Havana on October 9, he spoke to a monstrous turnout. The reporter for the Peoria Democrat counted fifteen-hundred torchlights in the Eden parade and estimated that at the rally only about a quarter of the people could hear him, both because of the size of the crowd and because of the hoarseness of his voice. Yet, the next day he delivered a two hour oration in Pekin.<sup>42</sup>

Eden's efforts surprised the Republican press. The Illinois State Journal could not understand why he bothered to make much of an effort:

We are assured by his friends that Mr. Eden is making "a gallant campaign" for Governor. It is said he makes speeches day and night and sometimes twice, and he expects to continue to do so until the 3rd of November. He expects to be able to reduce General Palmer's majority to fifty thousand. He can't do it.<sup>43</sup>

On October 21, the Republicans held a large rally in Springfield. During the street parade which preceded it a number of signs were seen relating to Eden:

-87-

"Eden's Hotel still open. No chance for removal to Springfield."

"Illinois repudiates the modern Eden."

"The original Illinois Carpet Bagger, Eden at the Charleston riots."

"John R. Eden - Illinois is no Eden for you."<sup>44</sup>

(This last slogan was one of a type. The Republicans had made great sport out of the name "Eden" throughout the campaign. The Champaign Gazette and Constitution had predicted in April that Illinois would not be the Garden of Eden by about thirty-thousand votes,<sup>45</sup> and the Peoria Cellar Organ had reminded its readers that "Eden" was the first known thing to which the Devil had gained access.)<sup>46</sup>

Eden finally ended his campaign on October 30. The election was held on November 3 and the results were no surprise. Eden came remarkably close to fulfilling his alleged promise of keeping Palmer within a fifty-thousand vote majority; the new governor polled 50,099 more votes than Eden. As it was, though, Eden ran consistently ahead of Presidential candidate Seymour in the contest against Grant. In county after county, Eden out-pollled Seymour, and in a few areas he carried the county while Seymour lost it. In the state as a whole, Eden ran ahead of Seymour by 1,051, not a large plurality considering the number of votes cast, but one that shows that some voters who voted for a Republican for President voted for a Democrat for Governor.

Eden's case was really hopeless from the start. The Illinois Republicans had won overwhelmingly in both 1864 and 1866,

-88-

capturing all the state offices and eleven of the seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in the first election and maintaining that advantage in the second.<sup>47</sup> The Democracy was left a shattered party, with no powerful leaders to provide stability. In no other situation could an unknown like Eden have become the party's leader and chief spokesman. Eden's obscurity did not make him an inspired choice, in spite of whatever abilities he had, but even more detrimental to his campaign was the fact that his home district was not solidly behind him. The Seventh District was geographically large, including eleven counties, five of which were among the state's fifteen counties with a population density of less than twenty persons per square mile. Iroquois County, the Seventh's northernmost unit, was the least populated area in the entire state, with less than eleven persons per square mile. Thus Eden had had a large, highly heterogeneous area with which to deal and, judging from the 1864 election returns, he had been unable to satisfy this constituency. In 1868, Moultrie, Edgar, and Cumberland were the only counties in the district to go for Seymour and Eden.<sup>48</sup>

Also working against Eden and his fellow Democrats was the unusual strength of the Republican ticket. The Republicans had nominated military men for almost all the state offices, thereby setting a contrast to Eden's peace-oriented past. Palmer himself was something of an enigma. He had served loyally in the Army, but had resigned his command before the war was won; he was running now as a Republican, but in 1877 he would be the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate. He was a moderate-conservative mixture

-89-

which appealed to the people. In contrast to Palmer, Eden appeared even more conservative than he actually was. The Democratic national standard bearers did nothing to help the Illinois state ticket. They were no match for Grant and Colfax and even a strong state candidate would have had difficulties with them leading the party.

Eden himself damaged his campaign by misjudging the voters' attitudes towards the blacks. As has been shown, he himself did not engage in overtly racist tactics, yet he stood on a platform opposed to Negro suffrage and he gave tacit approval to his supporters in their denunciations of "niggers" and "nigger lovers." (At one point, for example, the Springfield Illinois State Register referred to Mrs. Thaddeus Stevens as a "nigger wench." Mrs. Stevens was white, but her husband was a Republican.) In 1862, Democrats holding such opinions would have been in vogue, for in that year Illinois citizens overwhelmingly endorsed an amendment to the proposed state constitution to prohibit Negro suffrage and immigration.<sup>49</sup> In 1862 Illinois also placed its faith in a group of anti-war Congressmen; in 1864 that faith was revoked. So also, in 1867 the Illinois legislature, doubtlessly with the support of the people, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, which conferred citizenship upon Negroes.<sup>50</sup> While Eden and his friends were all too aware of the first change of heart, they were apparently oblivious to the second. They remained firmly rooted in the old policy, futilely hoping for a public mandate to implement it. Eden's emphasis on financial matters was a step in the right direction, but his platform's intransigence on the race question more than

-90-

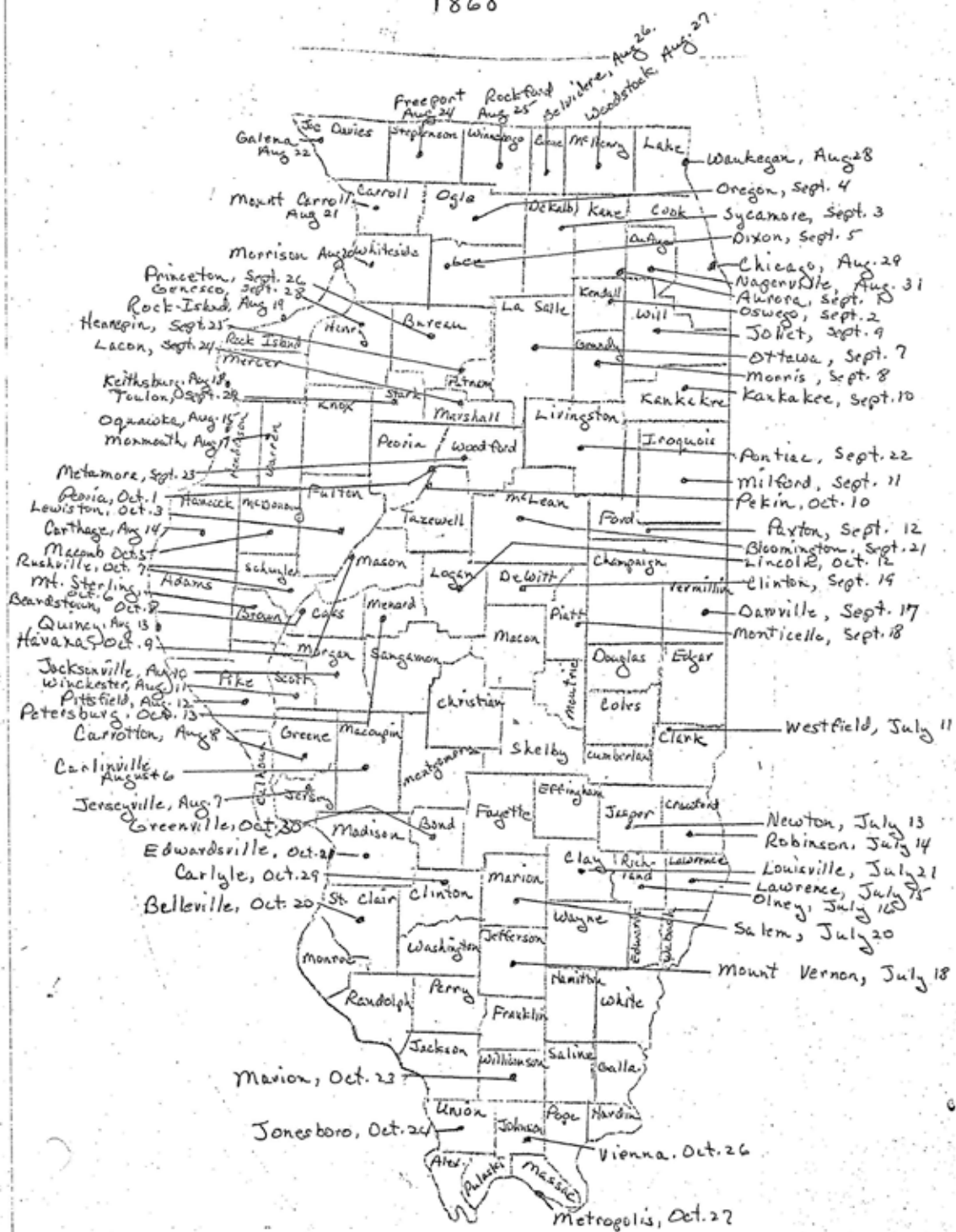
outweighed the benefits the party received from Eden's advocacy of freer circulation of greenbacks and from his effective speeches.

Part of the reason for the switch in the citizens' attitudes towards blacks was, of course, related to a bitterness over the Civil War. As after most wars, the victors wanted to punish the vanquished. As well, though, the Methodist Church, the largest denomination in the state with nearly one hundred-thousand members in 1860, had vested interests involved. After the war many Methodists had gone South as missionaries to the newly emancipated slaves, most of whom had been denied religious training. What had at first been typical Methodist fervor for saving the lost soon ripened into political commitment. Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policy would have ended missionary activities, since most of the rebel states would have persecuted the churchmen along with the scalawags and carpetbaggers. Therefore, the Methodists, including the ones in Illinois, tended to be supporters of the Radical Congress which Eden was so fond of denouncing.<sup>51</sup>

At any rate, the Democrats gained no new employment after the November election. Eden returned to Sullivan, to the practice of law, and to his family. His political ardor had been at a low ebb in December, 1866, when he had written that he thought it unlikely that public office would again be conferred upon him, but after the gubernatorial campaign it was temporarily inflamed again and in 1870 he moved to Decatur in hopes of furthering his political career. The next year found him back in Sullivan with little interest in running in another election.<sup>52</sup>



# Eden's Campaign Trip, 1868



Chapter V

Vindication of a Copperhead

John R. Eden's retirement from active politics was only temporary. In 1872, he and his brother-in-law, Jonathan Meeker, joined with Cassius Clark, also of Sullivan, in the law firm of Eden, Meeker, and Clark, and developed an extensive practice in the Central Illinois area.<sup>1</sup> The exposure Eden received through his legal activities helped his political career by keeping his name before the public.

In June, 1872, Eden was drafted by the Democratic party of the Fifteenth Congressional District as its candidate for the House of Representatives. After the census of 1870, Illinois was entitled to greater representation in Congress and the Congressional districts were all redrawn. Moultrie County became part of the Fifteenth District, which also included Clark, Crawford, Cumberland, Edgar, Effingham, Jasper, Lawrence, and Shelby counties. These were more southerly counties than had made up the old Seventh District and their record was more solidly Democratic. Eden had not attended the convention nor sought the nomination, but he immediately threw himself into the contest.<sup>2</sup>

President Ulysses S. Grant was running for re-election in 1872, with New York publisher Horace Greeley as the nominee of both the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans, a break-away faction which favored greater leniency towards the South in the Reconstruction program. Judge David Davis, Senator Lyman Trumbull, and Governor John M. Palmer were the most prominent Illinoisans

Fifteenth Congressional District; 1872



-92-

to desert the Republicans for the new group, which also included a great many state and local officials.

In spite of this insurrection, Grant's party won easily. In Illinois, the President received 241,237 votes to Greeley's 184,772, with the Liberal Republican state ticket proving equally unsuccessful. The regular party swept all the state offices and fourteen of the nineteen seats in the House. Eden, blessed with a Democratic district, was one of the few Democrats to survive the Republican tidal wave.<sup>3</sup>

The Forty-third Congress convened in December, and when Eden arrived in Washington, he forsook the type of small boarding house in which he had lived before and stayed instead in the Metropolitan Hotel, paying about ninety dollars a month rent.<sup>4</sup> The Metropolitan Hotel was on Pennsylvania Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets, near the National Hotel, and it housed a large number of Congressmen. Eden was re-elected to Congress twice and stayed at the Metropolitan almost all of the six years. During the Forty-third Congress there were eleven Representatives and four Senators staying there. Only one of the fifteen was a Republican. Seven others were from states which had seceded, with two from Kentucky. An Ohioan and Robert Knap, Samuel S. Marshall, James C. Robinson, and Eden - all former peace Democrats now in the Illinois Congressional delegation - rounded out the membership. Six of the Southerners had served the Confederate government. (See chart)

In the Forty-fourth Congress there were twenty-six representatives and one senator residing at the Metropolitan.

Again there was only one Republican, H.S. Maggon of Wisconsin. Thirteen men represented states which had seceded and six more represented former slave states. Eden and William Hartwell of Lebanon were the only Illinoisans. There were thirteen former Confederates. (See chart)

For the first session of the Forty-fifth Congress, there were twenty Congressmen at the Metropolitan, including both of North Carolina's senators. There were three Republicans this time, but they were more than outnumbered by the twelve former Confederates. (See chart) This group broke up between the first and second sessions of the Forty-fifth Congress. Eden, former rebels John T. Harris and Auburn Pridemore, and former Peace Democrat Aylett Buckner of Missouri moved to the Imperial Hotel, where they lived with two other Democrats, one of whom was a veteran of a Texas infantry regiment. There were no Republicans at the Imperial. All the Democrats but Matt Ransom left the Metropolitan.<sup>5</sup>

This shows very clearly the type of person with whom Eden preferred to associate. Obviously, he liked living among the Confederates or he would not have stayed at the Metropolitan as long as he did. When he did move, it was not until everyone else did, and he still stayed with three rebel soldiers. This would indicate a stronger sympathy with the South than has been heretofore evident.

Eden also had dealings with former Confederates in the committees on which he served while in Congress. During the Forty-third Congress, Eden served on the Committee on War Claims

Chart I

Confederates at the Metropolitan Hotel

Forty-third Congress:<sup>a</sup>

Thomas Ashe (N.C.)	-	Confederate Senate
Matt Ransom (N.C.)	-	Major General, C.S.A.
Augustus Merriman (N.C.)	-	Soliciter, 8th Jud. Dist.
John T. Harris (Va.)	-	Va. legislature, 1863- '65
Philip Cook (Ga.)	-	Brigadier General, C.S.A.
Thomas Manson Norwood (Va.)	-	Ga. legislature, 1861 - '62

Forty-fourth Congress:<sup>b</sup>

Matt Ransom		
Thomas Ashe		
Jesse Yeates (N.C.)	-	Major, 31st N.C. Troops
Robert Vance (N.C.)	-	Brig. Gen., 29th N.C. Reg.
William Robbins (N.C.)	-	Officer, C.S.A., in all Army of Northern Virginia battles from Mannassas to Appomatox
John Atkins (Tenn.)	-	Lt. Col., 5th Tenn.
John House (Tenn.)	-	Confederate Provisional Congress, Confed. Army.
John Caldwell (Ala.)	-	Soliciter, 10th Jud. Dist.
Goldsmith Hewitt (Ala.)	-	Confederate Army, wounded at Chickamauga.
Burwell Boykin Lewis (Ala.)	-	2nd Ala. Cav.
Milton Candler (Ga.)	-	Ga. legislature, 1861 - '63.
Henry R. Harris (Ga.)	-	Ga. secession convention.
Benjamin Hill (Ga.)	-	Confederate Senate

Forty-fifth Congress, first session:<sup>c</sup>

Matt Ransom		
Augustus Merriman		
Jesse Yeates		
Joseph Blackburn (Ky.)	-	Confederate Army
John T. Harris		
Auburn Pridemore (Va.)	-	Commander, 64th Va. Cav.
Robert F. Lignon (Ala.)	-	Captain, C.S.A.
Jeremiah Williams (Ala.)	-	Major, 1st Ala. Cav.
Joseph Davis (N.C.)	-	Captain, C.S.A.
Alfred M. Scales (N.C.)	-	Brigadier General, C.S.A.
Alfred Waddell (N.C.)	-	Lt. Col., C.S.A.
Benjamin J. Franklin (Mo.)	-	Captain, C.S.A.

<sup>a</sup>U.S., 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, Congressional Directory (Washington, 1874), pp. 140, 144-147, 12, 46-48, 65, 11.

<sup>b</sup>U.S., 44th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory, 2nd edition (Washington, 1876), pp. 147-152, 48-49, 63, 6, 12-13.

<sup>c</sup>U.S., 45th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory (Washington, 1877), pp. 155-160, 25, 72, 6, 51-52, 40.

and the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. There were no Confederates on either one, the Southerners mainly being Republican "carpet-baggers" like Frank Morey, the Massachusetts-born representative on the Freedmen's Affairs committee. There were also a few black Representatives from the South, like Joseph H. Rainey, the son of former slaves who had bought their freedom before the war began.<sup>6</sup> In the Forty-fourth Congress, Eden became chairman of the Committee on War Claims and on his eleven-man committee three of his seven Democrats had served the Confederacy. John H. Caldwell had been a Solicitor in Alabama, E. John Ellis a Louisiana infantryman, and George C. Cobell the Colonel of the 18th Virginia Infantry.<sup>7</sup> During the Forty-fifth Congress there were still three Confederates - Cobell; Charles M. Shelley, Brigadier General, 5th Alabama Infantry; and John W. Caldwell, Colonel, 9th Kentucky Infantry.<sup>8</sup> This situation becomes ironic when one considers that the purpose of the War Claims Committee was to provide compensation for the loyal Unionists who had suffered financial reverses while aiding the war effort.

Throughout his time in Congress, Eden was loyal to the old principles which he had advocated during his first term in the 1860's and during his unsuccessful campaign for Governor in 1868. In the Forty-third Congress these principles seldom predominated because of the Republican majority, but the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses were dominated by the Democrats and Eden came into the unusual position of being frequently on the winning side and seeing his old views being accepted by the House.

The first issue to arise in the Forty-third Congress was

-95-

over the seating of three members of the Louisiana delegation. Two of the men, Jay Hale Sypher and Lionel A. Sheldon, were northern-born Republicans who had come South after the war and had attached to them the unfortunate epithet of "carpetbaggers." P.B.S. Pinchback, the third man, was a highly educated Negro who had raised a regiment for the Union Army and had been elected Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana immediately after the war. The elections of the three were being contested, but on December 2, 1872, the House voted to allow them to take their seats. The vote was one hundred sixty-seven to ninety-eight, with Eden in the minority. Eventually, Pinchback's election was ruled invalid and the seat awarded to the Democratic contestant.<sup>9</sup>

Pinchback's case was closely related to the issue of Negro rights, which came to focus when Congress considered a civil rights bill to provide equal treatment for blacks and whites in public accommodations and in legal proceedings. Eden was absent when the bill was first discussed, but he was present when the House voted to reconsider a motion which had in effect killed the bill by referring it back to the House Judiciary Committee. Eden opposed reconsideration, but his side was swamped by those who wanted the bill passed. The measure subsequently passed Congress and became law, in spite of the persistent opposition of men like Eden.<sup>10</sup>

In one matter Eden and the Republican majority had opinions in common and that was in dealing with election fraud and coercion. Eden agreed with the House when it voted almost unanimously to provide for a fine of from three hundred to five thousand dollars



and a year in prison for attempting to influence an elector in a federal election.<sup>11</sup> The Republicans aimed this act at the Democrats and the Democrats supported it to use against the Republicans. The election of 1876, which raised severe questions as to the propriety of the election methods in some states, gave both parties a chance to fall back on the zeal aroused by this bill. Some ultimately compromised; Eden, however, remained firm on exposing what he considered to be corruption.

There was a financial panic in 1873 and the Forty-third Congress was forced to come to grips with the issue of the depression and the means for alleviating it. William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, a veteran of the Thirty-eighth Congress, sought a solution by introducing a resolution to forstall an increase in taxation. The government should support itself, he said, through "a temporary loan or loans, bearing a low rate of interest in currency and redeemable in United States notes." This resolution managed to encompass nearly all of the financial causes which Eden espoused - low taxes, easy money, and currency - and he naturally gave his assent to it, but the resolution failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by one hundred fifty-five to eighty-two.<sup>12</sup> One week later Eden voted against a resolution calling on the government to increase circulation of coinage in order to fight the recession.<sup>13</sup>

In a speech given February 14, 1874, Eden defined his own position as that of a moderate between two extremes, the advocates of inflation of the currency on the one hand, the advocates of resumption of specie payment on the other. He

opposed too much inflation because he said that usually it led to reckless speculation. Speaking scornfully of "Eastern capitalists," he charged that they were using one hundred fifteen million dollars of national bank funds for illegal speculation. Eden's solution was the same one that he had offered in 1868 - abolition of the national banks. After this the government should increase the value of the currency and make it legal for all payments. "A sound financial system will immediately take the place of the insolvent banks, whose struggles for perpetuation are now obstructing all avenues of trade."<sup>14</sup>

On March 23, 1874, Eden saw one of his suggestions voted into law when the House voted one hundred and sixty-nine to seventy-seven to put four million dollars in legal tender notes into circulation. An attempt by currency opponents to reduce the number of notes was beaten just as handily, indicating that the House was squarely on the side of the paper-money men.<sup>15</sup>

In March Eden also turned his attention to the issue of interstate commerce. Congress was considering a bill to allow the federal government to create a board of commissioners to establish maximum railroad rates for goods in interstate traffic. Eden saw this as a gross exaggeration of Congress's commerce power under the Constitution. Pointing to the historical development of the constitutional interstate commerce provision, Eden stated that "there was no complaint under the Articles of Confederation that the interstate commerce was in any manner oppressed by excessive charges for transportation." Only the states should have the power to regulate railroad rates. If Congress usurped

-98-

the power of rate regulation, it would only be a matter of time until it also took the right to regulate the prices of the goods shipped. The commissioners who established these rates would have the power to make or break both railroad companies and cities by discriminatory rate schedules. Worse yet, the railroad commissioners who made up the board would soon exercise excessive power in government.

Should this bill become a law, in my opinion, a contest will be inaugurated, the result of which will be either that the Government will in the end own the railroads, or the railroads will own the Government, with the chance of success in favor of the railroads.<sup>16</sup>

While in Washington, Eden kept abreast of his law practice in Illinois. In January, 1874, he wrote his wife to tell her that he would soon be home to attend court.<sup>17</sup> In late April while Congress was still in session, he returned home to defend a man named Standefer in a larceny case. At about this same time, Jonathan Meeker dropped out of the partnership and the firm of Eden, Meeker, and Clark became the firm of Eden and Clark.<sup>18</sup>

Eighteen seventy-four was a quiet election year in Illinois. The Republicans were considerably hampered all across the nation by the revulsion against Grant's administration, the corruption within the President's official family, and the Panic of 1873. On the other hand, the Republicans' opposition was somewhat fragmented. In Illinois, the Liberal Republican party had been replaced by the Anti-Monopoly party, the Greenback party, and

the Independent party. In some areas these were all one; in other areas they were three separate entities. As a sign of how fragmented the political system was, in the race for State Treasurer there were three candidates - Republican, Democrat, and Anti-Monopolist - and the Republican won. In the race for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Democrat ran also on the Anti-Monopoly ticket and carried the election. Of the nineteen Congressmen elected in Illinois, nine were Democrats, two were Greenback men who defeated Republicans, one was a Greenbacker who defeated both a Republican and a Democrat, five were Republicans who defeated Democrats, and two were Republicans who defeated candidates from other parties. John R. Eden defeated Jacob Wilkin by 12,084 votes to 10,789.<sup>19</sup>

The anti-Republican triumph was duplicated in other states and when the second session of the Forty-third Congress convened after the election, the leaders of the Republican majority knew that in the next Congress their power would be gone. They therefore did their utmost to pass as many Republican bills as possible.

In February, 1875, the Civil Rights Bill passed Congress. Eden voted in favor of an amendment to its preamble which stated that

Whereas it is essential to just government, we recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political; and it being the proper object of legislation to enact fundamental principles into law: Therefore....

-100-

But, a few moments later, he voted against putting these principles into practice when he cast a nay vote on the bill itself.<sup>20</sup> The Republicans also pushed through resolutions recognizing the disputed Republican governments of Arkansas and Louisiana. Eden opposed both measures.<sup>21</sup>

The Forty-fourth Congress convened on December 6, 1875. Eden returned to the House fresh and rested after an extended visit to his old home in Rushville, Indiana, in September.<sup>22</sup> With the new Democratic majority in the House, Eden became chairman of the prestigious Committee on War Claims and most of his time was occupied with petitions from citizens who felt they had a claim against the government arising out of the Civil War. While he stressed economy in other fields, he worked hard to secure the claims he felt were just. For example, he was highly critical of the government expenditures for the celebration of the Centennial of the American Revolution. In January, 1876, he introduced an amendment to the Centennial bill asking that the appropriations for the celebration be reduced from a million and a half to one million dollars. The House did not accept the amendment, but Eden persisted. In March Eden was very abrupt with fellow-Democrat Samuel Randall when Randall, as Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations introduced a measure to grant more funds for the Centennial. "I would like to ask," said Eden, "when we are going to get through with making appropriations for this centennial."<sup>23</sup>

He would become indignant, though, when other Congressmen questioned the necessity of some of the payments introduced

-101-

from his committee.

I venture to say that if Congress should refuse to pay these poor people for property taken and used by the Army under laws that authorizes payment therefor at the time it was taken, it will be just as much repudiation as repudiation of the bonds of the Government would be, and unless gentlemen intend that they will pass this bill after it has been examined by two committees of two different Congresses, they will repudiate this debt.<sup>24</sup>

In spite of this business and the group of Congressmen with whom he lived, Eden was still lonely for his wife. In March he wrote her a letter expressing his love for her, adding that "this way of living is very nearly intolerable."<sup>25</sup>

His loneliness was enhanced, no doubt, by the length of the session, which did not end until August 15, 1876. Part of the reason for the extraordinarily long term was the question of the resumption of specie payment. On July 26, Eden made a major speech in this regard, beginning with all his guns firing.

One of the questions which now confronts the people grows out of the attempt to force the resumption of specie payments by coercive legislation at a time when every industrial interest in the country is paralyzed, and every channel of commerce obstructed with bankrupt estates. This business stagnation results from vicious legislation relative to the currency and extravagance and corruption in the administration of public affairs.

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Greenbacks have been discriminated against and consequently degraded and depreciated by acts of Congress. The greenbacks, being thus treated as an outlaw, were yet the foundation of the whole circulation medium of the country and the measure of values as heretofore stated.

