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FRIENDS OF THE OPPRESSED: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE KANE COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

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By examining the original minutes of the Kane County Anti-Slavery Society (1842-1845), a profile of local abolitionists was created and conclusions were drawn about the motivations of antislavery men and women in Illinois. Instead of following the lead of the New England antislavery groups and splitting into separate sects, the Illinois abolitionists developed their own approach to fighting slavery by combining strategies of moral suasion, politics, and economic concerns.

The men and women of the KCASS proved to be a diverse group of people in terms of age and wealth, but were similar regarding place of origin and religion. They used various arguments to reason that slavery should be abolished, including: abiding by God's Divine Law, staying true to the Declaration of Independence, and keeping the west free from slavery. Instead of promoting antislavery on a single platform, such as within the church, the northern Illinois abolitionists used various routes to motivate more people into action. Politically, abolitionists joined the Liberty Party and vowed only to vote for antislavery candidates. Morally, they gave harsh criticism to those clergy who were not

openly opposed to slavery. Many northern Illinois abolitionists also aided slaves directly, via the Underground Railroad. In addition, antislavery men and women worked together within the antislavery societies to devise strategies to end slavery and promote racial equality.

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FRIENDS OF THE OPPRESSED: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE KANE COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

As settlers moved west into Illinois in the 1830s and 1840s, New England reformers, including abolitionists, established themselves in communities along the frontier. In the mid to late 1830s, antislavery societies were generated all over Illinois and the region's participation in the movement was elevated in national importance. The Kane County Anti-Slavery Society represented the national stance in its abolitionist rhetoric regarding the moral and social ills of slavery while broadening its appeal to contribute to a multifaceted type of abolitionism that evolved out of Illinois. Blending Christian values, notions of equality, and the fear of slavery spreading west, the Kane County Anti-Slavery Society was able to appeal to moral, social, and economic motivations of abolitionists in northern Illinois. The use of these various devices overlapped in many instances and the appeal changed based on the particular antislavery interest of the audience. Various concerns like morality, racial equality, economics, and politics were all addressed by the frontier abolitionist and acted to unite the cause rather than divide it. Unlike the abolitionist movement of New England, which split in 1840 due to philosophical differences, the wide appeal of Illinois abolitionists was necessary along the frontier to draw a population with various circumstances and interests regarding the movement. Illinois was a battlefield of the abolition movement and the activists "fighting in the trenches" could not relate to the eastern bickering as the western

abolitionists never were divided or troubled by the schism of the east.[1] Moreover, as the spread of slavery threatened a free west, a sense of urgency encompassed the Illinois abolitionists as their fight motivated more people to act.

The first half of the 19th century was a time of significant change in the antislavery movement, and the motives of the activists in the movement during the 1830s and 1840s were different than the following generation.[2] Despite changes in motivation, abolitionists were continually compelled to prove that the issue of slavery was relevant to everyone in America regardless of their personal viewpoint, and in doing so, their efforts strengthened the cause. It is the purpose of this thesis to show that the abolitionists of northern Illinois, particularly Kane County, had various motivations for participating in the antislavery cause and used diverse operations to fight slavery, whether it was prayer, aid for the fugitive slave, or political tactics. The database of information gathered about the members of the Kane County Anti-Slavery Society illustrated that despite the commonalities of the membership in terms of aspects like occupation, origin and residence, there was also diversity among local abolitionists, such as in their wealth, age, and gender. The Kane County Anti-Slavery Society appealed to a variety of people to be antislavery, not only on the basis of their moral beliefs, but also for concerns about racial equality and economics, proving that this local antislavery society had a broad-based appeal.

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[1] Zebina Eastman, "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," in Rufus Blanchard, *History of the Northwest.* (Chicago: Beard and Co., 1879), 663.

[2] Ronald G. Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), xii.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Abolitionism in the Early 19th Century

The abolition of slavery was a multifaceted movement that developed over several decades and divided people all over the world. The movement was particularly complex in the United States due to the unique circumstance of a developing nation and diverse people. Abolitionists battled slavery along three assumptions: slavery was sinful, slavery was racially unjust, and slavery was harmful to the economy. In order to spread the antislavery message, abolitionists in the early 1800s used assorted approaches such as anti-slavery societies, churches, or politics to further the cause. Abolitionists usually enlisted with one or more of these affiliations, based on personal reasons for activism. While these groups usually agreed on the evils of slavery, they were not always willing to agree on when, how, or why slaves should be liberated, nor on the future rights and privileges of freed people.

Despite some freed slaves relocating to Liberia in the 1820s, the colonization of slaves was an unsuccessful endeavor and the idea was virtually abandoned by the 1850s. Liberia as a colony for freed slaves proved to be more of a illusion than reality, as the

actual number of free African-Americans who migrated there was fewer than 1500.[3] The idea of colonization was generally not supported by African-Americans as they viewed it as a diversion from the deeper issue of racial equality. Many abolitionists, feeling that colonization was not the answer to the problem of slavery, banded together in 1831 to found the New England Antislavery Society and later combined regional groups to form the American Antislavery Society. The organization grew during the 1830s as preachers began to spread the antislavery message. However, the American Antislavery Society, constantly battling over strategies and ideologies, failed to unite as one force and in 1840 broke into two separate entities. The experience proved to be less than fatal, however, for, despite the split, the movement on the whole gained strength and prospered throughout the west.

From a national viewpoint, 1840 is a critical stage in the antislavery movement. It was in that year that a split formed in the American Antislavery Society between the radical and moderate factions. William Lloyd Garrison lead the radical abolitionists promoting the role of women and disassociating himself from organized religion and politics, preferring to fight slavery through the hearts and minds of people. As one historian stated, "the argument used against slavery by the Garrisonian type of abolitionist was that slavery was an inherent evil, unjust in the eyes of men and sinful in the eyes of God."[4] This type of crusader was generally not willing to focus on the

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[3] Charles Morrow Wilson, *Liberia* (New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1947), 2.

[4] Lester Harold Cook, *Antislavery Sentiment in the Culture of Chicago, 1844-1858* (Chicago: University of Chicago PhD. dissertation, 1952), 28.

economic negatives of the slavery question, nor to employ politics as a means to eradicate the institution, hence, these abolitionists rarely were able to bring the cause into the interest of the common man. As one historian described his efforts, "as Garrison embraced women's rights he also enlarged the reform agenda. He came to see abolitionism as only one of changes needed to restructure American society. He promoted pacifism and argued that, since both the church and the state were corrupt, abolitionists should abandon them."[5] Garrison's critics argued that attacking churches and the United States government was not the most effective approach to ending slavery. The more moderate abolitionists, led by Lewis Tappan, formed the American and Foreign Antislavery Society and were willing to use such devices as politics as a means to fight slavery.

The diversion, although weakening the national organization, strengthened the overall cause by appealing to greatest number of supporters.[6] This philosophical diversity found its way to the frontier lands of northern Illinois where, rather than looking to a national organization for guidance, the local abolitionists assessed the needs and concerns of their particular community. By the mid 1840s, the abolition movement became linked to the question of western expansion. Many people became active in the cause due to concerns that slavery would extend into the western territories and wage laborers would suffer. By 1854, the issue of expansion would be raised by Senator

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[5] Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 97.

[6] Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal*, 5.

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which left the question of slavery expansion up to the settlers of the territories.

The Kane County Anti-Slavery Society (KCASS) appealed to every kind of abolitionist, from the Garrisonian radical, to the anti-extensionist, to those concerned with racial equality. Zebina Eastman, Chicago publisher and one of the most prominent abolitionists in the West, wrote of the uniqueness of the Illinois abolitionist: "They were never divided or troubled by the divisions that characterized the East, under the stringent lead of Garrison, Gerrit Smith, or Greeley. They fellowshipped all these, but followed the lead of none of them."[7]

The antislavery movement in Illinois was crucial to the nationwide movement as the murder of Elijah Lovejoy forced the West into the spotlight. In 1836 Elijah Lovejoy, an antislavery publisher living in St. Louis, was forced to leave Missouri by pro-slavery vandals after he published a blunt criticism of a Missouri judge concerning the case of a fugitive slave. Crossing the Mississippi River to Alton, Illinois, Lovejoy courageously continued to be outspoken about abolitionism despite threats on his life. After proslavery activists on two occasions dumped his press into the river, Lovejoy became a martyr for the cause on November 6, 1837, when he was murdered while fighting off a mob intent on destroying a third press. Lovejoy's murder not only threw Illinois into a national spotlight concerning abolitionism, but also inadvertently compelled many men and women into action who were previously silent on the issue. The murder of Lovejoy sent "a shock as of an earthquake throughout this continent," remarked former president John

[7] Eastman, "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois", 663.

Quincy Adams.[8] Now the argument over slavery went beyond human rights and extended into freedom of speech. Meetings to protest the tragedy occurred all over the country as the fear of violence became a reality for the antislavery cause. In the minds of many northerners, the antislavery movement was now not just a moral crusade, but a fight to protect civil liberties. Owen Lovejoy, Elijah's brother, continued the antislavery crusade to the north in Princeton, Illinois, and eventually became involved in politics.

The Illinois State Antislavery Society was founded in Upper Alton in 1837, prior to the death of Lovejoy. The state society had much trouble getting started in the early years, with very little money and a focus on southern Illinois. However, the American Antislavery Society did not underestimate the importance of Illinois to the cause, as many believed that the battle over abolition of slavery would be fought in the West.[9] One of the purposes of the Antislavery Society was to spread the abolition message throughout the country via agents and itinerant preachers. As one historian argued, "these earnest young men left behind them a trail of hostile mobs and newly formed abolition organizations."[10] The mission of these circuit preachers was more than just starting antislavery societies, they were the ministers who married the couples, baptized the babies, and buried the dead. The ministers were very important in the lives of the settlers, helping to establish churches and organizations in the new towns.

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[8] James Rogers, *The Antislavery Movement* (New York: Facts on File, Inc, 1994), 47.

[9] Merton Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois 1809-1844* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1951), 285.

[10] Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal*, 5.

The Illinois State Society was ineffective until Chauncy Cook of Hennepin, Putnam County, volunteered to be the society's agent in 1839. Traveling around central and northern Illinois, Cook was able to enlist people to the movement and organize dozens of County Chapters, among them the Kane County Anti-Slavery Society.[11] Cook, a Congregational minister, was born in Vermont in 1778, attended Middlebury College and preached in New York until arriving in Illinois in 1837. Cook began preaching in the southern and western portions of Illinois and later moved to the Chicago area. Cook traveled around for at least three years and founded over twenty-five local chapters of the Illinois Antislavery Society and lectured in many additional towns. Cook was tenacious in his message as he almost single-handedly transformed the abolitionist movement in Illinois from non-existent to substantial. Typically, he would deliver a series of lectures, usually in a church, where he argued that slavery was sinful and it needed to be dealt with at the present time. Opposition to the message was severe in several areas; however, he was convinced that he could enlighten the hearts and minds of his foes.[12] As Cook neared the end of his tour, he recommended that at least two full-time agents be selected to communicate the abolitionist principles across the state.

Cook was not the only itinerant preacher in the northern Illinois circuit during the 1830s and 1840s. Several more ministers stayed in Kane County to spread their message. Just as important as Chauncy Cook to the cause in Kane County was N.C. Clark, an

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[11] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 302.

[12] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 304.

itinerant Methodist minister from New York. Clark had come to Kane County as early as 1835, prior to Chauncy Cook, after having been appointed superintendent of all the Indian missions in the Northwest in 1832 by the Methodist Episcopal Church.[13] At the time the Kane County Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1842, Clark was traveling in Texas, but returned in 1844. In addition, the Baptist Church commissioned Elder J. E. Ambrose to run the northern Illinois circuit. All of these itinerant preachers combined efforts in Kane County to fight the moral evil of slavery.

As the settlement of Illinois progressed through the 1830s and 1840s, the state became a meeting point for abolitionists from every direction and as one historian observed, "joining forces in Illinois, they carried out a moral and religious crusade in the face of the timid, the lethargic, and the hostile, who, like their antagonists, had also come from widely separated areas of the country."[14] Kane County served as a meeting ground as well, with people from New England, the South, and abroad uniting together against slavery.[15]

Historiography

The historical research surrounding the topic of abolitionism is abundant and varied. Historians have scrutinized the issue using various points of view to answer questions about the fight to end the "peculiar institution". Every perspective that

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[13] R. Waite and L.L.M. Joslyn. *History of Kane County, Ill*, Volume I. (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1908). 165.

[14] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, iii.

[15] Researched from the names of the signers of the KCASS constitution.

historians have provided on the topic of antislavery has been an important one, for abolitionists do not prescribe to a set pattern of race, age, social status, or religion, and even the motivation for being an abolitionist varied from person to person.

Alieen S. Kraditor's *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* published in 1968, focused on the goals and strategies of the cause as a whole and uncovered the diversity of the movement and its strengths and weaknesses therein. One of her minor themes refers to the focus of historians on the extremists of the abolition movement and their neglect of the common problems associated with all reform movements. While splinter groups are vital to the history of abolitionism, many historians have overlooked the substance of the movement, the middle-of-the-road abolitionist whose efforts forged real change in society. Kraditor's critique is important and justifiable; however, the frontier element should also be considered in any study of rank and file abolitionist groups. The necessity of a wide appeal was due to sparse population, and by addressing the varying concerns of the mainstream abolitionist, the movement prospered in 1840s Illinois. [16]

Lawrence Lader's landmark book, *The Bold Brahmins*, published in 1961, is a veritable encyclopedia of information about the overall abolitionist movement, its key players, and the strategies and motivations therein. It provided essential background into

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[16] Aileen S Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* (New York: Panthcon Books, 1968).

understanding the minutes of the KCASS, their resolutions, and a comprehensible frame of reference for the time period.[17]

Two authors who argued that antislavery sentiment was altogether based on western expansion were Helen M. Cavanagh and Eugene H. Berwanger. Berwanger's assertion that settlers' prejudice prompted antislavery activism dominated his book *The Frontier Against Slavery,* written in 1967. He does not entertain notions of morality or religion as motivations for abolitionists. His proof that racial prejudice existed lies in the politics of abolitionists; the fear of a colored west prompting many to act.[18] Similar to Berwanger, Cavanagh's *Antislavery Sentiment in the Northwest 1844-1860*, written in 1938, focused on the politics of expansion that lead up to the election of 1860. While the notion of free soil prompted many Illinois abolitionists to become active in the movement, historians must not overlook the passionate opponents who were unconcerned with personal incentives and attacked the moral injustice of slavery.[19]

Edward Magdol provided a good description of the variety of antislavery members in *The Antislavery Rank and File* published in 1986. Using information about members' background including economic status, religion, and occupation, Magdol depicted the characteristics of an abolitionist in New England during the early 19th century. He provided a political and social profile of the activists and in addition pointed

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[17] Lawrence Lader, *The Bold Brahmins: New England's War against Slavery, 1831-1863* (1st ed. New York: Dutton, 1961).

[18] Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

[19] Helen M. Cavanagh, "Antislavery Sentiment and Politics in the Northwest, 1844-1860" (PhD. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938).

out what motivated the anti-abolitionist to act, both politically and violently, as well.[20] Although focused on the rank and file abolitionist, Magdol's work does not provide a good comparison for Illinois abolitionists due to the disparity in circumstance and environment from the well-established East to the newly-settled West.

Ronald G. Walters positioned the debate over slavery into a larger picture concerning the future and direction of American society during a time of rapid change in *The Antislavery Appeal,* written in 1976. Walters maintained that due to the societal atmosphere of the 1830s the abolitionist movement was able to split over strategies and philosophies and still be effective in promoting social change. Rather than focusing on the motivations that divided abolitionists, Walters attempted to find the commonalities within the movement. Walters investigated the types of propaganda used in the movement to broaden its appeal.[21] In 1840s Illinois, the drive to abolish slavery was untarnished by the split of 1840, as many abolitionists were concerned primarily with using any method from political to social to ethical to end slavery.

Paul Goodman's *Of One Blood,* written in 1998, focused on the spiritual and scriptural mandate for racial equality and the role that black leaders in the north played in influencing the movement against colonization. Goodman maintained the free black population in the north was instrumental in changing the minds of white abolitionist leaders against colonization by showing strength in community and unity. As the free black populations of the north gained in significance they subsequently proved to the

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[20] Edward. Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

[21] Ronald G. Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

leaders that racial equality was achievable and right with Christian principles.[22] Christian principles held an important place in the Illinois movement as the constitutions clearly and unequivocally state that the immediate emancipation should be given "without expatriation."

Perfectionist Politics, by Douglas M. Strong, published in 1999, stressed the relationship and influence of the ecclesiastical to the abolitionist movement. Strong illustrated the clear connection between politics and religion within the abolition movement and demonstrated how people abandoned their churches to form new religious organizations based on antislavery principles. This abandonment not only happened in the Burned-Over District of New York, but in places like northern Illinois as well. Strong draws an almost automatic connection between the antislavery societies, the abolition churches, and the Liberty Party that is relevant to the movement all over the country.[23]

Several historians have concentrated on various aspects of the antislavery movement in the Northwest. Merton Dillon's *Antislavery Movement in Illinois 1809 to 1844* written in 1951, is a comprehensive study of the earliest seeds of the movement in Illinois and primarily focuses on downstate interactions. It illustrated in great detail the effects of Lovejoy's death and abolitionism as a defense of civil rights.[24] Dillon's later

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[22] Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[23] Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

[24] Merton Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois 1809-1844* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951).

work on abolitionism, published in 1974, entitled *The Abolitionists: Growth of a Dissenting Minority*, offered a wider view of the abolitionist movement, and focused on the development and expansion of the cause.[25] *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* is an 1897 work by Theodore Clark Smith that emphasized the political and economic facets of slavery.[26] Linda Jeanne Evans completed a dissertation in 1981 on "Abolitionism in the Illinois Churches: 1830-1865" where she sought to prove that the role of the church and the ecclesiastical strategy was important to "both the structure and ideology of the Illinois crusade that its political manifestation in the Liberty Party."[27] In addition, Harold Lester Cook submitted a dissertation in 1952 entitled "Antislavery Sentiment in the Culture of Chicago: 1844-1858" where he highlighted the changing cultural patterns in the northwest prior to the Civil War.[28]

James D. Bilotta addressed the role that race played in the formation of the Republican Party in *Race and the Republican Party, 1848-1865*. In this 1992 work, Bilotta illustrated how the antislavery movement made the successful move into politics prior to the Civil War and how "numerous learned writers, physicians and scientists, including some founding members of the Free Soil and Republican Parties, claimed that

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[25] Merton Dillon, *The Abolitionists: Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).

[26] Theodore Clark Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York: McClurg & Co. 1897).

[27] Linda Jeanne Evans, "Abolitionism in the Illinois Churches: 1830-1865" (PhD. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1981).

[28] Lester Harold Cook, "Antislavery Sentiment in the Culture of Chicago: 1844-1858," (PhD. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952).

differences among the races, not simply physical but mental, were innate and hence permanent."[29] The assumption was that one only had to look at a person's race to determine their ability. This work remains key to understanding the motivation of the anti-extensionists, but also illustrates the paradox among the Kane County abolitionists who preached racial equality but were involved politically with the Liberty and Free Soil Parties.

In *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement*, published in 1998, Julie Roy Jeffrey examines the role of women as abolitionists and attempts to provide a "comprehensive picture of the involvement of ordinary women in abolitionism from the 1830s through the Civil War."[30] Jeffery's work is particularly important to this study due to the sizeable number of women working in the KCASS.

In *Morality & Utility in American Antislavery Reform*, written in 1987, Louis S. Gerteis discussed the importance of the middle class to the abolitionist movement and illustrates the change in the cause after immediate emancipation is adopted.[31] The majority of the members of the KCASS were of the middle class, and therefore Gerteis's work is an important one to consider.

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[29] James D. Bilotta, *Race and the Rise of the Republican Party, 1848-1865* (New York: P. Lang, 1992).

[30] Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[31] Louis S. Gertcis, *Morality & Utility in American Antislavery Reform* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

Chris Dixon's *Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth Century America* published in 1997, analyzed the relationships within the family of the radical abolitionist to gain insight into antebellum domesticity. Dixon's assessment of gender and familial relationships provided a basis for understanding the private motivations of the radical abolitionist.[32] The study is important to consider due to its original scope; however, although the records of the KCASS prove participation of women, it is difficult to peer into private lives with limited sources.

Northern Illinois Settlement

The Fox River Valley in northern Illinois lies about 45 miles west of Lake Michigan, extending from the Illinois River up to southern Wisconsin. Despite obtaining statehood in 1818, the northern and northwestern portions of Illinois remained American Indian territory for two decades to come. The Potawatomi, Winnebago, and Sauk and Fox nations lived between the Mississippi River and the Fox River valley. It was not until the Black Hawk War of 1832 that the Indian populations were removed west of the Mississippi; however, the Potawatomi stayed and were able to maintain trade relations with white settlers, but even they were removed by 1835. With their elimination, and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, northern Illinois was readily available for settlement

[32] Chris Dixon, *Perfecting the Family: Antislavery Marriages in Nineteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997).

by pioneers. This was evident in the population boom in Illinois between 1840 and 1850 when the numbers almost doubled from 476,000 to 851,000.[33]

Kane County was established on January 16, 1836, and was named after Elias Kent Kane, a highly regarded attorney who helped draft the Illinois Constitution and became the first Secretary of State. Kane was eventually elected to Congress and served in the U.S. Senate until his death in 1835. The county, with its attractive combination of lush forested areas, ample limestone quarries, constant water supply, and excellent ground for farming, was an appealing place to inhabit. The author of the *1859 Kane County Directory* wrote the following:

> This County may be said to be one of the most if not the most beautiful county in the State of Illinois; the Fox River passing through it, on the banks of which the chief cities and towns are located, and all along the gentle slopes on each side of the river are the residences, groves of trees, and plantations of all kinds of grain, together with many flouring and other mills, availing themselves of the immense water power, and rendering the scenery the most pleasing and picturesque imaginable.[34]

Within ten years of its founding, towns along the Fox River including Elgin, St. Charles, Geneva, Batavia, and Aurora, developed mills, businesses, post offices, hotels, and churches and witnessed steady rises in population.

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[33] John E. Hallwas, "Illinois in the 19th Century", Alliance Library System, alliancelibrarysystem.org, 2003.

[34] *1859 Kane County Directory*. Aurora, IL: Aurora Historical Society, 4.

In the 1840s the Fox River Valley was inundated with "Yankee" settlers primarily from Vermont, New York, and Ohio who left discouraging economic situation in search of financial gain in the West. In a letter describing the wealth and abundance of the land to a friend, a farmer from Kane County noted that his "neighbors came principally from N.H. and V.T. and are very intelligent." The writer went on to encourage the reader to join him in Kane County and "find whole sections (640 acres) of land here together that are much better that any tract of land that you can find in N.H...It is astonishing that people will toil among stones and thistles of N.H. aint it friend!"[35] The Yankee settler differed from the frontiersman who preceded him as earlier settlers were generally anti-intellectual and anti-Indian while the settlers from New England were more likely to be involved in movements like temperance and antislavery.[36]

Indeed, there was a noticeable difference between the overall character of the New England settler and the typical Southern settler. Southerners had largely been poor and unable to own slaves or land and they had come to Illinois to find paid labor positions to improve their conditions. In contrast was the settler from New England, many of whom were wealthy farmers or enterprising merchants, wishing to invest in Illinois to create a version of the east coast in the Midwest.[37] It was the New England

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[35] Daniel Pingree, Udina, Illinois, to Samuel C. Rowell, Lower Blue Licks, Nicholas County, Kentucky, LS, 10 April 1840, in the possession of Linda Nieman (lln@tenet.edu).

[36] Hallwas, "Illinois in the Nineteenth Century,"1.

[37] Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), 208.

settler who built the "mills, churches, schoolhouses, cities, and made roads and bridges with astonishing public spirit."[38]

Historian Lois Kimball Mathews, author of *The Expansion of New England*, maintained there were three ways that northern settlers were transplanted to the West: by individual family, in groups of two or three families at a time, or by the entire community. The influence of the New Englander was lost among the other settlers if they were to move on their own; however, when families grouped together to emigrate, the "New England tradition is preserved and the influence of Puritan tradition has made itself felt: state building in the West has been the work of these little bands toiling with their neighbors from other parts of the United States."[39] The influence is overpowering when a whole colony or church transplants to a frontier area: "there, the character of the settlement has remained unchanged, and its citizens have constructed what is to all intents and purposes a veritable New England town."[40] Mathews cites Rockford, Illinois as one of these transplanted towns. The settlers of Kane County, many migrating in groups of families, were able to keep many of their New England ideals while forming new towns along the Fox River.

Towns Along the Fox River

Members of the KCASS resided primarily in the towns along the Fox River including Aurora, Batavia, Dundee, Elgin, Geneva, and St. Charles. However, a few

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[38] Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 209.

[39] Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 256.

[40] Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, 256.

lived in nearby townships, traveling miles to attend meetings. Despite their close proximity to one another, each of these communities evolved in its own manner, creating a distinct flavor all its own. One striking similarity, however, were the attempts made by these earlier settlers to replicate the New England character in the west. Within just a few years after settlement, the model of existence the pioneers had known in the east was now steadily established in Kane County.[41] The early settlers here were aware of the importance of town planning, and the impact that their influence would have on the undeveloped community. In the first crucial years of settlement, factories were erected, businesses boomed, and infrastructure improvements were made.

While the first eight years of the towns along the Fox River developed in similar fashion, after 1840 the communities deviated in terms of growth and development. Each community offered its citizens different advantages, for example, Aurora evolved into an industrial city and Geneva, with its cozy atmosphere, became more of a weekend getaway for affluent Chicagoans. Communities along the Fox River also differed from the surrounding region, in which the township population was mostly agriculturally based. In the towns of Aurora and Elgin, for example, a manufacturing corridor developed along the Fox attracting diverse inhabitants. Due to the potential for low-wage labor positions, some towns occasionally resembled a small version of Chicago in its population profile.

The second largest community along the Fox River in Kane County was the town of Aurora, founded in 1834 by Joseph and Samuel McCarthy. The McCarthy brothers were millers from New York and established McCarthy's Mills, one of the many

[41] Alft, *Elgin: An American History*, 34.

industries in town. The name was subsequently changed to Aurora, meaning "luminous bands of light." By the middle of the 1850's, Aurora had a bank, a fire department, and the city had elected its first mayor. Also in the 1850s the railroads came to Aurora, changing the town forever. Aurora became an important railroad center, employing more than 1,000 rail workers, and building numerous facilities for building and maintaining locomotives, including a roundhouse with stalls for 30 locomotives. City government had a permanent home when City Hall was erected in 1864, and the public library opened in 1881. Also in 1881, Aurora gained world renown as the first city in the world to operate streetlights powered by electricity. It truly had become the "City of Lights" and became a model Illinois community.[42] Aurora had a small population of free African-Americans after 1850, who had opportunity for work within town.

The town of Batavia was the location of the county's first settler, Christopher Payne. In 1833, Payne settled what was then known as the Big Woods, an area on the east side of the Fox River between Aurora and Batavia. In the next two years, the area saw an influx of newcomers, including various members of the KCASS, and the town established its first school, sawmill, and dam. The name Batavia was chosen by Judge Isaac Wilson (who bought Payne's claim in 1835), after Batavia, New York, the town where he was from. Batavia remained a small community, but vital to the economic flow of the Fox River Valley. It had several factories and the Batavia Paper Company was one of the largest paper factories in the west.[43]

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[42] Joslyn and Waite, *History of Kane County, Ill*, 247.

[43] John A Gustafson and Jeffery D. Schielke, *Historic Batavia* (Batavia IL: Batavia Historical Society, 1980), 29.

Geneva was founded in 1833 and was selected as the county seat in 1836. Town historians believe the name of the town was selected by Dr. Charles Volney Dyer of Chicago, a leading abolitionist and close friend of two town commissioners. Dyer, a recent arrival from New York, suggested Geneva, after an upper New York state town.[44] By late 1836, a group of settlers from Massachusetts, known as the Boston Colony, settled in Geneva. It was in this arrival that the founders of the Unitarian Church established themselves in 1843 and assembled their congregation, which by 1850 had grown to two Unitarian Churches with 300 members in Kane County. By 1840, Geneva featured a courthouse, jail, post office, classroom and teacher, bridge, sawmill, at least three general stores, doctor, furniture maker, two blacksmiths, two hotels and at least one tavern. The local economy consisted of agriculture and factories to process agricultural goods, including, meat, butter, cheese, grains, glucose, and flax. A passenger railroad arrived in Geneva in 1853, changing the function and appearance of the community from a quiet, isolated farming village to a quaint retreat for Chicagoans. A travel booklet from 1879 described Geneva as a place "where there is a perpetual air of New England Sunday afternoon," and "toward evening everything is gay and active...and the scene on the arrival of the evening train is quite like that at many Eastern resorts."[45]

Evan Shelby staked a claim to what is now St. Charles in 1833 on the east side of the Fox and returned to Indiana to retrieve his family. Other founding families arrived by 1835, including Read and Dean Ferson and Ira and George Minard, all from Vermont.

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[44] Dyer had close connections with Kane County and a personal investment in its future; his wife was the sister of James Gifford, one of the founders of Elgin.

[45] Nancy Filbert, "1840 to the End of the Civil War," *Geneva, IL: A History of Its Times and Places*, (Geneva, IL: Geneva Public Library District, 1977), 39

By 1836 Bela Hunt had settled and Ferson, Minard, and Hunt formed a business partnership and began building a town. Soon, a dam, sawmill, hotels, homes, and stores were scattered throughout the town and St. Charles grew to be an important producer and manufacturer of dairy products. By 1837, Charleston had its share of masons, millwrights, builders, and even a doctor, lawyer, and potter. In addition, churches also sprang up with the growth of the town, including the Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, and Universalists. Between 1840 and 1850, the downtown experienced a boom in settlement, development, and activity. Industries such as a paper mill, condensing mill, oil mill, and an iron foundry were founded. As a stop over between Chicago and DeKalb, hotels played an important part in the town. In addition to room and board, they also served as gathering places for local organizations, political rallies, balls and dances, and recruiting offices for the United States Army. [46] St. Charles had some notable Civil War history, as General John F. Farnsworth was a resident in town and thus the town became a focal point for organizing. Along the Fox River in St. Charles was the site of Camp Kane, a Civil War training camp established in 1861 for cavalry and infantry units. General Farnsworth's "big abolition regiment", the 8th Illinois Cavalry, was formed in St. Charles.

Elgin, the largest among the communities in Kane County, was founded by James and Hezekiah Gifford who arrived in 1834. Gifford viewed Chicago as an important city and predicted that Elgin, situated between Chicago and Galena, would become an principal stopover for transients.

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[46] Jeanne Schultz Angel, "The First 100 Years," St. Charles, IL: St. Charles Heritage Center, 2000, 4.

Dundee was founded by a group of Scottish families in 1834 and the village developed a nostalgic Scottish flavor. The name Dundee was chosen by a young man in honor of his former home, Dundee, Scotland.[47] Dundee was divided into two sections by the Fox River: East Dundee inhabited by German families, and West Dundee where the older immigrants from New England resided. By 1837, a thriving community had developed on the western banks of the river and by 1850 the population of Dundee was the forth highest in the county. As the west bank community thrived, many of the residents elected to expand to the eastern bank. This new settlement became known as East Dundee, the older one, West Dundee.

Settlement Brings the Reformer

In pursuit of a perfect society, many Americans in the first half of the 19th century embarked on a crusade to rid society of evils such as alcohol, juvenile delinquency, and oppression of minorities, children and women. The Reform movements were led by religious evangelicals who saw it as their duty it was to spread the word about the social problems of the day. The impulse toward reforming the evils of society was in some ways a response to rapid changes such as early industrial growth, increasing migration and immigration, and improvements in transportation and communication. Philosophical beliefs that inspired the Second Great Awakening were also responsible for the drive to reform. The Awakening, motivated by Charles Grandison Finney, a revivalist preacher, stressed the individual's capability for salvation, and insisted that people could improve

[47] Coincidentally, there was also a Dundee in New York, which the founder of Elgin, James Gifford, claimed to have named.

their situations, rather than their fate being predetermined. In addition, the Awakening inspired the belief that God was democratic and color blind, and therefore many African-Americans established new churches as places for social development. Such a philosophy fit with the abolitionist view of race.

Though the activities of many abolitionists were limited to the antislavery cause, the movement was just one of many reform and religious revivals of the early part of the 19th century. Movements such as temperance, women's rights, and world peace were verification of a growing concern for the need to improve American life and gained wide support.[48] In the years following these reforms came feelings of anti-immigration, particularly immigrants from mostly Catholic countries such as Ireland. Many reform leaders blamed the immigrants for the evils in society and proceeded to speak out against the newly-arrived residents.

Reform movements accompanied the Yankee settlement west to Illinois as "temperance movements, the care of the poor and orphaned, prison reform, and all the 'anti' movements of the mid-nineteenth century America found their expression in the northwest territory."[49] According to one historian, the reformer's efforts to save the slave was equal to saving himself. "the Garrisonian rigidity, the refusal to enter the political arena against slavery, the dis-Union policy and denunciation of the Constitution

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[48] Charles H. Weasley, *In Freedom's Footsteps* (Cornwells Heights, PA: The Publisher's Agency, 1978), 190.

[49] Cook, *Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the Culture of Chicago*, 19.

were all part of a strictly moral platform based on this almost hysterical hunger for self-purification."[50]

The circulation of reform newspapers was one way in which the word was spread in Kane County. The *Western Christian* resulted from a "Prospectus of a Baptist Anti-Slavery Paper," and was published out of Elgin by Rev. Spencer Carr over the store of J.E. Ambrose, both men being members of the KCASS. The paper advocated temperance and moral reform, and it also stated: "it will be an anti-slavery paper and in regard to this great and awful sin its motto will be to 'cry aloud and spare not.' "[51]

In the early 19th century, liquor was frequently used throughout the United States for consumption as well as medicinal purposes. However as the consumption grew out of unrestrained, many people, especially evangelical reformers, began to view alcohol as a serious problem in society and one that could be controlled through temperance. During the 19th century, the term temperance evolved from meaning "do not get drunk" to "do not consume any alcohol." While the effort at first was to stop drunkenness, the temperance movement expanded to resist any alcoholic beverage in any amount. Kane County in particular boasted of their many attempts to suppress liquor sales:

> The first attempt to suppress or meddle with the sale of ardent spirits, by legal means, was made in Aurora in 1845…one of the liquor dealers, who afterwards joined the Sons of Temperance, used to say that if they were always prosecuted as they were then, there would be an end to

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[50] Lawrence Lader, *The Bold Brahmins: New England's War against Slavery, 1831-1863*, 1st ed. (New York: Dutton, 1961), 106.

[51] *Western Christian*, 14 June 1845.

> traffic…The Red Jacket Division, now in active operation, was instituted February 25th, 1850… I have heard some hints about the existence, several years ago, of a secret organization called the Council of Ten, whose object it was chiefly to destroy liquor by stealth…the good Templars flourished for a year or two….[52]

Some of these groups succeeded in stopping the sale and distribution of liquor for brief periods of time, however, local historians have noted the correlation between the coming of the railroad in Kane County and the success of the temperance movement. The "character" of the population had changed when the railroad came to the Fox River Valley in 1849 and prohibition of alcohol was not a primary goal for the new settlers. By the turn of the century, however, the temperance movement was continued in Kane County by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Temperance Unions and the Young Men's Christian Association. The 1903 attitude of these organizations was that their "influence for the good of the [human] race is undisputed."[53]

Improving public education was an important aspect of the reform movement in Kane County, and an "attempt of the friends of education…to inaugurate a new era in common schools of the city [Aurora]" [54] occurred in the late 1840s. Prior to 1820 most Americans had not considered free public education to be a responsibility of the local government. However, with the rise of reform movements, educational reformers began

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[52] *Kane County Directory*, 72.

[53] Jocelyn and Waite, *Kane County History*, 448.

[54] *Kane County Directory*, 71.

to campaign for state-supported education. By the mid 1860s, most of the settled areas of Northern Illinois had some kind of public grade school as Americans realized that education was a way to protect democracy and to promote American values to recent immigrants.

The League of Universal Brotherhood, part of the world peace movement, was another reform that emerged during this time. Zebina Eastman, publisher of the *Western Citizen*, an abolitionist newspaper printed in Chicago, was a member of this organization and a delegate to the 1850 World Peace Conference in Frankfurt, Germany. Englishman Elihu Burritt founded the League, which established an American branch, boasting 25,000 members, in 1846 with the help of Quakers and Unitarians. The League was open to anyone "who made an absolutist vow to pursue all legitimate and moral means toward the abolition of war and whatever else tends to make enemies of nations, or prevents the fusion into one peaceful brotherhood."[55] August Conant, a Unitarian preacher from Geneva and member of the KCASS, gave an address to the Geneva Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood where he asserted:

> The objection was make to war is not a commercial objection; it is not that war is a waste of property…it is not either, the miseries of war; though these exceed in horror and wretchedness all power of language to

[55] Charles Debenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 52.