Eden was incensed that the Republican administration intended

to retire all the greenbacks in circulation in order to make specie the sole circulating medium. Of course, Eden pointed out, such a move would benefit the capitalists, since it would result in an appreciation of from twenty-five to fifty percent in the value of bonds and mortgages.

The great army of energetic business men who build railroads and factories and open new farms, who exchange the products of the industry and give life and vitality to trade and commerce, are commanded to stand still and wait until that other army "who toil not, neither do they spin," shall gather the golden harvest in the shape of usury, increased threefold by the appreciation in value of their property and the depreciation in other values...<sup>26</sup>

This was a powerful political speech, upholding the principles enunciated in the platform of the 1876 National Democratic Convention in St. Louis. The strong language used reflects both the concern of the nation over the continued financial depression and the desire of the Democrats to fight hard to wrest the Presidency from the Republicans in the November election.

Both the Republican and the Democratic conventions met in June. The Republicans met in Cincinnati on June 14 and nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President with William Wheeler of New York as his running mate, while the Democrats met in St. Louis on the seventeenth and selected the team of Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana.<sup>27</sup> (Hendricks, it will be remembered was one of the anti-war speakers, along with Eden, at the Indiana Democratic Convention in Indianapolis in May, 1863.)

-103-

Eden received word of his own re-nomination for the House in mid-July. The Fifteenth District Democratic Convention met in Marshall on July 12, and two days later William M. Garrard of Shelbyville sent an official letter of notification, including in it praise for Eden's past accomplishments and expressing hope for his continued success, both at the polls and in Congress.<sup>28</sup>

Eden's reply was almost immediate. He sent Garrard a letter of acceptance along with a covering note explaining that the acceptance letter should be published in the newspapers at the first opportunity in order to stave off a "bolt" of the ticket by a faction led by A.J. Hunter, who had recently organized a meeting of anti-Eden Democrats at Paris, Illinois. Eden's handwriting was rather difficult to read, to put it mildly, and he cautioned Garrard to be very careful to have someone at the newspaper offices to "decipher it" when the type was being set for the letter.<sup>29</sup>

In his official reply, Eden stressed the reform nature of the Democratic party, which "has earnestly endeavored to lighten the burdens of the people by reducing expenditures and reforming abuses." The Democratic House, he was proud to say, had reduced expenditures by sixty-four million dollars below the amount estimated and forty million below the expenditures for the preceding fiscal year. The Republican-dominated Senate, however, had opposed all attempts at frugality.

He charged the Republicans with great corruption and pointed out that no attempts at reform had yet to be made under Republican rule. He closed with a prediction of Democratic



victory in the fall.<sup>30</sup>

Eden never considered his own re-election to be in doubt. Back home after the end of the session, he worked strenuously, in mid-October making nine speeches one week and ten the next. In a letter to his daughter Rose, who was attending the Catholic Academy of the Visitation in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., Eden said, "I think I will be elected without any trouble, yet I can't take any risks."<sup>31</sup>

The Democrats did rather poorly in Illinois in 1876. The Republicans again swept all the state offices, and this time they carried eleven of the nineteen House seats. Hayes garnered 277,000 votes to Tilden's 258,000. Eden won easily, in spite of Hunter's defection, 18,714 votes to 13,765 for George Chafee of Shelbyville. Hunter received seventy-two votes.<sup>32</sup>

In the rest of the country, Hayes and Tilden ran very close, with Tilden having a slight edge, 4,287,670 to Hayes' 4,035,924. However, the electoral votes of the states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were in doubt. On December 4, 1876, the House of Representatives passed a resolution authorizing the Speaker to appoint three special committees, one of six members to study the Florida election, one of fifteen members to study the Louisiana election, and one of nine members to study the election of South Carolina. Eden was named to the Committee for South Carolina. The other members of Eden's committee were Democrats Milton Saylor of Ohio (chairman), J.G. Abbott of Massachusetts, Thomas L. Jones of Kentucky, Jonathan Philips of Missouri, and Alexander J. Cochrane of Pennsylvania, and

Republicans Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, Elbridge G. Lapham of New York, and William Lawrence of Ohio. Jones, Philips, Lawrence, and Cochrane had not been re-elected to Congress in November.

At the first meeting of the Sayler committee on December 5, 1876, it was decided that the committee should leave the next day for South Carolina. The first actual meeting of the committee in the South was at Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, on December 8, at which time Eden, Jones, and Lawrence were appointed to obtain rooms for hearing testimony on the alleged election irregularities. On December 13, the committee met for the first time to hear witnesses. Because the number of irregularities charged was greater than had been expected, Eden suggested that the committee divide into subcommittees, and this was agreed to on December 19. Eden, Philips, and Lapham were on one subcommittee; Cochrane, Jones, and Banks on another; Sayler, Abbott, and Lawrence on a third. On December 20, the Cochrane and Philips subcommittees went to Charleston, while the Sayler committee remained in Columbia. Eden's group took testimony until December 30 and then returned to Washington.

It is ironic that the main thrust of Eden's questioning of witnesses was to prove that Negroes were being intimidated to vote the Republican ticket and that the rights of black Democrats were being abused. From Charles H. Chors, a white Democratic election official, Eden solicited the following testimony:

....It was a notorious fact that it would have been dangerous for any colored man to have voted the

-106-

democratic ticket. [ Negro Republicans ] didn't care anything about how the white people voted.

Q. But a negro, they said, had no right to be a democrat?

A. O, a negro couldn't vote the democratic ticket.

P.G. Fitz Simmons, a white Democrat from the Biggins Church voting precinct, testified under Eden's questioning that physical threats had been made against black Democrats by black Republicans and that a company of Negro militia armed with muskets, bayonets, and shotguns were mustered about eighty yards from the polls all election day.

Testimony by blacks was welcomed and Eden introduced several black Democrats as witnesses. Daniel Moultrie, for example, claimed that prior to the election he had been told that any Negro who voted Democratic would be beaten to death. Moultrie said that on election day a number of his friends who had intended to vote Democratic had had their Democratic ballots taken away and were forced to vote Republican. Isaac Grant also testified to personal intimidation.

Q. [ by Eden ] What did these people say to you about voting? \_\_\_ A. I met two young men on the road; they tell me if anybody vote the democratic ticket, they said that I would not get back home safe. So I didn't want nobody to beat me or bruise me up, and so I vote the same as I always vote.

Q. Were these colored boys or white boys? \_\_\_ A. No, sir; they were colored.

Jesse Gaddis:

Q. When you went to the election, what ticket did you intend to vote? \_\_\_ A. I was intended to vote the democratic ticket, sir.

Q. What ticket did you vote? \_\_\_ A. When I went

-107-

up there I vote the republican ticket...because the boys up there said if any man vote the democratic ticket they would not get away from there, and before I would get myself injured, I went and voted the republican ticket.

Eden did not question the Republican witnesses to any great extent, except in the case of James G. Thompson, Republican federal official, who claimed that bands of armed men had come to Columbia prior to the beginning of the committee hearings for the purpose of intimidating prospective witnesses. Eden tried to make Thompson admit that the men could have been in town for the state fair.<sup>33</sup>

The report by the committee and the subcommittee was favorable to the Democratic point of view, which is only logical since the committee was dominated by the Democrats. Philips' and Eden's report charged the Republicans with having formed armed clubs whose

chief opposition seemed to be against the right of any colored man to vote the democratic ticket ....In two or three instances colored men were assaulted and set upon in full view of the polls for casting democratic votes.

However, stressed the report, in all of Charleston and Beaufort Counties, there was not one instance of Democratic threats of violence. In conclusion, Philips and Eden stated that had the election been carried out in a lawful manner, the result would have been majorities for the Tilden and Hendricks electors.<sup>34</sup>

It is a forceful report, even though the attempt to accuse Republicans of having rifle companies like the Ku Klux Klan does not sound quite credible, and one has difficulty

imagining why so many Negroes would be so eager to vote for the party which had opposed every pro-Negro piece of legislation from the abolition of slavery to the most recent civil rights law. Further, when one considers that in 1868 Eden had campaigned for governor on a platform opposed to Negro suffrage, the irony of the situation becomes overwhelming. Yet, Eden was a good politician and he knew that even conservatives cannot remain forever in the past. Negro suffrage was a fact that elected officials were going to have to contend with. It was only logical to take advantage of that fact as much as possible, and the easiest way was to present a party image that had some pro-black aspects. Encouraging Negro Democrats made good sense since once a ballot is in the voting box, it does not matter if the hand that dropped it in was black or white.

Doubtless, too, Eden was sincere in his belief that a Democratic government would be best for all the citizens of the South. On December 10, he wrote to his daughter Rose from Columbia. He disliked the cold, disagreeable weather which he discovered in South Carolina, but he disliked even more the conditions of the citizens. "This is a beautiful city, but the people are greatly oppressed and unhappy."<sup>35</sup>

He was more outspoken when writing to his wife. He wrote to Roxanna as soon as he reached Charleston,

where the democracy in 1860 was rent in twain, and where the first gun was fired in the late civil war, which brought such sore evils upon the country. If the people have previously sinned they have been sorely punished.

-109-

He rarely wrote a political letter to his wife, yet the corruption in the South Carolina government so angered him that he could not help himself. The people

are ruled by a set of knaves and thieves aided by a mass of ignorant barbarians, upheld and sustained in power by federal bayonets. There is no government anywhere among civilized men so perfectly horrible as the government of South Carolina. The Government of Turkey is immeasurably superior to it. Yet the people of the north who pride themselves on their superior civilization permit a brutal and vindictive President to inflict this government on these people, against their will plainly expressed at the ballot box.<sup>36</sup>

This letter shows the strength of Eden's feelings on behalf of the Southern people, and it also shows that his feelings towards the Negroes had not changed. The day after he penned this letter calling them "ignorant barbarians," he was very polite and considerate when questioning Daniel Moultrie, the black Democrat who first testified about the threats from black Republicans. Eden was willing to swallow his animosity if it meant the success of the Democratic party.

Eden's efforts were all in vain. The special Electoral Commission which ultimately decided on the disposition of the disputed electoral votes split along strict party lines. With eight Republicans and seven Democrats on the board, the election went to Hayes. In order to insure that the Commission's report would be accepted by Congress, the Republican leaders worked out a compromise with Southern Democrats; Hayes' election would be approved in return for the withdrawal of all military forces from the former rebel states.

-110-

Eden opposed the compromise and voted against its provisions when they came before the House. On March 2, 1877, he voted in favor of a resolution which began with the preamble "whereas it has been decided that a President of the United States may be inaugurated upon the fraudulent action of the returning board of Louisiana...." Over a third of the House abstained from voting on this resolution, which failed to attract the necessary two-thirds support.<sup>37</sup>

During the same session, Roger Q. Mills of Texas introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its domestic institutions according to its own judgement exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the separation and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State and Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the greatest of crimes.

Mills' resolution created quite a furor on the floor of the House, one scandalized member exclaiming, "That is an absolute denial of all the recent amendments to the Constitution." Nonetheless, one hundred-five members, including Eden, favored it, while eighty-three voted nay. The resolution required a two-thirds majority, however, and did not carry.<sup>38</sup>

Most of Eden's attention after his return from South Carolina was devoted to his Committee on War Claims. In February, 1877, he received an interesting letter regarding one claim from John F. MacKenzie, a Philadelphia attorney, who had been employed by the family of Admiral E.A.F. Larallete to represent its claim against

-111-

the government derived from war-time damages done by the Army to the Larallette property in Memphis, Tennessee. Larallette had served in the Navy for fifty years and had been granted a gold medal by Congress for his heroism at the Battle of Lake Champlain during the War of 1812. MacKenzie hoped that this great loyalty would be appreciated by Eden. Just in case patriotism would not sway the case, MacKenzie included a post script appealing to Eden's familial affection.

It would certainly be a very graceful recognition of pleasant relations existing between the Larallette & Eden families for many years, in the days of American History, if a descendant of Rob't Eden, Governor of the Province of Maryland (which I take you to be) to whom Larallette's father dedicated a Volume printed in Annapolis, Md., in 1769 should be the means of securing to the Larallette family - children of the brave and gallant Admiral Larallette - a just claim from the government which he served so well and faithfully. A biography of Aml. Larallette now in Press mentions Gov. Eden conspicuously in connection with the Father of Aml. Larallette.<sup>39</sup>

The claim was never paid.

In the Forty-fifth Congress, Eden climbed somewhat higher up the party ladder. Retaining his chairmanship of the War Claims Committee, he was also a frequent Speaker pro tempore and often acted as Chairman when the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole. In contrast to his first term during the 1860's, he was now a frequent speaker and participant in debates. During a spirited discussion over a constitutional amendment to limit war claims, Eden paused for a moment in an argument with Philip C. Hayes of Illinois.



-112-

Mr. CONGER rose.

Mr. EDEN. Does the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Conger) desire to make any suggestions?

Mr. CONGER. I was about to take the floor, supposing the gentleman was through.

Mr. EDEN. I always sit down when I get through.

Mr. CONGER. I appeal to the House that that statement is a little wide of the mark. The gentleman does not always sit down. (Laughter)

Mr. EDEN. The gentleman from Michigan so rarely gets upon the floor that it would be hard to tell what his practice is in that regard. (Renewed laughter.)<sup>40</sup>

Eden's main cause during the entire Forty-fifth Congress was for greater economy in Government. He constantly criticized what he considered to be wasteful expenditures and was indefatigable in his efforts to keep government costs down. He proposed that under a new self-government law for the District of Columbia, the Federal Government pay forty percent and the District pay sixty percent of the costs of the government's upkeep, as opposed to the already established fifty-fifty system. He recommended reclaiming lands granted to railroad and telegraph companies when those companies failed to meet all the terms of their contracts, and then turning the land over to the "hard-fisted working people" for homesteads. He took an active role in the prosecution of the House doorkeeper for mishandling accounts.<sup>41</sup> When proponents of a bill appropriating large funds for new public buildings claimed in its defense that it would provide employment for those who worked on the buildings' construction, Eden replied,

I do not understand that this government is an eleemosynary institution to appropriate money out of the Treasury for the relief of labor. It is our duty to make just and equal laws and to give relief to the people who pay the taxes in order that they may be able to give employment to labor.<sup>42</sup>

-113-

He voted on the losing side to prohibit extra pay for officers on special duty or attached to a general's staff, and he continually voted to keep the size of the standing Army at twenty thousand men. His feelings towards the Army stemmed both from a desire for economy and from his traditional distrust of military power.<sup>43</sup>

Other old issues arose again in the Forty-fifth Congress. In December, 1877, Eden voted for a resolution introduced by John Goode of Virginia to relieve all persons of disabilities to hold public office due to their Civil War record. Almost half the House refused to vote at all on this issue, but Eden unashamedly cast his yea vote. The resolution gained ninety-nine yeas and fifty-two nays, but not the necessary two-thirds majority. He later lashed out at those who would hold a man's past against him. In a debate with Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts, Eden attacked President Grant for having appointed Confederate General Longstreet to high office while other Southerners were prohibited from holding any office at all. Butler's claim that Longstreet "had long before repented of the part he took in the rebellion" was greeted with laughter from the Democratic side of the House.

"His repentance consisted," said Eden, "in his having joined your party. If a confederate general joins your party he is fit for office; but so long as he remains a democrat he is unfit."<sup>44</sup>

Eden's own war record was discussed during a debate with Omar Conger of Michigan over a payment of a war claim. Conger, who had been in the Thirty-eighth Congress, went on at length about the inadvisability of paying the claim, arguing that military necessity requires citizens to give up something for their country.

-114-

As a former military man, said Conger, Eden should understand that it sometimes must cost a citizen to be loyal. Apparently Eden recognized the remark as sarcasm aimed at shaming him into silence and he diplomatically replied, "I served in the same regiment in the war with the gentleman from Michigan." The House broke into laughter, which continued as Conger jestingly added,

I will testify that the gentleman served well. He, sir, signed the agreement with those gallant men who plighted their honor to belong to the corps in which they enlisted, with the proviso that it never leave their native village....He kept the obligation.<sup>45</sup>

Eden decided to retire at the end of his third consecutive term. He had found the sessions often too strenuous for him and he longed for a less rigorous life. In one letter home he told his wife that the previous session had lasted until two a.m., and the one before that until four a.m. He had another session starting the day of his letter at ten a.m., not to end until noon the next day.<sup>46</sup> In other letters he said he found Washington dull. For amusement he would occasionally tour the grounds of the Smithsonian Institution, but even that soon grew tedious.<sup>47</sup> Another factor in his retirement was the death of his son Hartwell in March, 1878. Hartwell had never been healthy and Eden's letters were frequently concerned with the boy's hearing and his sight. Hartwell had come to Washington to boarding school a few years before he died and Eden had been with him often.<sup>48</sup>

Congress adjourned on March 3, 1879, and Eden returned to Sullivan to rejoin his family and to devote his full attention to the practice of law.

Chapter VI

Retirement

For the thirty years after the end of his fourth Congressional term, Eden devoted himself almost exclusively to the practice of law. In April, 1879, he was in the process of building a house on a farm which he had bought near Sullivan. He talked of moving in soon, but he and his family did not make the move until a year later, in 1880.<sup>1</sup> His life was largely quiet and unexciting until the election of 1884, when the new Seventeenth Congressional District returned him to Washington for his last term in the United States Congress.

This term was much less eventful than his previous one. Already succumbing to deafness, he was not a major part of the Congressional business. He had lost his seniority and was no longer a prominent leader in committee meetings or on the floor of the House. On February 1, 1886, Eden turned sixty years old, an age he appears to have felt more than one might expect. In a letter to his daughter Rose, he said that he tried to take good care of himself, although he usually ended up working too hard. He went to bed early every night and ate but twice a day, "and sparingly at that. My breakfast consists of fried oysters, soft boiled eggs, and sometimes a piece of sausage."<sup>2</sup>

He made few major speeches during this term; two important ones were on silver coinage and on the anti-polygamy laws. Both times he remained true to his own brand of politics. On the silver issue, he announced on the side of bi-metallism, the use of both silver and gold as a circulating medium. To suspend the coinage of silver would be step backward, away from laws beneficial to the

-116-

people. Yet, to use only silver as a circulating medium would be disastrous, since it would result in the export of gold to foreign mints. Gold and silver must be dealt with equally, discriminating against neither. To favor silver over gold would enrich "the millionaire mine owners" and holders of silver bullion at the expense of the people.<sup>3</sup>

In the speech on the anti-polygamy laws, Eden protested against the arbitrary power which the law gave to U.S. marshals sent to enforce it. The marshals were given power to jail persons for failure to appear for trial under the law. For Eden, this was tantamount to giving the arresting officer the power of judge and jury and he argued against this irregularity as vigorously as he had argued against Lincoln's arbitrary arrests and imprisonments. He reminded the House that the power given to these marshals in the territory of Utah could easily be used as a precedent for arbitrary arrests elsewhere in the country.<sup>4</sup>

Eden worked behind the scenes more than on the floor of the House. He helped draft and worked for the acceptance of the law which established that Cabinet members should be in the line of succession to the Presidency. In the same manner, he helped frame a law to provide for a better system of counting the electoral vote.<sup>5</sup>

As soon as he could get away, Eden returned home from his last Congress to get back into his legal work. In April, 1885, he had been practicing alone, although he was still close to Jonathan Meeker, who had been elected judge and hence had to leave the partnership. In 1887, Eden entered a partnership with J.B. Titus; two years later he was practicing alone again.<sup>6</sup>

-117-

Eden's daughter Rose had married Ivory J. Martin, the publisher of the Sullivan Progress, on June 30, 1886,<sup>7</sup> and during the 1890's Eden took Ivory's brother Joël into his law firm as a partner. Now extremely deaf, Eden could no longer practice before the bar, but instead spent his time preparing legal briefs for the cases pleaded by Martin and by Eden's son Walter.<sup>8</sup>

Reading consumed much of his time. He was devoted to studying law, politics, and history; he may never have read a novel in his life and had no knowledge at all of poetry and drama.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps because of his deafness, he presented a formidable, almost aloof personality, yet in contrast, he was always very compassionate when people came to him for help and advice.<sup>10</sup> Although one of his granddaughters remembers being unable to talk to him because he was too deaf to hear her, another, older granddaughter remembered having to memorize the text of Sunday church sermons in order to be prepared for the inevitable Sunday afternoon event of having to quote it for him.<sup>11</sup> Many commented on his old-fashioned manner of dress and speech. He seems not to have been in the public eye too much in his later years, although he continued going to his law office up until the day before his death.

The end finally came on Wednesday, June 9, 1909. He arose early as was his wont and took a walk around the yard before breakfast. He came back into the house, fixed his usual early-morning glass of lemonade, and went into the parlor to drink it before eating. When his daughter Emma came to call him for breakfast, he was dead, the half-empty glass of lemonade beside him on the arm of his easy chair. He was eighty-three.<sup>12</sup>

-118-

Eden had practiced law for fifty-six years in central Illinois and during that time defended in all but two homicide cases in the Decatur, Shelbyville, Charleston, Tuscola, and Champaign area. In one of the two exceptions he was chief counsel for the prosecution and in the other his law partner, Cassius Clark, was State's Attorney. He never lost a client to the hangman, although some were sentenced to prison.<sup>13</sup> According to the Champaign Daily Gazette,

He was self-contained and rugged to [a] marked degree and fitted admirably in the ranks of the lawyers and politicians in central Illinois forty to fifty years ago....In his service in Congress he was a fighter for his own and his party's views and few Illinois representatives of the time were so widely known.<sup>14</sup>

He would probably preferred to be remembered as a man belonging to that group whose welfare was so often mentioned in his speeches and writings - the people.

Chapter VII

Conclusions

John R. Eden believed in the principles of conservatism and all his life he adhered to those principles as he saw them. The war-time slogan of the Democratic party - "The Union as it was and the Constitution as it is" - amounted to a way of life for him from the time of his first entry into politics in the early 1850's until his death half a century later. His reading of the Constitution compelled him to oppose Lincoln's policy of coercing the Southern states back into the Union. Once those states had returned, his principles refused to allow him to stand by and see sovereign states punished by an illegal reconstruction plan. Hand in hand with this was a concern for individual civil liberties. At times his concern could be translated into the highest of ideals, as when he and a handful of men in the House opposed the repression of Benjamin Harris' right of free speech. At other times, it could be translated into brutal and calloused goals, as when he supported the right of a slave-owner to keep his personal property over the right of a human being to be free. A typical Midwesterner in some respects, he had the traditional hatred and distrust of the Negro, but in the end he had to hide the overt manifestation of this aversion in order to keep pace with the political reality of Negro suffrage.

As a self-styled man of the people, Eden did everything in his power to aid the people, through low taxes and decentralized government. During the 1850's and '60's he had supported the railroad companies in order to benefit the people. During the



-120-

1870's he realized that the railroads had become too powerful. He expressed fear that they might soon take over the government, and finally he voted to re-claim some of the land granted the railroads in order to return it to the people for homesteads.

Politically reckless during the 1860's when he affiliated himself with "the most radical Democrats" in Congress and when he entered a hopeless race for the Governorship, during the 1870's he became more staid and quiet in his manner, though no less firmly committed to his ideals. His effectiveness and, hence, his service to the people increased immeasurably.

He was an honest man who did his duty to the best of his ability. The fact that he was frequently on the wrong side of progress should not detract from his sincerity and good intentions. His prime objective in life was to be a faithful servant to the people and it is safe to say that he fulfilled that objective. Blunt and plain-spoken, whether in threatening to make "bull frog bait" out of Abraham Lincoln or in protesting the power of the federal marshals in Utah, Eden was the Illinois Democratic politician personified. His significance lies both in what he was and in what he represented.

Notes

Chapter I

- <sup>1</sup>Portrait and Biographical Record of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois (Chicago, 1891), pp. 191, 192, 249.
- <sup>2</sup>John M. Palmer, ed., The Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. II (Chicago, 1899), pp. 972, 973.
- <sup>3</sup>Portrait and Biographical Record, pp. 191, 192, 249.
- <sup>4</sup>Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 186, 187.
- <sup>5</sup>Ivory J. Martin, "A Commonplace Book" (unpublished memoirs, written about 1948, in the possession of the author), pp. 37, 38.
- <sup>6</sup>Decatur Chronicle, February 14, 1856.
- <sup>7</sup>Martin, "A Commonplace Book," pp. 33, 34.
- <sup>8</sup>Decatur Chronicle, June 19, 1856.
- <sup>9</sup>History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, p. 187.
- <sup>10</sup>Decatur Chronicle, May 14, 1857.
- <sup>11</sup>Sullivan Express, September 24, 1857.
- <sup>12</sup>Ibid., October 8, 1857; November 19, 1857.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., October 29, 1857; November 5, 1857; December 3, 1857; December 10, 1857; January 11, 1858.
- <sup>14</sup>Arthur Charles Cole, The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, Vol. III of The Centennial History of Illinois, ed. by Clarence Walworth Alvord (Springfield, Illinois, 1919), p. 154.
- <sup>15</sup>Sullivan Express, July 23, 1858.
- <sup>16</sup>Ivory J. Martin, untitled manuscript fragment, apparently a rough draft for a newspaper story, no date, in the possession of the author; Sullivan Express, October 1, 1856.
- <sup>17</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, September 23, 1858.
- <sup>18</sup>Sullivan Express, October 14, 1858.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., November 3, 1859; November 10, 1859.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., January 18, 1860; February 9, 1860; May 31, 1860; July 19, 1860.

<sup>21</sup>Sullivan Express, December 8, 1859; December 15, 1859; June 21, 1860.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., December 29, 1859; June 5, 1860; March 15, 1860; May 17, 1860; August 9, 1860.

<sup>23</sup>D.W. Lusk, Politics and Politicians of Illinois (Springfield, 1887), pp. 101-104, 112.

## Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Arthur Charles Cole, The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, Vol. III of The Centennial History of Illinois, ed. by Clarence Walworth Alvord (Springfield, Illinois, 1919), pp. 273-289.

<sup>2</sup>V. Jacque Voegeli, Free but Not Equal; The Midwest and the Negro During the Civil War (Chicago, 1967), pp. 9, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Robert W. Johannsen, Democracy on Trial, 1845-1877, Vol. IV of A Documentary History of American Life, ed. David Donald (New York, 1966), p. 266.

<sup>4</sup>Voegeli, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Cole, pp. 60, 132, 178, 200.

<sup>6</sup>Ivory J. Martin, "A Commonplace Book" (unpublished memoirs, written about 1948, in the possession of the author), p. 26.