> describe...but it is that war is wrong; is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity.[56]

The American branch of the League weakened after 1850 as the organization lacked leadership and direction. Despite its short duration, it was the largest nonsectarian pacifist organization yet known among peace activists.

Women Reformers

The struggle for women's rights was another aspect of reform that was concurrent with abolitionism. In the early 19th century, women in America were faced with limited choices in every aspect of their lives. Despite such barriers, women were key participants in the revival and reform movements and in many cases formed societies devoted to social action. Some men, like William Lloyd Garrison, supported the efforts of women and encouraged them to fight for equal rights. Abolitionism was an ideal venue for testing the waters of equality. Along with the abolitionist struggle, many of the same people were also involved with movements such as temperance and gender equality. The antislavery movement became a hotbed for activists interested in equal rights for women. As one historian concluded, "although accounts of abolitionism in the 1840s have concentrated on male activism in politics, women continued to make significant contributions to antislavery."[57]

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[56] August Conant, Address to the Geneva Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood, Geneva, IL, circa 1850, original held by Nita Dippel of Baraboo, WI.

[57] Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 99.

Since the early years of abolitionism, women were actively participating in the nationwide movement and, as abolitionist James C. Jackson proudly wrote: "[none] are found who wish to exclude women from a participation in Anti-Slavery gatherings, and more especially in political anti-slavery meetings."[58] The importance of women in the abolition movement is undeniable and women activists found a vehicle in the antislavery societies. Many people did not wish to include women's involvement in the abolition movement while others applauded their efforts. This was a major problem for the American Antislavery Society and one reason for the 1840 split within the group.

In Kane County, women's participation was applauded in the abolition movement. The KCASS had at least forty women members, one-third of the total membership, who signed the constitution and attended the meetings. The KCASS devoted resolutions highlighting the efforts of women:

> Resolved; That we shall hail the formation of female anti slavery societies, and the enlistment of female talent and effort, as affording the strongest grounds for encouragement, and the surest evidence of success in our holy cause.[59]

Women were encouraged to sign the constitution of the KCASS and participate in the meetings of both the KCASS and the local Liberty party. However, this level of participation was potentially segregated by the words "female anti slavery society". It is impossible to tell whether the women in the KCASS were able to participate in the

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[58] Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 80.

[59] KCASS Minutes, Sept 24, 1844, #31.

activities with no qualms from the male members, or if this is an example of the KCASS creating some middle-ground compromise to satisfy all. As noted, there were 42 female signers of the KCASS constitution, but not all of them used their full names. Many times, gender was removed from the name by just a first initial rather than full name (C.M. Waldo was Clarrisa M.). At the very least, women were able to attend the meetings and sign the constitution of the KCASS. It was also likely in Kane County that women were drawn to the cause as a way to socialize with their neighbors.

In other Illinois counties like LaSalle, women were invited to attend meetings and aid in the cause, for "the influence of women in moral reform was too important to be overlooked."[60] The Peoria Female Antislavery Society formed a state women's society in May 1843 with the intent of allowing female antislavery advocates who did not have a local outlet to gather once a year and participate in a meeting.[61] The women's society accomplished much more than joining the discourse of their male counterparts; they actively aided the African-Americans of Illinois with clothing and education.

> The women's society tried to promote the education of the Negro children of Alton and Springfield and invited the children of Springfield, Quincy, Jacksonville, and Alton to come to Galesburg, where the schools were open on equal terms to both races."[62]

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[60] *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 23 June 1839.

[61] Men were welcome at the meetings and were on occasion guest speakers.

[62] *Western Citizen*, 25 April 1844 and 5 September 1844.

This example deals with three of the major reform movement working together to improve life for disadvantaged people: education reform, abolitionism, and women's equality.

Activities of antislavery women around Illinois varied greatly, from attending meetings to forming sewing societies whose "chief purpose was to furnish clothing to the fugitive slave who passed through the town."[63] The sewing societies also made cloths to send to the fugitives in Canada: "informal working groups like sewing circles adopted projects ranging from making items for antislavery fairs to raising money for slaves who had fled to Canada."[64] Due to the evidence of fugitives passing through Kane County, it can be assured that the women of KCASS were actively aiding the slave in this or a like manner. As historian Julie Roy Jeffery has concluded, "collecting signatures for petitions, circulating tracts and newspapers, and fund-raising were all tasks women undertook successfully."[65] Unlike men, women were less afraid of the public consequences of their antislavery beliefs and were crucial in the grassroots development and distribution of information. Increasingly, Jeffery adds, women "played an important role in creating propaganda for the elimination of slavery, in mounting rituals to celebrate abolitionism, and in helping to devise a heroic history for antislavery."[66]

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[63] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 314.

[64] Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 99.

[65] Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 100.

[66] Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism*, 100.

CHAPTER II

ABOUT THE KANE COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Object of the Society

The Kane County Anti-Slavery Society was a chapter of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society and maintained associations with the American Anti-Slavery Society and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.[67] Annually, delegates from the KCASS were selected to represent Kane County in annual meetings of the state and national societies. The KCASS was founded on July 14, 1842 with the help of Chauncy Cook, an itinerant antislavery preacher, at the First Presbyterian Church and Society of Batavia, Illinois. Various ideals of the KCASS adhered to the Garrisonian wing of the national movement; they were in favor of immediate emancipation and racial equality, they encouraged female participation, and they were against colonization. However, the society also favored the use of political means to end slavery, contrary to Garrisonian abolitionism. The mission of the KCASS was clearly stated in Article 2 of the constitution:

> The object of this society is the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. It shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens, by arguments

[67] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #5.

> addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation.[68]

This mission statement was clear about several aspects of the society: that they felt slavery to be morally wrong; they advocated for the notion of immediate emancipation; they feared a slave revolt (or attempted to instill fear in others); and they did not advocate the removal of African-Americans from the United States. Article 2 also advocated the repeal of laws in Illinois that "deprive any individual of the rights of a citizen on the ground of color or national extraction, and to secure the rights of trial by jury every person claimed as a slave."[69] Therefore, members of the KCASS were also advocates of racial equality. In addition, they were not opposed to employing politics; on the contrary, meetings of the Liberty Party were advertised with antislavery meetings and took place immediately after the antislavery society meetings.[70]

After the first convention of the society in July of 1842, the KCASS submitted a copy of the constitution and fourteen resolutions to the *Western Citizen*, an abolitionist newspaper from Chicago, for publication. The adopted resolutions clearly stated what the society believed and what the course of action was for the group. Among the resolutions included was the premise that the liberty and freedom enjoyed by Americans was in fact an illusion because "the principles of slavery and the principles of liberty are

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[68] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #6.

[69] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #6.

[70] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #1

Opposition from the Community

Generally, Kane County was a safe place for abolition activists, as they were able to gather for meetings and speak openly about antislavery. An Elgin Free Discussion meeting took place in 1840 that laid the grounds for antislavery dialogue in Kane County. At the meeting it was resolved, "when any person who does not break the law proposes peaceably to express his views in the community by lecturing on any subject, we feel bound to protect him in his constitutional rights."[74] Many prosperous citizens' names were among the signatures of the constitution. However, despite the notable names in local history, it was truly courageous to be an activist for abolition during the 1840s. One antislavery activist in Elgin found on the veranda of his store a full-size coffin with a note warning that if he did not stop talking against slavery he would need the coffin.[75] As expected, the activist did not stop talking about antislavery and he was not deterred by pro-slavery agitators. Often times, especially when it came to politics, the term abolitionist was used as an insult: "one must not forget that the term abolitionist became a useful political epithet which could be effectively hurled at one's opponent."[76] Antislavery activists were at risk of alienating members of their community, or being otherwise chastised for their radical beliefs. In a 1908 Kane County History, the author wrote, "to be an abolitionist in those days meant far more than a casual glance at the

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[74] *Chicago Daily American*, 29 April 1840.

[75] E.C. Alft, *Elgin: An American History* (Elgin, IL: Crossroads Communications, 1984), 32.

[76] Helen M. Cavanagh, "Antislavery Sentiment and Politics in the Northwest, 1844-1860," PhD. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938, 46-47.

printed word...an abolitionist then being considered no more honorably than is a socialist now."[77] Abolitionists, even in an area like Northern Illinois, where the institution of slavery seemed so distant, often found it difficult to find meeting places and frequently felt cold receptions when spreading their beliefs to the public.

The relationship between members of the KCASS and others in the community ranged from tolerant to antagonistic. Stories in local history books about antislavery orators being threatened with violence give evidence of dissension among the anti-abolitionists. An example of this was retold in a 1908 *Kane County History:*

> a series of lectures was delivered...by Icadbod Codding, and the bitter pro-slavery men threatened to mob the speaker. John F. Farnsworth of St. Charles and Isaac Preston of Aurora patrolled the...courthouse with slugshots in their sleeves, made of chunks of lead encased in old stockings, ready to give the rioters a warm reception should they...interrupt Mr. Codding's speeches.[78]

In Kane County, however, antislavery speakers were able to deliver their message despite the occasional protest from pro-slavery activists. In fact, Kane was not only visited by Icadbod Codding, but also by other notable abolitionists from Chicago and the east such as John P. Hale (Free Soil Candidate in 1852), Wendell Philips, and Cassius Clay of Kentucky.

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[77] L.L.M. Joslyn and R. Waite, *History of Kane County, Ill*, Volume I. (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1908), 445.

[78] Joslyn and Waite, *History of Kane County, Ill*, 447.

Doubtless, it was easier to be indifferent about slavery. By being openly antislavery, even in Kane, one could have alienated friends, businessmen, or family, thus making it potentially harder to survive in a small community. However, for women, antislavery activism was more acceptable. The names of the signers of the constitution of the KCASS were listed under "men" or "women". Even if the signer only penned a first initial, it was clear whether the person was a man or woman. Occasionally, the women, rather than the men of the family, were listed among the signers to the constitution of the KCASS. Perhaps the men felt it better to send their wives almost as a harmless representative of the family - harmless, in that the man of the family could have attributed the interest in abolitionism on their wife's compassion for the oppressed. This way, the family as a whole would have claimed affiliation with antislavery and the head of the family could have used it when it suited him.

Promoting the Abolitionist Doctrine

For the KCASS, disseminating information occurred in a wide variety of ways including: meetings, antislavery newspapers, public speeches, distribution of literature, and through song. The minutes of the KCASS include twelve recorded meetings: four in Batavia, three in St. Charles, two each in Geneva and Elgin and one in Aurora. In 1842 the group met three times, in 1843 five times, and in 1844 and 1845 two times each year. Prior to 1843, the minutes recorded the names of signers, who addressed the crowd, where the meeting was taking place (not always recorded), and business of the society. After 1843, there were more resolutions passed and the lengthy speeches were recorded.

Members raised money for subscriptions to the Abolitionist newspaper, the *Western Citizen*, printed in Chicago from 1842 to 1853 by Zebina Eastman, a printer and well-known abolitionist. The motto of the paper printed clearly at the top of the page read: "The Supremacy of God and the Equality of Man."[79] The KCASS was extremely supportive of the *Western Citizen* resolving to "fully concur in the efforts that are being made by the friends of the antislavery cause to establish an Antislavery Press in Chicago, and we pledge ourselves to do what in us lies to sustain the undertaking."[80] The KCASS procured funds from its members to use in a variety of ways to indirectly assist slaves' struggles including distributing written material, assisting delegates attending annual meetings, pledges to the State Society, and subscriptions to the *Western Citizen*.

Committed to spreading abolition dogma, Eastman openly pressed sympathizers of the antislavery movement to aid in the distribution and promotion of the paper:

> Voluntary Agents- We wish again to impress upon our friends the importance of extending the circulation of this paper...We do not feel able in these hard times, to employ agents to go about the country to remind our friends of their duties.- A little labor bestowed by some of the active friends in the country will do much better in giving this paper a start.[81]

Because the *Western Citizen* did not turn a profit in the years of its publication and had a fairly small list of subscribers, it has been thought that Zebina Eastman produced that

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[79] *Western Citizen*, 20 July 1843.

[80] *Western Citizen*, 12 October 1842.

[81] *Western Citizen*, 12 Aug 1842.

paper "more for principle than profit."[82] However, the paper served as an important tool of the abolitionist movement in Illinois, providing a platform for the Liberty Party candidates and spreading word from the East. The paper also included classified ads that publicized businesses known to be sympathetic to the movement.

Each local antislavery society was advised to establish its own circulating library of antislavery literature.[83] The KCASS purchased copies of antislavery speeches to distribute to the public: "that the Board of Managers be authorized to procure from the funds, one hundred copies of Channing's address on Emancipation, for the use of the Society & for gratuitous distribution."[84] The author requested was William Ellery Channing, a Unitarian minister in Boston who believed that the "'harvest of abolitionism' would be reaped by the farmers, mechanics, and other working men,"[85] hence the appeal to the members of the KCASS who were his audience. Channing wrote the 89 page pamphlet "Emancipation" in 1840 and published it in 1841 after attending an antislavery meeting in Philadelphia. Channing was inclined to support the political side of abolitionists as he considered the lofty ideas of Garrison unrealistic: "the Abolitionists have given me a cordial welcome, and it delights me to see how a great common object establishes in an hour a confidence and friendship which years are sometimes necessary to produce…I cannot tell you the hospitalities which my Abolition labors win for me, nor

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[82] Cook, *Antislavery Sentiment in the Culture of Chicago*, 20.

[83] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois 1809-1844*, 291.

[84] KCASS minutes, 3 January 1843, #19.

[85] Edward Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 57.

was I aware of the extent of their influence."[86] "Emancipation" tracked the story of the West Indian emancipation and the events that transpired; it was written to calm fears of a potential emancipation in the United States. The choice of Channing's work highlights the position of the KCASS within the larger antislavery subculture, for like Channing, the KCASS wished to employ political devices, but also did not want to alienate Garrisonians.

Other pieces of antislavery literature circulated in Kane County like Zebina Eastman's *North-Western Liberty Almanac,* published in 1846, complete with calendar, astronomic information, and abolition propaganda like songs, poems, prose, and anti-slavery principles, all in an attempt to win people to the cause. The Almanac included the following nine "Elementary Anti-Slavery Principles":

I. Slavery is a sin

II. It being a sin, should immediately be repented of

III. Emancipation is a right

IV. Emancipation is expedient

V. Emancipation is safe

VI. Emancipation is in the interest of the Master and Slave

VII. Emancipation should be without compensation to the Masters

VIII. Emancipation should be immediate and unconditional

IX. Emancipation should be on the soil[87]

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[86] John White Chadwick, *William Ellery Channing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903), 408.

[87] Zebina Eastman, *The North-Western Liberty Almanac* (Chicago: Eastman Publishing, 1846).

These elementary principles followed the strict doctrine of the American Anti-Slavery Society designed to advocate the cause of human rights. They also address the stressful situation of the South, as many believed the "master-slave relationship was said to have debased the spirit and kept southern culture at a low level."[88] In addition, many people were fearful of slave revolts, viewing them as inevitable consequences of slavery.

The use of song at the antislavery meetings affirmed the convictions of the members and encouraged their work. A song opened or closed almost every meeting of the KCASS. Titles like, "I Am An Abolitionist," "To the Good Cause," and "Come All Who Claim the Freedman's Name," demonstrated an unrelenting adherence to the movement and helped to bring people together. In a Liberty Convention in Chicago in June of 1847, a participant noted that the convention was "greatly enlivened by songs from the Liberty Choir of Chicago."[89] Apparently, whether formally or informally, a Liberty Choir existed in Chicago to entertain during antislavery gatherings.

A Collective Profile of the KCASS Membership

There were at least 177 members of the KCASS, 40 women and 137 men, listed in the minutes of the KCASS recorded from 1842 to 1845. Information on ages, occupations, wealth, and origins for roughly 75% (depending upon the category) of the people was found in census, city directories, church records, marriage records, and vital and court records for Kane County. While some of the categories showed similarities among the KCASS, the gender, ages, wealth and occupations proved that the members of

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[88] Weasley, *In Freedom's Footsteps*, 191.

[89] Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), 251.

the KCASS reflected a segment of the entire community around the Fox River, representing a variety of Americans.

As previously pointed out, the origins of many members of the KCASS came from New England, and many traveled in groups to northern Illinois. The majority of the members of the KCASS arrived directly from New York State, which made up 43% of the members. Roughly 22% of the members arrived from New Hampshire or Vermont and another 10% were from Scotland. A small constituency of 5% arrived from Massachusetts, and the remaining 20% of the membership came from Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, Georgia, Virginia, Illinois, New Brunswick, England and Ireland. (Table 1)

Table 1. Places of Origin

Places of Origin for KCASS	%
New York state	43%
New Hampshire	12%
Scotland	11%
Vermont	10%
Massachusetts	5%
Pennsylvania	3%
New Brunswick	3%
England	3%
Georgia	2%
Connecticut	2%
Maryland	2%
Virginia	1%
New Jersey	1%
Ireland	1%
Illinois	1%

Most of the people listed in the 1842 constitution of the KCASS lived in the towns of Aurora, Batavia, Geneva, St. Charles, Elgin, and Dundee, with only 11% of the known KCASS members residing in the rural township areas. St. Charles maintained the most common residence for KCASS, with 27% of the members in residence. Aurora, the third largest town in Kane, had 23% of the KCASS membership. Geneva, with the fifth largest population in Kane, had 16% of the KCASS in residence. Despite being the most populated town in Kane county, Elgin had only 12.5% of the KCASS members. Batavia, the smallest among the towns on the Fox, had only 8% of the membership. Dundee accommodated the fewest members of the KCASS, with 2.5%. A significant point among the residences of the membership was the lack of rural population among the KCASS. Whether it was difficult to communicate to the people out of town, or there existed a general lack of interest, the fact remained that the KCASS was most active with the people residing in towns along the Fox River. (Table 2)

Table 2. Town Representation Among the KCASS

Towns	% of KCASS Membership in residence	Town Population Rank in Kane in 1850	% of Kane Population
Elgin	12.5%	1	14.1%
St. Charles	27%	2	12.7%
Aurora	23%	3	11.3%
Dundee	2.5%	4	8.2%
Geneva	16%	5	5.4%
Batavia	8%	6	5.3%
Other Townships	11%	N/A	42%

Ages of the members in 1842 ranged from 18 to 79, with 67% under the age of 40. The ages of the members were strikingly similar to the groups surveyed in Edward Magdol's *The Antislavery Rank and File*. Under the same age groupings, the KCASS and the Petitioners profiled in Magdol's research had almost the same percentages of people per group. (Table 3)

Table 3. Ages of the KCASS

Age Group	KCASS	Petitioners in *The Antislavery Rank and File*
18-29	30.5%	38.5%
30-39	36.5%	30.0%
40-49	18.5%	20.3%
50-59	8.5%	8.6%
60+	5%	2.6%

In regard to age and wealth, people between the ages of 30 and 49 held the most assets for KCASS members. The average wealth for a person between 30 and 49 was around $2000; in contrast, if one was above 50 years old, the average fell to around $380, and if one was under 30, the average was $606. (Table 4)

Table 4. Age and Average Wealth

Age of Member	Average Wealth
18-29	$606
30-39	$2157
40-49	$2001
50-59	$379
60+	$390

Occupations for the members of the KCASS were diverse, but were mainly within the following categories: domestic (homemaker), agriculture, manufacturing (including skilled and unskilled labor), commerce, and learned professionals.[90] The occupations of the members of the KCASS when compared to the overall occupations of Kane County citizens represented a notable difference in agriculture and learned professionals. (Table 5)

[90] These categories are based on the U.S. Census for 1840.