<sup>7</sup>Charles H. Coleman and Paul H. Spence, "The Charleston Riot, March 28, 1864," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXIII (1940), pp. 10-13; Martin, "A Commonplace Book," pp. 16-19.

<sup>8</sup>J.M. Hofer, "Development of the Peace Movement in Illinois During the Civil War," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXIV (1931), p. 116.

<sup>9</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, September 10, 1862.

<sup>10</sup>Cole, p. 296.

<sup>11</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, September 11, 1862.

<sup>12</sup>D.W. Lusk, Politics and Politicians of Illinois (Springfield, 1887), p. 334.

<sup>13</sup>Harris L. Dante, "Western Attitudes and Reconstruction Politics in Illinois, 1865-1872," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XLIX (1956), p. 150.

<sup>14</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, September 5, 1862.

- <sup>15</sup>Champaign Union, October 23, 1862.
- <sup>16</sup>Lusk, pp. 145-147.
- <sup>17</sup>Peoria Morning Mail, May 24, 1863.
- <sup>18</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, May 21, 1863;  
Springfield Illinois State Register, May 23, 1863.
- <sup>19</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, May 23, 1863; Peoria  
Morning Mail, May 24, 1863.
- <sup>20</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, May 21, 1863.
- <sup>21</sup>Champaign Patriot, May 21, 1863.
- <sup>22</sup>Peoria Morning Mail, June 18, 1863; Hofer, p. 121.
- <sup>23</sup>Peoria Morning Mail, June 18, 1863.
- <sup>24</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, June 18, 1863.
- <sup>25</sup>Peoria Morning Mail, June 18, 1863.
- <sup>26</sup>John Moses, Illinois, Historical and Statistical, Vol. II  
(Chicago, 1892), p. 687.
- <sup>27</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 38 Congress 1 session  
(Washington, 1864), pp. 6, 19.
- <sup>28</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 13, 1863, to  
Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge  
Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>29</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1863, to  
J.B. Titus, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert  
Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>30</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1864, to  
Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the  
author.
- <sup>31</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 1 sess., p. 46.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 878, 879.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 859, 860.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 859.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 431, 851.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

- <sup>37</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 110, 2057.
- <sup>38</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, April 1, 1864.
- <sup>39</sup>Coleman, p. 21; John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., April 13, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, typewritten copy made by Philip H. Martin, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>40</sup>John R. Eden, Clark County, Illinois, March 29, 1864, to Jonathan Meeker, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>41</sup>Coleman, p. 29.
- <sup>42</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, April 2, 1864.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., April 9, 1864.
- <sup>44</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>45</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 3148, 3355.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 45.
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 879.
- <sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 3472.
- <sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 1510, 1515-1519.
- <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 1634.
- <sup>51</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>52</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., May 5, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>53</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., March 6, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>54</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 2, 1864, and February 8, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>55</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 23, 75.
- <sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 2000, 2001, 2909.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 2252.

- <sup>58</sup> Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 659, 660.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 2612, 2995.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 2911, 895.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 863.
- <sup>62</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>63</sup> Voegeli, p. 27.
- <sup>64</sup> Congressional Globe, 38 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2032, 2359.
- <sup>65</sup> Springfield Illinois State Journal, February 29, 1864.
- <sup>66</sup> Congressional Globe, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 863.
- <sup>67</sup> Springfield Illinois State Journal, March 25, 1864.
- <sup>68</sup> Congressional Globe, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2434.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 3532.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 859.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 1695, 3313.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 3312, 108.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 2891, 2612, 2297.
- <sup>74</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., May 20, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>75</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., February 8, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>76</sup> Lusk, pp. 162-163.
- <sup>77</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1864, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>78</sup> Lusk, pp. 164-166.

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe, 38 Congress 2 session (Washington, 1865), pp. 1034, 1035.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1081.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 1081, 1084.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 1115-1117.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 1155-1157.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 1159-1161.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 1026, 1332.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 531.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 1402.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 1418.

<sup>11</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1863, to J.B. Titus, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>12</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 2 sess., p. 416.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 501.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 909, 1114.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 974.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 316, 1411-1412.

<sup>17</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 24, 1865, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.

<sup>18</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 970-971, 1002.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp 32, 66, 67.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1072.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 832, 873, 1162.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 3, 905.

<sup>23</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 15, 1864, to Jonathan Meeker, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>24</sup>Congressional Globe, 38 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 36, 305, 1416.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 405-406.

<sup>26</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 24, 1865, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.

<sup>27</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1866, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

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<sup>1</sup>John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War (Chicago, 1961), p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Harris L. Dante, "Western Attitudes and Reconstruction Politics in Illinois, 1865-1872," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XLIX (1956), pp. 152-156.

<sup>3</sup>Champaign Illinois Democrat, May 15, 1868.

<sup>4</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, April 10, 1868.

<sup>5</sup>Chicago Tribune, April 15, 1868.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., April 16, 1868.

<sup>7</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, April 17, 1868.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Chicago Tribune, April 17, 1868.

<sup>10</sup>Champaign Gazette and Union, April 22, 1868.

<sup>11</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, April 16, 1868.

<sup>12</sup>Champaign Illinois Democrat, April 24, 1868.

<sup>13</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, May 12, 1868.

<sup>14</sup>Champaign Illinois Democrat, May 1, 1868.

<sup>15</sup>Springfield Illinois State Register, May 5, 1868.

<sup>16</sup>Springfield Illinois State Journal, May 5, 1868.



- 17 Champaign Illinois Democrat, May 29, 1868.
- 18 Springfield Illinois State Journal, April 17, 1868.
- 19 Ibid., June 22, 1868.
- 20 Springfield Illinois State Register, July 13, 14, 1868.
- 21 Ibid., June 30, 1868.
- 22 Champaign Gazette and Union, June 3, 1868.
- 23 Peoria Daily National Democrat, July 8, 1868.
- 24 Springfield Illinois State Register, July 23, 1868.
- 25 Ibid., July 15, 18, 21, 1868.
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- 27 Springfield Illinois State Journal, July 29, 1868.
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- 29 Dante, p. 158.
- 30 Springfield Illinois State Journal, July 27, 1868.
- 31 Ibid., August 11, 1868.
- 32 Springfield Illinois State Register, August 12, 1868.
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- 36 Mark Mayo Boatner, The Civil War Dictionary (New York, 1962),  
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- 37 Peoria Daily National Democrat, September 2, 1868.
- 38 Springfield Illinois State Journal, September 7, 1868.
- 39 Ottawa Republican, September 10, 1868.
- 40 Peoria Daily National Democrat, September 24, 1868.
- 41 Ibid., October 2, 1868.
- 42 Ibid., October 11, 1868; October 14, 1868.
- 43 Springfield Illinois State Journal, October 17, 1868.

- <sup>44</sup> Springfield Illinois State Journal, October 22, 1868.
- <sup>45</sup> Champaign Gazette and Union, April 22, 1868.
- <sup>46</sup> Peoria Daily National Democrat, April 21, 1868.
- <sup>47</sup> D.W. Lusk, Politics and Politicians of Illinois (Springfield, 1887), pp. 164-166, 199.
- <sup>48</sup> Arthur Charles Cole, The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, Vol. III of The Centennial History of Illinois, ed. by Clarence Walworth Alvord (Springfield, 1919), pp. 331, 200-201, 414-415.
- <sup>49</sup> Lusk, p. 334.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 352.
- <sup>51</sup> Dante, p. 152.
- <sup>52</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1866, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois; Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 187.

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- <sup>1</sup> Sullivan Progress, May 2, 1872.
- <sup>2</sup> Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 187.
- <sup>3</sup> D.W. Lusk, Politics and Politicians of Illinois (Springfield, 1887), pp. 226-234; U.S., 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory (Washington, 1874), pp. 13-16.
- <sup>4</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 6, 1876, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>5</sup> U.S., 45th Congress, 2nd Session, Congressional Directory (Washington, 1878), pp. 156-158, 40, 155, 68.
- <sup>6</sup> U.S., 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory (Washington, 1874), pp. 23, 25, 58, 75, 78.
- <sup>7</sup> U.S., 44th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory, 2nd edition (Washington, 1876), pp. 78, 6, 25, 67.
- <sup>8</sup> U.S., 45th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Directory, (Washington, 1877), pp. 81, 6, 25.
- <sup>9</sup> U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 43 Congress 1 session (Washington, 1874), pp. 27, 28.

- <sup>10</sup> Congressional Record, 43 Cong. 1 sess., p. 936.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 1897.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 590-591.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 767.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 1506.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 2376-2377.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 2157-2160.
- <sup>17</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., January 19, 1874, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>18</sup> Sullivan Progress, April 30, 1874.
- <sup>19</sup> Lusk, pp. 242-244.
- <sup>20</sup> U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 43 Congress 2 session (Washington, 1875), pp. 1010-1111.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 1986-1987, 2116-2118.
- <sup>22</sup> John R. Eden, Rushville, Indiana, September 13, 1875, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>23</sup> U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 44 Congress 1 session (Washington, 1876), pp. 632, 2036.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 2135.
- <sup>25</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., March 28, 1876, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.
- <sup>26</sup> Congressional Record, 44 Cong. 1 sess., Appendix, pp. 203-204.
- <sup>27</sup> Lusk, p. 252.
- <sup>28</sup> William M. Garrard, Shelbyville, Illinois, July 14, 1876, to John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., in the possession of the author.
- <sup>29</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., July 22, 1876, personal letter to William M. Garrard, Shelbyville, Illinois, in the possession of the author.
- <sup>30</sup> John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., July 22, 1876, public letter to William M. Garrard, Shelbyville, Illinois, in the possession of the author.

<sup>31</sup>John R. Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, October 15, 1876, to Rose Eden, Washington, D.C., in the possession of the author.

<sup>32</sup>Lusk, pp. 252-256.

<sup>33</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Select Committee on the Recent Election in South Carolina, Hearings. (44th Cong., 2nd sess., House Misc. Doc. 31, part 3.) (Washington, 1877), pp. 21, 29-30, 54-55, 96-97, 129-130.

<sup>34</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Select Committee on the Recent Elections in South Carolina, Report. (44th Cong., 2nd sess., House Report 175, part 1.) (Washington, 1877), pp. 47-57.

<sup>35</sup>John R. Eden, Columbia, South Carolina, December 10, 1876, to Rose Eden, Washington, D.C., in the possession of the author.

<sup>36</sup>John R. Eden, Charleston, South Carolina, December 20, 1876, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.

<sup>37</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 44 Congress 2 session (Washington, 1877), p. 2121.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>39</sup>John F. MacKenzie, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 17, 1877, to John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., in the possession of the author.

<sup>40</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 45 Congress 2 session (Washington, 1879), p. 1728.

<sup>41</sup>Congressional Record, 45 Cong. 2 sess., p. 3246; 45 Cong. 3 sess., p. 683; 45 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 2249-2251.

<sup>42</sup>Congressional Record, 45 Cong. 2 sess., p. 4392.

<sup>43</sup>Congressional Record, 45 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 347, 514.

<sup>44</sup>Congressional Record, 45 Cong. 1 sess., p. 809; 45 Cong. 2 sess., p. 2344.

<sup>45</sup>Congressional Record, 45 Cong. 3 sess., p. 1729.

<sup>46</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., March 3, 1877, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>47</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., November 5, 1877, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>48</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., November 12, 1877, to Roxanna Meeker Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

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<sup>1</sup>Sullivan Progress, April 17, 1879; April 15, 1880.

<sup>2</sup>John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., December 2, 1886, to Rose Eden Martin, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of the author.

<sup>3</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 49 Congress 1 session (Washington, 1886), Appendix, pp. 86-87.

<sup>4</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Record, 49 Congress 2 session (Washington, 1887), p. 1881.

<sup>5</sup>John M. Palmer, ed., The Bench and Bar of Illinois, Vol. II (Chicago, 1899), p. 973.

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<sup>7</sup>Ivory J. Martin's and Rose Eden Martin's wedding announcement, among the Ivory J. Martin papers, in the possession of the author.

<sup>8</sup>Springfield Illinois Daily Journal, June 10, 1909, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Olive Martin, Decatur, Illinois, May 25, 1959, to Philip H. Martin, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>10</sup>Mabel Martin George, Forks, Washington, March 7, 1970, letter to the author.

<sup>11</sup>Olive Martin, Decatur, Illinois, May 25, 1959, to Philip H. Martin, Sullivan, Illinois, in the possession of Judge Robert Martin, Sullivan, Illinois.

<sup>12</sup>Sullivan Progress, June 11, 1909.

<sup>13</sup>Ivory J. Martin, MS note among his private papers, in the possession of the author.

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-134-

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# XXIII

EXCERPTS FROM MEMOIRS OF A “BOY MAYOR”

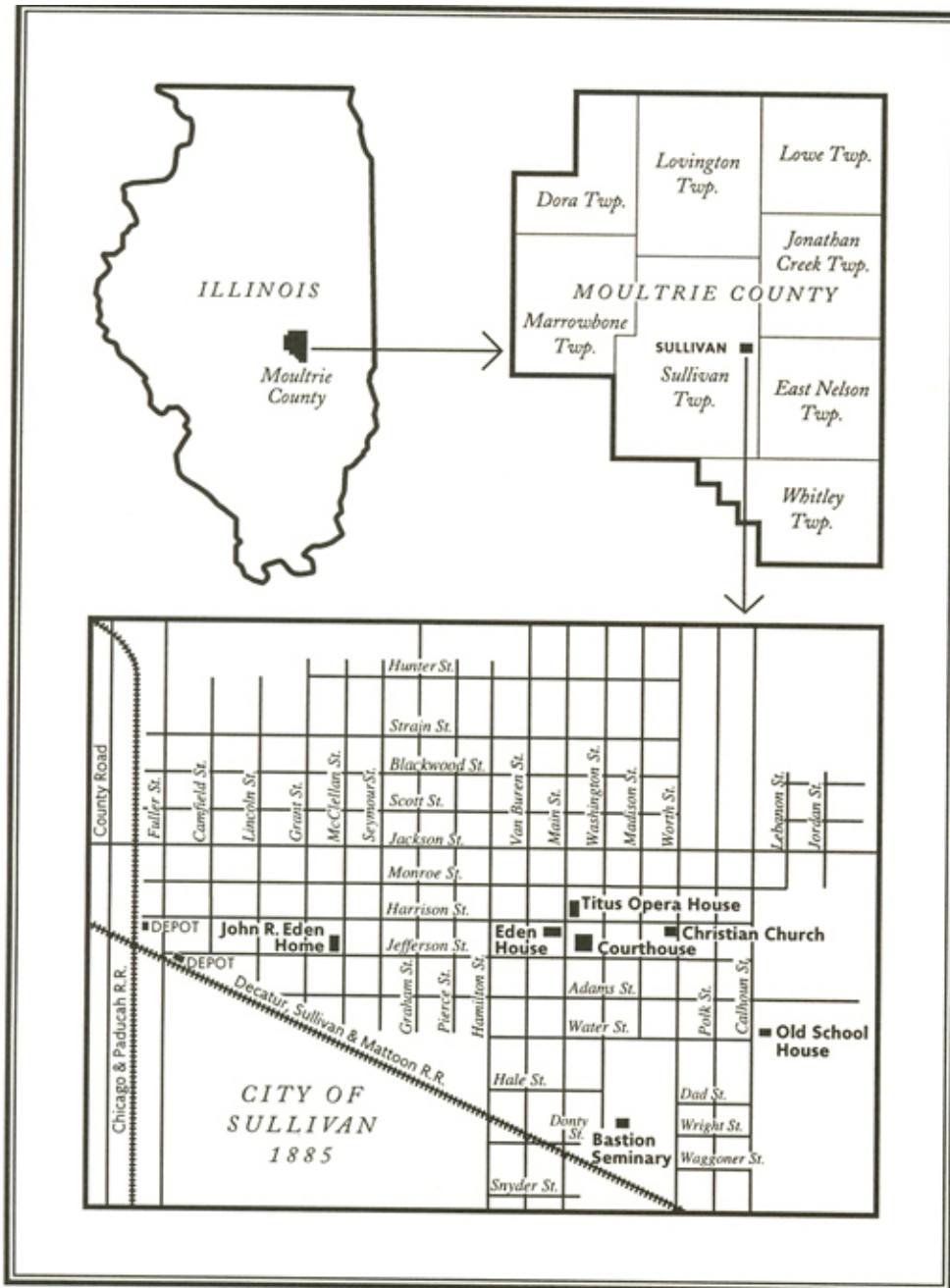
*By Walter Eden, son of John R. Eden*

## MEMOIRS OF A “BOY MAYOR”

*Recollections of Sullivan, Illinois  
from the Civil War to 1909*

==  
WALTER EDEN

R. EDEN MARTIN, *Editor*



## *Introduction*

Walter Eden, once referred to by his contemporaries as the “Boy Mayor” of Sullivan, Illinois, was born on July 14, 1862. Sullivan was then, as it is now, a small town in the east-central part of the state.

Walt’s father was John Rice Eden, a lawyer and Democratic politician who served five terms in Congress. He was first elected in the fall of 1862, the year Walt was born, and took his seat in the thirty-eighth Congress in March 1863. Walt’s mother was Roxana Meeker, the daughter of a local blacksmith and farmer, Ambrose Meeker. Roxana had married the young lawyer, John R. Eden, in August 1856. The Edens had five children who survived to adulthood: Emma, Rose,\* Walter, Belle and Blanche.

In 1862 Sullivan was a growing agricultural community and the county seat of Moultrie County, which had been created as a separate county in 1843, less than two decades earlier. The town of Sullivan had been established in 1845 as the new administrative head of the county. Much of the business of the town in 1862 was conducted in wood frame buildings surrounding the courthouse square, which formed the center of the small business district. The first courthouse was home to the County Court—the county judge and two associate judges who acted as a county board—as well as the other county officers.

The county judge when Walt was born in 1862 was Joseph Edgar Eden, John R.’s brother. Joseph Edgar had been the first

\*The romance of Walt’s sister, Rose, and a young Sullivan newspaperman, I. J. Martin, is the subject of a small book containing their courtship correspondence. *Ivory and Rose, A Year’s Courtship*, edited by R. E. Martin (Chicago, 1997).

of the two brothers to arrive in Sullivan, in 1853. He first opened a general store, and later became proprietor of the Eden House, the town's hotel. He was also a farmer and stockraiser.

John R. Eden had moved to Sullivan from Shelbyville, Illinois, later in the same year, 1853.\* Having completed his legal studies and been admitted to the bar in the previous year, John R. was seeking a place to commence his law practice, which would, of course, not be confined to the court house in Sullivan. Like other central Illinois lawyers of the era, John R. would ride the circuit from county seat to county seat, following the circuit judge as he held court in different locations. In 1856 John R. was elected States Attorney for the Seventh Judicial circuit, comprising nine central Illinois counties; and while serving in that capacity, he built his own private law practice and expanded his network of political connections. In 1859 he became political editor of the first newspaper published in Moultrie county—the *Sullivan Express*, owned by J. H. Waggoner, a strong supporter of the Stephen Douglas wing of the Democratic party.

Walt thus grew from childhood to manhood during the post-Civil War years as the son of a reasonably successful lawyer and rising politician. He remembered the Civil War, or at least the martial band music he later associated with the war. And he also vaguely remembered adult discussions of a violent death, which

\*John R. Eden was born in Bath County, Kentucky, February 1, 1826. His father, John Paul Eden, son of Jeremiah Eden, was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1796; and his mother, Catherine Cann, was born in Kentucky in 1800, the daughter of Joseph Cann. John R. and his family moved from Kentucky to a farm near Rushville in Rush County, Indiana, in 1831, when John was 5 years old. John R. worked on the family farm and attended school in a log cabin school house. At the age of 18 he started to teach school, and continued to do so for seven years while also working on the farm and studying law. In 1852 John R.'s widowed mother and her four children—Joseph E., John R., Nancy Jane and Julina all moved from Indiana to Shelbyville, Illinois. Shortly after, John R. was admitted to the bar. In 1853 he followed his brother Joseph E. in relocating to Sullivan. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois* (Chicago, 1891), pp. 191–2.

he later believed to have been that of President Lincoln. At the time of Lincoln's assassination, Walt was a little less than three years old.

The outline of Walt's life and professional career can be briefly sketched. He spent his childhood years, first, living in the family home in Sullivan, a half block south of the courthouse square, and later, from 1869 until 1870, on the family farm two miles southwest of the town. His primary grade schooling was initially in the first Sullivan schoolhouse, a two-story brick "ramshackle" structure located southeast of the town square near the public cemetery. Later he studied at the Bastion Seminary in Sullivan, a private school for the older children owned and operated by N. S. Bastion, a preacher in the local Christian Church, and his wife.

In 1870, when Walt was eight years old, his father moved the family to the nearby and somewhat larger town of Decatur, where he hoped his law practice would be more successful. The family remained in Decatur for only two years, at the end of which John R. decided to move back to Sullivan, apparently because he believed his political prospects would be improved. Having served one term in Congress, from 1863-65, and having been the Democratic Party's unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Illinois in 1868, John R.'s appetite for political office had been sharply whetted.

So in 1872, at age ten, Walt and his family moved back to Sullivan and into a new large frame home on McClellan Street, six blocks west of the courthouse square. John R.'s political instincts proved to be sound for he was re-elected to Congress in the fall of 1872, and was later re-elected in 1874, in 1876, and for the last time in 1884.

Starting in 1873, during the period when his father was in Congress, Walt Eden attended boarding school at Georgetown College, a few miles west of Washington City. According to a family tradition, Walt did not want to go to boarding school,

and asked permission to remain in Sullivan where he would live with his uncle Edgar. But Walt's father persisted; and, indeed, by 1874, Walt's three sisters—Emma, Rose, and Belle—were enrolled in a convent school in Georgetown, while Walt and his younger brother Hartwell were at the nearby boy's school. Walt soon adjusted to the new situation and became a good student.

In 1875 he commenced studies at the University of Georgetown which he continued until 1879, receiving approximately the equivalent of a modern high school education. In his memoirs, Walt wrote fondly—but briefly—about this period of his life, recalling his visits to the Navy Yard and the uniformed midshipmen, and also the Smithsonian Institution and the Capitol, where he was impressed by the painted pictures of historic events on the walls of the Capitol building.

In 1879 Walt returned to Sullivan, and within a year—at the age of 18—he went to work for the Circuit Clerk as a deputy. It happened that the Clerk at that time, Samuel W. Wright, also maintained an abstract business, preparing abstracts of land titles; and Walt worked in his spare time in the title business where he acquired skills he would use throughout the rest of his life.

In 1884 Walt married May Mulvey, a young lady from Cincinnati who not long before had moved to Sullivan and worked as a milliner—a hat maker—in a local dry goods store. When the newlyweds returned to Sullivan following their wedding in Cincinnati, they brought with them a six-year girl—May's orphaned niece—whom May had promised to care for. The next year, Walt and May had their first child, Martha, who was followed a year later by a son, John Rice II.

In 1886, at the age of 24, Walt was elected to a four-year term as County Treasurer. His career as a local Democratic party politician seemed well launched. More remarkably, in 1887 Walt, at the age of 25, was elected to a two-year term as Mayor of Sullivan—making him, according to local speculation, the youngest mayor in the state. *Notes on the History of Moultrie County and*

*Sullivan, Illinois*, Martin I.J. (Sullivan, 1990), at p. 51. He was nominated by the local “Citizens” caucus and elected on the “Citizens” ticket. The “Citizens” caucus had declared itself in favor of licensing saloons, which led the local temperance forces to nominate their own candidate. Walt defeated George Brosam (who was later elected during the 1890’s to a term of his own). In 1889 Walt was re-elected to a second term, defeating Frank Craig.

During Walt Eden’s two terms as Mayor, progress continued in bringing modern conveniences to the citizens of Sullivan. Prior to his term, during the administration of Mayor William H. Shinn, streets had been graded, wooden sidewalks built and repaired, and a system of gasoline street lamps initiated. The “boy Mayor” continued the process of improvement by commencing the City water system. During his two terms, a well was dug, a windmill was erected to operate a pump, and a large wooden tank was built at the corner of Jefferson and Madison streets to hold the water. Water mains were laid along the center of the streets around the public square.\*

While serving as Mayor, Walt studied law in his father’s law office—which at that time was the accepted way to prepare and qualify for taking the bar exam. He was admitted to the bar in 1889, at the age of 27, and did not stand for re-election two years later when his second term as Mayor expired.

By 1891, at the age of 29, Walt and his wife May had three children—Martha, John Rice II, and Walter. He was well known as a former local public official. He was an experienced title abstracter, and he was launched on a legal career with his father, a well-respected lawyer and political figure. Yet Walt inexplicably walked away from it all and moved to Fresno, California, where

\*The information which appears here about Walt’s two elections as Mayor and about his two terms is taken from a “common place book” about Moultrie County history, written by Ivory J. Martin, Walt’s brother-in-law, in 1927. This manuscript is in the possession of the editor.



he worked for the Fresno City Abstract Company for three years, until 1894. Possibly he had been persuaded to move to Fresno by a cousin of his, W. W. Eden, who was later manager of the Fresno abstract office. Probably he believed that his ability to support his family would be greater in Fresno. Whatever the cause of his relocation, it was simply the first of several such moves which regularly punctuated his subsequent business and professional career.

In 1894, dissatisfied with the abstract business in Fresno, Walt Eden returned to Sullivan, where he resumed his law practice with his father. He continued in law practice for the next seven years. Many of his recollections of people and events in Sullivan, and of his political and legal activities, date from this period.

In 1900 Walt moved to Springfield, Illinois, and went into the abstract business, and from that time on he spent most of his time away from Sullivan. Consequently, his memoirs for the subsequent period of his life will be of less interest to those whose primary interest is in the people and events which comprise the history of Sullivan.\*

In Springfield, Walt developed and managed an abstract business, practiced law, and invested in real estate. Unfortunately, because of hard times generally and bad real estate investments, he lost everything—his abstract business, his real estate, and even his residence. He was left, as he put it (*infra*, at 83), with "not a scintilla."

So in May 1907, at the age of 44 and out of a job, Walt moved to Billings, Montana, where he tried the abstract business, but stayed only two months. He then moved on to Tacoma, Washington, where he stayed another two months working in another abstract office. Liking Tacoma but finding the job unattractive, he returned to Sullivan in the fall of 1907, where he remained practicing law until 1908. He then tried Billings again,

\*Accordingly, the editor has eliminated from this published version of Walt Eden's memoirs many of the details relating to Walt's abstract businesses and law practice in other cities.

but to no avail. He stayed in Sullivan only until he received an offer from his cousin, W. W. Eden, to come and work in an abstract office in Fresno, California. Walt accepted the offer and moved to California in March 1909.

From that time on, Walt worked in a succession of positions, but never returned to live in Sullivan. He soon left Fresno for Vancouver, Washington; from there, he went to Tacoma; and from there in June 1910 he moved to Los Angeles, where he worked in several different abstract offices. It was during this period that he married Margaret Fitzgerald of San Diego.

In 1912 Walt and Margaret moved to Santa Ana, in Orange County, where he again worked for a title company. His lack of political dexterity cost him a possible position as state court judge, but he soon went to work as a deputy attorney in the local district attorney's office. After four years in that position, he returned to private practice. He lived in Santa Ana about 10 years and thought it was the only place he had lived, other than Sullivan, where he felt perfectly at home. He also attained a certain level of local prominence, serving as a member of the local Chamber of Commerce.

In 1918, at the age of 56, Walt was elected to the California General Assembly, where he served one term, from January 1919 to 1921. He later expressed his regret at having re-entered politics. He wrote that it would have been "better for me had I never entered into the game. My political life was short but full of trouble." (*Infra*, at 95.) But he never had a chance to explain why. He died just as he was starting to write that portion of his memoirs describing his career in the California legislature. However, various local histories in Southern California record that after his single term in the Assembly, he was elected to the California Senate, where he served one term, from 1921-25. In 1923 he relocated from Santa Ana to Los Angeles, where he became counsel to the California Title Insurance Company, a position he held until near the end of his life.

# I

## The Eden Family

My father, John Rice Eden, was born in 1826 in Bath County, Kentucky. His father's name was John Paul Eden. His grandfather emigrated from Baltimore, Maryland, at a very early day, so that I come from the Maryland Eden family, and my earlier ancestors were from England. When my father was in Congress in the 1870's, a man from Baltimore came to Washington to see him. I do not remember the man's name, but either his wife or mother was an Eden. My father knew of many of the family names he mentioned. He said we were related to Robert Eden, the last Colonial Governor of Maryland.

Father's family moved from Kentucky to Rush County, Indiana, when my father was a boy. There he grew to manhood, procuring such education as poor boys of that period received, altogether from his own effort. He read the life of Francis Marion and was a great admirer of his. I have heard him say what books were available to him, but have forgotten. They were very few, but of the best literary merit. He taught school in Rush County and was admitted to practice law there. He was a subscriber to the Rushville *Jacksonian* as long as he lived. He came to Illinois in 1852 and settled first in Shelby County.

I was born in Sullivan, the county seat of Moultrie County, Illinois, on the 14th day of July, 1862. My father was a Democratic politician of considerable note; he served in Congress for several years and was in 1868 the Democratic party nominee for

Governor of Illinois. He was in Congress during a part of President Lincoln's term as President, during a part of Grant's, and later during a part of Cleveland's term.\*

When my father was admitted to practice law in the State of Illinois, the court appointed Lincoln, David Davis, and Samuel M. Moulton as a committee to examine him as to his qualifications. Father and the committee repaired to a room in the hotel, probably in Shelbyville in 1852. When they arrived at the room, Lincoln flopped (so my father expressed it) himself down on the bed and remarked that the other two could examine him, that he was going to sleep. Father formed a bad opinion of Lincoln from this circumstance, and never changed his opinion. Judge Davis afterward became a judge of the United States Supreme Court, and made himself unpopular by his decision in the matter of the Tilden-Hayes controversy for the Presidency.\*\* Mr. Moulton afterwards represented his district in Congress.

They tell a story about Moulton that when he was a young lawyer, he prepared an indictment which was returned by the grand jury against the defendant. Somehow Mr. Moulton was employed on the defense. He moved the court to quash the indictment, which was sustained. The prosecuting attorney remarked that, "He who makes can unmake."

My mother's name was Roxana Meeker. She was the daughter of Ambrose Meeker, a blacksmith. I have been reliably informed that she was related to Ezra Meeker of Puallup, Washington, who acquired a national reputation as a trail blazer, having a few

\*Editor's note: John R. Eden was elected to the House of Representatives in 1862, was defeated in 1864, and was later elected and re-elected to 1872, 1874, 1876, and 1884.

\*\*Editor's note: Justice Davis was to be the tie-breaker in the Electoral Commission in 1877, and many Democrats expected he would vote for Tilden. They were disappointed when the Republicans in Illinois gave Davis their nomination for the U.S. Senate, thus removing him from the Court and the Commission. Justice Bradley was selected in his place, and Bradley broke the tie in favor of the Republican, Hayes.

*The Eden Family*

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years ago, when he had become very old, driven an ox team from the State of Washington to the City of New York, and set markers over the old Oregon Trail, by which he as a boy had traveled as part of the great Western migration.\* Her mother's people were named Hartwell, I think from Philadelphia. The Hartwells in Cincinnati were related to her.

My parents had eight children born to them, four boys and four girls. The girls all lived to fairly good ages; but two of the boys died in infancy, and one, Hartwell, about two years older than I, died when he was about nineteen years old. Two of my sisters married brothers. Belle married Joel K. Martin, and Rose married I. J. Martin. Each raised a family of several children. Blanche married Paul Thackwell, the son of a missionary to India. She had four children, all girls.

\**Editor's note: See Meeker, Ezra, The Ox Team, or the Old Oregon Trail, 1852–1906, An Account of the Author's Trip Across the Plains...in 1852.* (Indianapolis, 1906).

## II

### Early Memories of Sullivan in the 1860's

I was born during the Civil War and have always felt that, in some way, that accounts for my partiality for martial music, especially the drum and fife. To this day I sit up and take notice of such music. I remember as a boy hearing Sousa's band in Washington City.

I understand that I was named for a man named Walter Kilner, who, with his brother Ed, were druggists at Sullivan at the time I was born. They remained in the drug business there until I was several years old, and I have a good recollection of them in that business. My principal recollection of them is at Christmas time, as they always had a great stock of toys on hand, and Walter Kilner, being a fat man, was usually Santa Claus at the public Christmas festivities at Sullivan. I also remember him as an actor in local theatricals and, especially, as Rip Van Winkle. He made a good Rip.

My uncle, Judge Joseph E. Eden, owned and managed a hotel called the "Eden House." He had a livery stable in connection with it. He never had a bar in connection with it. The hotel was a two story frame building on the north end of the west side of the square, covering about the same ground as the present hotel, including the Sam B. Hall drug store. Along the whole front was a wide porch, which was a great loafing place, not only for the guests, but for the general public. My aunt always had a

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My father never joined a church, but he compared in his life with any one who did. I heard him say in his later years that the "Sermon on the Mount" was his religion.

In 1868 Father was nominated by the Democratic party as its candidate for Governor. Though there was not a chance of electing a Democrat, he made a vigorous campaign. John M. Palmer, who a few years before that was a Democrat, was his opponent on the Republican ticket.

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My grandfather, Ambrose Meeker, owned and lived on a farm a short distance southwest of Sullivan. Father bought that farm, and traded our Sullivan house in on it; and we moved out to the farm and Grandfather moved into our house and occupied it during the rest of his life.

After we moved to the farm, we lived there during most of a winter and summer. During that period, I walked about two miles to school to the Bastion Seminary in Sullivan. That seminary had considerable reputation in adjoining counties and, if N. S. Bastion, its proprietor, had been a man of any business ability, Sullivan would have become a college town, and the Bastion school would probably now be one of the principal colleges of the middle west. Mr. Bastion was, at the time of which I speak, an old man. He was a preacher of the Christian denomination and generally preached all the sermons every Sunday in that church at Sullivan. His wife was a wonderful woman in her day. She assisted in the teaching. She was a very large woman, and could talk like a man. One of her hobbies was elocution.

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Mother had a felon on her finger the winter we were on the farm, which gave her a lot of pain. Dr. S. W. Lucas advised her to buy a pipe and tobacco, and to smoke—which she did; and she acquired the tobacco habit, which stayed with her, until a few years thereafter she became an invalid, no doubt at least partly due to her smoking.

We children all had the measles the winter we lived on the farm, and my little brother, Joseph Edgar, about two or three years old, died. They took his body away for burial in a little casket in a wagon, on a cold winter day, surrounded by the family, except those of us suffering with the measles.

There were very few buggies or carriages in the country at that time, and most everyone rode either horse-back or in a wagon bed. Any day they celebrated, or that drew the people



together, they would furnish chairs or other improvised seats, and fill up the wagon bed for the journey. No shock absorbers, either, or smooth pavements to ride over.

Mother had a big iron kettle and a big copper kettle, each of twenty gallon capacity. She made her own soap. We always had a big ash hopper in the back yard, in which we saved all the wood ashes, and we had no other kind, as we used only wood stoves, both for heating and cooking. From these ashes she made her lye, and she would save all her fat scraps of meat, especially from her smoked meat, and she always got a large quantity of soap.

Every fall she would make up twenty gallons of apple butter, and about ten gallons of mince meat—and the mince meat was rich with plenty of good meat. She always had a pantry full of jams, marmalades and jellies. Every meal we had hot biscuit and several different kinds of preserves. We always filled up the cellar with the finest kind of winter apples out of our orchard on the farm.

My father bought me a Newfoundland pup when I was a baby. We called him "Dick." He lived until I was sixteen years old. He was my boon companion until he got too old to navigate very well. Judge Eden, my uncle, had his brother. His boys taught him to be harnessed and pull a load. In the winter when snow was on the ground, he would pull a sled full of boys around the square most all the time. They called him "Dixie"—a strange name to give him in the North, during the war.

Just before we left Sullivan for Decatur, the public square began to come out of its wooden shack buildings, and take on brick business places. At the east end of the north side, Dr. T. Y. Lewis commenced the erection of the two-story brick business building that now stands there. I rather think it was completed before we left. The stairway was on the outside, and it was occupied by the City Book Store under the management of John P. Lilly.

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## Decatur, 1870-1872

About 1869 or 1870 we moved to Decatur, and Father went into the law practice there. He went in partnership with a man named J. Q. A. Odor, and maintained this partnership during all the time he lived in Decatur.

We lived in Decatur at the corner where the Decatur Review building now stands. I attended school part of the time at the 2nd Ward School, and part of the time in a primary department held in the high school building near the Catholic Church. One day I was using an arithmetic that had answers to the problems in the back. The teacher, a woman, boxed my ears and broke the drum of my left ear. It bled all night, and I have been deaf in that ear ever since. Fortunately, my children were never punished corporally at school, to my knowledge, or the teacher would certainly have had to whip me, no matter how big he might be. To this day I can't bear to hear of a teacher whipping someone else's child.

Father kept one horse when we went to Decatur, and bought himself a buggy. It was a young filly, a colt of a favorite old family mare. While he and Mother were driving one day, she ran away with them, threw them out, and broke Father's hip. He lay in bed eleven weeks with his leg and hip bound up in a splint, with directions not to move a muscle. They didn't put him in a plaster cast, as they do now. That splint extended about a foot longer than his leg, and they sawed off the foot board of a massive walnut bed to give it room.

Father liked mutton chops (broiled) for breakfast, and after

he was hurt, every morning at 5 o'clock I was routed out of bed to go to the butcher shop for his chops. Many mornings, cold and blustery with snow on the ground, I went out before daylight and woke up the butcher to get my chops. In those days butcher shops opened up for business that early. I don't know why they didn't buy meat for breakfast the evening before, but I imagine refrigerators had not come into general household use.

When we first went to Decatur, they had a two story brick courthouse, with the traditional belfry on top. It was a dilapidated looking old building, with a stairway outside. It stood in one corner of a public square, where all the street cars and inter-urban cars now come together.

After Father was able to get around on crutches, he attended court and tried cases. The court had abandoned the old court house, and it was being held in the second story of a business building about where the Powers Opera House stood later. It was my business to take him his dinner every day at the court. I carried it to him in a basket, with the coffee in a pot that held about a half gallon.

Father always kept cows, and he took a fine old roan cow with him to Decatur. The Wabash Railroad and Shellabarger's Flour Mill were the limit of Decatur on that side of town. Everything beyond Water Street was farming land. A man named Swearingen had a piece of pasture land out that way, quite a distance beyond the end of town. We kept our cow in that pasture, and it was my work to drive her out to pasture every morning and bring her back at night.

A man named Smallwood lived across the alley and he had a little red cow. He hired me to drive his cow back and forth to the pasture for twenty-five cents per month. That was the first money I ever earned. The first month he paid me in one of the old fashioned paper twenty-five cents. Before I had it long, I went down town and lost it. I retraced my steps and found it in a vacant lot I had crossed.

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I remember Father's mother. She lived with her daughter, Nancy Jane Sampson. Her maiden name was [Carr]. She had a brother-in-law, Alexander Walker—Uncle Alec, we called him. He lived somewhere between Sullivan and Shelbyville. Uncle Alec was the father of Wallace Walker, a very prominent citizen of Shelbyville. Grandma Eden died while we lived at Decatur. She must have been very old, as her face was very much wrinkled.

Father had two sisters, wives of farmers living near Bruce, about five miles south of Sullivan—Nancy Jane Sampson and Julina Moore. They both lived to a ripe old age, probably as old as Father, which was 84. His brother, Joseph E. Eden, lived to be 89.

As a child, it was quite a treat for me to visit these two aunts, especially Aunt Julina. In those days families related to each other visited a lot. When we were in Sullivan, hardly a Saturday passed without a visit to our house from the family of one, if not both of these sisters. Occasionally we visited with them, generally on Sunday. We always had chicken for dinner. Aunt Julina could make the best hot biscuits and milk gravy to go with her fried chicken I ever ate. And she always served plenty of it.

Aunt Jane, at the time of which I speak, had no daughters, but she had three sons. One of these sons was remarkably helpful to his mother—Will Sampson, who lives at Sullivan now. Will did all the cooking, dishwashing, clothes washing and cleaning, to my own knowledge. Whatever other household duties he performed I do not know, but doubtless he relieved his mother in many ways. Will couldn't cook as well as Aunt Julina, however, so she bore the brunt of most of our visits. Will used to salt his butter well, saying that when he bought salt cheap and sold butter high, he made a good profit on his salt barrel. But his butter was always good.

Uncle Jim Moore raised sugar cane, and had a cane mill with which he made sorghum molasses, not only from his own cane but for his neighbors on shares. This sorghum making appealed to me, somewhat; I think because he had a little pony that kept

the machinery going by walking around in a circle. I was interested in the pony. Uncle Jim had three or four sons and two daughters. One son, Ed, was about my own age.

A creek ran through their place which seems to have always had water in it. It made a swimming hole about the right depth for us little boys—about knee deep. We used it for that purpose, notwithstanding Aunt Julina's flock of geese used it for the same purpose.

Uncle Jim Moore brought his family to Decatur by wagon, as we had no railroad then, to make us a visit. He brought us a keg of sorghum molasses. The folks all came into the house, but Ed kept yelling at the top of his voice, "Oh, Pap, don't forgit the lasses!" You could hear him all over that part of town.

I never stole anything but once, and that was when we lived in Decatur. We had a regular grocer we traded with. The grocer was on the inside of the counter, and I on the outside, and he had a lot of pennies spread out on the counter. Right before his eyes I nipped five of those pennies. I suppose I thought I was a slight of hand performer, but of course he saw what I did, but said nothing. A boy of my age had a sled he had made of merchandise boxes, and he sold it to me for those five pennies. When I got home with my sled, my mother started to quiz me about where I got it. I was unable to hold my own with her, and soon confessed to her what I had done. She gave me five cents and told me to go back to the grocery man and tell him what I had done and give him back the five cents. That grocery man bragged on what a fine boy I was and gave me a lot of candy—I expect more than five cents worth. It has been a fine thing for me that that happened to me just as it did. The lesson was the greatest that I ever learned. I have never wanted to steal anything again.

Father enjoyed a good law practice in Decatur, and it would have been much to his financial advantage had he remained there, and kept out of politics. Incidentally, I have often thought it

would have been much better for me when I grew up, as a good law practice in Decatur would have been a thousand-fold better than at Sullivan. It is obvious that the prospect of going to Congress took him back to Sullivan.

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## Sullivan in the 1870's

About 1872 we moved back to Sullivan, and Father built a rather expensive and very comfortable home. This home he occupied until his death in 1909. Mother was an invalid when we returned to Sullivan. Dyspepsia they called it in those days. They were gone much of the time seeking health for my mother at various springs and health resorts. As a result, I was left at my uncle's hotel, where I did largely as I pleased. Strange to say, I did not please to do anything for which I have been ashamed, although I was a boy of but ten years of age.

When we came back, the public square presented a very respectable appearance. The Opera House, a substantial three story building, had been completed. The Morrell Block, a three story building, had been erected adjoining it on the east, and Keedy's saloon building had been completed, so that the north side was more than half built up of brick.

We had a lot of shows at the Opera House then, and being right on the ground I always worked my way in by passing bills or raising and lowering the curtain, or some other sort of work a boy could do. I sure enjoyed the theater, although the shows were mostly of the Barnstorm variety.

Father formed a partnership for the practice of law with C. C. Clark, a good lawyer and for several years States Attorney. They had offices on the second floor of the Opera House. Mr. Clark was visited one summer by Mrs. Clark's sister, a very fine looking young lady. Henry Smyser became rather attentive to her, so much so that the people began to remark upon it, as people in a small town will. One day Henry threw his quid of chewing tobacco out the window and it fell on the young lady's white plumed hat as she passed along the street below. A romance was busted, and she went right up two flights of stairs and made Henry pay her fifteen dollars for the ruined hat.

The first telephone I ever saw was a rather crude affair installed by Mr. Clark to connect his office with his home. No telephone system had been started then. He ran a wire from his home to the office and ran it through the window jam, and fastened it on to a little round piece of wood with a hole in it like a doughnut. A piece of tin or some sort of metal was fastened to this piece of metal. One could hear a person talking at the other end of the wire. It had no receiver, but you talked through it like you would through a metal tube, and then placed your ear down against the piece of wood and received the answer. I don't remember how one attracted the attention of the party at the other end of the line to whom he wished to talk.

One day, we were all sitting around an office table at the far end of the office from where the telephone was. A thunder shower came up and lightning hit that telephone wire. It flashed clear across the office about as high as a man's head. If any of us had been in the range of that flash of lightning, he wouldn't have known what killed him. After that, Mr. Clark had his wire fixed so it would carry lightning down into the ground.

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Father's uncle, Jeremiah Eden, from Kentucky came out to Sullivan and spent the summer at the Eden House in the early seventies. I remember him quite well, but was too small to take any interest in finding out anything about the family. He was a brother to my father's father. He must have been over seventy years old, for as I remember him, he was very old. I asked him one day how he lost his teeth, and his answer was, "Fightn."

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During the time of which I am writing, I lived most of the time at my uncle's hotel, the Eden House. It was shortly before I went away to boarding school. About the year 1880, this old hotel burned down. It was an old frame structure, and it was a total loss. Very soon after it was destroyed, my uncle, J. E. Eden, constructed a fine three-story brick hotel on the site of the old one. It probably was a financial mistake for him to do so, as he was beginning to age, and soon thereafter his wife died. She was always a very important part of the hotel, and it never seemed to do well after her death.

In 1873 Father was serving in Congress and I went to live in Washington City and had full sway to go where I pleased. The Navy Yard and our middies appealed to me more than anything else. I often went to the Smithsonian Institution and the Tropical Garden near by. The Door Keeper of the House of Representatives got to know me, and I went in and out of the Capitol building as I pleased.

I am still impressed with some of the pictures in the Capitol—"Westward the Star of Empire Takes her Way," and the battle scene on Lake Erie in which Commander Decatur (I think it was) took part. These two are still impressed on my mind. They recur to me now as they did when I first looked upon them as a little boy.

I returned to Washington D.C. after graduating from high school and entered the University of Georgetown, where I finished my studies in 1879.

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## Sullivan in the 1880's and 1890's

After graduation I returned to Sullivan, and within a year—in 1880—became Deputy Circuit Clerk, working for the Clerk, Mr. Samuel Wright. I worked in that position until the fall of 1886. During that time, I also worked in the abstract business with Mr. Wright. In 1884 I married May Mulvey.

I also became active in Moultrie County politics. I served one term as Treasurer of Moultrie County [elected in 1886], and two terms as Mayor of Sullivan [elected in 1887 and 1889].

While serving in these positions, I took up the study of law in my father's office in Sullivan, and was admitted to the bar of Illinois in 1889; and I was associated with my father in the practice during seven of the next ten years, the exception being three years spent in California. Some of my experiences in Sullivan and in the law practice during that period may be of interest.

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In the spring of 1900 I decided to leave Sullivan, and settled on Springfield as my new place of residence. Our March term of court was to be my last. Prior to that time, Father had prepared all of our cases for trial, so I was not as familiar with them as I should be. He was very hard of hearing during our ten years association in the law practice. As a result, it fell on me to bear the brunt of the trials in court. He attended court in all trials in civil cases of importance; but I examined all the witnesses, and when the testimony was all in and before the argument began, we would repair to an anteroom, and I told him the high points in the testimony. He would prepare one or two strong instructions, in jury cases, and could make a wonderful argument. He was a good lawyer, and was always a power before a jury.

Before our last term of court before leaving Sullivan, I prepared all our cases for trial myself, and briefed my cases and prepared instructions to the jury. A few days before the term of court opened, Father said to me, "We have no business in court, have we?" I told him we had as much as ever, about thirty. I told him what I had done, as I wanted to get the habit of depending on myself before I left him. He was pleased that I had done so. We had better success in court that term than usual, as I was familiar with all our cases.

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I moved to Fresno in March 1909. In June 1909, my father, John R. Eden, died at his home in Sullivan in his 84th year. I returned only long enough to attend his funeral. I have ever since been sorry that I did not stay and examine the contents of an old roll top desk that he had in his office. It had been in his office since 1872, when he returned from Decatur. It had not been used by him for years, but was full of old letters, many of which would doubtless be of great value on account of their age and the men who wrote them. He carried on a regular correspondence with William R. Morrison, a congressman from Illinois who was a very prominent Democrat, and frequently mentioned as a candidate for President. Father and Morrison were very warm personal friends.

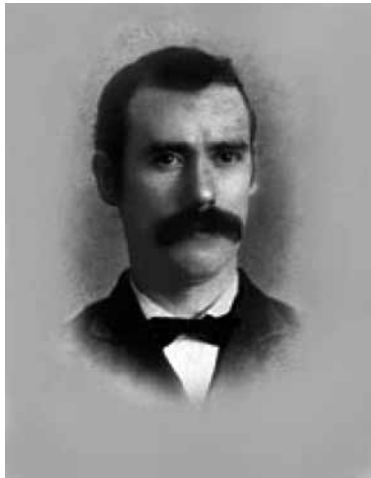
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# XXIV

## THE EDEN FAMILY IN SULLIVAN

From Introduction, *Ivory and Rose, A Year's Courtship, The Correspondence of Ivory J. Martin and Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, 1885-1886*. R. Eden Martin, Editor. Chicago, 1997.



This book is the record of a year's courtship that took place over a hundred years ago between my grandmother, Rose Eden, and grandfather, Ivory J. Martin. Both lived most of their lives in or near Sullivan, Illinois, a small town in the east-central part of the state.

Rose Eden was born in Sullivan on November 2, 1858, the second daughter of John Rice Eden and Roxana Meeker Eden. Her father, John R. Eden, was a lawyer and would later serve five terms in Congress. He was born in Bath County, Kentucky, in 1826, and his family moved to frontier Rush County, Indiana, in 1831 when he was five years old. He worked on the family farm in the spring, summer and fall, and went to a log cabin school in the winter until the age of 18, when he began teaching in a neighborhood school. After teaching six or seven years, he decided in 1850 to become a lawyer, and became what we might now call an intern in a small firm in Rushville, Indiana. After two year s study, in 1852 he moved to Shelbyville, Illinois, and was admitted to the bar in June of that year. The committee of lawyers designated to examine him as to his qualifications consisted of Abraham Lincoln, David Davis (whom Lincoln would later appoint to the Supreme Court of the United States), and Samuel Moulton, a local lawyer. John R. later told his family that when the committee met him in a hotel room, Lincoln flopped himself

onto a bed, saying to the others that they could examine John R., but he (Lincoln) was going to sleep – which he proceeded to do.<sup>1</sup> In any event, John R. was found to be qualified, and a year later, in August 1853, he moved a few miles north to the new town of Sullivan, where his older brother, Joseph Edgar Eden, had recently settled.

Sullivan had been established in 1845 as the county seat of the then-new county of Moultrie (set apart as a separate county in 1843). As the center of justice for the new county, Sullivan offered attractive prospects for a bright, energetic younger lawyer—particularly since there was only one other lawyer practicing in the county when John R. relocated in 1853. However, his practice was not confined to Sullivan. He rode the circuit with other pioneer lawyers, traveling from county seat to county seat, following the circuit judge as he convened court in the different locations. One of the judges before whom Eden frequently appeared was David Davis, one of his law examiners. Prominent lawyers with whom he practiced were U.F. Linder, O.B. Ficklin, Charles Constable, and, of course, Abraham Lincoln.<sup>2</sup>



Not long after moving to Sullivan, John R. Eden met his future wife, Roxana Meeker, born in 1834 in Marysville, Ohio. Her father, Ambrose Meeker, was a blacksmith and farmer who had moved with his wife, Hannah (Hartwell) and family from Ohio to Illinois in 1846 and settled in Sullivan in 1848. Roxana’s mother died shortly after their move, so at the age of 14 she was compelled to take on the extra household duties that devolved on her as the oldest daughter. She soon met the rising young attorney, and they were married in August 1856. John and Roxana had eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood: Emma, Rose, Walter, Belle and Blanche.

Rose, the second daughter, was born on November 2, 1858. As she spent her childhood during the years of the Civil War, her father, a Democrat, moved up the professional and political ranks. In 1856, the year of his marriage, John R. Eden had been elected States Attorney for the Seventh Judicial Circuit, comprising nine central Illinois counties, and he served in that capacity for four years while, at the same time, building his own private law practice. In November 1859 John R. became political editor of the first newspaper published in Moultrie County – the Sullivan Express, owned at that time by J.H. Waggoner. The paper was a strong supporter of the Stephen Douglas wing of the Democratic party. Eden’s political talent and writing ability are said to have given “the paper prominence among the journals of Central Illinois, and made for himself a reputation as a strong and vigorous writer of political articles.”<sup>3</sup> In 1860 Eden was nominated by the Democrats for a place in the state legislature, but was defeated in the heavily Republican district by a few votes.