Table 5. Occupations of KCASS

Occupation	Percentage of KCASS	Percentage of Kane Co. Citizens
Agriculture	44%	75%
Manufacturing	29.4%	20%
Skilled labor	21.4%	
Unskilled labor	.6%	
Manufacturing	7.4%	
Commerce	7.6%	2%
Learned Professionals	19%	3%

Overall in Kane county the percentage of those employed in agriculture was 75%, while within the male members of the KCASS the number dropped to 44%. Obviously, this reflected the lack of heavy rural membership and this statistic was based on the character of the towns along the Fox River, which offered more opportunities pertaining to employment. Another striking difference was the number of learned professionals, such as ministers, clergy, teachers, and doctors, who were involved in the antislavery movement. While in Kane County overall the number remained low at 3%, in the membership of the KCASS 19% qualified as learned professionals. In addition, under the manufacturing category, most of the people were employed as skilled laborers, or those who possessed knowledge of a trade or craft. Only .6% of the members of KCASS qualified as unskilled labor. Kane county itself had a large number of "scholars"

according to the 1840 census, relative to other counties in Illinois. For example, the percentage of people with an advanced education in Kane County was 18% and Kane listed only ten illiterate people, roughly .2% of the population. In comparison, Jo Daviess County in northwestern Illinois, with a similar population size as Kane, listed a mere 4% of their population as "scholars" and had a staggering 399 people as illiterate, roughly 6% of the population. More so than any other segment of the overall population, the uneducated, unskilled labor group was underrepresented in the KCASS. The notable feature of the abolitionists is their greater percentages in the educated categories.

The wealth factors including property holdings, livestock, or cash, also represented people from every economic level. (Table 6) Only 10% of the families involved were at the lowest or highest levels of income. Usually, the occupations were related to the amount of wealth recorded in the census or other public record. The wealth varied based on age and occupation, for while the average income for a farmer was $1262.50, that average went up or down depending on the age of the farmer. The manufacturers were the wealthiest segment of the KCASS, with an average of $6051 in assets. While the clergy among the learned professionals did not possess much wealth, the other occupations, such as doctor, raised the average to $863. (Table 7)

Table 6. Value of Assets for KCASS

Value of Assets	% of KCASS
Under $99	5
Between $100 and $499	33
Between $500 and $999	27
Between $1000 and $4999	30
Above $5000	5

Table 7. Average Wealth by Occupation

Occupation	Average Wealth
Agriculture	$1262.50
Commerce	$1505
Learned Professional	$863
Manufacturing	$6051
Skilled Labor	$662

Noteworthy Members of the KCASS

The presumption that antislavery men and women were not influential people in their communities has been asserted by some historians.[91] However, the surnames listed in the minutes of the antislavery society offered an impressive list of "movers and shakers" within Kane County, such as Allen Pinkerton and George W. Waite who were prominent in local history as businessmen and politicians. Unlike antislavery society membership in New England, the people involved with the KCASS were also the influential town planners, factory owners, successful farmers, and wealthy merchants of the young settlement. However, not everyone agreed with the antislavery activism established in Kane County. On more than one occasion, when brothers settled in Kane County together, one was a member of the KCASS and the other was not, (although they may still have been sympathetic to abolitionism), as in the case of James and Hezekiah Gifford, A.J. and Edward Jocelyn, William and Samuel Kimball, and Read and Dean Ferson. In most cases, the brother that was not a member of the KCASS, had a different social and economic status than the member of the KCASS.

Allen Pinkerton, without a doubt the most well-known member of the KCASS, arrived in Dundee in 1842 and opened a cooperage. Pinkerton, not yet the famous detective, was an outspoken critic of slavery and a well-known conductor of the Underground Railroad. The son of a Scottish policeman, Pinkerton had his first experience with criminals in Kane county when he broke up a counterfeiting ring, a

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[91] See Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse: 1830-1844* (New York: 1974) and Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

serious problem for communities along the frontier. He was named county sheriff in 1846, and in 1850 became the first detective named to the Chicago police force. Pinkerton then began his own private agency, but unlike other agencies of the time, he charged a flat rate for cases (rather than taking a percentage of the recovered goods) and refused to take on divorce cases. Pinkerton was successful in solving train robberies and stopping counterfeiters. He became prominent in Chicago abolition circles in the 1850s and remained active with the underground railroad. Pinkerton directed an espionage circuit during the Civil War and in 1861 foiled an assassination attempt on President Lincoln.[92]

George W. Waite was born in 1819 in Wayne County, N.Y., and arrived in St. Charles in 1842. Waite was a staunch antislavery man, and while in Kane County supported the Liberty party. Waite was the treasurer of the KCASS and employed as a surveyor and engineer for the Galena and Chicago Railroad. Waite was instrumental in planning most of the railroad tracks that were laid from Chicago westward. He traveled around northern Illinois frequently in the years prior to the Civil War and eventually settled in Chicago where he held the positions of Town Clerk, Trustee, Surveyor, and President of the Cook County Board.

The Gifford family was among the first settlers of Kane County and established the town of Elgin. Hezekiah Gifford of Oneida County, New York, (the location of the 1848 utopian, communal society), reached the banks of the Fox River in 1834, was impressed with what he viewed as prime country, and promptly returned to New York to

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[92] Frank Morn, *The Eye That Never Sleeps: A History of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), 22.

marry. The following spring, Hezekiah traveled again to northern Illinois, this time with his wife and older brother James, a New England entrepreneur. While Hezekiah searched for a location for a farm, his brother James had grander notions of establishing a town. This difference in motivation was seen in the land record of Kane; there were seven transactions attributed to James Gifford and not one listed for Hezekiah. James T. Gifford was crucial to the development of Elgin, taking part in everything from naming the town, to boarding newcomers, to building churches, schools and roadways. James was everyman in the new community, from farmer, to surveyor, to justice of the peace and postmaster. He also manufactured plows and reapers with tools that he designed and he experimented with making sugar from beets.[93] At the urging of James, Hezekiah built a log tavern in town, but in his temperance character, he served no whisky. Along with Hezekiah and James, another brother Asa, their wives Mary Jane and Laura, and two unmarried sisters, Harriet and Experience, settled Elgin and quickly established churches and schools. Harriet was a school teacher and used James's cabin as a classroom. Her instruction fee was five cents a day. Dr. Anson Root, also a member of the KCASS, was the father in law of one of the Giffords. Although there was no indication that James Gifford signed the constitution of the KCASS, according to family accounts he was known to be opposed to slavery. Even though H. Gifford and Anson Root are the only members of this extended family who signed the constitution of the KCASS, the family in general played a bigger role in the movement. Dr. Charles V. Dyer, a leading abolitionist in Chicago, was married to the sister of James Gifford. Dyer was termed the

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[93] Alft, *Elgin: An American History*, 45.

"eminent manager of the Underground Railroad in Chicago" and was brazenly open about aiding slaves escaping north to freedom.

The Kimball family settled the west side of Elgin and along with the Giffords, were instrumental in the success of the town. Brothers Samuel and William Kimball arrived in 1836 and 1837, and cooperated with the Gifford family as town leaders. In 1839 a dam was built across the Fox to supply power for the Kimball saw mill. The difference in ambition and wealth that occurred between other sets of brothers did not occur with the Kimballs. William, a member of the KCASS, owned more property, exerted just as much influence and invested just as much in the community as his brother Samuel, who did not take part in the meetings of the KCASS. In the public domain land sales of Kane County, William made thirteen transactions and Samuel made seven. However, Samuel Kimball was the second mayor of Elgin and was in partnership with James Gifford to build a "highway" or road between Chicago through Elgin and west to Belvidere.

Adroniram Judson Joslyn arrived in Elgin around 1844 and was immediately involved in local political and social circles. As a Pastor for the Elgin Baptist church, he gained the attention of the community with his unbending moral principles on slavery and the fiery, aggressive manner that he delivered his antislavery message. He helped to establish and edit the antislavery newspaper, the *Western Christian,* in 1845, and he advocated the repeal of the Black Laws. He was respected as a man with a "remarkable intellectual force, infinite patience and perseverance, rare tact and judgment of men and

of untiring energy."[94] In August of 1848 Joslyn was a delegate to the Liberty Convention in Buffalo, New York, where the Liberty Party adopted the platform of the Free Soil party. A true reformer, Joslyn was interested in the good of the community and provided for those less able. In that spirit, he founded the Elgin Academy in 1855 and pushed for an Insane Asylum to be built in Elgin in 1867. He was also instrumental in securing the location for the Elgin Watch Works in 1865. After the arrival of the contraband in 1862, Joslyn was an advocate for integrated schools as he stated:

> "Had the council voted that none but decent children should attend the schools, there might be some show of reason in it. But as long as children, dirty, lousy, vulgar, obsene (sic) and profane, are permitted to sit in the school rooms, we cannot see the consistency in sending a clean, well-behaved colored child away. The board, to carry out the order, will need to be good judges of color, for the lightest darkey is but a little darker than the darkest whitey." [95]

The statement and Joslyn's viewpoint were even more bold considering the opposition to integration was led by his brother, attorney Edward Joslyn, also an Elgin resident. In the end, Adroniram was silenced and the dispute was settled by creating a separate colored school. On October 6, 1863, the City Council approved a motion by Alderman Ed Joslyn establishing a segregated Colored School.[96]

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[94] Joslyn and Waite, *History of Kane County, Ill*, 578.

[95] Alft, *Elgin: An American History*, 59.

[96] Alft, *Elgin: An American History*, 56.

Brothers Read and Dean Ferson arrived in St. Charles in 1834 and settled on the west side of the river and together they built a log cabin. Dean married Prudence Ward, daughter of Calvin Ward, also a member of the KCASS. In 1835, Read Ferson entered into a partnership with Ira Minard, another town planner, and together they built the dam, sawmill, and trading house. This partnership flourished and while Dean remained a successful farmer, Read multiplied his assets and became a profitable entrepreneur. In the Public land sales of Kane county, Read carried out twenty transactions and Dean had but one. One assumed the motivation for these brothers was very different.

CHAPTER III

VARIOUS MOTIVATIONS OF THE KCASS

"No Fellowship with Slavery": The Divine Law as a Moral Compass for Abolitionists

Surrounded by the moralistic rhetoric of the reform era, the 19th century abolitionist was striving to live by God's divine law, not by the law of the land. They viewed slavery as a heinous sin against God, and it was their Christian duty to crusade against the evil in society. Many abolitionists only needed the motivation of their Christian beliefs to become activists for the cause and worked solely within their church to end slavery. They were confident that the church would be the catalyst for changing the pro-slavery mindset. Churches active in the movement used righteous arguments for fighting slavery suggesting that the "abolition of slavery was a way of serving God."[97]

William Lloyd Garrison argued that government could not legislate morality, and thus the work of the abolitionist should be done by educating and enlightening the hearts and minds of people and not through political methods. Despite Garrison's skeptical beliefs about religious institutions (he advocated for Christian anarchy), many abolitionists believed it would be the power of the church that would finally eradicate

[97] Wesley, "In Freedom's Footsteps", 190.

slavery. The Kane County Anti-Slavery Society resolved that "Slavery is, in all circumstances, a sin against God and a crime against man."[98]

Christianity provided the basis for many arguments against slavery. Antislavery people believed that treating a fellow human as a piece of property was entirely contrary to the teaching of Christ. It was summarized quite dramatically in the KCASS minutes when it was written that:

> The spirit of the gospel, and the spirit of American Slavery, are perfect opposites, & that he who is characterized by the one, cannot profess to the other, any more than sweet waters and bitter can flow from the same fountain. [99]

In addition, the rhetoric used within the resolutions of the KCASS implies a holy rationale for being an abolitionist, such as the declaration that they "ought to obey God and not man."[100] This unyielding ideology urged people to abide by God's Divine Law rather than the law of man. Owen Lovejoy promoted this ideal, declaring that American democracy was flawed in its practice of placing American voices before the voice of God.[101] Many went on to preach the concept of "Divine Law" as they defended the actions of those who disobeyed the law of the land regarding fugitive slaves. The KCASS stated "slavery was contrary to the principles of natural justice" and they defended the Rev. C.T. Torrey of Massachusetts for "no other alleged crime than that of

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[98] *Western Citizen*, 12 August 1842.

[99] KCASS minutes, 8 May 1845 #34.

[100] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #3.

[101] Dillon, *The Antislavery movement in Illinois*, 343.

obeying the dictates of Common Humanity, the Divine Law, and the Declaration of Independence."[102] Rev. Charles T. Torrey was a Congregational minister and editor of the *Tocsin of Liberty*, a newspaper in Albany, New York. Torrey was gravely ill when incarcerated in the Maryland State Prison for aiding a fugitive slave. His friends, including abolitionist Gerritt Smith, attempted in vain to appeal to the courts for his release. Torrey died in prison and was known as a martyr to the cause.[103]

The members of the KCASS believed in the supremacy of the Divine Law and did not feel guilty about violating any man-made law which they felt was morally wrong to follow: "Resolved...that any human law, which conflicts with the laws of God, is, ipso facto, null & void, and ought not to be obeyed, but abrogated."[104] This statement rids antislavery activists of any guilt for disobeying any law that does not comply with Christian teaching and was primarily used to declare their willingness to aid the fugitive slave. The Presbyterian Church in Batavia upon its split to form the Fox River Union of Congregational Churches also declared:

> that human legislation can never make that right, which is in itself wrong. The laws of the land can never nullify or diminish the authority of the Supreme Law Giver. We must obey God rather than man whenever human and divine legislation come into conflict.[105]

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[102] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #4.

[103] Lawrence Lader, *The Bold Brahmins: New England's War against Slavery, 1831-1863* (1st ed. New York: Dutton, 1961). 72

[104] KCASS minutes, 24 September 1844, #32.

[105] Batavia Congregational Church Records, Box 5, Folder 18, Earl W. Hayter Regional History Center, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL.

Following the law of a Christian God was far more important to Kane county abolitionists than obeying state laws, which they believed violated the sanctity of human rights. Many in Illinois cited an individual's rights within the constitution to follow the Divine Law. Owen Lovejoy asked "Why must a citizen obey the constitution? Is there no such thing as individuality? Is the individual swallowed up by the citizen?...Is there, must there not be, an ultimate appeal to the conscience and the Supreme Court, not of the nation, but of the universe?"[106] Lovejoy disagreed with and questioned the system of American democracy that he viewed as placing the people's voice above the voice of God.

In the Bible, Jesus Christ is quoted as saying "He who is not with me, is against me." Abolitionists adhered to this ideal and condemned anyone indifferent, unsympathetic, or unconcerned about slavery, especially people working within the church. Members of these churches and the KCASS instilled great respect for preachers against slavery, and were merciless on those within the church who remained silent on the subject:

> Resolved; That those who mould public sentiment, especially ministers of the gospel, & editors of public journals, are responsible for much of the good, or evil that exists in the land. Resolved; That we have more

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[106] *Western Citizen*, 9 December 1842.

> confidence in and respect for the unblushing advocate of slavery, than those who believe it to be a moral evil of appalling magnitude, and yet are passive spectators of its abominations.[107]

Not only did they place incredible significance on moral and civil leaders, but they viewed inactive people who agreed with the cause as the worst offenders of human liberty. The resolution that stated they have more respect for southern slave owners than those against slavery who did not speak out clearly illustrates the length they went to sway public opinion.

In the mind of the 1840s abolitionist, Jesus' teaching could have been interpreted as "no fellowship with slavery," as that became the motto of this antislavery culture. In later years, the more political, "no union with slavery" was used to agitate both sides of the struggle. The Presbyterian church in Batavia, ready to ostracize ministers and clergy that did not come out against slavery, composed a series of decrees including:

> that as Christians, we are solemnly bound to admonish and rebuke with long suffering and meekness, [those] who practice the sin of holding slaves, and if they refuse to confess and forsake their sin, we are bound to withdraw from them all Christian fellowship according to Christ's direction in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew. Resolved, that we deem it to the duty of every church member to act on this principle in all cases over which they have any jurisdiction and control and to endeavor to have same principle carried out in all the higher ecclesiastical bodies. Resolved,

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[107] KCASS minutes, 8 May 1845, #34 and #35.

> that the sanction of the Christian ministry is essential to the continuance of slavery in this nation, and therefore, if every church and every minister and every Christian would treat it as they do other gross immoralities it would soon be removed. [108]

This group of activists regarded the issue of slavery as crucial enough to sever ties not only with their parent organization but with other pro-slavery community members as well. Their idea to withdraw Christian Fellowship from the offending churches was an attempt to cleanse their association with slavery, as their credo boasted "no fellowship with slavery." In 1852 the Congregational Church in St. Charles pledged to "withdraw from all bodies and boards which in any way retain slaveholders in their connection."[109]

Church members in antislavery areas were by no means always in agreement over the tactics to use to end slavery. Although Augustus Conant founded the Unitarian Church in Geneva, he resigned from the church in 1857 out of frustration with the lack of antislavery progress. In a resignation letter, Conant writes:

> I have passed through many trials as a Christian minister, some of the severest growing out of my preaching against slavery in opposition to the prejudices and wishes of a portion of the society. The disaffection has been so great that the congregation has been considerably diminished, and my hopes of usefulness in Geneva greatly reduced.[110]

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[108] Batavia Congregational Church Records.

[109] Record of the St. Charles Congregational Church: 1844-1876, St. Charles, IL.