In 1862 the Democrats in the Seventh Congressional District made him their candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, and he was elected, taking his seat in the thirty-eighth Congress in March 1863. In 1864 he was renominated,<sup>4</sup> but was defeated by the Republican candidate, and returned to Sullivan in March 1865 shortly before the end of the war. At that time Rose was not quite seven years old.

About 1868, when Rose was ten years old, John R. bought from his father-in-law a farm two miles southwest of Sullivan, and the family lived there one year. John R., who always kept cows and hogs, took care of the farm along with his law business, and slaughtered and cured his own meat. Roxana took care of the children and was kept busy with household chores. She did

all her cooking on a wood stove, saving the ashes for use in making soap. Rose's younger brother, Walter, remembered her fall preparations for the winter:

"Every fall she would make up twenty gallons of apple butter, and about ten gallons of mince meat – and the mince meat was rich with plenty of good meat. She always had a pantry full of jams, marmalades and jellies. Every meal we had hot biscuit and several different kinds of preserves. We always filled up the cellar with the finest kind of winter apples out of our orchard on the farm." 5

## Eden Residence



During the next few years, her father built his law practice--first in Sullivan, and then for two years – 1870-1871 – in nearby Decatur. Rose attended public school in both places and also studied music privately, learning to play the piano well. In 1872 the family moved back to Sullivan into a large new house on McClellan Street, six blocks west of the courthouse square. Rose's brother later speculated that John R. moved the family back to Sullivan not because his law practice would improve but because his Congressional prospects would be brighter.<sup>6</sup>

In 1873 or 1874, at the age of 15, Rose entered the Bastion Seminary, a private secondary school operated for a few years by a minister, N.S. Bastion, three blocks southeast of the Sullivan courthouse square. In the Bastion school, the boys sat on one side of the schoolroom and the girls on the other.<sup>7</sup> Rose's brother, Walter, later remembered carrying his lunch to the Bastion school during the fall term – a lunch consisting of "bread, butter, sausage, hard boiled eggs, pickles, and some sort of jam or marmalade. Later the winter fried ham took the place of sausage. Every fall Father would slaughter about ten fat hogs, so we always had plenty of sausage, ham, and bacon."<sup>8</sup>

Although her father was occasionally absent on political or legal business, Rose was part of a large extended family. In addition to her three sisters and two brothers (Hartwell, two years younger, who later died at the age of nineteen; and Walter, four years younger), Rose frequently visited her maternal grandfather, the blacksmith, Ambrose Meeker, and also her father's two sisters and their families. One aunt, Nancy Jane Sampson, lived with her husband and three sons on a farm about five miles south of Sullivan near the little settlement of Bruce. The other aunt, Juliana Moore, lived nearby with her husband Jim and several sons and two daughters. Jim Moore farmed, raised sugar cane and operated a cane mill, with which he made sorghum molasses for his neighbors.<sup>9</sup>

Despite his unsuccessful bid for re-election to Congress in 1864 and an unsuccessful run for Governor of Illinois in 1868 as the Democratic Party's candidate, John R. Eden's political career was far from over. He was again elected to Congress in 1872, and was re-elected in 1874, 1876 and 1884. As a result, Rose was to experience a broadening of social and cultural horizons that would have been inconceivable had her father remained a small-town lawyer in rural Illinois. At some point in the Congressional term to which he was elected in 1876, John R. brought Rose and Emma, her older sister, with him to Washington D.C., where they enrolled in the Academy of the Visitation. The Academy, located in Georgetown a few miles west of the Capitol, conducted its classes in a new three-story building rebuilt in 1873. Rose met students from different parts of the country and studied literature, history, science, art, music and languages – French and German. She was a fine student, winning prizes in French, rhetoric and music and graduating as valedictorian in June 1879 not long after her father's fourth term in Congress expired.

Rose's valedictory poem, printed by the Academy, hints in conventional tones at the breadth of her friendships and studies. After referring to the lovely oaks on the school grounds and the "dear old Convent wall" and "hallowed chapel," she continued:

Yet what are these, but charms that call to mind  
The faithful friends long in our hearts enshrined?  
Soon, some will roam mid Southern orange bloom;  
Some hear the surging of Atlantic's tide;  
Others mid Western prairies' sweet perfume  
Or in the ice-bound Northern climes abide.

Here have we pored with her o'er History's page,

Roamed hand in hand through favored walks of Art.  
And worshiped all that Science can impart;  
Here soared on high with Albion's poet-sage,--  
With honored scions of Columbia's tree,--  
And viewed with pride our nation's jubilee.

Following her graduation, Rose re-entered the Academy for a post-graduate course. But her stay in Washington was soon to be at an end, and by late 1879, at the age of 21, she found herself back in the small central Illinois town with her family.

For the next five years – the first half of the decade of the eighties – Rose contented herself with her literary interests, her music, her family and her church. An amateur poet, she was a member of the Twenty Club, a literary club in Sullivan that had for its purpose "improvement and social culture." She was a fine amateur pianist and gave piano lessons to local children. And she was a devout member of the Sullivan Christian Church, which provided social opportunities as well as religious instruction. But despite occasional suitors, Rose avoided serious romantic entanglements. The years passed and Rose moved beyond the age at which most of her contemporaries had found their life's partners. Probably there were few young men in rural central Illinois who shared her literary interests or her passion for music.

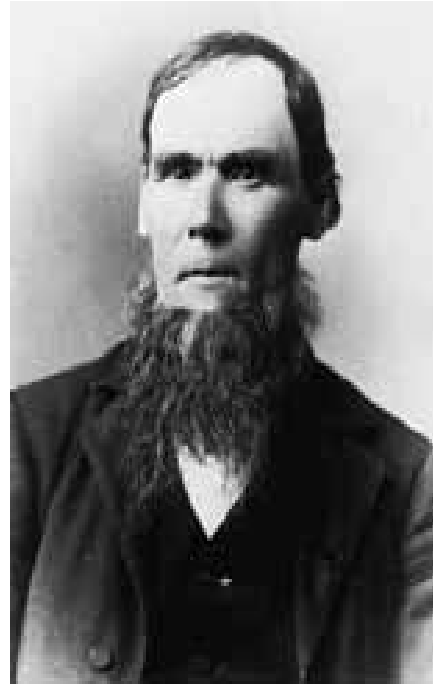


Ivory Martin was one of the few in Sullivan who could hold his own with her on literary ground.

Born on November 7, 1859, he was named John Ivory – the "John" after his father and grandfather, and the "Ivory" after a family friend. He explained later that most of his friends called him "Ivory," so when he was 19 years old, he simply began writing his name "Ivory J."

Ivory – also known as I.J. – was the fourth child of his parents, John Neely and Rachel Elvina Martin, but the first three had died in infancy. Two other younger children survived to adulthood: a brother, Joel Kester, and a sister, Nancy. Ivory's family lived in the rural settlement once known as Whitley Point, about ten miles southeast of Sullivan, in the southeast corner of Moultrie

County. His father was a farmer and carpenter, and had built the one-room house in which they lived. When Ivory was born his father, John Neely, had 20 acres of land where the family's house was located; later he managed to accumulate a total of 140 acres, enough for a small farm. During Ivory's childhood, his father worked as a carpenter— sometimes acting as a contractor on small jobs, and at others working for wages. He also raised sheep, which he usually sold for about \$2 each. During much of the 1870's, John Neely supported his family by cutting down trees in the Whitley Creek timber and making railroad ties and timbers used to build houses and barns.



During that period he was also several times elected Justice of the Peace. Ivory's parents were both devout Baptists and were loyal members of the nearby Lynn Creek Church, which had been founded in 1829 by William Harvey Martin, a brother of Ivory's great-grandfather. Ivory's sister, Nancy, later wrote, "I was born on a Baptist bed, fed from an Association table, lived by the Bible, and was taught to abide by its rules. My parents lived their religion." Neither parent had more than a few years of common school during the winter months at a nearby log school. However, despite his lack of schooling, John Neely liked to read. According to Ivory, during the last two years of his father's life, when he was in his late 80's, he read "carefully and attentively a six volume copy of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*."

Ivory received the usual smattering of country school education – occasional summer school terms in a nearby one-room school from the age of seven to nine, and fall and winter terms after that (commencing after the autumn farm work was concluded). During this period he was able to read a few serious works of history from his grandfather Martin's library. However, his only formal school study occurred over a two and one-half year period – the school years 1874-75 and 1875-76, and a summer term in 1876. Ivory later described his academic awakening as follows:

Until my fourteenth year, I had never taken school very seriously. I could write and read fairly well, and had studied the arithmetic text until I knew the simple processes very well. While I neglected school, I had become a steady reader of books, and I think Mother noticed it. Anyway, just before school began in the fall of 1874, Father asked me what new books I would need for school, and said I might start at the beginning of the term, as they would gather the corn without my help. I was elated and felt like I was starting a new life. I told him I would need a grammar (I had not studied it before), a history, and an advanced geography. We went to town in a day or two and bought them.



Ivory's teachers during 1874-75 and 1875-76 were Polk Rose, "the wisest and, in most things, the best teacher I ever had"—and Gideon A. Edwards, "an excellent teacher," with broader knowledge "especially in history and literature."

His schooling continued briefly beyond those two years:

Then in the summer of 1876, I attended a six-weeks summer term in Sullivan and had for teachers Mr. Rose, Henry L. Boltwood (the most scholarly man I ever knew), and Eunice J. Bastion [wife of the founder of the Bastion Seminary]— as fine a group of instructors as could be found or wished.

In the fall of 1876, five weeks before Ivory became 17 years old, he began teaching in a primary school in nearby Coles County. As Ivory explained much later:

I passed the teachers' examination in March 1876 and was promised a certificate as soon as I reached my 17th birthday. However, I was offered a contract to teach in a school in Coles County, and neglecting to write my age on the examination paper, I was given a license to teach in that county, and began my first school five weeks before I was seventeen.

Ivory's then six-year old sister, Nancy, later remembered the trauma of his departure:

When he was packing his trunk to move down to his boarding place (a cousin of ours), I felt like we were giving him up for good. I stayed with him until he packed two trunks, one with clothes and one with books and school supplies. Then he took me on his lap and we sat there, neither one speaking until it grew dark. We knew he would be gone before I woke up next morning.

During that first year as a school teacher, 1876-77, Ivory taught at the Wade School in North Okaw, in neighboring Coles County. In 1877-78 he taught closer to home, at the nearby small community of Bruce, in the south part of Moultrie County, and lived with his parents on the family farm near Whitley Creek. During 1878-79 and 1879-80, Ivory taught at a school near Arthur, in the northern part of Moultrie County. In 1880-81 he was back at Bruce, closer to home. And from 1881-83 he taught at a school near Loxa, Coles County.<sup>17</sup>

These seven years (from the age of 16 to 23) of teaching the lower grades in a succession of small country schools while living with neighboring families or at his parents' home must have worn thin, although his teaching left plenty of time for his own reading. Ivory later told his children that with the first money he earned as a teacher, he subscribed to a set of encyclopedia and read each volume through soon after it arrived so that he could be ready for the next volume. He also used his free time to read widely in English and American literature, especially poetry. During the latter two years of teaching, Ivory was able at the same time to attend Lee's Academy at Loxa, where he took courses offered by Captain Lee, said to be a graduate of West Point. That was the end of his formal schooling. Impatient with the low pay and lack of opportunity for advancement, he decided to make a fresh start.

In 1883 at the age of 23, Ivory moved to nearby Sullivan, the county seat of Moultrie County, to take a job as deputy county clerk under then clerk, Charles Shuman. The county clerk served as clerk of the county court, the judicial arm of the county, as well as clerk of the administrative branch of county government, the board of supervisors. Basically the clerk was responsible for maintaining records used in assessment and collection of taxes, vital statistics, licenses, election registers and returns, and bonds. Two years later, after the expiration of his term in the clerk's office, Ivory's career took a new direction when, in 1885, he purchased a one-third interest in, and became editor and manager of, the local newspaper--the *Sullivan Progress*, a direct lineal descendant of the *Express*, whose political editor 26 years earlier had been John R. Eden. Ivory's initial business partner in the newspaper venture was William W. Eden, a nephew of John R. After a few years, W.W. Eden's interest was transferred to Charles Shuman, Ivory's former employer in the clerk's office.

The *Progress* in 1885 was a seven-column folio daily newspaper, printed with hand-set type and said to be "a model of typographical neatness."<sup>20</sup> Its offices were located on the third floor of a commercial building on the northwest corner of the courthouse square. Unable because of the distance to continue to live with his parents on the farm, Ivory took a room at the Eden House, a three-story brick hotel owned by Joseph E. Eden, brother of John R. The hotel, built five years earlier following a fire which destroyed its predecessor, was located on the west side of the courthouse square on Main Street, near the newspaper office. It had forty sleeping rooms, a dining room (but no bar), and parlors, and was considered to be a fine hotel for a small Illinois town.<sup>21</sup>

In 1884 John R. Eden had been elected to his fifth term in Congress, his term commencing in the spring of 1885. However,

this time he had chosen not to take to Washington either his wife, Roxana, or their 27-year old daughter, Rose. They remained behind, living in the Eden family home on McClellan Street.

In 1885, when Rose Eden and Ivory Martin commenced their year's courtship, Sullivan was a small country town of somewhat more than 1000 people. It was described in an atlas published ten years earlier,<sup>22</sup> as "a flourishing village ... situated near the center of the county, some two and a half miles west of the Okaw." As the county seat, Sullivan was the judicial and administrative heart of the county; and the courthouse square formed the center of the small business district.

The courthouse itself in 1885 was the second such structure, the first having been destroyed by fire in 1864.<sup>23</sup> The new building, built in 1865-66, was 50 feet square and 30 feet from the stone foundation to the eaves, with another 38 feet to the top of the dome--making it an imposing structure. The streets surrounding the courthouse were not paved until 1894.

The north side of the town square had once been known as "sod-corn row"--a series of "groceries" which sold liquor by the drink. Ivory later remembered that,

Most of the quarrels along this row were settled by the disputants themselves in 'fair fights.' There were at first no licensed saloons. Whiskey was sold at the groceries. <sup>24</sup>

By 1885 sod-corn row had disappeared, thanks in part to the advent of liquor licensing. In its place was a row of structures anchored on the west end of the block by the Titus Opera House. Built by J.B. Titus in 1871 and located on the second and third stories of the building, the opera house consisted of an auditorium, balcony and box seats, and was said to accommodate 800 people.<sup>25</sup>

The opera house, considered one of the finest in central Illinois, provided a place for lectures, plays, and musical entertainments put on by traveling companies and local performers. The first floor of the building consisted of a general store. In the second floor corner of the building was located the law office of Eden & Clark, John R.'s. On the third floor of the same building could be found the office of the publishers of the *Sullivan Progress*.

At the east end of the block was the two-story brick Lewis building, the former home of the Earp Saloon,<sup>26</sup> but now home to the City Book Store, managed by John P. Lilly, and also the Frederick photograph gallery. Dr. Lewis, one of several local physicians, kept his office in the bookshop and also sold a small stock of medicines and drugs. Other businesses located on the north side of the square included Andrews' "merchant tailor" store, Spittler & Son's merchandise store, Ansbacher's bargain clothes, and Pike's jewelry shop.

A town pump, equipped with watering troughs for the horses, was located at the northwest corner of the square (opposite a saloon where their owners could obtain their own liquid refreshment.

On the west side of the square, as already noted, was the Eden House. Also on the west side could be found retail dealers in dry goods, clothing, groceries and produce, and also the office of attorney Alvin Greene. On the south side were the Elder and Smyser business buildings, the three-story Corbin building housing the Corbin furniture store and coffin business, and Millican & Norvall, "deal ers in staples and fancy groceries, glass and queensware."<sup>27</sup>



And on the east side were a meat market, harness shop, Matt Layman's cobbler shop, the Brosam Brothers' bakery (where candy, tobacco and ice cream could also be purchased), McClure's grocery, Sona's marble shop (sellers of grave markers), and a hardware store. Above the latter could be found Mouser's law office. The post office was located a few store fronts east of the southeast corner of the square. Letters handled by the post office were not delivered to residences or offices, but were instead left in boxes at the post office to be picked up by the addressees. Alternatively, letter writers could pay local boys to provide messenger service for home or office delivery.

Although the streets were unpaved and the sidewalks made of boards, the town did not lack improvements. In 1885, the new Mayor, William H. Shinn, planned and built a system of street lights--gasoline lamps on posts along each street leading from the courthouse--financed by saloon license fees. "Each evening a policeman would make the rounds to light the lamps, and in the morning a similar trip was made to extinguish the lights."<sup>28</sup> The City Police Department was likewise established in 1885.<sup>29</sup>

A little over a mile west of the courthouse were the depots for the two railroads serving Sullivan in 1885--the east-west Decatur, Sullivan, and Mattoon (later part of the Illinois Central), and the north-south Chicago and Paducah (later known as the Wabash, which would become part of the Norfolk & Western).



Two blocks east of the courthouse was the First Christian Church, the church attended by Roxana Eden and her children. (John R. never joined the church.) With about 150 members it was one of the largest churches in town. Built in 1853, the one-room frame structure had two separate front entrances. The men entered on the right and sat in pews on the right side of the church; women entered and sat on the left. Married couples separated as they entered the church and sat separately during the service. When a small organ was added, the church lost several of its long-time members.<sup>30</sup>

Several of these places figure in the lives and correspondence of Rose Eden and Ivory Martin during their courtship year 1885-86.

During the spring of 1886, Rose's father--John R. Eden--was in a serious fight for the Democratic congressional nomination. After serving one term in the early 1860's and three terms during the 1870's, Eden had been reelected to a fifth term in the election of 1884, succeeding Judge Samuel W. Moulton, who had served two terms and decided not to stand for reelection in 1884. In that year, Eden defeated fellow Democrats Jesse Phillips of Montgomery County and State Senator Yancy of Macoupin County for the nomination, and then beat the Republican, H.J. Hamilin, in the general election.

In 1886 Judge Moulton decided to run again. Other Democratic candidates were Judge Edward Lane of Montgomery County, State Senator Yancy of Macoupin, and State Senator Rhinehart from Effingham. Eden had the support of Moultrie and Fayette Counties, and was the second choice of the convention delegates from Montgomery and Macoupin. The Shelby County delegates were for Moulton, and Effingham was for Rhinehart. The strongest candidates were Eden and Lane. The outcome depended on the delegates from Montgomery County, whose delegation chairman was the Judge Phillips whom Eden had defeated two years earlier. Despite Eden's support within the delegation, Judge Phillips held no conference or consultation, but voted all the county's votes for Lane, who thus prevailed in the Democratic convention. Eden later gave him his full support in the general election. Lane was elected and served four terms in Congress.<sup>31</sup>

Rose's father experienced this defeat in his last campaign a few days before the marriage of Rose and Ivory , on June 30, 1886.



# XXV

## “Pretty damned warm times”

### The 1864 Charleston Riot and “the inalienable right of revolution”

ROBERT D. SAMPSON

Amid the gunshots and falling bodies on the courthouse square in Charleston on March 28, 1864, Marcus Hill's first concern was for the safety of his horses. After he led the animals from a hitching rack on the square to the shelter of an alley, Hill was asked what he thought of the present situation. “[P]retty damned warm times,” he replied.<sup>1</sup> The frustrations, tensions, antagonisms, and conflicting political views that provided dry tinder in Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois during the Civil War had ignited into armed confrontation all around Hill. When it was over, nine men (six Union soldiers, two Democrats, and a Republican civilian) were dead, and twelve men were wounded, likely making the event the deadliest of its type in the North except for the New York City draft riots.<sup>2</sup>

Although the level of violence and the location—in the heart of Abraham

Lincoln's central Illinois—make it one of the most intriguing incidents on the Civil War home front, the Charleston Riot largely has been ignored. Fifty years ago, Charles Hubert Coleman and Paul H. Spence carefully sifted through the conflicting stories and legends to assemble the only published, scholarly treatment of the incident. They made clear many but not all of the contributing factors—previous armed confrontations, street beatings, physical and mental harassment and abuse, and an abundant supply of whiskey. That situation exploded into gunfire when David Nelson Wells, a young Edgar County Democrat, or Copperhead—as those Democrats' whose opinions ranged from anti-Lincoln administration to antiwar to pro-South were commonly known in east central Illinois—and Union soldier Oliver Sallee encountered each other on the courthouse square.

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<sup>1</sup>Deposition of Marcus Hill, April 6, 1864, Records of Draft Riots, 1864, Coles County Circuit Clerk, Charleston. Immediately after the riot, local and military authorities interviewed a number of eyewitnesses, who often provided irrelevant and hearsay testimony. The occasional gem of description, however, makes the tedious review of the documents worthwhile.

<sup>2</sup>See Coleman and Spence, “The Charleston Riot,

Gathered around the square on March 28, 1864, were the two main bodies of contention—members of Companies C and G of the Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry, who were to assemble later that day in Mattoon after a furlough, and Democrats from Coles and Edgar counties, some of whom had previously clashed with the troops. Added to the lure for both groups was the presence of three leading Democrats—United States Representative John Rice Eden, Judge Charles Henry Constable, and Coles County Sheriff John Hardwicke O'Hair. Democrats feared that the soldiers might attempt to humiliate those leaders with forced loyalty oath takings, and some saw this as the time and place to take a stand against military bullying. As the day wore on, the groups moved about the square, eyeing each other and engaging in threatening conversations.

Sallee was not intimidated by the Democratic farmers—whom he referred to as "butternuts"—as they poured into town. He bragged that should the Democrats start any trouble, "the soldiers could whip any of the butternuts if that was what they came for." John Elsberry Hanks, a Democrat, was equally determined, vowing of the soldiers that "the butternuts would make them sup sorrow . . . before we leave town."<sup>3</sup>

Wells was in a party headed for the gold-fields of California, and he had stopped in Charleston only for the day. He was particularly vocal and confrontational, according to witnesses, who recalled the young man in his dark clothing and yellow, low-crowned hat. On the west side of the courthouse, outside the courtroom where Judge Constable was presiding, Wells and Sallee came in contact. Neither the exact sequence of events nor the roles of aggressor and defender can be conclusively established. Within seconds, however, shots rang out. Sallee sunk to the ground, firing as he fell. Wells staggered away, fatally wounded, and died in the doorway of a grocery store. Almost immediately firing became general.<sup>4</sup>

Democrats ran to their wagons, producing weapons from under loads of hay and other goods. Some pulled sidearms out of their pockets and coats. Although the soldiers had left their rifles stacked at the railroad depot, several of them apparently carried pistols and joined in the fray. Inside Constable's courtroom, former congressman and prominent local Democrat Orlando Bell Ficklin had "no serious concern" at the first shot, perhaps thinking it an accidental discharge. Sheriff O'Hair, who was fulfilling his official duties in the courtroom during the trial of an alleged hog thief, felt the sting of a bullet nicking his chin. Simultaneously, a "terrible kicking and thumping" commenced against the west door to the courtroom. As the door gave way, Greenville M. Mitchell of Charleston, commander of the troops, and Robert Winkler, a local Democrat, came tumbling into the room, "engaged in a struggle for life or death, each having a revolver and striking or shooting at the other."<sup>5</sup>

Rushing to Mitchell's assistance was

March 28, 1864," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 33 (1940), 7–56 (the article was reprinted in *Eastern Illinois University Bulletin*, April, 1961, pp. 78–112). William F. Hanna, in "The Boston Draft Riot," *Civil War History*, 36 (1990), places the death toll in the July 14, 1863, event at eight (see pp. 268–69).

<sup>3</sup>Deposition of W. W. Goodrich, April 1, 1864, Records of Draft Riots, 1864.

<sup>4</sup>Deposition of Noah G. Calhoun, April 2, 1864, *ibid.*; Coleman and Spence, pp. 22–24.

<sup>5</sup>Depositions of Orlando B. Ficklin, April 1, 1864, and George W. Parker, April 1, 1864, both in Records of Draft Riots, 1864; "Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair (son of John Hardwicke O'Hair) dictated to Adin Baber, Kansas, Ill., May 13, 1932, based on conversations with Uncle Berry Hanks and his mother, Evaline O'Hair," "Charleston Riot—Newspaper Items" Folder, Charles Coleman Papers, Eastern Illinois University Archives, Charleston; Coleman and Spence, pp. 24–27, 25n.

ROBERT D. SAMPSON

101

Major Shubal York, the Fifty-fourth's surgeon, an outspoken Republican and abolitionist and father of a man who had seriously wounded a Democrat weeks earlier in Paris, Illinois. Before York could complete his mission, he was fatally wounded. George W. Parker, who came to his side, was urged by York to "get the Doctor, I am shot all to pieces." O'Hair escorted Congressman Eden, who was in the courtroom, to the west door of the courthouse, where he threw open the door and was greeted with gunfire from three men. Though the shots penetrated his coat, he was not hit, and he returned the fire. Eden dashed across the square and rapidly moved to the east. As Eden fled, O'Hair plunged into the heart of the fray—the area outside the courtroom on the west side of the courthouse.<sup>6</sup>

While the bloody contest played out in the courthouse, a larger choreography of violence filled the square. On the east and south sides of the courthouse lawn, Democrats fired at Union soldiers, ducked behind trees and a small outbuilding on the courthouse lawn to reload, and they then sought out new targets. Sheriff O'Hair did not join them, however. He stood beside a firing line of several Democrats, aligned perhaps in a defensive formation in front of the building's west door. Farmer John Frazier rode his horse back and forth in the street through the cross fire, urging the Democrats to the fight and emerging unscathed. The firing from all groups—soldiers and Democrats—became so intense that it stripped the bark off trees in the courthouse yard. "Boys, this is bad," an

<sup>6</sup>Deposition of George W. Parker; "Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair"; Coleman and Spence, pp. 24–26.

**MURDER!**

**THE 54th Regiment Illinois Volunteers offer ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD for the apprehension of John H. O'Hair, Sheriff of Coles County J. Elebury Hanks, John Frazier, James W. Shaler, Henderson O'Hair, James O'Hair, Jesse O'Hair, B. F. Toland and B. F. Duke, all of whom were engaged in the brutal murder of Major York and four soldiers of the 54th Reg. and the wounding of several others, in Charleston, on Monday March 28th, 1864.**

**DESCRIPTION.**

John H. O'Hair, height 5 feet 11 in., age 35, eyes light, hair light, complexion light, Sheriff of the county.