[110] Robert Collyer, *A Man in Earnest: Life of A.H. Conant* (Boston: Horace B. Fuller, 383 Washington Street, Chicago, John R. Walsh, 1868). Book held in the collection of Nita Dippel, Baraboo, WI.

These statements contradicted the notion that the antislavery opinion grew in the years prior to the Civil War. However, the problem may have well been more of a personal issue between pastor and parishioners, rather than a blow to the antislavery efforts in Kane County.

During the religious revival of the early 19th century, abolitionists put a great reliance on the power of prayer to ease the suffering of the people in bondage all over the world. The antislavery churches in the Fox River valley pledged to "use their talents and energy to do away with" slavery, and for many of them, that energy was prayer.[111] Every meeting of the KCASS opened with a prayer led by one of the many ministers of the society. The society also requested that the last Monday of each month be offered up for prayer for the oppressed: "Resolved; that we consider a concert of prayer for the oppressed...of vast importance, and that we recommend it be observed by all the friends of freedom, wherever it is practical."[112] These "concerts" of prayer were echoed throughout the United States at that time, for many of the state antislavery societies also mention such dedications.

In addition to fighting the cause through each individual congregation, local churches in Kane County joined together in the fight against slavery. In "Abolitionism in the Illinois Churches," historian Linda Evans noted that the "ecclesiastical strategy...was more important to both the structure and ideology of the Illinois crusade than its political

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[111] Record of the St. Charles Congregational Church: 1844-1876, St. Charles, IL.

[112] KCASS minutes, 24 Sept 1844, #32.

manifestation in the Liberty Party."[113] Unitarians, the Society of Friends, Congregationalists, some Presbyterians, and Free Methodists played active roles in the movement. Abolitionist churches were undoubtedly the backbone of the movement prior to the widespread use of other more political tactics. Some religious organizations went so far as to deny assistance to antislavery organizations they deemed as too "political." For example, the Unitarian Church of Geneva blocked the use of their church building for a meeting of the KCASS in April of 1844 based on the idea that the church would be "serving the interests of a political party."[114] However, minds had changed by the following year where the semi-annual meeting of the KCASS was held in that Unitarian Church.[115] Political devices in the struggle against slavery evidently became more acceptable to the morally righteous as time progressed.

Thomas Paxton, one of the first settlers in Kane County, founded a Presbyterian church called the Church of the Big and Little Woods in August 1835. Paxton, a native of Tennessee, moved north to get away from slavery, an institution he considered reprehensible. By 1843 the Church of the Little and Big Woods became the First Presbyterian Church and Society of Batavia, and the issue of slavery proceeded to divide members of the church. The Presbyterian Church on the whole was unwilling to condemn slavery as a rule, and instead let the individual congregations decide what their stance on slavery would be. Even though the Presbyterian churches in northern Illinois

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[113] Linda Jeanne Evans, "Abolitionism in the Illinois Churches 1830-1865", (Northwestern University Ph.D. dissertation, June 1981), 1.

[114] Unitarian Church record file, Geneva, IL.

[115] KCASS minutes, 9 Sept 1845, #37.

gave repeated declarations that they would have no fellowship with slave owners[116], the Presbyterian Church of Batavia split with the church over the issue of slavery and formed the Fox River Union of Congregational Churches in 1844. The evidence of this split can also be seen in the minutes and location of the meetings of the KCASS. At one point in the minutes of the KCASS, the tone turned urgent and uncompromising as the members resolved that "the peculiar relations of American Slavery at the present crisis, and the combined agencies now employed in its defense, & perpetuity, most powerfully demand the Sympathy and decided action of all ecclesiastical bodies in behalf of the oppressed."[117] It is not a coincidence that this discourse is given at the same time as the split from the Presbyterian Church in Batavia. This righteous discourse allowed for no one to be excused; every Christian was responsible for fighting the institution of slavery. This virtuous rationale proves the members of the KCASS were not only toeing the "party line", but were also characterized as being somewhat impractical and unrealistic. The Batavia congregation disagreed with Presbyterian policy to let the individual communities speak out against slavery rather than the entire church. In the preamble of the Fox River Congregationalists, they expressed their antislavery inspirations:

> Resolved, that the system of American slavery finds no place or sanction in the Bible but is entirely opposed to the spirit and letter of the word of God. Resolved, that American slavery is a violation of all the principles of national justice and an outrage upon humanity, which a civilized and

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[116] Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State: 1818-1848* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1918, reprinted in 1987), 375.

[117] KCASS minutes, 8 May 1845, #34.

> especially a Christian community ought to look upon with detestation and horror.[118]

The congregation felt members should be vocal against slavery, especially because they were Christian.

In Geneva, the church most active in the movement was the First Christian Society of Geneva, a Unitarian church founded by Augustus Conant in 1844. Born in Vermont in 1811, Conant began traveling at the age of twenty-one and by the early 1840s he settled in Geneva. Prior to settling in Kane County, Conant studied at Cambridge to become a minister and was passionate and outspoken on the subject of slavery often blending religion and politics to aid in the cause. Conant was a member of the KCASS from its first meeting and served the group with speeches and locations to meet.[119] He went on the join the Union forces in the Civil War as a chaplain of the 19th Regiment of Volunteers. Conant died from inflammation of the lungs in February 1863 after the Battle of Stone River in Tennessee.

The St. Charles Congregational Church, established in 1837, urged its members to address the subject of slavery around 1844. The group denounced slavery as a "system of wickedness" and they were united in a "desire to be guiltless with reference to their

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[118] Batavia Congregational Church Records.

[119] Information on Augustus Conant taken from conversations with Nita Dippel of Baraboo, WI, distant relation and current biographer of Conant.

fellow countrymen in bondage."[120] In addition to praying for all those in bondage they too resolved to deny their pulpit to any person who advocated or vindicated the system of slavery.

Methodists were also involved with the antislavery movement. In 1844 a "Wesleyan" circuit was formed on the Fox River under the motto "no fellowship with slavery." Included in this group were eleven churches and twenty appointments.[121] St. Charles founded a "Free" Methodist Church in 1859 when twenty-one members of the Methodist Episcopal Church were disciplined for disagreeing with the church. As the name implies, the Free Methodist church doctrine opposed slavery, had free seats for all (rather than the practice of renting and selling church pews), and a less formal method of worship. In 1860, the small congregation in St. Charles acquired a warehouse from the Wheeler brothers, local abolitionists in town. Joanna Garner, a runaway slave, was a member of the Free Methodist Church after settling in St. Charles.

In 1844, the Northwest Baptist Association called a mass meeting of antislavery men and women in Warrenville, located in neighboring DuPage County. It was in this meeting that antislavery newspaper was established to counter the *Baptist Helmet*, a publication that printed advertisements for pro-slavery supporters.[122] The new antislavery paper, the *Western Christian* was published in Elgin and although it did not focus on slavery in its articles, its policy remained antislavery. The paper served its

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[120] Record of the St. Charles Congregational Church: 1844-1876, St. Charles, IL.

[121] Pease, *The Frontier State: 1818-1848*, 376.

[122] Pease, *The Frontier State: 1818-1848*, 376.

purpose to the conscience of the antislavery reader, that while they were still getting the information about Baptist culture, they were not supporting or accepting material from a pro-slavery publication.

"Friends of the Oppressed": Aspiring for Freedom and Racial Equality

The concept of African-American inferiority was widespread among 19th century Americans. Combating this notion, and the racial prejudice that accompanied it, was one of the objectives of abolitionists. Not only did they argued for immediate emancipation from slavery, they also championed the rights of the African-American given to them by the Declaration of Independence and aided in their quest for freedom via the Underground Railroad. Men and women of the KCASS, in spite of the social, civic, and legal pressures within their communities, courageously fought for the rights and interests of the African-American in the 19th century.

The issue of black equality developed in part under the guidance of Theodore Dwight Weld, a revivalist preacher.[123] Weld wished for the abolition of slavery but recognized the social problems that would arise. By actively fighting oppression with the African-American, Weld attempted to prove that it was slavery that kept African-Americans in a degraded position, not their race. While a student at Lane Seminary in 1834, Weld preached abolitionism to his fellow students, converting almost the entire

[123] Thomas, Bender, *The Antislavery Debate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 44.

student body to the movement, much to the dismay of the governing board of the school. In 1835, Weld and the 40 students from Lane transferred to Oberlin Institute in Ohio. They persuaded the school to adopt an antislavery position and admit African-Americans as students. There, Weld trained a "band of 70" preachers to help organize antislavery societies all over Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Oberlin Institute, with the monetary aid from Arthur Tappan, became the center of the western abolitionist movement. Chauncy Cook, itinerant preacher and founder of the Kane County chapter, was one of the students from Oberlin.

Agents or itinerant preachers adhered to the ideology of the rigidly principled American Antislavery Society as they formed anti-slavery societies across the state while also helping to form abolitionist churches. People were lectured on the "duties of Christians"[124] in regard to slavery including prayer and social and political activism. In the early years of Illinois settlement, it was common to have itinerant missionaries, from every religion, traveling from town to town, organizing churches and giving lectures and sermons. When lecturers trained by Weld entered an area with no established antislavery movement, they presented the argument that slavery was being supported by Christians and their churches who were reluctant to take a positive stand against it. They denied the claim that northerners had little to do with slavery and appealed to those who felt it was wrong to declare themselves antislavery. Weld maintained "racial prejudice against Negroes was both illogical and undemocratic,"[125] and urged for social reformation in the

[124] KCASS minutes, 25 April 1843, #21

[125] *Western Citizen*, 23 February 1843.

perception of the black race. Weld led students at the Lane Theological Seminary in a discussion of slavery that concluded with the resolution that the slave states should immediately end the practice of slavery. The trustees of the Seminary reprimanded Weld and consequently forty students transferred to Oberlin College and began to focus their efforts on spreading antislavery ideology. Weld's perceptions about African-American equality formed the basis for the American Antislavery Society's stance on prejudice and mission for racial equality.

Racial equality was at the forefront of the American Antislavery Society's purpose. According the Article III of the constitution of the American Antislavery Society, the mission of the organization was to:

> elevate the character and condition of the people of color by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellect and worth, share an equality with whites, of civil and religious privileges..."[126]

The goal of racial equality was an important part of the mission of the KCASS as well. It was written within the constitution preamble, "Whereas The Most High God 'haft made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."[127] This statement signified the members' acknowledgement of human equality, regardless of skin color. The constitution continued in Article 3 that:

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[126] Weasley, *In Freedom's Footsteps*,189.

[127] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #4.

> This society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color; by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with whites, in civil and religious privileges.[128]

Like other abolitionists, KCASS members did not assume that all African-Americans would be at the same level, but only "according to their intellectual and moral worth." This statement implies that members understood that African-Americans could be equal with whites within their respective ability. The KCASS also believed in providing opportunities for the African-American in education, so that they might elevate their position in society. In 1862 while at Camp Mitchell, Georgia, Conant taught a group of African-Americans to read and stated in a letter to his wife "it's a cheering sight to see them...acquiring the power to make their new got liberty a blessing."[129] In any case, the KCASS believed that the African-American race could be a viable part of any community. The KCASS referred to the treatment of African-Americans in America a "monstrous violation of human rights"[130] and contemplated about the apathy that Americans had for the dilemma of the African-American.

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[128] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #7.

[129] Robert Collyer, *A Man in Earnest: Life of A.H. Conant*, 226.

[130] KCASS minutes 9 Sept 1845, #41.

The *Western Citizen*, an abolitionist newspaper in Chicago, also described the abolition organizations as trying to "elevate the degraded Negro of the country- to enlist sympathy for his situation- to do away with the prejudice that exists against his race; and eventually to secure for him his rank in the family of man."[131] However, by the 1830s, many antislavery lecturers and scholars reached the daunting conclusion that racial prejudice was an enormous hurdle and that the "public in general [was] very stubborn about changing its views toward an acceptance...that the institution of slavery was the cause of the apparent inferiority of the Negro."[132] Not only that, by the 1850s many antislavery politicians were hesitant to sanction total equality for African-Americans. John Farnsworth, a Republican Congressman from St. Charles, agreed with basic equal rights, but disagreed about mixing the races: "When it comes to the question of his right to eat the fruits of the earth which his own hands have tilled, he is my equal...When it comes to a question of who should sit at my table...or as to whom we shall marry...my tastes revolts against such equality."[133] Elected officials aimed for political equality rather than practical equality.

Attitudes towards free African-Americans in society varied from different accounts. The prevailing viewpoint of mainstream Illinois was to keep the African-American out of Illinois. However, negative attitudes concerning the nature of the black race abound in the discussions over equality. An example of this was when Davis

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[131] *Western Citizen*, 12 Aug 1842.

[132] Dillon, *The Antislavery movement in Illinois 1809-1844*, 307.

[133] James D. Bilotta, *Race and the Rise of the Republican Party 1848-1865* (New York: P. Lang, 1992), 337.

Dobson of Indiana, "stunned by the support which Negro suffrage received from one delegate, retorted: 'Whenever you begin to talk about making Negroes equal with white men, I begin to think about leaving the country.'"[134]

However, abolitionists disputed these attitudes, citing real-life examples of free men and women of color functioning without disruption in the community:

> Are not the colored people in Chicago amongst the most orderly and quiet of any class of citizens? Would not the American take the oath of either of the four colored barbers in the city as soon as he would that of any white person, be he barber or not?[135]

For many abolitionists, it was enough to agree that slavery was morally wrong and especially cruel, without giving in to the more radical notions of equality among the races. However, for those people active within the movement, racial equality became the cornerstone of their motivation, the basis of their abolition commitment and beliefs. According to historian Douglas Strong, the abolitionists were "not just against slavery...they actively worked to make freedom and equality a reality."[136] One aspect of this equality was within the workforce. Abolitionists knew that before African-Americans could be considered equal in society, they would need to become independent and productive members of the community. One of the ways in which to promote

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[134] Quoted in Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 39.

[135] *Western Citizen*, 2 Sept 1842.

[136] Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 4.

African-American labor was to provide jobs for them. Allen Pinkerton[137], a member of the KCASS, hired former slaves to work in his cooper shop fabricating wooden barrels.[138] This provided the opportunity to earn money while learning a trade.

The assertion that the institution of slavery was inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence provoked patriotic sentiment in antislavery cause. Regarding the Declaration of Independence and the struggle for equality, Zebina Eastman wrote, "the patriots of the revolution…had no mental reservations, that is, the most of them; and believed that the doctrine applied to black men and slaves, as well as to white men."[139] The KCASS, believing that racial prejudice was inconsistent with what the founding fathers wrote, stated in the preamble of their constitution the following:

> Whereas the Most High God "haft made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our national existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of more than Sixty years since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avail, before

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[137] Allen Pinkerton was a famous detective who founded the Pinkerton Detective Agency.

[138] Glennette Tilley Turner, *The Underground Railroad in Illinois* (Glen Ellyn, IL: Newman Educational Publishing, 2001), 124.

[139] Zebina Eastman, "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," 664.

> Almighty God and the world, nearly one sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow citizens."[140]

To the members of the KCASS, the interpretation of the Declaration of Independence meant that slavery was absolutely unacceptable and that God created all humans with "one blood", and prejudice based on skin color was sinning against the Divine Law of God.

Prior to 1830, the antislavery outlook steered people toward the notion of gradual emancipation. Many abolitionists believed the idea of gradual emancipation did not help the movement to grow, and after 1830 the philosophy was transformed to an immediate and uncompromising emancipation of all slaves in the United States. Abolitionists in the age of Garrison felt that "any less drastic program tolerated sin, encouraged procrastination, and lulled the conscience to sleep."[141] Despite being at the core of the antislavery struggle, the issues of immediate emancipation and racial equality remained the most difficult for abolitionists to communicate to mainstream America. Many abolitionists themselves felt uneasy about the idea of immediate emancipation and African-Americans as equal with whites. As one female abolitionist wrote:

> I could not believe that the African, or rather the descendent of the African, and the white man, could dwell together in the same land, and on the same footing, without murder, rapine, and every sort of abomination. But, thank heaven, I have received light on that subject; my views have

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[140] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842 #4.

[141] Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal*, 2.

> been enlarged, prejudice has been removed, (for it is only prejudice that causes many really good people to start at the mere mention of immediate emancipation) and I believe that the simultaneous abolition of slavery in the different states is not only entirely practicable, but perfectly consistent with safely, happiness, and the prosperity of the inhabitants of these States.[142]

From its formation in 1842, the KCASS also endorsed the idea of immediate emancipation. The idea of gradual emancipation was unthinkable to abolitionists who believed that slavery was morally wrong and a great evil. Despite the belief by many that slavery would gradually end on its own, it was actually growing as new generations were continually being born into the institution and the need for labor in the southern plantation had grown. However, abolitionists felt the need to ease the fears among many who considered immediate emancipation to be a chaotic and potentially dangerous idea. Prominent antislavery activists denied the claims by slave owners of any danger in freeing the slaves:

> But the lesson of the day is the safety of emancipation. The West Indian Islands teach us the lesson with a thousand tongues—In those islands, the slaves were eight and ten times more numerous than whites. Yet perfect order has followed emancipation. Since this event, the military force has

[142] *Western Citizen*, 12 August 1842.

> been reduced, and the colored men, instead of breaking into riot, are among the soldiers by whom it is suppressed.[143]

For many moderate abolitionists and many more slave owners, immediate emancipation was a very alarming notion. Abolitionist speakers, however, brought the matter to light by pointing out the obvious advantages of the white race in America:

> Holding all the property, all the intellectual, the civil, the military power, and distinguished by courage, it seems incredible, that the white race should tremble before the colored, should be withheld by fear from setting them free.[144]

By pointing out the obvious, abolitionists attempted to taunt or provoke slaveholders about their fears. Antislavery men and women went so far as to call their worries "imaginary". A discussion in the Presbyterian church in Batavia prompted this resolution:

> Resolved, that no imaginary difficulties or dangers connected with immediate emancipation, form any excuse for the continuance of slavery for the evils to be apprehended as incidental to the freedom of the slaves, cannot equal those connected with their bondage.[145]

Abolitionists countered every excuse that pro-slavery people offered concerning why they could not free slaves.

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[143] An excerpt from W.E. Channing's "Danger of Emancipation", *Western Citizen*, 9 Dec 1842.

[144] An excerpt from W.E. Channing's "Danger of Emancipation", *Western Citizen*, 9 Dec 1842.

[145] Batavia Congregational Church Records.

It was not enough to promote racial equality, members of the KCASS were very concerned about the condition of life for freed slaves. While members of the KCASS played an active role in promoting the condition of African-Americans through jobs and education, a serious concern was voiced during the meetings about the future of African-Americans after emancipation:

> Mr. Thomas proposed to the President the following question; Are you going to benefit the Blacks by setting them loose in their present condition, without making any provision for their future support?[146]

The question, while thoughtful and timely, touched on a greater issue of racial equality; would the white race ever have enough confidence in the African-American to become a contributing member of a community? Far too often the abolitionists who fully supported the notion of equality for the races relied on the argument that the African-American should be pitied and uplifted by the white people, thereby showing little confidence in their self-support.

Abolitionists regarded assistance to the fugitive slave as an opportunity to actively fight against the oppression of African-Americans. After 1835, there were enough antislavery activists in Illinois to sustain safe passage for fugitive slaves. Fugitive slaves were a constant source of friction between the north and the south. Southern masters attempted to with zeal to retrieve escaped slaves in the north, while many northerners sided with the fugitive slave. Many people in the north assisted their escape by giving aid or concealing the fugitive slave. In *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, Merton

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[146] KCASS minutes, 5 September 1843, #25.

Dillon wrote " one of the few opportunities the antislavery men of Illinois had to put their hatred of slavery and their compassion for the slave into practical effect was to give aid to the fugitives escaping into Illinois from the South."[147] Undoubtedly there were numerous instances of helping fugitives escape, but this type of work was not commonly noted in history. In fact, legends abound with tales of secret tunnels and false walls allegedly hiding runaways.

Because of the secrecy of the operation, it is impossible for historians to say how many passengers were carried on the Underground Railroad, or the routes that were followed. Estimates range as high as 50,000 people in the 30 years before the Civil War.[148] Dillon cites three main routes through Illinois, moving through various points around the state, but all ending in Chicago. By 1850, Chicago became a center for underground railroad activity, "at first very quietly, but later brazenly in the open."[149] This attitude is evident in the antislavery press of Chicago, especially the *Western Citizen*, which publicized a satirical advertisement entitled, "The Liberty Line" for the Underground Railroad in the mid 1840s. The political cartoon designed to resemble an ad was written and signed by the unapologetic and openly defiant John Cross, an itinerant preacher and colleague of Chauncy Cook. Illustrated in the ad were railroad cars entering a tunnel traveling through a mountainous region and a horse and wagon galloping away. It persuaded "Gentlemen and Ladies, who may wish to improve their health or

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[147] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 326.

[148] James Rogers, *The Antislavery Movement*, 52.

[149] Verna Cooley, "Illinois and the Underground Railroad to Canada," Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1919, 78-79.

circumstances, by a northern tour…to give us their patronage."[150] The ad assured passengers that "Seats Free, irrespective of color" and that "necessary clothing furnished gratuitously to such as have fallen among thieves."[151] The ad claimed that the fictional railroad ran day and night and that pro-slavery police would be removed to Texas if they attempt to follow the trail.

In Kane County as in many Illinois counties, there exists among local histories an enormous amount of Underground Railroad legends, most of which have no evidence within primary historical sources. Despite the lack of hard evidence, there can be no doubt that the Underground Railroad was a viable way in which slaves fled their dreadful circumstances, and that many traveled through Kane County. In addition to Kane County's proximity to Chicago, the Fox River flowed north and south through the county making it a likely location for many stations and stops on the Underground Railroad. Despite the secretive nature of the Underground Railroad, a few people associated with the KCASS were mentioned in letters and other sources as aiding the runaway slave via the Underground Railroad, others were "known" to have participated, but little historical evidence can be found to substantiate the tales. However, Kane County made itself known as a safe haven through newspapers and public conventions. At an 1846 Liberty Party Convention in Aurora, participants assured those fugitives in need by moving to "recommend to hungry, destitute, naked and plundered emigrants to tarry through the

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[150] *Western Citizen*, 13 July 1844.

[151] *Western Citizen*, 13 July 1844.

winter, or longer, if they choose, in Kane County, being assured that it is as safe and secure an asylum as Canada itself."[152]

George W. Waite was an outspoken member of the KCASS and a future public servant in DuPage and Cook Counties, working as a surveyor, treasurer, clerk, and assessor. Waite served as the Treasurer for the KCASS until resigning the office in 1844 when he moved to Warrenville in DuPage County. Waite wrote a lengthy letter upon his departure, and explicitly mentioned the Underground Railroad in it:

> `Hoping that you will consider me as ever ready to furnish all the assistance in my power to aid and sustain the Underground Railroad in all Lawful undertakings to obtain passengers and their safe deposit...[153]

As Waite wrote "all Lawful Undertakings," his meaning was taken defiantly, referring to the Law of God rather than the man-made law. Fugitives were helped by those who believed that "however much their action conflicted with man-made law, they were carrying out a duty prescribed by God and indicated by the principals of human charity."[154] Waite was not the only member attributed to this relief effort. J. L. Christian of the KCASS also wrote of his involvement in aiding fugitive slaves when requesting an invitation to the 1874 Reunion of Old-Time Abolitionists[155], "[I] also attended

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[152] *Western Citizen*, 17 November 1846.

[153] Waite, George, St. Charles, IL to Lucian Farnam, St. Charles, IL. LS, 4 July 1844, in the collection of the St. Charles Heritage Center, St. Charles, Illinois.

[154] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois 1809-1844*, 326.

[155] Zebina Eastman and Allen Pinkerton were the primary people involved in organizing this successful three day long reunion of abolitionists active from the 1830s to the Civil War. The Chicago Historical Society holds numerous records concerning this event.

conventions, sang out of the 'Liberty Ministers', helped on the underground railroad."[156] Christian emigrated from England and was a factory worker in St. Charles in the early 1840s.

Dr. Anson Root of Elgin was listed as an operator on the Underground Railroad and aided fugitive Caroline Quarrels. As the story goes, the fair-skinned Quarrels had crossed the Mississippi in Alton after escaping her master. She then proceeded by stage northward through Elgin where Root hid her from slave catchers.[157] Allen Pinkerton was particularly helpful in the struggle for freedom. Besides raising money and providing jobs for African-Americans, he was also was known to have "coordinated underground railroad activities as a sideline to his new detective business."[158] One alleged instance was 1859 when he provided transportation to John Brown and a group of eleven escaped slaves to Detroit on the Michigan Central Railroad.

The clergy of the antislavery churches were often known to harbor fugitives and several religious leaders in Kane County were involved with escaped slaves. Deacon William Strong of Batavia's and Aurora's Congregational Church allegedly hid fugitives in his cellar. In addition, Augustus Conant of the Unitarian Church in Geneva hid slaves in a "capacious dark garret of the church building" on their way to Canada.[159]

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[156] Christian, J.L., Peotone, Illinois, to Zebina Eastman, Chicago, IL, I.S. May 1874, in the Eastman Collection at the Chicago Historical Society, #191, 11 May to 12 June 1874 (4).

[157] Turner, *The Underground Railroad in Illinois*, 86.

[158] Evans, "Abolitionism in the Illinois Churches", 45.

[159] *Geneva Republican*, 4 June 1942.

These men, like many others throughout the State, were willing to violate the law of the land and follow their own Divine Law that they claimed overruled any man-made one. In addition, "there can be no doubt but that beginning in 1842 disregard of the laws against harboring fugitive slaves became common in Illinois and that the laws were openly broken by men who were fully aware of the legal consequences of their acts."[160] When the Compromise of 1850 was passed the secrecy of the Underground Railroad became a necessity for its success. The Compromise enacted harsh penalties on people involved in escaped slaves. For example, runaways were not allowed trials nor could they defend themselves. In addition, one thousand dollars or six months in jail was the penalty for anyone convicted of aiding a slave, although in Kane County, people aiding fugitives were unlikely to find much opposition or face penalty. The fact remained, if a slave reached northern Illinois, there was little chance that an owner would be able to retrieve him or her, for Kane County was as nearly as safe for the runaway slave as Canada.[161] However, the fear of bounty hunters was ever-present even in Kane County. In 1853, the *Aurora Guardian* mentioned an instance where a black man living there was rumored to have been kidnapped:

> No little excitement was caused during the last week by the rumor that a colored man named Jerry, for many years a resident of this town, was missing, and fears were even entertained that he had been kidnapped. They are, however, groundless, as Jerry took a different route; probably

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[160] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 334.

[161] Pease, *The Frontier State: 1818-1848*, 380.

> having suspicion that "the hounds were on his track," he took his departure for a free country, in the direction of the Northern Star, via the Underground Railroad, which is in good running order.[162]

Apparently from the article, the African-Americans living in Kane County were not entirely free from the threat of capture, and the reality that they might "disappear" overnight.

Around the time of the Civil War, displaced refugees from the south, newly freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, were relocating in large numbers to the north in search of safety and opportunity. However, the Black Laws of Illinois were not repealed until 1865 and many people viewed African-American settlement as problematic, despite the wartime situation. Local newspapers voiced the concern and discussed ways in which the contraband could be helped suggesting "it is our duty to accept the facts of destitution and disorganization among the freedmen, and begin at once to reform the reform. To make a slave free is not enough; we must give him the opportunity to see his freedom, and, when necessary, must teach him to use it."[163] An example of this was in Elgin where an attempt to bring some of the women and children contraband was conducted after the battle of Shiloh in 1862. Even though the Secretary of War ordered the transfer of the contraband to Elgin, the order was rescinded because it violated the Black Laws. Amid the controversy, Benjamin Thomas, Chaplin of the 52nd Illinois Infantry, transported the people to Elgin with the position that the military order superceded the

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[162] *Aurora Guardian*, 23 February 1853.

[163] *Aurora Beacon*, 25 February 1864.

law of the state. The contraband were living in deplorable conditions and were exposed to diseases like Scarlet Fever, small pox, and diphtheria. They did not receive a warm welcome in Elgin, in spite of the numerous abolitionists residing there. In part due to this incident, in 1870 Kane county's African-American population was ten times what it had been ten years prior and roughly nine times of all the counties surrounding them. (Table 8) Only Will and Cook counties had more African-Americans at the time. Among the antislavery stronghold of northern Illinois, the county had become a haven for African-Americans.

Table 8. Population of Kane County by Race

Population of Kane by Decade	Whites	African-Americans
1840	6497	4
1850	16,697	6
1860	30,024	38
1870	38,724	367 in Kane
		53 in DeKalb
		38 in DuPage
		54 in Kendall
		94 in Grundy

The Third Party Ticket: The Politics of Antislavery

If the moral argument was the steady undercurrent of the abolition movement, then the politics of antislavery was the rough water on the surface. The issue of slavery remained in its history an inherently political problem intertwined between state's rights and human liberty. While many groups working for the liberty of the African-American hesitated to use political tactics in the struggle, the KCASS was founded with the idea of

combining antislavery and political meetings. The group believed very strongly that citizens of a country were responsible for standing up for what they believed, and crying out to the politicians when need be. The KCASS resolved "that every citizen of a Republic is morally accountable for every act of its legislators or rulers, unless he openly protest against it."[164]

For as hard as southern politicians tried to keep the issue of slavery out of the political arena, eventually it became a burning issue among pro and anti-slavery supporters alike. By the early 1840s, the issue over slavery had permeated into other explosive issues, specifically the threat to civil liberties. With the murder of abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy in 1837, the free speech issue exploded in Congress prompting abolitionists to crusade against Washington D.C. and petition for slavery and the slave trade to be outlawed. However, the powerful southern lobby of slave owners did not wish to have the issue of slavery included in congressional debate. Hence, the proslavery group pushed a "gag rule" through Congress, banning any discussion on the abolition petitions that were arriving. The KCASS, not wishing to stay out of political discussions, addressed the issue of the gag rule and freedom of speech several times in their meetings, giving special praise to John Quincy Adams, an opponent of the gag rule.

> Resolved "That the gigantic and untiring efforts of that incomparable statesman, John Quincy Adams, to maintain the people's right of petition, while they justly entitle him to a nation's gratitude, have significantly failed to secure their high object, and seem destined of heaven to demonstrate this great truth that no human efforts to protect a select

[164] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1844, #45.

> portion of the people from the crushing hoof of tyranny, can reach the public conscience, or secure the divine blessing, unless embodied in an earnest advocacy of the equal rights of all men, especially the poorest of the poor."

In 1842 John Quincy Adams was a former President of the United States and Congressman from Massachusetts. Adams did not define himself as an abolitionist, but saw the gag rule as a violation of the right to petition and fought against it tirelessly until it was repealed in 1844. Slavery, a subject that affected many others, was entrenched in the political climate of the day.

By 1840, many abolitionists agreed that slavery would not end through moral suasion alone (as Garrison had hoped) and using political devices would be absolutely necessary in freeing slaves.[165] Despite its philosophical conformity with Garrison concerning immediate emancipation, women's participation, and racial equality, the KCASS considered political means a useful tool to fight slavery. Within the KCASS constitution, part of the object of the Society was:

> to influence the Legislature of this State to repeal all those laws which deprive any individual of the rights of a citizen on the ground of color or national extraction, and to secure the rights of trial by jury to every person claimed as a slave; and it will also endeavor to influence Congress to repeal all laws whereby the free states are, in any manner whatever, compelled to sustain or countenance Slavery, or are made responsible for its existence or perpetuity; and to all that can be constitutionally done to

[165] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 325.

> put an end to the domestic slave trade; and to abolish Slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia or remove the Seat of Government to some place where slavery does not exist.[166]

After the antislavery men and women committed themselves to political action, they started to focus on the negative economic aspects of slavery. Members of the KCASS certainly followed the events of Washington, events which inspired resolutions either hailing or condemning actions of politicians.

Although most members of the Illinois State Antislavery Society embraced the need for a political strategy, they were not unanimous on how to proceed. Rather than trying to reform the dominant political parties of the day, abolitionists invented their own political party in which they could campaign for an all-antislavery ticket. The Liberty Party was founded in April 1840 in Albany, New York, and served as the political platform for abolitionists.[167] The Whig and the Democratic Parties, dominant political parties of the time, were cautious of the Liberty party, viewing it as a link between religion and government. Whigs and Democrats alike realized that at the heart of the newly formed Liberty party remained ideas and motivations based on religious principles, a new development in politics that frightened them greatly.[168] Still, the Illinois Liberty Party was based on the concept that moral principles and political action must work

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[166] KCASS minutes, 14 July 1842, #7.

[167] Strong, *Perfectionist Politics*, 75.

[168] Strong, *Perfectionist Politics*, 76.

together and could not realistically be separated. The party members believed they had been inspired into politics not by the corrupt hand of power or money, but by the grace of God to provide salvation for the country[169]. Viewed in the context of the reform movement, Liberty men considered abolition as part of a larger crusade to reform society and create a just world. Kane County held a Liberty Convention in July 1843 where members expressed that the "duty of the electorate was to make the earthly government of the United States to harmonize with the heavenly government of God."[170] When the party was criticized due to this connection between church and state, its members stated they were not so much starting a new political party, but rather returning to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence.[171]

Despite the 1840 philosophical split over political involvement in the national abolitionist movement, members of the KCASS used political devices to stir interest in abolitionism, advancing the cause in Kane County. Evidently, the bickering of the American Anti-Slavery Society had not split the abolitionists along the frontier. The KCASS mentioned the Liberty Party from its formation in September 1842, which was no accident considering that previous May its parent organization, the Illinois State Antislavery Society, finally resolved to endorse the Liberty Party.[172]. The KCASS held meetings of the Liberty Party immediately after the conclusion of its Anti-Slavery meetings, thereby making them one in the same. It was written in the minutes of the

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[169] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 361.

[170] *Western Citizen*, 27 July 1843.

[171] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 362.

[172] Illinois State Antislavery Society Minutes, 156-157.

KCASS, "Also, we request, that, immediately after the business respecting a County society be done, the friends of the Liberty party hold a meeting at the same place, for the purpose of nominating candidates ...for such other offices as may be thought best."[173] This association with politics and antislavery was also promoted in the *Western Citizen*. The paper printed summaries of the local antislavery meetings alongside articles about the Liberty party and Liberty candidates tickets. One mission of the publication was to promote the politics of abolitionism printing proceedings, resolutions, and announcements of anti-slavery meetings. Nevertheless, *Western Citizen* emphasized that the difference between the Liberty Party and the Abolition Organization (antislavery societies) was "as distinct as a merely moral and political party should be."[174] The paper went on to explain that while the antislavery societies were largely philanthropic missions focused on justice, the Liberty Party "has for its object, the severance of the connection which exists between the Government of the United States and Slavery."[175] Despite the seemingly different objectives of the antislavery societies and the Liberty Party, the two overlapped in many instances.

One of the strategies of the Liberty Party members was its policy that men should vote only for those candidates fighting for abolition of slavery and racial equality. They felt it was the imperative duty for antislavery men to withhold votes from all pro-slavery candidates. Although Liberty party members knew they could not affect the Southern

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[173] KCASS minutes, July 14, 1842, #1.

[174] *Western Citizen*, 12 Aug 1842.

[175] *Western Citizen*, 12 Aug 1842.

states right to own slaves, they thought that by voting antislavery on a federal level, they could initiate the abolition of slavery on federal lands, including the District of Columbia.[176]

The presidential candidate for the Liberty party in 1840 and 1844 was James Birney. He was a wealthy former slaveholder from Alabama and Kentucky that moved to the North to further the cause of abolitionism. Birney disagreed with the Garrisonians and believed in more middle ground tactics like politics to end slavery. In 1844 Birney polled nearly 60,000 votes.[177]

Members of the KCASS were optimistic concerning the Liberty Party's effect on the polls. George Waite, the Treasurer of the Society, in a letter to the Secretary remarked:

> I find the great parties instead of sneezing at an abolitionist and at the Liberty Party- they begin to feel anxious about which way they will turn their influence, and to condescend to talk and reason, hence it is that so many are getting their eyes opened[178] and going the right ticket.[179]

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[176] Dillon, *The Antislavery Movement in Illinois*, 363.

[177] Wesley, "In Freedom's Footsteps", 195.

[178] Waite implies that an awakening occurs with voters when they entertain the ideology of the abolitionist. This terminology prevails among the movement as the phrase "wide awake" is used in many places especially flyers and newspapers. Waite used the phrase again later in the letter as he claims "DuPage is wide awake and will keep pace with Kane in all generous operations." By 1860, the Wide-Awakes became a political marching club, complete with uniforms and rehearsed marching maneuvers intended to rally for the election of Abraham Lincoln.

[179] Waite, George, St. Charles, IL to Lucian Farnam, St. Charles, IL. LS, dated July 4, 1844 and presented to the KCASS at the Sept, 24, 1844 meeting.