J. Elebury Hanks, 5 ft 8 in. 35 yrs. old, dark eyes, light complexion and hair, farmer.

John Frazier, 5 ft 10 in. 35 yrs. old, dark eyes, hair and complexion, farmer.

James W. Frazier 6ft, age 40, dark eyes hair and complexion; farmer.

Henderson O'Hair, 6ft, age 40 dark eyes, complexion and hair; farmer.

James O'Hair, 5ft 11, age 45, light eyes hair and complexion; farmer.

Jesse O'Hair, 5ft 9, light eyes hair and complexion; no occupation.

B. F. Toland, 5ft 10, age 35 black eyes hair and complexion; farmer.

B. F. Duke, 5ft 8, age 35, light eyes hair and complexion, leader.

The citizens of Coles County will pay \$200 for the apprehension of J. H. O'Hair, and \$100 for each of the above named, and for Alexander Rogers. This reward will be given whether dead or alive. Dukes is badly cut about the face.

Charleston, Ill., April 24, 1864.

*This wanted notice appeared in the April 6, 1864, issue of the Mattoon Independent Gazette.*

excited Jesse O'Hair reportedly said, as he ducked into a store during the battle. "Just look at the dead men." The duration of the firefight was probably only a few minutes. The event known as the Charleston Riot



ended as Sheriff O'Hair rallied the Democrats at the southeast corner of the square and marched them east on Jackson Street out of town.<sup>7</sup>

After the firing had ended and the main body of Democrats had left town, the last casualties occurred. A tardy Democrat seized by the troops was shot to death when he attempted to break free. The same shots killed a Republican storekeeper caught in the line of fire.<sup>8</sup>

Historical interpretations of Copperheadism in the decades following the Charleston Riot tend to view it as "tainted with treason," as Iver Bernstein observed of the Northern Democratic antiwar movement as a whole. That approach was overturned three decades ago by the work of Frank Ludwig Klement.<sup>9</sup>

Historian Mark E. Neely, Jr., credits

Klement with proving "beyond any reasonable doubt, that no systematic, organized disloyal opposition to the war existed in the North." Neely concluded, however, that Democratic accusations of political motivation in the civilian arrests were wrong, that the Democrats had no special tradition of civil liberty protection, and that after a short time they abandoned attempts to paint Lincoln as a dictator by use of the arrests issue. Yet, Neely acknowledges that the Democrats' most persistent use of the civil liberty issue coincides with the crucial months preceding the Charleston Riot.<sup>10</sup>

Jean Harvey Baker contends that "considerable evidence" exists that nineteenth-century Americans paid close attention to politics and had a "broader, deeper understanding of issues" than later generations. At the heart of Baker's argument lies an activist

<sup>7</sup>Deposition of Stephen E. Guthrie, April 1, 1864, Records of Draft Riots, 1864; Coleman and Spence, pp. 25–27.

<sup>8</sup>Coleman and Spence, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup>Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. vii. For pre-Klement views of Copperheads and the Charleston Riot, see Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848–1870. Centennial History of Illinois*, Vol. 3 (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919), pp. 290–311; [Isaac Funk], *Copperheads under the Heel of an Illinois Farmer* (n.p. [1863]), p. 3. The most extreme denunciations of Copperheads by a twentieth-century author can be found in Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York: Viking, 1942). For a historiographical view, see John T. Hubbell, "Politics as Usual: The Northern Democracy and Party Survival, 1860–61," *Illinois Quarterly*, Sept., 1973, p. 24. Coleman and Spence prove Hubbell's point about Lincoln-influenced interpretations (see pp. 42–43). For Klement's main works addressing Copperheadism and relevant citations, see "Middle Western Copperheadism and the Genesis of the Granger Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 38 (1951–1952), 680, 694; "Economic Aspects of Middle Western Copperheadism," *The Historian*, 14 (1951–1952), 27, 42; *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1960), pp. 33–34. Also important in the reassessment of Copperheadism are works by Richard Orr Curry, "The Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–1877: A Critical Overview of Recent Trends and Interpretations," *Civil War History*, 20 (1974), 216, and "A Note on the Origins and Usage of the Term 'Butternut' During the Civil War," *Mid-America: An Historical Review*, 44 (1962), 125. For an opposing view, see David E. Long, *The Jewel of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln's Re-Election and the End of Slavery* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1994). One historian who has examined Civil War confrontations in Indiana between Union supporters and Democrats indicates that violent incidents like Charleston's were not sudden, unexplainable outbursts (see G. R. Tredway, *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana*, Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. 48 [Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1973], p. 72).

<sup>10</sup>See Neely, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. xii, 202, 207–08. For examples of "bottom-up" and activist republican ideology approaches, see Bernstein; Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

republican ideology rooted in the Democratic party and passed on to new generations by both education and experience. Antebellum American history texts, she notes, "focused on the revolution." Taken to Democratic rallies by their parents, youngsters "began to absorb the community's self-perpetuating partisan culture," which included a "suspicion of power, a fear of human motives, [and] an expectation of conspiracy." That culture provided guideposts for a "logic of rebellion"—a set of conditions that in extreme cases could justify taking up arms against perceived oppressors, just as the men of 1776 had done. Democrats incorporated that "logic of rebellion" in their view of the proper role and conduct of government. "Behind every set of Northern Democratic messages rested an accumulation of symbols and traditions, a kind of switchboard on which languages, themes, and modes of expression connected belief and believer, past and present, perception and reality."<sup>11</sup>

A key word on this "switchboard" was "corruption," a term seen by Democrats as a "replacement of public instincts of virtue and prudence by exclusive interests affiliated with a centralized government." The

term resonates in classical republican theory, calling to mind an "organic cancer, eating at the vitals of the body politic and working a progressive dissolution." Essential to the concept was a steady progression of abuses that proved intractable to electoral or judicial control, indicating the existence of a conspiracy to usurp liberty. Such a perspective gives added meaning to the complaint that a Charleston Democrat addressed to the *Chicago Times* on January 25, 1863. The author prayed for divine protection for New York Governor Horatio Seymour in his efforts to "defend the rights of the citizen from the oppressors who now rule the people with a rod of iron from the Capitol at Washington. *History does not produce a more damnable and corrupt set of tyrants.*"<sup>12</sup>

It is likely that the letter writer, as well as other local Democrats using the same language, came of age imbibing Democratic and republican ideology in the atmosphere described by Baker. To such a person, use of the word corruption goes deeper than the general twentieth-century meaning of financial improprieties and payoffs. Seen from that perspective, the letter writer's closing warning, "Our people [here] are now a good deal like a magazine,—it will take but little more to produce an explosion that will shake this Union from centre to circumference," takes on meaning beyond idle threat. Combined with a series of physical attacks and the suppression of free speech that increasingly frustrated Coles and Edgar County Democrats, the letter adds a new interpretation to the Charleston Riot.<sup>13</sup>

Fearful of centralizing trends in the government and economy, shocked by Lincoln's emancipation policy, feeling unsafe on the streets of their own communities, and being told by one congressman that the battle, if necessary, would be taken beyond the normal electoral and legal tactics and by another congressman that there

<sup>11</sup>Baker, pp. 23, 52, 82, 147–48; Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 94.

<sup>12</sup>Baker, pp. 147, 157; *The Record of Hon. C. L. Vallandigham* (Columbus, Ohio: J. Walter, 1863), p. 68; Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), p. 47; *Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, col. 4.

<sup>13</sup>*Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, col. 4.

was a government plot to deny them access to the ballot, the Democrats at Charleston who took aim and fired were convinced that the preconditions—the “logic of rebellion”—justified their actions.

Former United States Senator George Ellis Pugh of Ohio, whose law partner, former United States Representative Clement Laird Vallandigham of Ohio, had been arrested and spirited from his home in the dead of night by troops, articulated the “logic of rebellion” when he asserted: “The best security to people for their liberty, is the conviction that they will defend it.”<sup>14</sup> Such convictions were not limited to Ohio nor to the streets of Charleston. Over the last twenty years, a number of studies of Indiana and Iowa Civil War-era Democrats indicate that frequent violent confrontations with Republicans and soldiers occurred. For example, a “grave danger of a spontaneous revolt existed” in Indiana, concludes G. R. Tredway, a student of the state’s Civil War Democracy. By the spring of 1863, opposition to emancipation, resentment of political coercion, and Northern military failure created the “potential for an outbreak of massive resistance.” The same year as the Charleston Riot, a “spectacular gun battle” occurred in Noblesville, Indiana, when a Democratic political meeting was held too close to a Republican agricultural fair. Other Hoosier hot spots were Fort Wayne, Greensburg, Danville, and Brown and Sullivan counties.<sup>15</sup>

An incident in Sullivan County—though occurring after the Charleston Riot—was typical of the confrontations. In July of 1864, soldiers and local Republicans invaded a picnic and attempted to force young men present to take loyalty oaths. Some resisted, and the soldiers left, only to return armed. One soldier knocked a boy down, and another soldier—Matt Brown—shot the youth when he started to flee. Nine hours later, the young man died. Brown had already killed one Democrat—a Terre

Haute physician—for which he was never arrested or tried. That such incidents never escalated to the level of Charleston is attributed by Tredway “as much to chance as to management.” As in Illinois, Tredway found that Union soldiers stationed or on leave in Indiana were likely to wreck Democratic newspapers, disrupt party meetings, and attack Lincoln administration opponents. He contends that “soldiers were above the law as far as offenses with political connotations were concerned, regardless of their magnitude.” Victims of such crimes, if they were Democrats, enjoyed “little hope of redress.”<sup>16</sup>

Democrats fared no better in Iowa, according to recent scholars and at least one contemporary observer, J. D. Nelson, who wrote to future Illinois Representative John Francis Snyder: “God damn there [sic] administration I wish I could sink some of them in hell.” Bordering insurgent-racked Missouri and home to a Democratic minority, Iowa saw a number of violent clashes and acts of intimidation against Democrats.<sup>17</sup> As in Indiana, Iowa Democrats found themselves outside of the law. “[N]o man’s personal safety can be assured for one moment after the conclusion shall have been clearly arrived at that he is a traitor,” lamented the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*.<sup>18</sup> Hubert H.

<sup>14</sup>Bailyn, p. 94; “Speech of George Pugh,” *Papers from the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*, No. 9, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>Tredway, pp. 78–79, 81–82, 85, 89, 99–100, 104–06, 280–81.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 103–06, 280–81.

<sup>17</sup>Nelson to Snyder, Aug. 31, Oct. 4, and Nov. 22, 1863, Box 3, Folder 4, John Francis Snyder Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

<sup>18</sup>For examples of Iowa clashes, see Hubert H. Wubben, *Civil War Iowa and the Copperhead Movement* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980), pp. 113–14; *Burlington (Iowa) Weekly Hawk-Eye*, Aug. 24, 1861, p. 2, col. 2.

ROBERT D. SAMPSON

105

Wubben notes that on a number of occasions, Democratic editors called upon citizens to organize and put an end to political harassment, but "nothing happened." David L. Lendt, who also studied Iowa's Civil War Democracy, believes that Democrats were a "victimized minority" and that "no evidence" exists linking them to the incidents of violence against marshals. He adds, however, that "sufficient evidence" can be found that many Democrats, particularly editors, "were systematically persecuted for political purposes."<sup>19</sup>

For a short time, the *Coles County Ledger* provided an editorial voice for Democrats opposed to the Lincoln administration's war policies. It acknowledged the burden of dissent. "An eye of suspicion is turned upon every Democrat who does not bellow himself hoarse over this terrible war," editor J. M. Eastin observed.<sup>20</sup> Illinois Democrats

who took issue with the administration escaped neither the label Copperhead nor the spontaneous and official forms of repression inflicted upon their Iowa and Indiana neighbors. Some two thousand Illinoisans were arrested in an effort to "suppress propaganda and opposition." Fifty-two citizens were indicted for "harboring, concealing, or employing" deserters or helping them to escape, thirty of those indictments coming in the two months preceding the Charleston Riot. Almost any citizen, it seemed, was subject to accusation, provided it was structured in terms of loyalty. William Shane, who cheered for Jefferson Davis and "god damned Lincoln to hell," found himself the object of two complaints. Such a climate, observed Illinois historian Donald F. Tingley, was ripe for a massive outbreak of "[n]ame-calling and witch-hunting" aimed at Democrats, despite the fact that they too "paid their taxes, served in the army, and hoped to preserve the Union."<sup>21</sup>

Early in the war, prominent Illinois Democrats, and United States Representatives William Alexander Richardson of Quincy, James Carroll Robinson of Marshall, and William Joshua Allen of Marion joined Vallandigham in a protest of the administration's initial arbitrary arrests. Within a year, Allen was one of forty people arrested in southern Illinois—all sharing the common traits of "devotion to the Democratic Party" and criticism of the Lincoln administration. The threat of large-scale violence in Williamson County necessitated placing it under martial law in order to complete the draft enrollment in 1864. Olney, the county seat of Richland County, was allegedly besieged for three days by men vowing to destroy the local enrollment lists. Yet, that may have been a case of wartime exaggeration. An account written long after the war by Bryant Higgins, who "guarded" the Richland County Courthouse, indicates that no shots were fired,

<sup>19</sup>Wubben, p. 120; Lendt, *Demise of the Democracy: The Copperhead Press in Iowa, 1856-1870* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1973), pp. 133, 135.

<sup>20</sup>*Coles County Ledger* (Charleston), Jan. 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 2. A major problem in studying central Illinois Democratic attitudes towards the Civil War is the lack of newspapers reflecting those views. Only scattered copies of key Democratic newspapers in Charleston and Paris survive.

<sup>21</sup>J. M. Hofer, "Development of the Peace Movement in Illinois During the Civil War," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 24 (1931-1932), 110; Kellee Green Blake, "Aiding and Abetting: Disloyalty Prosecutions in the Federal Civil Courts of Southern Illinois, 1861-1866," *Illinois Historical Journal*, 87 (1994), 104; "Depositions of Abigail M. Kinney, Elen Greening, and Kate Redman, March 6 and May 29, 1863," Kate Redman Papers (SC 1248), Illinois State Historical Library; Tingley, "The Clingman Raid," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 56 (1963), 362-63.

nor were any attempts made to cut off the town or seize the records.<sup>22</sup>

The *Chicago Tribune* and Illinois Governor Richard Yates jointly employed Joseph King Cummins Forrest to stir up public fears from time to time with anxious reports of Copperheads armed to the teeth and on the march. Rather than accuracy, Forrest's guiding journalistic principle was the potential that his sometimes fanciful creations had for advancing the Yates and Lincoln administrations. A good example of his style is the "Great excitement" reported in Fulton County. Local opposition to draft enrollment existed there, but it was inflated by the *Tribune* to tales of Copperhead fortifications and six hundred to one thousand "insurgents" running through the streets. Klement studied the incident and concluded that the confrontation, labeled a "war" by the *Tribune*, was "largely the fault of an arrogant enrolling officer." Republicans were "anxious to use the incident to benefit their party." Behind the scare campaign, Klement found the experienced hand of Forrest.<sup>23</sup>

Even before the Fulton County incident, Illinois Democrats sought relief at the ballot box. During the 1862 elections, the party called on voters to reject "the reign of terror" and "the policy of intimidation and arrest." While it was not the only issue in that election, it was clearly an important one, given the chilled climate for free speech in Illinois and other states. Illinois voters responded in 1862, returning a Democratic state legislature, increasing the size of the party's share of the state's congressional delegation, and putting Democrats into office at the county level. Among the beneficiaries of that rebuke to the Lincoln administration were Eden—a Sullivan attorney, Douglas Democrat, and former prosecutor, who took the new Seventh District congressional seat—and O'Hair, who gained the office of Coles County Sheriff.<sup>24</sup>

The combination of events that left

Illinois Democrats with little or no relief despite their electoral triumph is composed of Democratic incompetence and poor leadership, Republican intelligence and skill, and simply bad luck. From a new state constitution to efforts to bridle Yates to attempts to nudge the Lincoln administration towards peace negotiations, the Democrats met failure and frustration on every front.<sup>25</sup> The importance of those developments in the context of the Charleston Riot is the inability of the ballot box to end what many Democrats viewed as misguided, even oppressive, policies.

Weeks before the Charleston Riot, Eden rose in Congress to denounce the trend of Republican policy. He asked his opponents: "If you are not for the Union as it was, what sort of Union are you for? . . . A Union without States, without *habeas corpus*, without trial by jury, without free speech or free press, without a free ballot?" Rather than the Union he and others had come to maturity under, the Republicans were aiming for a configuration not unlike a tax-oppressed, liberties-denied European dictatorship. He

<sup>22</sup>Klement, *Copperheads in the Middle West*, pp. 18–19; Blake, pp. 103–05; Edward Conrad Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (1927; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 340; Higgins, "Reminiscent Sketch of Richland County," in *Biographical and Reminiscent History of Richland, Clay and Marion Counties Illinois* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1909), pp. 422–23.

<sup>23</sup>Klement, *Copperheads in the Middle West*, pp. 79, 143–44, 285n; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 15 (p. 1, col. 3), Aug. 18 (p. 1, col. 3), Aug. 19 (p. 1, col. 2), Aug. 22 (p. 1, col. 4), 1863.

<sup>24</sup>*Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Sept. 9, 1862, p. 2, col. 1; Klement, *Copperheads in the Middle West*, p. 21; Coleman and Spence, pp. 7–9.

<sup>25</sup>For an account of the Democratic-controlled state legislature's attempts to best Yates in the battle over the proposed 1862 state constitution, see Cole, pp. 266–72.

feared, if not already in place, that "tyranny" was not too far away.<sup>26</sup>

What led to such conclusions? Why would Eden invoke the charged language of activist republican ideology? The answer lies in events, as well as statements by Eden and Robinson, indicating a steady progression through the "logic of rebellion."

Many Coles County residents were either Southern immigrants or descendants of Southern-born parents. That alone would provide an explanation for some of the peace sentiment in the county. Others may have been repelled by the bloody toll of battle. A number clearly indicated their deep-seated opposition to emancipation and the specter of former slaves migrating to Illinois.<sup>27</sup> Whatever their particular motivations, Coles County Democrats, as early as January, 1863, were reaching out to fellow citizens in search of an end to the killing.

One group of distinguished and contentious citizens met in the Coles County Courthouse the evening of January 17, 1863, to seek a peaceful end to the Civil War. "The people have not only lost all

heart in the war, but they loathe and detest it . . . as the greatest and basest fraud that was ever practiced upon the patriotic impulses of a loyal and devoted people," they contended.<sup>28</sup> Ficklin, described by the *Mattoon Independent Gazette* as the "great Hesnake of the Copperheads of this County," presided. Also on hand were a number of "unconditional Union men" ready to "assist in overruling any disloyal proceedings which might be attempted." According to the *Gazette*, Ficklin's opening address was filled with familiar Democratic charges: "abolition," "Government bastiles [*sic*]," "habeas corpus," and "constitution."

Preliminaries complete, the meeting moved to a debate over a resolution calling for an immediate armistice and protesting the taxes being levied to support the war. At that point, the *Charleston Courier* contended, "all the malignant spirits and rowdies" from the area were brought in by the Republicans to either break up the meeting, or override its proceedings." It is not clear if the resolution labeling the war a "fraud" was actually adopted. Surviving newspaper accounts leave the impression that the attempt to talk peace degenerated into confusion and disorder. It is clear that the Democrats were not satisfied. The *Gazette's* account of the January 17 meeting also featured the previously quoted letter to the *Chicago Times* from a Coles County Democrat announcing a second peace meeting.<sup>29</sup>

The *Gazette* charged that the letter was written by Jacob I. Brown. In the Republican newspaper's opinion, Brown's missive was "more damnable treason than we have ever before seen in the same space of print, from a citizen of Coles County." Jefferson Davis could, no doubt, be warmed by Brown's sentiments, the *Gazette* assured readers.<sup>30</sup> Brown had informed the *Chicago Times* that the "democracy of Old Coles are wide awake" and "clamorous" for peace. "If ever done, it [peace] must be accomplished by the democratic party," Brown asserted.

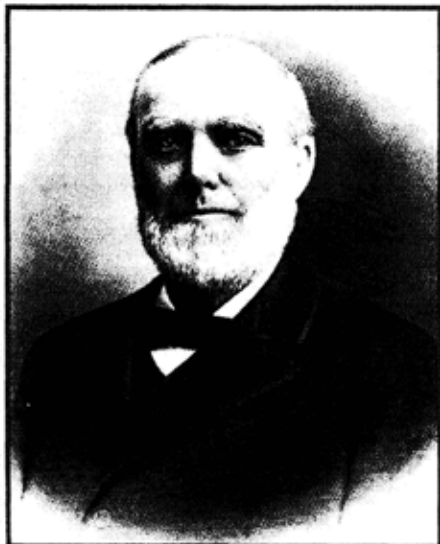
<sup>26</sup>John R. Eden, *Speech of the Honorable John R. Eden of Illinois, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 27, 1864* (Washington, D.C.: Constitutional Union, 1864), pp. 5, 12 (copy in Moultrie County Historical Society Library, Sullivan, Ill.). See also *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 34, Pt. 53, pp. 860, 862.

<sup>27</sup>Bailyn, p. 94; Coleman and Spence, p. 9; *Coles County Ledger*, Jan. 30, 1862, p. 2, col. 2; *Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, col. 4. For examples of the effects of racism on the election of 1862, see Bruce Tap, "Race, Rhetoric, and Emancipation: The Election of 1862 in Illinois," *Civil War History*, 39 (1993), 101–25.

<sup>28</sup>*Charleston Courier*, quoted in the *Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>29</sup>*Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, cols. 1–2; *Charleston Courier*, quoted in *ibid.*, col. 2.

<sup>30</sup>*Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Jan. 24 [Feb. 1], 1863, p. 2, col. 3.



JOHN RICE EDEN

Yet, he added, the party's "mouth has been sealed so long by the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the thousand and one worse than French Bastiles." He concluded by comparing the citizens of Coles County to an ammunition dump ready to explode at the next spark.<sup>31</sup>

Apparently, only Democrats were allowed to attend the second peace meeting, held on January 31. Ficklin again presided, and Eden was on hand to deliver a two-hour speech. "He showed to the entire satisfaction of the little Coppersnakes, that the Administration is meaner than the Devil, and corrupt as hell, and that it is the duty of every 'Democrat' in the county to help (Jeff. Davis) put it out of power," the *Gazette* caustically observed. That time the organizers succeeded in offering and passing resolutions that, according to the *Gazette*, called for an armistice, opposed paying taxes for

the purpose of compensated emancipation, and opposed the unconditional emancipation of slaves in the Rebel states. Of the meeting's resolution declaring that *habeas corpus* "must and shall be maintained," the *Gazette* professed outrage: "This is an actual threat to resist the authorities."<sup>32</sup>

Even with the *Gazette's* attempt to hang the traitor label on the Democrats, there were apparently Republicans who saw the need to at least talk with the opposition. In early February, a meeting was held in Mattoon between "members of the unconditional Union church and the *habeas corpus*, 'political bastille' organization" that included open discussion and a "pledge [of] personal friendship to prevent any violence which might grow out of the present combustible state of the Government affairs." A committee was appointed to address the county's citizens, urging them to "keep cool." Attacking the meeting, the *Gazette* dismissed it as of little value. Events would prove, however, the validity of the participants' concern over violence.<sup>33</sup>

Within weeks, the "*habeas corpus* 'political bastille'" party had a bold example of civil authority's erosion to contemplate. Judge Constable, while presiding in Charleston, had refused to allow Union troops based in Indiana to take four deserters that they had captured in the city back to Indiana. He not only released the four men but also ordered the arrest of two of the army officers as "kidnappers." Aroused by that action, Oliver Hazard Perry Throck Morton, Indiana's Republican governor, ordered military officials in his state to proceed to Illinois, arrest Constable, and return with him. The troops

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 4.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1863, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 3.

completed one part of the mission—arresting Constable—but the jurist was ordered released by a federal judge before he could be transported to Indiana. Clearly, state boundaries and the supposed superiority of civil over military authority provided no protection when one defied high-ranking Republican officials.<sup>34</sup>

Within months, mounting anger led to a mass Democratic demonstration in Mattoon. One of the signs boldly held aloft by determined Democrats that day reflected the logic of rebellion. "The plea of military necessity," the placard proclaimed, "is the plea of tyrants."<sup>35</sup>

Throughout the summer of 1863, Mattoon achieved notoriety among Illinois Democrats as a place where they could be "continually insulted, mobbed, and stigmatized as copperheads, secessionists, & c." Coles County was split geographically as well as ideologically with the Republican vote heaviest in the western part of the county, the area dominated by Mattoon. Democratic strength tended to center in Charleston and the rural areas to the east. Concerned about the ability to hold and exercise opinions without fear of harassment in what the *Chicago Times* described as the "most fanatical, intolerant, mobocratic

hole of abolitionism in this part of the State," Democrats decided on a show of force.<sup>36</sup>

Early on August 1, Democrats began arriving in Mattoon by train, wagon, and on foot, determined to "maintain the rights of free speech and personal liberty." Armed with "shotguns, rifles, and muskets," the Democrats' procession stretched three miles through the city, filled by some eight thousand to twelve thousand people—a number disputed by the *Gazette*, which insisted upon three thousand, still an impressive number. Held proudly aloft were banners proclaiming "Free Speech, Free Press, and an Independent Judiciary," and "For President, Horatio Seymour, for Vice President, C. L. Vallandigham."<sup>37</sup>

Robinson and Eden addressed the assembled Democrats. They delivered "[g]ood, sound democratic doctrines," the *Chicago Times* reported, including "strict and implicit obedience to and enforcement of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of free speech, free press, and personal liberty, at all hazards, even to the bitter end." The newspaper warned Republicans that the rally clearly indicated that the Democrats "are as well able to protect themselves as others are to oppress them." Continued frustration of legitimate grievances and harassment on the streets would be met with action at the "ballot-box." Democrats were ready to achieve their rights "forcibly with the cartridge-box. . . . [W]hen all peaceful means fail, the democracy are ready and armed to maintain those rights as their fathers won them." Eden, according to the *Gazette*, made a similar point about Democratic opposition to tyrannical actions, vowing to "fight these measures through the courts, and if we fail will fight them through the Supreme Courts, and Congress, and if we fail there also, we will *still fight them in another way*."<sup>38</sup>

For some Coles County residents, the display of strength and fiery words had the

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.; Coleman and Spence, pp. 13–14.