However, members of the KCASS, much like other Liberty party members, were "encouraged to believe that the cause was onward. There would be a great increase in votes at the ensuing election."[180] At the 1842 election Kane County registered 32 Liberty votes out of a total of 1240.[181] KCASS members were concerned but optimistic about the increase in votes in northern Illinois. Waite continued:

> I am highly pleased with the future prospects of the society in this County, and can but hope that it will prosper til Kane Co. give a Liberty Majority over the two political factions of the day. I would here state for the benefit of your society, as this is the last opportunity I shall have of saying any thing to cheer of edify the Liberty friends in Kane, that so far as I am acquainted our prospects are for more cheering, than I could have anticipated they would be, at last election... Our County will in my opinion increase more than 500 per cent. [182]

While the numbers did grow by the 1846 election, they were far from what Waite had envisioned. There was a steady increase in Liberty votes from Chicago to DeKalb, as DeKalb County racked up 39.4% of the votes, while Cook totaled 11% for the Liberty party. (Table 9) Cook County's abolitionists voted in large numbers for the Whig candidate, and the majority of the county voted Democratic. Even in 1846, the population of Cook was unlike the other counties in Illinois - mostly lower-class,

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[180] Strong, *Perfectionist Politics*, 122.

[181] Joslyn and Waite, *Kane County History*, 445.

[182] Waite, George, St. Charles, IL to Lucian Farnam, St. Charles, IL. LS, 4 July 1844, in the collection of the St. Charles Heritage Center, St. Charles, Illinois.

Catholic immigrants. The Whig party did poorly in northern Illinois in the 1846 election as their votes were split with the Liberty party. In every county, roughly half of the vote went to the Democrats and the other half split between Liberty and Whig, with a Liberty majority. Despite the hopefulness of Waite and others, the party did not prosper for more

Table 9. 1846 Voting Record by County

Voting Record for 1846	Liberty Vote %	Democratic Vote %	Whig Vote %
DeKalb	39.4	53.1	13.5
Lake	32.1	49.4	18.3
Kane	26.8	49.7	23.5
DuPage	22.2	52.4	25.2
Will	16	55.2	28.5
Cook	11.9	67.1	21

than a decade. After several years of uninterrupted growth in the early to mid 1840s, the political rise of the Liberty party crested with the election of 1846 and began to decline by 1848.[183] The issue of slavery for these voters remained secondary behind other important issues of the day including infrastructure concerns, internal improvements, and national banking.

[183] Strong, *Perfectionist Politics*, 140.

Although the Liberty Party had great potential, many historians believe it was short-lived and weakened due to its "one-ideaism." Many people did not wish to join a party based on a single issue. The lack of Liberty votes indicated a misguided focus of the party members on the moral issue of slavery rather than what T. C. Smith refers to in *Liberty and Free Soil Parties of the Northwest*, as the "bread and butter issues of the day,"[184] including tariff, public land, and internal improvements. The reality was, that very few antislavery men were willing to vote for a party with antislavery as its only platform. The one-ideaism, along with the revolutionary idea concerning racial equality, were major weaknesses and explained the short-lived Liberty party and its amalgamation with the Free Soil and eventually the Republican Party.[185] However, many viewed the one-ideaism as a strength in its simplicity and felt the one idea of antislavery had far-reaching effects throughout politics. Although not a member of the KCASS, General John Farnsworth, a resident of St. Charles and leader of the Republican Party, disagreed (in hindsight) about the ability of an abolitionist to be a politician. Speaking to a group of "old-time" antislavery men and women at the 1874 reunion, Farnsworth stated: "it used to be said that abolitionists could not be statesman; they had but one idea; that they had not the breadth and grasp necessary to manage affairs, etc. There never was a greater mistake."[186] Farnsworth was clearly acting the part of the politician and speaking to his

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[184] Theodore Clark Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York: 1897), 54.

[185] Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File*, 108.

[186] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 June 1874.

audience when the remarks were made, for he had a strong opinion of African-American inferiority and he courted the abolition vote in the 1850s out of necessity.

Zebina Eastman, another important player in the antislavery agitation of northern Illinois, later disagreed with the historians' viewpoint of the Liberty party and maintained that it never died out, but rather grew stronger in the 1840s and 1850s. "During this time the Liberty party was looming up in power and importance. It was the only party that was capable of grappling with the events that were pregnant with the fate of the nation."[187] Eastman continued:

> And in Illinois this little party became the most thoroughly organized and concentrated political combination... [it] held the balance of power in a majority of the congressional districts...through all the changes and modifications of Free Soilism, conscience Whiggery and Independent Democracy, and Americanism, remained true in its one idea, the Liberty Party to preserve the government as the succession of the party of 1776, that had formed the nation.[188]

Eastman's view of the "one-idea" was not focused on slavery, but rather on the Declaration of Independence, and in striving to be true to it, all else would be resolved and remedied. He was proud of the one idea of the Liberty party, and did not see it as a weakness, but as a map for a better America.

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[187] Eastman, "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," 667.

[188] Eastman, "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," 667.

In any case, by 1848 many abolitionists also concerned with the expansion of slavery into the territories, turned toward a new political party, the Free Soil Party, and shortly after, the Republican party. However, abolitionists concerned with racial equality did not find an identity within the Free Soil or Republican parties, for those parties were concerned with free soil for whites, not for African-Americans. Unlike the Liberty party that favored racial equality as a policy, the Free Soilers never entertained the notion of equality, but instead focused on keeping the west open for free white settlement.[189] Despite the difference, antislavery voters turned to the Free Soil Party for leadership, but the party failed to organize properly. In the northeast section of Illinois, most of the Free Soil support was drawn from the Democrats. By the next year the Free Soil Party had weakened dramatically and by 1850, seeing the prospects for change bleak, the Free Soilers had returned to their former parties.[190] Eastman maintains that in the 1852 election, many Liberty party men calculatedly voted for Whig leadership to shift the power away from the Democrats.

Stopping the Spread of Slavery to the West: Anti-Extensionists and their Motivations

As slavery began to extend into the territories to the west, many people considered action against its expansion. Anti-extensionism[191] refers to the movement to

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[189] Frederick J. Blue, *The Free Soilers Third Party Politics: 1848-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 103.

[190] Blue, *The Free Soilers Third Party Politics: 1848-1854, 186.*

[191] Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File*, 10.

stop the expansion of slavery in order to keep African-Americans, free or slave, from settling the West. The desire to keep the frontier free was motivated by a variety of intentions, including ending the spread of slavery on the abolitionists' side, and preventing free African-Americans from gaining land in the territory, a worry for many others. In addition to the difference in motivation for these dual purposes, the methods employed were also very different. Abolitionists, fighting the spread of slavery and the power of the south, while concerned about elevating the status of the African-American, primarily targeted the annexation of Texas and other broader areas of the west and the spread of slavery as the problem. Other people, prejudiced against African-Americans and supporters of colonization, were fighting to keep the west free from African-American settlement through exclusion laws. During the 1840s and 1850s the issue of expansion became the topic of many debates throughout the country particularly in the Northwest where state legislatures disputed intensely about the rights of African-Americans[192]. Many Americans were not spurred into action by the idea of human suffering endured by the African-American race, but rather by threats on their pocketbook. Expansion transformed slavery into a problem that threatened people not previously involved in the institution of slavery, and therefore, it remained crucial to the history of the abolition movement.

Although the KCASS remained sincere in its pursuit for liberty, it was undeniable that the abolition movement was assisted by people not concerned with racial equality, but those only wishing to stop the spread of slavery onto the frontier. Unlike members

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[192] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 3.

of the KCASS who championed the cause of racial equality, many people fought the spread of slavery because they wanted to exclude the African-American from settling the west. Ironically, both pro-and anti-slavery factions had their reasons for keeping free African-Americans out of the west. Antislavery promoters felt slave labor would jeopardize the western workforce while many slave owners feared a strong African-American community would incite insurrection and prove that they could prosper without masters.[193]

Earlier, a solution to the problem of slavery had come in 1817 with the formation of the American Colonization Society, which, urged slave owners to free their slaves so they could be sent to Liberia, a country founded in west Africa for colonization. Colonization was proposed by antislavery men and women who could not envision an America with a free African-American population. Many of those opposed to allowing free African-Americans to settle west were proponents of the idea of colonization. According to one historian, "throughout the Middle West...the movement to colonize Negroes in Africa became increasingly popular in the late 1840s."[194] Proponents of the scheme emphasized the advantages it offered to the African-American and its success would mean a substantially smaller black population. The movement for colonization happened in two phases, the first began in the 1820s and the second in the mid 1840s.[195] The colonization solution was proposed by the Illinois legislature during the 1847

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[193] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 5.

[194] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 4.

[195] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 53.

constitutional convention when they declared that the black race was inferior and that the only way to rid the evil of slavery was to send African-Americans to Africa. The radical abolitionists condemned this ideology, viewing it as unfairly assuming "that whites and blacks could not live together in a biracial society."[196] The KCASS left no evidence of promoting the concept of colonization. In fact, members of the KCASS agreed to comply with the resolution "immediately to emancipate slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil."[197] This ideology did not coincide with conservative viewpoints of colonization and racial prejudice. By including the phrase "no scheme of expatriation," the members of the KCASS boldly cried out where they stood on the issue of free African-Americans being shipped back to Africa.

However, colonizers, like members of the KCASS, argued that slavery was an issue of economics as they both maintained that the South's economic dependence on slavery caused wage laborers to suffer. Henry Clay, an undependable politician whose abolition focus centered on colonization, led conservatives. James Birney wrote of Clay, "colonization was a political ploy allowing him to pretend to an antislavery sensibility in the North while reassuring slaveholders in the South."[198] According to Birney, Clay

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[196] Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 4.

[197] KCASS minutes July 14, 1842, #5.

[198] Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 85.

symbolized the trouble of the colonization movement that "sapped all the moral energy by taking people's minds off of the sinfulness of slavery."[199]

Discrimination against the African-American grew intense between the 1840s and the start of the Civil War, in part due to the controversy over slavery spreading into the Western Territories.[200] As Zebina Eastman wrote, "many of the people of the south came to the Northwest to get rid of slavery, but they often retained the prejudices in which they had been educated."[201] Many northerners had a total aversion toward African-Americans and wanted nothing to do with them. Some of the discrimination was based on an economic rivalry between black and white labor forces, mainly occurring in the urban areas of the Midwest. State legislatures were busy in the 1840s and 1850s enacting laws to exclude the African-American from settlement due to fears that they would become "dumping grounds" for former slaves. The black population of the state more than doubled in the 30 years prior to the Civil War totaling 2,384 in 1830, 3,929 in 1840, 5,436 in 1850, and 7,628 in 1860. Southern county African-Americans far outnumbered those in the northern and central counties until the 1870s.[202] Due to the fear that African-Americans might begin moving north in large numbers, western states began passing "exclusion laws" banning the African-American from settlement. The Illinois General Assembly voted in 1849 to keep free persons of color out of the state and in 1853

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[199] Goodman, *Of One Blood*, 86.

[200] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 4.

[201] Eastman, "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," 667.

[202] Robert L. McCaul, *The Black Struggle for Public Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Illinois* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 4.

voted to ban the immigration of any African-Americans, slave or free.[203] Almost like a competition, western states working against each other quickly enacted laws to protect their state from becoming a haven for the free black population. The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois adopted almost the same laws in the 1830s defining and excluding free African-Americans from settling. The Black Laws restricted the movement of African-Americans by: "defining a Negro as any person with one-fourth or more Negro blood, each state excluded the Negroes from the militia, denied them the ballot, and forbade them to give testimony in court cases involving whites."[204] The KCASS abhorred the actions of the Illinois Legislature as it viewed them in violation of human rights.

> Resolved; That the existing laws of the State, with reference to persons of color, are a violation of the principles of justice, and the rights of humanity; and we deem it a matter of the highest importance that the friends of freedom should unite in sending their petitions to the next legislature, praying for a speedy repeal of the same.[205]

Abolitionists worked in vain throughout the 1840s and 1850s to petition the state legislature to repeal the Black Laws of Illinois. They tried to repeal all laws that created any distinction between black and white people. Editors of the *Chicago Daily Journal*

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[203] Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War: 1848-1867*, vol. III of the *Centennial History of Illinois* (Springfield, IL: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919), 225.

[204] Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 32.

[205] KCASS minutes, 24 September 1844, #30.

and other newspapers editorialized on the injustice of the laws. In a one month span between February and March 1853, there were seven different editorials on the subject.

To dispel fears that the north would be inundated with former slaves, abolitionists conveyed that the reason they were coming north was only to escape slavery and not because they wished to leave their "home", the south. As one abolitionist wrote:

> If any northern men have feared that the slaves, in case of emancipation, would emigrate in large numbers to the free states, a glance at the census tables will show them how groundless are their fears. The slaves, if set free, will always be wanted in the south...their natural home.[206]

It was impossible to tell how many abolitionists who preached racial equality actually were willing to associate with colored people, whether they practiced what they preached. It was evident, however, that many antislavery sympathizers attempted to dispel notions that they wished to amalgamate the races.

The anti-extension ideology, popular in the Northwest, flooded the Fox River Valley and stirred many of its settlers into action against slavery expansion. The KCASS, decidedly against the expansion of slavery, approached the discussion by focusing on the persistence of the United States in obtaining more and more land. This urgency was evident in the tone of the antislavery meetings after 1844 when at the same time it had become gravely serious in its rhetoric concerning economic and political issues.[207] Speakers warned of the destructive power that this action would cause, stating,

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[206] C.G. Parsons, *Inside View of Slavery* (Boston, John P. Hewett and Co., 1855), 249-250.

[207] KCASS minutes, 24 September 1844, #28.

"the beginning of the decline & fall of every nation has been marked by some unjustifiable seizure of foreign territory."[208] The foreign territory they referred to was Texas, which in 1845 petitioned Congress for annexation into the union.

Texas became an independent territory in 1836 and applied for annexation to the United States at that time. Not wanting to risk a war with Mexico or to bring up the slavery question, Texas was not annexed during the presidencies of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. However, in 1843 Texas withdrew its application for annexation and warned that it might become allied with Great Britain. By April of 1844, President John Tyler presented a treaty to the Senate annexing Texas to the United States. The treaty caused great debate in Washington as even slaveholders voiced their concerns with the spread of slavery to the West. Many believed that annexing Texas without the consent of Mexico would inevitably lead to war between the two countries.

In 1842 John Quincy Adams wrote that the Texas issue was a topic that was "affecting your interests more vitally than any other this side of Heaven."[209] It was evident that abolitionists feared that the annexation of Texas would extend the southern boundary of the United States and spread slavery into the annexed area. A leading member of the KCASS observed, "National Extension is ultimate division; division, weakness; weakness, decay; decay, destruction, which is the mere consequence of the act

[208] KCASS minutes, 9 Sept 1845, #38.

[209] *Western Citizen*, 9 Dec 1842.

of extension."[210] Furthermore, the KCASS resolved during its annual meeting on September 9, 1845, that:

> The history of Texas, from the beginning, gives evidence of an increasing desire on the part of our citizens to extend our boundaries; a measure which we believe to be fraught with evils, dangerous to our liberties, tending to involve us in controversies & wars with foreign powers, threatening disunion at home & thereby endangering the stability of our government.[211]

By mentioning the "history of Texas," members of the KCASS may have alluded to the tumultuous way in which Texas had gained its independence from Mexico and the strained relationship with the Mexican government. The issue over the annexation of Texas was apparently the final straw for the KCASS. Their discussion over the subject stayed intense as they used harsh words to describe the events unfolding around this issue. The society continued to question the defense of an annexation:

> Resolved; That the attempt to maintain by legitimate argument that the annexation of Texas to the United States will shorten the duration of Southern slavery, is an evidence of want of wisdom & savors strongly of Hypocrisy."[212]

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[210] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1845, #38.

[211] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1845, #44.

[212] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1845, #44.

Stopping the annexation of Texas was incredibly important to many abolitionists, especially in the west - not because of Texas itself, but for what it symbolized: the growing southern power and the extension of slavery. Northern attitudes concerning the south ranged from apathy to disgust prior to the Texas conflict. However, people who were not previously concerned with southern culture began to questions the actions of a Democratic Congress when it came to Texas. Northerners started to fear the growing power of the south and scrutinize its objectives. Members of the KCASS resolved "that the annexation of Texas to these United States is designed by the South, to extend the institution of slavery, and to perpetuate its evils to an unknown extent, which we as a society, are morally and religiously bound to oppose."[213] The notion of anti-extensionism gained wide support from farmers, manufacturers, and tradesmen as it was linked to the notion of southern culture invading the west.[214] The members went on to agree that "The annexation of Louisiana and Florida prolonged the existence of slavery more than forty years, -the annexation of Texas is designed to perpetuate it forever."[215] George Waite, Secretary of the KCASS and outspoken member of the organization, expressed in a letter dated July 1, 1844, that the "south has monopolized the north long enough." In addition, James Birney and others agreed with this viewpoint when he asserts "that the North, in relation to the South, is a conquered province."[216]

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[213] KCASS minutes, 24 September 1844, #30.

[214] Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File*, 10.

[215] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1845, #43.

[216] Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism*, 240.

George Waite, secretary of the KCASS, writing to other members of the organization, considered the political aspirations of Henry Clay in his September 1844 letter to the Society:

> With regard to the presidential campaign, Henry Clay will be the next President, and if we all do our duty and can get a few congressmen Texas will probably not be annexed but I fear the results; although he has pledged himself I fear he will prove traitor.[217]

Waite was openly apprehensive about Henry Clay, who in 1844 was the Whig candidate for the presidential election. Clay was opposed to slavery and the annexation of Texas, however, many other abolitionists besides Waite viewed him as a traitor. After Clay authored the Missouri Compromise in 1819 that allowed Missouri and Maine to enter into the union, he became known as the "great compromiser" and many feared what issues he would concede to resolve the Texas issue. Indeed, the predictions of Waite proved to be accurate, for in 1850 at the age of 73, Clay was again authoring a Compromise to appease both North and South. The Compromise of 1850 included a provision to provide statehood for California; it divided the land won from Mexico into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, neither having restrictions on slavery; the Texas boundary dispute was settled, the slave trade was ended in Washington, D.C.; and the Fugitive Slave Law was passed. The final provision in the Compromise had an enormous negative effect on the northern states that sympathized with African-Americans.

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[217] Waite, George, St. Charles, IL to Lucian Farnam, St. Charles, IL. LS, 4 July 1844, in the collection of the St. Charles Heritage Center, St. Charles, Illinois.