<sup>35</sup>Mattoon Independent Gazette, Aug. 5, 1863, p. 2, cols. 1–2.

<sup>36</sup>Chicago Times, Aug. 6, 1863, p. 1, col. 5; Coleman and Spence, pp. 8–9.

<sup>37</sup>Chicago Times, Aug. 6, 1863, p. 1, col. 5; Mattoon Independent Gazette, Aug. 5, 1863, p. 2, cols. 1–2; Coleman and Spence, pp. 15–16.

<sup>38</sup>Chicago Times, Aug. 6, 1863, p. 1, col. 5; Mattoon Independent Gazette, Aug. 5, 1863, p. 2, cols. 1–2. The author's attention was called to Eden's previously unnoticed remarks in Barbara L. Biehl, "The Charleston Riot," TS, Department of History, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston.





ORLANDO BELL FICKLIN

desired effect. Several days later, the *Gazette* was grouching about a call for a "Peace at Home" meeting to be held on August 17. Rejecting the call, the newspaper condemned it as a mere attempt to "inveigle loyal men into a compromise of duty and principle. . . . We want no local peace based upon the undermining of the American Union."<sup>39</sup> A warning had again been received, an effort to lower the level of tension made and contemptuously rejected by the Republican newspaper in that party's Coles County stronghold.

Others were also convinced that the time for peaceful accommodation was long past. In September, Congressman Robinson addressed a Democratic rally in Casey, charging that there was a government conspiracy to keep Democrats from the polls. It was their duty, he emphasized, to resist and

even, if necessary, to "wade through blood knee deep to the ballot box." A few days later, the *Shelby County Leader* made the message even clearer for those who felt their rights were being trampled upon by would-be tyrants. If the people concluded that the "government [had] become destructive of the ends for which it was created, there will remain that INALIENABLE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION."<sup>40</sup>

To many Republicans and soldiers, particularly those who had faced Confederate fire, such talk was treasonous and required strong measures. One way of publicly converting antiwar citizens was a loyalty oath, usually administered in the public streets to a kneeling Democrat. "I do solemnly swear to support the Administration, Abraham Lincoln, all proclamations now issued and all that may hereafter be issued, so help me God." A polarized political climate, charged by the blood of battle and casualty lists, widened the gulf between citizens of opposing views.<sup>41</sup>

"Butternut Britches and Hickory Poles, Democrats, Democrats Damn their souls" was a popular jingle with Coles County Republicans as 1863 passed into 1864.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup>*Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Aug. 12, 1863, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1863, p. 2, col. 2; *Shelby County Leader* (Shelbyville), quoted in *ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1863, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>41</sup>See Coleman and Spence, p. 15.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.* In *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), Klement raises serious questions concerning the existence of groups like the Sons of Liberty and Knights of the Golden Circle. In some cases, they were the work of deluded enthusiasts whose unrealistic schemes were taken seriously by Republican propagandists and officials, sometimes with devastating results.

ROBERT D. SAMPSON

111

Coleman and Spence attribute some of the sentiment to "increased activity by the Sons of Liberty," though without offering any solid evidence about the existence of the allegedly pro-Southern secret society. Democrats, however, were engaging in what the authors termed "loose talk" about draft resistance and defying the government. In early 1864 another element was added to the volatile mixture in Coles County that assured eventual violence when members of the Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry began their leave in Mattoon. The soldiers received the furlough as a reenlistment bonus. Like idle soldiers in Indiana and Iowa, those men—many of them from the area—enjoyed nothing more than several good drinks and a bout of their "favorite sport"—forcing Democrats to their knees to take an "oath of allegiance."<sup>45</sup>

Democratic farmers venturing into Mattoon ran the risk of being pulled from their wagons and forced to kneel in a muddy street to take the loyalty oath. Neither wealth nor professional status provided immunity. Judge Constable, a prominent target due to his earlier confrontation with Indiana civil and military authorities, was waylaid by soldiers in Mattoon on January 29, 1864, and forced to take the loyalty oath. Also humiliated that day was physician J. W. Dora, a Democrat. Dora's harassment, however, did not end on January 29.

On February 17 the *Gazette* contained both what was surely a desperate yet embarrassing plea from Dora and a condescending endorsement by Colonel James True, who appears to have functioned as a sort of political orthodoxy enforcer in addition to his military duties.<sup>44</sup> "Colonel . . . you will do me the justice to make known my true position to your political friends, or any persons who may heretofore or may hereafter impugn my motives for having entertained the peculiar political tenets which I from early education had imbibed," wrote the physician in an exchange of correspondence given to the newspaper by True. The letter suggests that Dora continued to be harassed by soldiers and Republicans for his views, and he sought, by repudiating those opinions, to gain relief. Grudgingly, True granted it, noting that the physician had "formerly been looked upon by some with suspicion, and probably not without cause," but now he "comes up heartily for the maintenance of the Union."<sup>45</sup>

Retaliation, rather than supplication, was the best cure for such "outrages," counseled the *Chicago Times*. "If the law will not protect Democrats from insults and outrage, they must protect themselves," the newspaper warned. Incidents like the assault upon Constable should be "dealt with by 'lynch law' . . . Democrats must retaliate upon abolitionists who counsel such lawlessness."<sup>46</sup> Blood had already been shed by the time the Chicago newspaper's warning was reprinted in Mattoon. On January 30 a drunken soldier in Mattoon shot in the back and killed a Democrat who attempted to flee rather than take the loyalty oath. The *Gazette* made much of the victim's alleged poor character, even asserting that his wife and children were pleased to learn of his death.<sup>47</sup>

Edgar County was also heating up. Milton York, son of Shubal York—the surgeon who was killed on March 28—was involved in an altercation on February 16 in Paris that left

<sup>45</sup>Coleman and Spence, pp. 15–16.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*; *Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1864, p. 2, col. 4.

<sup>45</sup>*Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Feb. 17, 1864, p. 2, col. 3.

<sup>46</sup>*Chicago Times*, Feb. 2, 1864, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Coleman and Spence, p. 16. See also *Mattoon Independent Gazette*, Feb. 3 (p. 2, cols. 1, 2, 5), April 6 (p. 2, col. 1), 1864.



*The Coles County Courthouse was the site of the confrontation between members of Companies C and G of the Fifty-fourth Illinois Infantry and Coles and Edgar County Democrats that resulted in the Charleston Riot.*

a Democrat severely wounded. Six days later, a larger confrontation occurred when six soldiers and fourteen Democrats engaged in a gun battle. A Democrat was fatally shot, and two soldiers were wounded. Some reports indicate that the incident stemmed from a rumored attempt by the soldiers to destroy the local Democratic newspaper's office.<sup>48</sup>

By early March, the focus shifted back to Charleston, where two Democrats—including Benjamin Franklin Dukes, later identified as one of the leading participants in the Charleston Riot—were "severely beaten" by soldiers on the city's streets. Two days

before the Charleston Riot, soldiers attacked and disarmed two Copperheads—James O'Hair, Sr., and Benjamin Franklin Toland—who also took part in the March 28 riot.<sup>49</sup>

Since the war began, a climate of repression, harassment, and physical attack steadily spread throughout Coles and Edgar

<sup>48</sup>Coleman and Spence, pp. 16–17.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 18.

counties. Rumors took on the appearance of fact in such an atmosphere, as citizens were ready to believe the worst of their opponents. When the normal remedies of the ballot box and the courts failed, a few were willing to emulate the founders of the Republic and take up arms to protect their rights.

Reports that soldiers would attempt to attack and humiliate Eden, Constable, and other Democrats in Charleston on March 28 during court day and a scheduled Democratic rally sharpened the appetite for revenge. Democrats from Coles and Edgar counties made plans to be on the courthouse square that day ready to defend their rights. David Nelson Wells was one. "By God," he said, "we have taken all we are going to take from the soldiers."<sup>50</sup>

Young E. Winkler, a Coles County Democrat, had a question for Robert Stricklin when the pair met a few days before the riot. What authority, Winkler asked, did the soldiers furloughed in the area have to "take up a man and whip him to death?" Indicating that he was already convinced of the answer, Winkler added that he "could get up a squad of men in two days and go down and clean Charleston out."<sup>51</sup> Early on March 28, Robert McClain rode by the home of B. M. Dice in rural

Coles County and inquired if he wanted to accompany him to Charleston. McClain had heard that "abolitionists" would attempt to break up Eden's scheduled speech, and he wanted to lend a hand in preventing such an action. On the way into town, the pair overtook a soldier, and McClain proposed that they "halloo for Valandigham [*sic*]." Dice counseled against such action to no avail. McClain went on to curse the soldier, call him a "damn thief, a son of a bitch," and after Dice refused to ride further with him, McClain condemned his friend as a "damned abolitionist son of a bitch."<sup>52</sup>

On Sunday, March 27, Joseph Nesbit was among a group discussing Eden's planned speech and the possibility of interference by soldiers. John Toland said that "all had best go prepared (meaning to go armed) as he thought there might be some trouble."<sup>53</sup> Others shared that concern. Moving about the courthouse square on March 28, Jacob Daisey said that he heard rumors that soldiers would attempt to stop Eden's speech, which was countered by Democratic promises to see that it was delivered.<sup>54</sup>

Some Democrats arriving in Charleston the morning of March 28 had more in mind than speeches. In Pritchard's store, several boasted that they "had come into town to see if the soldiers would make them take the Oath," and they grumbled about the attack two days earlier on James O'Hair, Sr., and Benjamin Toland.<sup>55</sup> O'Hair, Sr., urged his fellow Democrats not to "return many words with them [soldiers] we will give them hell in the outcome." He said that if it came to shooting, "he would be satisfied" if he could get Shubal York in his sights.<sup>56</sup>

The potential for trouble was clear to nearly everyone. Eden cancelled his speech, and with Ficklin, he circulated around the square urging Democrats to return peacefully to their homes. Others were intent on the Democrats remaining. Henderson O'Hair said, "[D]on't one of you Democrats

<sup>50</sup>Deposition of H. G. Green, April 2, 1864, Records of Draft Riots, 1864.

<sup>51</sup>Deposition of Robert Stricklin, April 2, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup>Deposition of B. M. Dice, April 3, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>Deposition of Joseph Nesbit, April 6, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup>Deposition of Jacob Daisey, *n.d.*, *ibid.*

<sup>55</sup>Deposition of V. K. Curd, April 1, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup>Deposition of M. C. McLain, April 1, 1864, *ibid.*

leave for we come here to attend to this thing, and we must stick together." For too long, he complained, the "soldiers had been running over the citizens." Robert Leitch tried to play peacemaker, but he was told by Wells and Benjamin Toland that "they had been badly treated by them (the soldiers) and were going to have revenge." Not only were soldiers likely targets for their rage, but also citizens "who pointed men out to the soldiers as Democrats" as well.<sup>57</sup>

One soldier claimed that before the riot began he observed one Democrat stalking about the square, a pistol in each hand, saying that "he would kill any Abolitionist that spoke to him." And moments before Wells encountered Sallee, Wells was heard to say, "By God we have taken all we are going to take from these soldiers . . . if soldiers did not quit their cutting up that Hell would be to pay."<sup>58</sup> Once the shooting began, it became clear that anyone resembling a soldier was fair game for the Democrats. At least four eyewitness accounts indicate that civilians wearing an article of military clothing were subject to attack.<sup>59</sup>

After the riot, Sheriff O'Hair and others gathered at Harrington's blacksmith shop in rural Coles County. Someone in the crowd asked if they were "taking up arms against the Government." No, said O'Hair, they were fighting a mob. It was "the Democrats that were in danger . . . no man was safe who bore the name of Democrat."<sup>60</sup>

The aftermath of the riot—the mass arrests, imprisonment without charge in the federal prisons, waves of rumors, the flight of the O'Hairs and other leading participants, and the failure to gain convictions for those finally brought to trial in connection with the incident—is covered in detail in the Coleman and Spence article.<sup>61</sup> Initial Democratic newspaper reaction, while regretting the violence, expressed neither surprise nor condemnation, seeing the Charleston Riot as a potentially valuable object lesson for Republicans. "Hereafter, when democrats are assaulted by soldiers, our advice is that after disposing of their assailants, they ascertain, if possible, who it was that incited the attack and retaliate upon that man sharply in kind."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup>Depositions of David Johnson, n.d., and Robert Leitch, April 2, 1864, both in *ibid.*; Coleman and Spence, pp. 20–21.

<sup>58</sup>Depositions of Henry Touraw, April 4, 1864, and H. C. Green, both in *Records of Draft Riots, 1864*.

<sup>59</sup>For accounts of civilians in articles of military clothing coming under attack, see *Depositions of Charles Fleming*, April 2, 1864, *Enos Mullen*, April 2, 1864, *W. A. Braselton*, April 1, 1864, and *W. D. Wyeth*, April 1, 1864, all in *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup>Deposition of Willie Clapp, April 6, 1864, *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup>For the aftermath of the riot, see Coleman and Spence, pp. 27–56. Colonel Mitchell survived the war and served as warden of the Chester state prison under Governor Richard James Oglesby. Eventually, he returned to Charleston, where he died on May 21, 1895, while working in his garden, located within earshot of the courthouse square. Until his death, Mitchell reportedly carried a heavy pocket watch, its

case creased by a bullet from the riot. Sheriff John Hardwicke O'Hair, after a brief exile in Canada, returned to Illinois and settled in Edgar County, where he died on October 7, 1872. Members of the O'Hair family continued to seek and win public offices in Edgar County. Sheriff O'Hair's son, Frank Trimble O'Hair, defeated Joseph Gurney Cannon for a seat in Congress in 1912, and he was likely headed for another term when he died on May 13, 1932 (see *Chicago Tribune*, June 16, 1895, p. 46, cols. 1–3; *Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair*; "Home of John H. O'Hair and Birthplace of John H. O'Hair," "Charleston Riot—Materials Used" Folder, Coleman Papers). For more on the O'Hair family, see Mrs. C. Gerald Brann, *The Michael O'Hair Family* ([Bloomington, Ind.], 1957), copies at the Edgar County Historical Society, Paris, Ill., and the Illinois State Historical Library.

<sup>62</sup>*Illinois State Register*, April 2, 1864, p. 2, col. 1.

Coleman and Spence concluded that the incident was triggered by "personal hostility rather than a particular issue," and they placed the bulk of the blame "on the shoulders of the more extreme Copperheads."<sup>63</sup> While correct, that explanation falls short in light of the protracted and steadily escalating pattern of harassment that preceded the riot, as well as the political climate faced by those in the Midwest who were critical of the Lincoln administration.

Democratic rhetoric and newspaper comment in the months before the riot strongly suggest that historian Baker's theoretical "switchboard" was buzzing, that existing conditions posed a clear and present danger to liberty, and that institutions for the redress of grievances were dysfunctional. Social, racial, and political resentments could not help but be inflamed by the fiery language of Eden and Robinson—leading citizens and members of Congress—and the *Chicago Times's* recommendation for retaliatory violence after the Judge Constable oath-taking incident. Rather than wonder how the Charleston Riot occurred, a review of incidents in Iowa, Indiana, and elsewhere in Illinois leaves one wondering why there were not more incidents such as Charleston's.

By concentrating on arrest records, Neely may have missed the significance of numerous violent confrontations in creating an atmosphere of politically motivated intimidation on the streets. In light of the clashes in Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois, Coles County

Democrats may have believed, with good reason, that their civil liberties were threatened, even if a dispassionate examination of arrest records 130 years later reveals few purely political arrests.

An exercise in counterhistory would likely devise a scenario in which bloodshed was avoided on March 28, 1864. To do so, however, the calls for "Peace at Home" had to gain more support from the leading Republican newspaper, more control had to be exercised by those commanding the soldiers, and Republicans had to be more tolerant of opposing views and Democrats less insistent on voicing theirs. But none of these things happened, and the pent-up tensions exploded on the courthouse square.

Given one praiseworthy outcome of the Civil War—the abolition of slavery—combined with the Democrats' vociferous and interminable agitation of antiblack prejudice for political gain, it is easy, by focusing on that part of their message, to enthusiastically consign those men and women and their ideas to history's refuse pile. But the Midwest of the 1860s was not the Midwest of the late twentieth century in terms of racial views, and the abuses of power and suppression of opinion inflicted upon the Democrats were real and not easily dismissed.

Writing off the Copperheads as "traitors or quasi-secessionists," Richard Orr Curry believes, "tends to obscure the depths of racism and conservatism in American society, the continued existence of which still poisons our efforts to create a just and humane society." Consignment of Eden to traitor status makes it possible to avoid grappling with the questions he raised in Congress a few weeks before the riot. "The men now in power," he charged, "undertake to restore union and harmony . . . by the most intolerant proscription of all who differ with them in opinion. . . . Can the Union ever be restored in that way?" Both the sincerity and legitimacy of Eden's question have to be accepted. As Curry notes, to

<sup>63</sup>Coleman and Spence, pp. 52, 56.

hide an important part of history—a once-vibrant activist republican tradition—behind a curtain of shame puts our history askew.<sup>64</sup>

On March 28, Coles and Edgar County Democrats could reflect upon a pattern of harassment, disrupted peace meetings, numerous similar examples in nearby states as well as Illinois, rumors that their access to the ballot box would be denied, and an attempt made on that day to attack one of their leading spokesmen. In their eyes, March 28 was the time to take a stand, to rebuke the oppressor.

There can be no apology for the violence that day on Charleston's square nor for the attacks upon dissenting civilians, which provided one of its direct causes. Yet in a country that has experienced widespread dissent from an unpopular and arguably ruinous war in recent generations, sympathy may be

readily found for the Democrats' predicament. "The noblest use of free speech in this or any free country," contended Ohio Democratic Congressman Samuel Sullivan Cox during the days of repression, "is to criticise closely the political conduct of our agents. . . . A healthy state of the body-politic requires a party at all times, standing upon the fundamental law as the basis of its existence, and fearlessly vigilant against the encroachments of power."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Curry, "Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 217; Eden, p. 12. See also *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 34, Pt. 53, p. 862.

<sup>65</sup>*Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., Vol. 33, Pt. 80, pp. 1267–68.

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**Teacher, Lawyer, Congressman:**

**John Rice Eden, Early ISU Trustee**

As the 50th anniversary of the then-Illinois State Normal University approached, its president, David Felmley contemplated the individuals who were instrumental in its founding. “They were a remarkable body of men selected from the various sections of the state because of their prominence and their interest in public education,” he wrote. Time, however, had decimated their ranks, “of the original Board of Education, only John R. Eden of Sullivan survives.”<sup>1</sup>

The name “John R. Eden” does not immediately leap to the forefront when contemplating either the history of public education in Illinois nor even the more specialized topic of Illinois State University. To the limited extent he appears in histories of his time, Eden’s mark stems from his five terms in Congress over three decades, his opposition to the Lincoln administration’s policies during the Civil War, and his failed 1868 campaign for governor. Aside from his longevity, there appears little else at first glance to spark curiosity about his connection to Illinois’s first public university save the obvious questions: who was John Rice Eden and why was he appointed to the first Board of Education?

Answering these questions provides some insights into the political and educational climate of antebellum Illinois, paths to stature and power in the community, the ties of friendship and patronage in making careers, and the vicissitudes of 19th Century public life.

Born in 1826 in Bath County, Kentucky, John R. Eden was the third in a family of six children. His father was a farmer who moved the family to Rush County, Indiana in 1831 and set to work clearing a farmstead. Four years later, the elder Eden died, leaving his family in precarious circumstances. His widow faced, it was later recalled, “a hard struggle to maintain them and keep them together.” One survival tool was the employment of all hands in farm labor, so John R. Eden and his siblings were exposed early to what could be referred to as a “root hog or die” existence.<sup>2</sup>

Eden’s older brother Joseph, who like John R. eventually moved to and lived out his life in Sullivan, Illinois, recalled his first learning experiences as occurring “around the burning brush heaps” on the Indiana farmstead. At the time, the area had no schoolhouses and “very few books.” Yet, Joseph and John found ways to attend school during the winter months while spending summers in farm work. Both, too, became school teachers in the area. John R. Eden was described in one history as a “very studious” youth. As a teacher, he received \$20 a month plus room and board. His ambition reached beyond the log walls of his schools, however, and “using every fragment of time not otherwise absorbed,” he began the study of law.<sup>3</sup>

After two years of reading law with an Indiana attorney, John R. Eden moved to Illinois in 1852, settling in Shelbyville where he took his bar exam in May of that year, administered by Abraham Lincoln, David Davis, and a local attorney who may have later played a role in Eden’s ISU connection, Samuel M. Moulton. According to family legend, the bar exam was the beginning of a lifelong antipathy between the Democrat Eden, who had cast his first presidential vote in 1848 for the losing Democratic candidate Lewis Cass, and Lincoln. The story, according to John R. Eden’s son, Walter, is that when the committee repaired to a hotel room to examine Eden, “Lincoln flopped (so my father expressed it) himself down on the bed and remarked that the other two could examine him, that he was going to sleep.” Whatever the level of Lincoln’s participation, Eden passed.<sup>4</sup>

Eden’s first year as a lawyer in Shelbyville was apparently marred by ill health and that, along with the presence of his brother, Joseph, in Sullivan, the Moultrie County seat, prompted his move to that community in August 1853. The move was sound for business as well as family reasons--there was only one other lawyer practicing in Moultrie. Of course, attorneys did not survive on the business of one small county seat. Like others in the Illinois bar, Eden rode the circuit, appearing before Judge David Davis and matching wits with the likes of Lincoln, Usher Linder, O.B. Ficklin, and Charles Constable – all leading lawyers of the day. Apparently, Eden made a good impression and the “goodwill and friendship of some of the older and prominent members of the bar in the neighboring counties” led to his nomination in 1856 as prosecuting attorney for the Seventeenth Judicial Circuit. The Seventeenth included Macon, Piatt, Moultrie, Shelby, Effingham, Fayette, Bond, Christian, and Montgomery counties--many of them would figure in Eden’s future races. And as prosecutor, he regularly faced more experienced colleagues like Linder, Anthony Thornton and Moulton, both of Shelbyville, and Ficklin, all of whom it was observed “tested his abilities to the utmost.”<sup>5</sup>



Samuel J. Moulton, who administered Eden's bar exam, practiced against and with him on the circuit, and, perhaps, was one of the "older and prominent members of the bar" promoting the young lawyer for public office, also played a vital part in the creation of what became Illinois State University. In fact, if not for the management of then-State Representative Moulton in the legislative session of 1856 it's doubtful the bill would have become law.<sup>6</sup>

Despite poor eyesight and a physically unimpressive appearance Moulton served nearly 20 years as president of the ISU Board and enjoyed great success at the bar and in politics. He shared Eden's background as a schoolteacher but with a more colorful experience. He was born near Salem, Massachusetts in 1822. His father was a sea captain and Samuel's dream of a life at sea was blocked by near-sightedness. At 20, he migrated to Kentucky; where he taught school for about a year and, in 1843, moved on to teach in Mississippi. Like Eden, he also cast his first presidential vote for the Democratic candidate--James K. Polk in 1844. But Moulton was apparently not content to remain in the classroom and began to study law. Moving to Illinois in the fall of 1845, he settled in Oakland and, after his admission to the bar in 1847, began practice in Sullivan. Two years later, he moved to Shelbyville, where he remained.<sup>7</sup>

Within three years of his arrival in Shelby County, Moulton was elected to the Illinois General Assembly, where he served three terms. As chairman of the House's Education Committee, a memorialist would later observe, he "brought from his New England home, her generous culture and burning belief in free schools." He also brought forth the free-school bill which was passed in 1854 and, the memorialist observed, "if any one may be called the father of our free school system, that man is Samuel W. Moulton." Moulton, then, was a natural choice both by experience and inclination when advocates of a state university to train teachers sought state funding.<sup>8</sup>

Given his record on education issues, it is no surprise that backers of the new state teachers college turned to Moulton to lead the fight in 1856. His efforts resulted in a favorable vote of 39-25 in the House, only one above the constitutional majority needed for passage. As author of the legislation, Moulton played a strong role in selecting the first Board of Education, whose members were all named in the bill. Among those 14 was 30-year-old John R. Eden.<sup>9</sup>

Eden's brief tenure on the Board of Education found him absent from its deliberations more often than not. Although not attending its first informal meeting on March 26, 1857 in Springfield, he was named to the Committee on By-Laws and Course of Study. When the Board met again on May 4, Eden was still absent but in the lottery to assign terms to the members received a two-year term. He was also appointed to the Committee on Rules and Regulations. Three days later, the Board reconvened in Peoria and it is not clear from the minutes if Eden was present. Nevertheless, he was added to yet another committee--the one to select the new university's officers--where he joined Moulton. Eden finally appeared at the Board's June 23 meeting in Bloomington where he joined in a majority of the Committee on Officers to recommend the hiring of E.E. Hovey as the university's head and then part of a one-vote majority on the full Board that ratified the decision. Eden and his colleagues also voted to construct a building three stories high and accommodating 300 to 500 students. Ninian Edwards, another member of the Board, was excused from serving on the Committee on Building and replaced by Eden.<sup>10</sup>

After missing the Board's July 14 meeting, Eden attended the August 18 meeting in Bloomington. It appears to be the last one he attended, though his name appears in the proceedings from time to time, including as one of those pledging money to the university. Eden, who had married Roxanne Meeker of Sullivan in 1856 and was elected later that year to the prosecuting attorney's position, was certainly a busy man during his term on the Board of Education, but not apparently with the affairs of the university. In addition to his work as prosecutor, he formed a law partnership with his brother-in-law, became the political editor of a Sullivan newspaper, campaigned for the re-election of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and participated in a project to obtain a railroad connection for his hometown. A search of the Illinois State Archives turns up no indication as to why Eden was not reappointed in 1859. In his biography of Eden, John Martin George Jr. writes that "he did not seek another term." At its July 1, 1859 meeting, the Board commended Eden and the other members whose terms expired for their "intelligent and ardent devotion to the cause of Normal University" and their commitment to "the cause of education."<sup>11</sup>

Failure to seek or gain reappointment to the Board of Education did not deter Eden from public life. Not standing for re-election as prosecuting attorney in 1860 he instead sought a seat in the Illinois House of Representatives. The 25th District included the counties of Coles, Douglas and Moultrie and while the Democrat carried Coles and Moultrie, he lost Douglas to Republican Smith Nichols by 178 votes and the election by 22 votes. Strongly committed to Senator Douglas, Eden saw his leader also fall in the presidential election. The political winds were shifting in Illinois and Eden would spend much of the remainder of his life battling against them.<sup>12</sup>

Two years later, however, the winds were more favorable--for a time--and Eden re-entered politics as the Democratic nominee in the new Seventh Congressional District. Carved out of two pre-existing districts, the new Seventh was not a sure-thing for a Democratic candidate. Eden would be running in three counties--Moultrie, Macon, and Piatt--from his old judicial circuit but Sullivan was one of the smallest county seats in the new district and he lost Macon in the 1856 race for prosecuting attorney. Other counties were Champaign, Vermilion, Ford, Iroquois, Edgar, and Cumberland. The northern counties were emerging Republican strongholds, backing Owen Lovejoy in 1860. Additionally, Eden's opponent, Elijah McCarty was running on the "Union" ticket, a fusion of Republicans and War Democrats. Dissatisfaction with the course of the Civil War, an economic downturn in Illinois, and opposition to the Lincoln Administration's emancipation policies combined to spark a Democratic revival at the polls. Among the winners was Eden, who topped McCarty, 11,361 to 10,004.<sup>13</sup>

As the new Congress would not convene for over a year, Eden had plenty of time to travel around the district and state, adding his voice to the growing clamor against Lincoln's war policy. At a rally in June 1863 in Springfield, Eden occupied one of six separate speaking stands to address a crowd estimated at 75,000 to 100,000. August 1, 1863 found him among the speakers at another mass rally, this time in Mattoon, where he told the crowd that the Democrats would fight the administration's actions "through the courts" and, if necessary "we will still *fight them in another way*." Throughout the North, local Democratic organizations were calling special conventions to draft peace resolutions and denounce the Emancipation Proclamation, including one in Coles County in January 1864. And he traveled to Indiana to speak at that state's Democratic convention.<sup>14</sup>

Eden's position might best be summarized in the Democratic slogan of the era "the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was." He supported suppressing the rebellion but opposed the Lincoln Administration's policies on several points, including concerns over civil liberties and hostility to emancipation and anything that hinted at social and political equality for blacks. In short, he was in the mainstream of his party at the time.<sup>15</sup>

As part of what Joel Silbey termed "a respectable minority," the new congressman found Washington a difficult place when he arrived in December 1863. "The outside world is all heartless and cold," he wrote his wife, who remained in Sullivan. "Among the men here, that are called great, I find few worthy of the name." In spare moments, he wandered about the city, observing of the Capitol building then being renovated with a new dome, "The prospects are that this government will not endure long enough for the Capitol to be completed."<sup>16</sup>

Priding himself on "uniformly" voting with the "most radical Democrats" in Congress, Eden rose on the House floor on February 27, 1864 to denounce Lincoln's conduct of the war. "If you are not for the Union as it was, what sort of Union are you for? . . . A Union without States, without *habeas corpus*, without trial by jury, without free speech or free press, without a free ballot?" The Republicans, he charged, were seeking a new Union that would resemble more a tax-oppressed, liberty-challenged European dictatorship than that they had once enjoyed. "Tyranny," he proclaimed, if not already in place was close.<sup>17</sup>

A few weeks later, while back in the Seventh Congressional District, Eden was present at the most violent incident in the Northern states during the Civil War--the March 28, 1864 Charleston Riot that left nine dead and 12 wounded in a flurry of gunfire on the city's courthouse square when Union soldiers returning from leave and local Democrats clashed. Eden, who was originally scheduled to speak that day at a Democratic rally but canceled the event upon sensing the explosive mood of the crowd, escaped the courthouse in a hail of bullets. For some time, his family thought he was among the victims. Instead, he had made his way to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he caught a train and returned to Washington.<sup>18</sup>

That November, Eden defended his congressional seat against H.P.H. Bromwell of Charleston and fell with other Democrats to the revived Republicans, trailing his opponent with 12,027 votes to 15,363. Interestingly, in the same election, two of his colleagues on the Seventeenth Circuit, Moulton and Anthony Thornton, both of Shelbyville were both elected to Congress--Moulton taking the at-large seat on the Union ticket and Thornton the Tenth District as a Democrat. In January of 1865, as both the war and his service in Congress ran down, Eden wrote his wife of his "desperate" homesickness "confessing "the nearer the time approaches for me to leave here the more anxious I am to leave." But Eden was far from done with politics or Washington.<sup>19</sup>

When Illinois Democrats gathered at Rudolph's Opera House in Springfield in April 1868 for the state nominating convention Anthony Thornton framed the coming campaign around a single issue: "Shall the constitution, the very bond of our Union, be maintained or shall it be destroyed?" Hoping to break a 12-year lockout from the governor's mansion, the delegates considered two candidates--S.A. Buckmaster of Alton, a former speaker of the Illinois House, and Eden. Cook, Madison, McDonough, St. Clair and a handful of smaller counties supported Buckmaster, most of the rest, 70 in all, lined up behind Eden. The party's state

organ declared the nominee “a devoted patriot, able statesman and sterling Democrat” who had served in Congress “before that body become corrupt and dishonored.” The *Chicago Post*, however, was less enthused, terming Eden “an able, and so far was we know, upright man” yet one who had “distinguished himself mainly by the violence of his opposition to all earnest attempts to put the rebellion down.” Clearly, Eden’s criticism of the war effort would be used against him.<sup>20</sup>

Embarking on a strenuous campaign, Eden appeared in nearly every one of the state’s counties. Reportedly, he hoped to merely hold his opponent--the former Democrat-turned-Republican John Palmer--to under a 50,000-vote plurality. When the ballots were counted, he had fallen just short, losing by 50,099, as Republicans swept national and state offices. Again, it seemed that Eden’s political career had ended.<sup>21</sup>

Turning from politics, Eden hoped to expand his law practice and moved his family to Decatur in 1870. But two years later, he moved back to Sullivan, likely fired again by the prospect of political office. Reapportionment had created a new and Democrat-friendly congressional district. He was elected to the new Fifteenth District seat in 1872, re-elected in 1874, and again in 1876. It was a district seemingly tailor-made for Eden, including Moultrie, Clark, Crawford, Cumberland, Edgar, Effingham, Jasper, Lawrence, and Shelby counties. During this stint, he spent four years as Chairman of the Committee on War Claims and was appointed to a special House committee charged with investigating the disputed 1876 presidential election in South Carolina. Today, when Members of Congress--and often their constituents--try to build seniority by keeping an individual in office for many years, it can be hard to understand a time when congressional nominations were sometimes hotly disputed and rotated around a district. Such a situation would interrupt Eden’s second Washington experience.<sup>22</sup>

In 1878, Eden was opposed for re-nomination with the issue to be decided at a convention in Shelbyville. Going into the gathering, Eden was thought to have a one-vote majority due to an edge in the Shelby County delegation. Yet, when the balloting began one Shelby County delegate inexplicably changed his vote, deadlocking deliberations, leading to ballot after ballot with no resolution stretching late into the night. Weary and perhaps a bit giddy, someone nominated a third candidate named “Disches,” who, according to later accounts, “was not a teetotaler by any means.” The delegates seized the chance to break the logjam and nominated Disches. A committee was appointed to find the new candidate and inform him of the honor. They succeeded but discovered him “asleep in a wheelbarrow in the public road . . . in a condition that would follow liberal potations.” After he was awakened and told of his honor, Disches allegedly replied, “This beats hell!” Whether true or not, the circumstances and the candidate’s remark became public sport and in November, the Greenback nominee, Albert Forsythe, took the seat--the Republicans apparently had no candidate in the district.<sup>23</sup>

Six years later, Eden returned to Congress a third time, this time in the new Seventeenth Congressional District. However, he served only one term. Again, there appears to have been some difficulty with re-nomination and he wrote his daughter, Rose, “but for the meanness of Moulton and some others” he would decline the chance to run again. Other family letters during this time indicate a political struggle that forced Eden to return, traveling the district to line up support. His opponents prevailed and Eden was not on the ballot in 1886. His political life was finally over.<sup>24</sup>

Given the hard-scrabble nature of his own education, how did Eden, one of the original Board of Educator members and a former teacher, deal with his own children? He and Roxanne had eight children--four boys and four girls. Two of the boys died in infancy and a third, Hartwell, died at 19. Thanks to the work of R. Eden Martin in editing and publishing *Ivory and Rose* and *Memoirs of a “Boy” Mayor* we have a good deal of information on the educations of Rose and Walter.

Rose began her education in the early 1870s when she was enrolled in the Bastion Seminary, a private school in Sullivan which her brother, Walter also attended. While her father served in Congress in the 1870s, Rose and her sister, Emma, were enrolled in the Academy of the Visitation at Georgetown. Described as a “fine student,” Rose won prizes and was class valedictorian in 1879. She stayed on for some post-graduate work but by the end of the year returned to Sullivan with her family. Perhaps a bit out of place intellectually in the small prairie town of Sullivan, Rose likely found few suitors who, Eden Martin observes, “shared her literary interests” until she met Ivory Martin, who she would marry.<sup>25</sup>

Walt, too, attended Bastion Seminary and was later enrolled in a new public school in Sullivan. He also apparently spent time at Georgetown during his father’s congressional service, graduating in 1879 with what Eden Martin terms “approximately the equivalent of a modern high school education.” In the 1880s, while serving both as Sullivan’s mayor and Moultrie County Treasurer, he began reading law in his father’s office and was admitted to the bar in 1889 at age 27. Eden Martin rates Walter’s education positively, “indeed, with over three years of study at Georgetown University, he went farther than most of his contemporaries.”

However, as Eden Martin's introduction and commentary on Walter's memoirs demonstrate, his life was far from satisfying and successful as he drifted between the law, the abstract business, and other enterprises never matching the success of his father.<sup>26</sup>

Thirty-plus years go, a newspaper editor who employed me used to spur reporters to action with the observation, "This story raises more questions than it answers." Perhaps the same could be said of this paper. The extent of Samuel Moulton's role, if any, in Eden's appointment to the first Board of Education would answer some of the questions. The reasons for his refusal or failure to be reappointed are clearer. Eden was a busy man in the late 1850s, building a law practice, political career, and family. Illinois State Normal University could not compete with those priorities. And what of his later relationship with Moulton? Had a friendship foundered in the sea of politics? To what extent did Moulton attempt to deny Eden re-nomination in 1886? Interestingly, both served together in that preceding Congress and neither appeared on the ballot in 1886.

We do know that President Felmley was correct in identifying Eden as the last living member of the original Board. Moulton died on June 3, 1905, two years before the 50-year anniversary. Eden died June 9, 1909, as he sat in his Sullivan home drinking his morning glass of lemonade.<sup>27</sup>

(Endnotes)

- 1 David Felmley, "The General Development of the School," in Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University, 1857-1907, n.p. (probably Illinois State Normal University), 1907, p. 32 (hereafter Semi-Centennial).
- 2 Portrait and Biographical Record of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois, Chicago: Biographical Publishing, 1891, 191-92 (hereafter 1891 Portrait); Combined History of Shelby and Moultrie Counties, Illinois, Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough & Co., 1881, 186 (hereafter Combined History); "John R. Eden," Moultrie County News (Sullivan, Illinois), December 23, 1886, p. 1, col. 1, re-published as part of Moultrie County News Centennial Edition, July 15, 1973 (hereafter News-Centennial Edition).
- 3 For John R. Eden's early education, see 1891 Portrait, 191-92, and News-Centennial, p. 1, col. 1; for Joseph Eden's early education, see "Joseph Eden," News-Centennial, p. 1, col. 1.
- 4 For Eden's study of law, move to Illinois, and first vote for president, see News-Centennial, p. 1, col. 1, and 1891 Portrait, 192; the family story about the bar exam is found in Walter Eden, Memoirs of a "Boy Mayor": Recollections of Sullivan, Illinois from the Civil War to 1909, edited by R. Eden Martin, Chicago: 1999, p. 4.
- 5 John Martin George Jr., "A Political Biography of The Hon. John R. Eden of Illinois," senior honors thesis, University of Illinois Department of History, May 1970, p. 2 (hereafter "A Political Biography"). The George work is the only scholarly treatment of Eden's life and political career. I am indebted to Professor Robert W. Johannsen, who supervised the work, for providing a copy. Other sources for Eden's early law practice include Ivory and Rose, A Year's Courtship: The Correspondence of Ivory J. Martin and Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, 1885-1886, R. Eden Martin, editor, Chicago: 1997, x; Combined History, 187.
- 6 Helen E. Marshall, Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State University, 1857-1957, Normal, IL: 1956, p. 18.
- 7 The physical description of Moulton is taken from Historic Sketch and Biographical Album of Shelby County, Illinois, Shelbyville, IL: The Wilder Publishing Co., 1900, p. 110 (hereafter Historic Sketch); Combined History, 159; Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Shelby County, Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, and George D. Chafee, editors, Chicago: Munsell Publishing Co., 1910, pgs 730-31 (hereafter Historical Encyclopedia).
- 8 Combined History, 159; Historical Encyclopedia, 730-31; the memorialist was a Professor Brownlee of Eastern Illinois University, who spoke at a ceremony in Shelbyville in the 1890s honoring both Moulton and his great local rival, Anthony Thornton, see Historic Sketch, p. 112.

- 9 Marshall, Grandest of Enterprises, 17-18; Charles A. Harper, Development of the Teachers College in the United States with Special Reference to Illinois State Normal University, Bloomington, IL: McKnight & McKnight, 1935, 21-23; for the complete membership of the first Board of Education, see Henry McCormick, "The Found of the School," in Semi-Centennial, 7-8.
- 10 Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Springfield, Peoria & Bloomington, A.D. 1857 & 1858, Bloomington, IL: Wm. E. Foote, 1858 (hereafter Proceedings I) 3, 4, 7, 11, 12.
- 11 Proceedings I, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, 28, 2934, 35; Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Bloomington December 1858 and 1859 Together with Reports of Committees and Officers, Peoria, IL: N.C. Nason, 1868 (hereafter Proceedings II), 3; George, "A Political Biography," 4-6; Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Bloomington, July, 1859: Together with Reports of Committees and Officers, Peoria, IL: Nason and Hill, 1859, (hereafter Proceedings III), 3, 13.
- 12 For accounts of the 1860 campaign, see George, "A Political Biography," 11-12; Bob Sampson, "Butternut Britches and Hickory Poles: Congressman John R. Eden and the Democracy in Civil War-era Illinois," Illinois History and Lincoln Collections, University of Illinois (hereafter "Butternut Britches and Hickory Poles"), 7-8; Election Returns, 1850-1862, Illinois State Archives, Springfield, p. 280; for changing political climate in central Illinois, see Robert D. Sampson, "'You cannot kill off the party': The Macon County Democracy in the Civil War Era," Journal of Illinois History (Winter 1999), 246-72 (hereafter "'You cannot kill off the party'").
- 13 Sampson, "Butternut Britches and Hickory Poles," 16-18; for the fullest account of Eden's 1862 campaign, see George, "A Political Biography," 16-22; for results, Election Returns, 1862-1873, Illinois State Archives, p. 6; considerable literature exists on the issues in the Illinois election of 1862 with the best being, Bruce A. Tap, "Race, Rhetoric, and Emancipation: The Election of 1862 in Illinois," Civil War History, 39 (1993) , 101-25.
- 14 Eden's activities between the election and the seating of the new Congress are covered in detail in George, "A Political Biography," 22-26; Sampson "Butternut Britches and Hickory Poles," 18-19, "'You cannot kill of the party'", 256-58, and for the Coles County Peace meeting of 1863, "'Pretty damned warm times': The 1864 Charleston Riot and the 'inalienable right of revolution,'" Illinois Historical Journal 89 (1996), 99-116 (hereafter "'Pretty damned warm times'"), 106-08 ; Illinois State Register (Springfield, IL), June 18, 1863, p. 2, col. 2; for the Mattoon peace rally see Chicago Times August 6, 1863, p. 1, col. 5; and Mattoon Independent Gazette, August 5, 1863, p. 2, cols 1-2.
- 15 The best study on Civil War-era Democrats of Eden's ilk is Joel Silbey, A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860-1868, New York: Norton, 1977, passim.; another good source is Jean H. Baker, Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- 16 John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., to Roxanne Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, December 13, 1863, quoted in George, "A Political Biography," 27-28.
- 17 John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., to Roxanne Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, January 20, 1864, typescript copy in author's possession; John R. Eden, Speech of the Honorable John R. Eden of Illinois, Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 27, 1864, Washington, D.C.: Constitutional Union, 1864, pp. 5, 12 (copies in Moultrie County Historical Society Library, Sullivan, Illinois, and in author's possession); see also Congressional Globe, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 34, Pt. 53, pp. 860, 862.

- 18 Eden's role in the Charleston Riot is discussed in Sampson, "Pretty damned warm times", especially 99-102; also see George, "A Political Biography," 33, and John R. Eden, Clark County, Illinois., to Jonathan Meeker, Sullivan, Illinois, March 29, 1864, reproduced on p. 33a of George's work.
- 19 Election Returns 1862-1873, Illinois State Archives; John R. Eden, Washington, D.C., to Roxanne Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, January 24, 1865, typescript copy in author's possession.
- 20 Illinois State Register, April 16 and 18, 1868. The Chicago Post is quoted in the Register's April 18 edition.
- 21 Combined History, 187; a full account of Eden's campaign for governor can be found in George, "A Political Biography," p. 62-90.
- 22 Eden, Memoirs of a "Boy" Mayor, xi, 28; George, "A Political Biography," p. 91; Combined History, 187.
- 23 Historic Sketch, 62-63.
- 24 George, "A Political Biography," 115; John R. Eden, Washington, D.C. to Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, May 2, 1886, John R. Eden, Vandalia, Illinois to Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, June 11, 1886, Ivory Martin, Sullivan, Illinois, to Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, June 14, 1886, and Rose Eden, Sullivan, Illinois, to Ivory Martin, Sullivan, Illinois June 23, 1886, all reprinted in Martin, Ivory and Rose, 86-87, 120-121, and 125-26.
- 25 The Eden's children are discussed in Martin, Memoirs of a "Boy" Mayor, 5; Martin, Ivory and Rose, xi--xiii.
- 26 Martin, Memoirs of a "Boy" Mayor, 19, 35, xi-xii, 50, xiii, 51, xvii-xviii.
- 27 Moulton's death date can be found in several sources, this is from 1910 Historical , 730-31; for Eden's death, see Bob Sampson, "John Eden, a great political figure worth remembering," Moultrie County News-Progress, June 8, 1988, p. 3. cols. 1-5.

## PARTIAL INDEX OF NAMES

### A

John Alden 326, 327, 348, 356  
James C. Allen 84, 91  
Felix Ashworth 38

### B

A. Bankson 34, 36  
Bastion Seminary 569, 572, 598  
Bath County 6, 7, 8, 23, 25, 27, 319, 320, 567, 595  
Samuel Brooks 34  
John Brown 380  
Matilda Burrell 18, 348

### C

Cann  
    Catherine Cann 6, 8  
    Jane Rice Cann 15  
    Joseph Cann 15, 358, 359, 360  
Mr. Chapman 373  
Charleston Riot viii, 95, 352, 386, 597, 600, 601  
Chase 63, 76, 79, 80  
Christian church 35, 36, 46, 59, 344  
Cincinnati platform 48, 70  
E.D. Cleveland 34, 60  
Congressional Globe 255, 600  
Congressional Record 255, 256  
Charles Constable 568, 595  
W.P. Corbin 34  
Mat Cummins 320

### D

David Davidson 376  
David Davis 567, 568, 595  
James Dedman 320  
Stephen Douglas 23, 568

Dr. W.B. Duffield 33

E.O. Dunscomb 34

### E

Eagle Hotel 89, 374, 378  
Eden  
    James Finley Eden 320  
    J.E. Eden 34, 44, 46, 47, 57, 59, 60, 61, 80, 92  
    Jeremiah Eden 6, 8  
    John Paul Eden 6, 8  
    Joseph Edgar Eden 17, 18, 23, 568  
    Joseph E. Eden viii, 18, 319, 320, 572  
    Mary Rice Eden 359, 361  
    Roxa Eden 96  
    Roxanna Eden 339  
    Royal Krebs Eden 320  
    Walt Eden ix, 1  
    Walter Eden 355, 391, 541, 599  
    William Eden 5, 6, 8  
Eden & Meeker 45  
Eden & Clark 293, 305, 573  
Eden House 37, 38, 320, 388, 572, 573  
Eden & Martin 315  
James Elder 34, 35, 38, 44  
Judge Elder 34, 35, 39

### F

Fessenden 76, 88  
O.B. Ficklin 92, 93, 568, 595  
Mary Ball Fox 325  
Rev. James Freeland 34, 343

### G

W.H. Garrett 48

## PARTIAL INDEX OF NAMES

George

John Martin George ix, 1, 352, 395, 596, 599

Mabel Martin George ix, 1, 351, 395

Homer Gibbs 34

Giddings 76, 79, 80

John Ginn 38

### H

H.J. Hamilin 574

Parnell Hamilton 34

Hannibal Hamlin 81

Harper's Ferry 61, 65, 75

Hannah Hartwell 326, 327, 341, 349, 357

Nathan Hartwell 327, 348, 356

Sarah Ripley Hartwell 327, 348

Haydon

B.B. Haydon 36

J.J. Haydon 36

William G. Haydon 33

William L. Haydon 34, 36

B.W. Henry 45, 46, 48

Mr. Higginbotham 34

Dr. J.W. Hitt 34

George W. Hoke 33

Ned Hostetler 386

### I

Illinois State University 595, 596, 599

### J

Herschel V. Johnson 91

### K

Simon Kearney 34

Keedy & Brown 33

Dr. William Kellar 33, 35

Kellar

A.L. Kellar 35, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 83, 339

H.Y. Kellar 43, 45, 46, 83, 84

### L

Edward Lane 575

A.B. Lee 39, 45, 46, 48, 58, 60, 83

Alsey B. Lee 39

Captain Lee 37, 39, 343, 572

Abraham Lincoln 37, 68, 374, 377, 378, 380, 567, 568, 595

Usher Linder 595

J. Wilson Lloyd 34, 36

Wilson Lloyd 34, 36

John A. Logan 89, 90, 92

Josh Logan 360, 361, 362, 366, 367, 373

Mary Logan 360, 365

John Love 34

Owen Lovejoy 78, 85, 597

George Lynn 38, 39

### M

Major York 97

Martin

I.J. Martin ix, 1, 17, 23, 37, 315, 327, 339, 351, 377

J.K. Martin 315

Joel Kester Martin 315, 371

Mabel Martin ix, 1, 351, 395

Olive Eden Martin ix, 294, 315

Orange C. Martin 33, 35

Philip Martin 1, 347

Robert W. Martin 351

Mayflower 326, 327, 348, 356



## PARTIAL INDEX OF NAMES

- Grace R. Meeker 332
- Meeker
- Ambrose Meeker 23, 26, 34, 76, 326, 327, 339, 341, 342, 349, 353, 354, 355, 357, 375, 377, 389, 391, 568, 569
  - Benjamin Meeker 325, 329
  - Deborah Meeker 355
  - Enoch Meeker 341
  - Hannah Hartwell Meeker 326, 349, 357
  - Jonathan Meeker ix, 28, 326, 339, 341, 342, 343, 354, 375, 377, 382, 386, 601
  - Jonathan S. Meeker 326
  - Phoebe Roxanna Meeker xiii, 22, 326, 327, 377
  - Raymond P. Meeker 349
  - Roxanna Meeker ix, xiii, 17, 22, 23, 28, 326, 327, 377, 388
  - Sarah Meeker 325, 354
  - Stella Meeker 356
  - Thomas Meeker 325, 330
  - Timothy Meeker 325, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 354
  - William Meeker 325, 329
- W. Menefee 69
- Henry M. Minor 37
- Julina Eden Moore 17
- Samuel W. Moulton 574, 596
- Priscilla Mullins 326, 327, 348, 356
- Mae Mulvey 392
- O**
- O'Hair 97, 98
- P**
- James Parker 374
  - Nathaniel Parker 377
  - David Patterson 33, 48, 74, 80
  - John Perryman 33, 34, 43, 44, 47, 74, 79, 303
  - Jesse Phillips 574
  - Sara Pierson 330
  - Pifer
    - David L. Pifer 34
    - David Pifer 58, 74
  - Presbyterian Church 60, 328, 329, 330, 368
  - Sarah Preston 325, 329
- R**
- William Rale 33
  - Thomas Randol 34
  - Daniel D. Randolph 34
  - John Reese 34
  - Jason Rice 359
  - Susanna Rice 15
  - John Rigley 368
  - James C. Robinson 74
  - J. C. Robinson 92
  - John Roney 35
  - Rush County 6, 8, 23, 25, 28, 31, 32, 567, 595
  - Rushville viii, 23, 25, 31, 365, 368, 370, 372, 567
- S**
- Oliver Salee 97, 98, 99
  - Sampson
    - Ben Sampson 362, 363
    - Henry B. Sampson 18
    - John Sampson 369
    - Nancy Jane Eden Sampson 17
    - Nancy Jane Sampson 569
    - Robert D. Sampson ix, 600
  - Carl Schurz 75

## PARTIAL INDEX OF NAMES

Mr. Scofield 96, 297  
T.H. Scott 34  
Owen Seaney 34  
Seward 63, 76, 79, 80  
Mrs. John B. Shepherd 36  
Andrew Shortess 34  
Peter Smith 34  
A.N. Smyser 43, 48, 59, 68, 80, 83, 84, 90, 91  
Mr. Springer 373  
Myles Standish 326, 327  
Lafayette Stewart 33, 35  
Sullivan Express viii, 23, 41, 42, 43, 47, 52, 58,  
61, 68, 69, 74, 79, 87, 376, 378, 568  
Mary Summers 6, 8

### T

Beverly Taylor 34  
Mary Taylor 364  
Arnold Thomason 34, 48, 74, 91, 342  
Joseph Thomason 34, 36, 74, 76  
Elizabeth Thompson 325  
Thomas Thompson 325  
Thompson Ferry 363  
Anthony Thornton 38, 595, 597, 599  
W.F. Thornton 90, 92  
J.B. Titus 573  
Tompkins  
Phoebe Tompkins 326  
Col. True 98  
Trumbull 51, 52, 68, 83, 88, 92

### U

Moses Underwood 34, 61

### W

Waggoner  
E.E. Waggoner 46, 47, 48, 58, 59  
I.V. Waggoner 58  
J.H. Waggoner 51, 52, 68, 83, 88, 92  
Ned Waggoner 58  
Mary Waldrop 325  
Arlson Wells 97  
Dr. Wilhite 34, 36

### Y

Gov. Yates 99