Actions taken by the members of the KCASS, proved that they were not all talk about the Texas issue, but were willing to take steps to make their viewpoint acknowledged. Prayer, petitions, votes, and lectures, were all tools used by the KCASS to affirm their commitment. The following resolutions were made to this affect:

> Resolved; that the untiring, persevering efforts of the friends of slavery should warn us of our danger, & teach us to devote our time, our talents, our money, & our energies to the work of the opposition. Resolved; that it be the duty of every Christian to pray that Texas may not be admitted to this union...Resolved; that it is the duty of every lover of liberty to petition Congress at its next session against the admission of Texas into this union...Resolved; that committees be appointed to procure the delivering of lectures, within a year, in all the school districts in each precinct in the county as far as practical.[218]

While the KCASS resolved to battle the annexation, it proved to be an effort in vain. In spite of the work of abolitionists and anti-extensionists around the country, Texas was annexed to the Union in 1845. This action provoked many antislavery men and women, as well as many others yearning for a free west.

[218] KCASS minutes, 9 September 1845, #46.

CONCLUSION

The antislavery movement in Illinois was a multifaceted effort with a complex set of motivations that represented a diverse group of people. The effort was characterized as a movement because of its many forces coming together, such as, political, social, and religious, and working toward a final, common goal; the eradication of slavery. Illinois proved to be a pivotal battleground for the abolitionist movement and the Kane County Antislavery Society certainly did more than its share of being a "friend of the oppressed."

The KCASS was formed in the midst of a split in the membership of the American Antislavery Society, in which the opposing groups confronted over political involvement, moral suasion, and women's representation. Unlike New England abolitionism which followed either Garrison or Tappan, the movement in the frontier states used a successful combination of methods to inspire people into action, including politics, churches, and economic factors. The need to take from every position was crucial to inviting all antislavery men and women to the cause. The antislavery movement in Illinois used politics without hesitation, highlighted the economic motivations for being against slavery, and of course appeased the moral argument as well.

Although there were large populations of foreign immigrants arriving in the 1840s, the settler to the northern Illinois area was more commonly from New England, primarily New York. To these eastern idealists, their reason for settlement in the region

was not only for the prosperity of their individual families, but to form new communities, reproductions of New England, and to build the churches, schools, and relationships which complete a town. Reproducing the ideology was just an important, and being antislavery was a cornerstone for these reformers. Other reform movements that accompanied the antislavery conflict were temperance, common school reform, women's rights, and world peace, all of which were efforts to improve American life. There was a sense of self-purification with reform-minded people and slavery, an idea that they would be saving themselves by trying to slave the slave.

Women performed a distinctive role in the antislavery movement and made significant contributions to the cause. The women involved in abolitionism collected signatures for petitions, distributed antislavery literature, and took part in sewing circles and fundraisers to aid the fugitive slave. In many communities, women helped to keep the spark of abolitionism alive, despite how grim the 1850s were for the movement. In addition, family participation with the abolitionist movement was sometimes left up to only the women, as the social penalty for antislavery involvement was far worse in the men's social circles and women were able to be sympathetic without alienating indifferent or proslavery neighbors.

Contrary to the notion that the antislavery movement did not possess an appeal to the prominent people in the community, many influential men and women were inclined to be antislavery in Kane County, including some of the founders of the towns of Aurora, Batavia, Elgin, and St. Charles. The community profile of the Kane County abolitionists provided indications as to what made this group different from the average settler. The

bulk of the members were from New York, protestant, upper-middle class, and literate. The most prominent difference with the greater Kane County population was the education level among the KCASS, being much higher than the surrounding population. One could conclude that education led these people to a more sympathetic view of the African-American condition in the United States. Another difference between the KCASS and the greater Kane County population was the tendency to live in towns, as opposed to rural areas.

The mission of the KCASS was clear: the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. The antislavery men and women of Kane County were motivated to be abolitionists for different reasons, including moral righteousness, racial equality, and economic considerations. The motivations were at times contradictory, such as the desire to keep the west free from the spread of slavery and from free black migration. The abolitionists in Kane County fought the battle over slavery on several fronts, including churches, the Kane County Anti-slavery Society, and the Liberty Party.

The undercurrent of the abolitionist movement was the church involvement. Unitarians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and Universalists all actively participated in the antislavery cause in Kane County using moral suasion as their method. At the helm of these churches were the circuit ministers, Chauncy Cook, N.C. Clark and Elder Ambrose, traveling around a region and providing people with spiritual guidance. The basic principle that slavery was a sin against God and man enlightened many to the antislavery cause. Moral leaders took this idea to another level when they directed their affiliates to choose God's law, or the Divine Law, over any man made law that it

contradicts. This notion then set the stage for people to feel guilt free about having broken the man made laws concerning fugitive slaves. Not only did abolitionists in Kane County harbor slaves, some did so in a very open and unapologetic manner.

Antislavery men were active in the political theatre during the 1840s through the Liberty Party and Free Soil Party. Despite its short life, the Liberty Party was effective in spreading the abolitionist mission and taking votes away from the two dominant political factions of the day. One of the weaknesses of the Liberty Party was its "one-idea", the eradication of slavery, as the sole platform of the candidates. Many people, especially in northern Illinois, were not concerned with slavery, which seemed so distant from them, and were more interested in the "bread and butter" issues of their daily life.[219]

If there existed a common element within the motivations described in Chapter III, it was, undeniably, the issue of race. Race was at the core of the issue of slavery as a whole, and it touched all motivations, either in a positive or negative way. The notion of racial equality, racial prejudice, and the way race was viewed by northern and southern people was intertwined within all the motivations of the antislavery people, whether they were motivated by religion, economics, or politics. The problem of racial prejudice existed even within the antislavery circle, and when confronted with a choice of integration verses segregation, most abolitionists would choose the latter and few the former. The issue of race was sensitive, as even those who wanted equality for African-Americans, usually did not wish to live along side them. The KCASS did an admirable

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[219] One wonders if comparisons can be drawn between the antislavery men and women of the 1840s and the one-ideaism of the pro-life faction of today. Did the contemporaries of the antislavery advocates respect the integrity of the agenda, or were they viewed as narrow-minded because they did not consider other issues in their vote?

job in terms of spreading the rhetoric of racial equality, and the towns of Elgin and Aurora accommodated large numbers of African-Americans in the 19th century, however, there were many discussions concerning the Black population in Kane County.

The Declaration of Independence was an important motivation for many antislavery people. For those attempting to stay true to the sacred document, the meaning of the words liberty, freedom, and equality were meant for everyone in the country, not only one particular race.

Due to the efforts of early antislavery settlers, the stage was set in Kane County for more antislavery work to be done. Perhaps the best evidence of the importance of the antislavery work in Kane County were some of the important residents that held influence with Abraham Lincoln. Although they arrived after the 1840s, Congressman and General John Farnsworth and Judge Samuel Lockwood, (the person who examined Lincoln for the bar), were both abolitionists from Kane County. In addition, Allen Pinkerton held influence with Abraham Lincoln. The KCASS helped to initiate a larger group of abolitionists in northern Illinois working for universal liberty.

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APPENDIX

INFORMATION ON KCASS MEMBERS INCLUDING AGE, GENDER, WEALTH, OCCUPATION, RESIDENCE AND ORIGIN

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Ambros, J. E.	Joshua	31	Minister/engineer	E		NH	122	
Anderson, C.H.	H.C.		insurance	Kaneville			146	11 sept 1852 to emily prater
Andrew, A.G.	Reverend Amasa	55	labor-minister	Plato		NH	500	
Andrus, Amos C.		30-40	marble manufac.	Burlington			122	
Baker, Josiah	J.R.	30	farmer	STC		NY	2500	
Ball, L.R.	Lorain	24	domestic	B	F	NY	800	1841 to Samual
Barland, Thomas		30-40		STC				married to margaret Wilson
Bascom, F.	Reverend Franklin			G			0	
Beach, Reuben				Burlington			74	
Bennet, M.	Mary	25	domestic	Plato	F	NY	(270)	
Bergen, Henry	Bergin	30	Minister	Big Rock		NY		
Boardman, Daniel								m. to Hannah Tylor in 1853
Boistot, James C.								

* E= Elgin, D=Dundee, STC= St. Charles, G=Geneva, B=Batavia, A=Aurora

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Breet, Cyrenus								
Burk, A.F.	F. H.	42	Dry goods merchant	B		NY	1500	
Bush, C.	Derrick C.		domestic	G	F		(255)	m. to Mary Adelia Thatcher in 1844
Campbell, F. G.	Francis			G			0	m. to Caoline Doty in 1855
Campbell, Nancy			domestic	G	F		(0)	
Carr, Spencer	M.S.	33	Farmer and editor of Western Christan	A		NY		
Chambers, Adaline		25	domestic	B	F	NY		married to William Henry Harrison
Chambers, Wm.		28	Carpenter	G		NY	82	
Christian, J.L.	John	42	Factory	E		England	104	m. to Martha Inman in 1848
Clark, C.	N.C.	39	Minister	E		VT		
Clark, Merrit M.	Millin	27	Mason	A		NY	1000	m. to Mary Chauncy in 1853
Clary, I.W.	Issac			A			0	
Clary, Mary E.			domestic	A	F		(0)	

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Conant, Augustus			minister	G			620	
Conant, Eban				G			110	
Cook, Chaincy	F.C.			STC			644	
Dany, J.J.								
Dearborn, P.H.	N.H.	34	Cooper and coranor in 1844	STC		NH	2000	m. to Mariette Willard
Debit, Rosetta	Debot		domestic	STC	F		(40)	
Debit, Wm.				STC			40	
Deniston, Elinor	(Nathanial)		domestic	A	F		242	
Dereckson, R. B.	Derickson							
Dudley, Ira				STC			GONE	
Duncan, Morris								
Eaton, Elder	ithial	37	Farmer	STC		NY	600	m. Mary Durant in 1848
Elliott, W.T.		32	Farmer	A		CT	3000 (353)	m. to H. F. Meeker in 1858
Ellmsworth, Thos.								
Elmore, D.W.		43	Farmer	STC		NY	2500 (250)	m. to Elmira Derrick in 1862

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Farnam, L.P.			domestic		F			
Farnam, Lucius		40-50	FARMER	G			GONE	
Favor, Kimbull	Kinball	27	dry goods	A		NH	1000	
Ferson, Dean		28	Farmer	STC		VT	2500 (247)	m. to Prudance C. Ward in 1836
Finley, Elizabeth		35	domestic	STC	F	PA		
Finley, Joseph		44	FARMER	STC				
Finley, Robert		40	Farmer	Campton		VA	3000 (315)	
Foote, Electa H.			farmer	B				m. to Sophia Snow in 1856
Foote, L.H.								
Foote, Lucius				Blackberry			707	
Forest, Thomas L.								
Garfield, Ben F.		32	Farmer	Campton		VT	800	m. to Francis Cooley in 1848
Gibson, Hugh C.				A			478	
Gifford, H.	Hezekiah	24	farmer-tavern	E		NY	1000	

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Gleason, Horace		32	Carpenter	B		VT	200	m. to Elisabeth Denny in 1842
Glos, John				STC			195	
Gooding, L.C.								
Gooding, Miron A.								m. to Hannah Maria Preston in 1841
Goodwin, C.H.	and Co.	33	Merchant	A		NY	4000	m. to Julia Webster in 1851
Gregg, Jane	Ann J.	41	domestic	Hampshire	F	ME		
Gregg, John		41	village blacksmith	B		ME	2000	
Harvey, Alonso		33	Harness Maker	STC		NY	800	m. to Ruth ann Kimball in 1841
Hathaway, Oscar F.								
Hemenway, W.B.	William	32	Farmer	D		VT	800	m. to Lucy Fay in 1845
Hewit, Artemas	Artemus	27	Mason	E		NY	600	m. to Harriet Smith in 1842
Hicks, M								
Hill, Wm.				D			422	m. to Hannah Haviland in 1843

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Holbrook, John				A			110	
Hopkins, Robert								
Hopkins, Rufus								m. to Betsy White in 1846
Hor, Mary B.	Mary D.	45	domestic	A	F	IL	1600	
Howell, Benj.		66	Carpenter	A		NY	500	
Howell, J.M.		21	Farmer	A		NY	1000	
Howell, Wm. M.		28	Farmer	A		NY	1100	
Hubbard, Stephen		20	PASTOR	STC		CT		m. to Mary Hubbard in 1846
Jenny, Reuben	deceased by 1848			E				
Jocelyn, A.J.	Adoniram Judson	22	Minister	E		NY	181	
Johnson, Martin		45	Farmer	B		NY	6000	
Kelsey, Betsy			domestic	G	F		(252)	inlaws of Conant
Kelsey, Dick	alvin			G			252	inlaws of Conant
Kendal, John	Kendell	32	watchmaker	A		Eng	500	m. to Elisabeth Culp in 1845

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Kimball, Lovina	Charlotte?	33	domestic	E	F	NH	1000	
Kimball, William		36	Waverly mills owner	E		NH	40,000	m. to Charlotte in 1846
Largeant, A.D.			domestic		F			
Largeant, Hiram	Leargeant							
Lawyer, John								
Lockwood, Edwin				A			GONE	m. to Laura Ann Bean in 1846
Lord, I.S.P.			homopathic physician	G			528	
Lord, Mary	Mary J.	31	domestic	STC	F	NY	3000	
McArthur, Alexander		55	Coop.	A		ST	800	
McArthur, Jane		54	domestic	A	F	ST		
McArthur, John		21	Coop.	A		ST	500	m. to Martha Hard in 1854
McArthur, Mrs. Eliza		22	domestic	A	F	ST		
McClure, Geo.		72	none	E		IR	1000	
McKee, Joel			merchant and lumber mill owner	B			612	m. to Jane Risk in 1838

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Merrit, J.		37	shoemaker	A		NH	500	
Miceler, J.I.	Jacob Micle	24	Farmer	D		GE	800	
Miller, Alexander				STC			240	
Miller, Ja.	James	52	Blacksmith	STC		ST	1500	
Miller, Robert		53	Mason	STC		ST	200	
Moffatt, D.M.			teacher	A				
Moffatt, Harriet			domestic		F			
Moffatt, John B.								
Moody, Elizabeth		77	domestic	STC	F	ST		
Moody, Jerusha A.		70-80	domestic	STC	F			
Moody, Robert		70-80		STC			450	
Moody, Robert Jr.		40-50		STC				
Morgan, John W.		35	Laborer	E		NY	1000 (278)	
Morgan, Joshua P.	Joshaia P.	38	none	E		NY	3000	
Morrison, J.W.	William	21	Join	STC		NH		

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Muck, E.A.			domestic		F			
Muck, J.A.			domestic		F			
Park, Elija	elinor		domestic	G	F		462	m. to Lemuel Morse in 1838
Park, Elisa			domestic	G	F			m. to Thomas Collins in 1842
Peck, N.	will	42	Farmer	Campton		NY	1200	
Peck, Rosetta			domestic		F			
Persons, W. L.								
Phelps, Joseph		42	Farmer	Burlington		NY	600	
Philips, Geo. W.			clerk	E			79	
Pinkerton, Allan		22	Coop.	D		ST	1500	
Pitwood, Wm.		20-30	farmer	STC			291	
Preston, Issac								
Preston, Julia			domestic		F			
Preston, L.B.			domestic		F			
Randall, Valintine	Valentine	48	Shoemaker	STC		VT	600	

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Rattray, David				STC			GONE	
Richardson, Mrs. W.	Anor	33	domestic	A	F	NY	(75)	
Root, Anson		40-50	doctor	E			10167	
Scott, Jas H.		44	Farmer	Plato		PA	152	
Simpson, Ira	Square	35	Farmer	G		NJ	800	
Smith, B.H.		35	Farmer	A		MA	4000	
Smith, David		23	Farmer	B		MA	1000	m. to Olive Clark in 1851
Smith, G.K.	Gad	55	Farmer	A		MA	114	
Smith, Jane P.		26	domestic	B	F	PA		
Stalp, Peter	Stolp	24	Carpenter	A		Ny	200	
Star, Daniel								
Stephens, Allen				G			142	
Styles, Luther C.								
Sylla, Philo		36	Mechanic	E		NH	800	
Thomas, Mr.	Benjamin	32	Joiner	E		GE	300	

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Titus, F.F.	Franklin	32	Farmer	Blackberry		NY	350	
Titus, Wm.		24	Farmer	A		NY	350	
Town, Charles S.	n.c.		merchant	E			3202	
Town, Elija		25	farmer	G		NY	546	
Town, Margaret			domestic	G	F			
Town, Silvanus			farmer	G			206	
Town, Warner				G				
Town, William				G				
Trumbull, Solomon		24	Farmer	B		NY	598	
Waggener, John R.		48	Farmer	A		NY	7500	
Waite, Cynthia			domestic	STC	F			
Waite, Geo. W.		24	Civil Engeneer	STC		NY	1000	
Waldo, C.M.	Chancy		domestic		F			m. to Eliza Jane Smith in 1856
Waldo, Clarisa M.			domestic		F			m. to Case Rundell in 1845
Walker, Abel				E			195	

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Walker, Catherine	Katherine	31	domestic	STC	F	VT		
Walker, Levi				STC			72	
Walker, Mary Ann		52	domestic	STC	F	NY		
Ward, Abby C.			domestic	STC	F			
Ward, Calvin				STC			533	
Ward, F.U.	U.F.	24	farmer	STC		MA	2000	
Wells, Mr.		30	Minster	Plato		NY	500	m. to Mercey Phelps in 1842
Wheeler, James T.		34	farmer	STC		NB	3500	
Wheelock, Chapin		27	Tailor	STC		MA	310	
Whitier, Rev. Mr.								
Wilson, John L.		45	Farmer	D		ST	1000	m. to Mary Peck in 1847
Wilson, Joseph	Willson	38	Printer	STC		En	300	
Woodruff, Thos.		52	Farmer/cooper	A		NY	300	
Worseley, Joseph		30-40	farmer	G			100	
Worseley, Permelia		30-40	domestic	G	F			

Name listed in KCASS minutes	Alternative spellings	Age in 1842	Occupation	Town*	Sex	Origin	wealth	marrige status
Wright, Paul		43	Joiner	A		VT	112	m. to Emily Harvey in 1846
Young, G.		15-20	farmer	STC			159	
Young, Gidion		18	Farmer	A		NB		
Young, Jennette		20	domestic	A	F	NY		
Young, John		52	Farmer	A		NH	0	
Young, Samuel H.		39	Farmer	A		NB	3000	