Dirty Work: The Political Life of John A. Logan

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John Alexander Logan, the bright-eyed and raven-haired veteran of the Mexican-American and Civil War, began his career as an ardent supporter of states’ rights and a strong Democrat.¹ During his years in the state legislature, Logan was a very strong supporter of enforcing the fugitive slave laws and even sponsored the Illinois Black Codes of 1853. How then did an avowed racist and Southern sympathizing politician from Murphysboro, in the decidedly Southern (in culture, politics, ideology, and geography) section of Illinois, go on to become a staunch supporter of both the Union and the Republican Party? Logan led quite the remarkable and often times contradictory life. Many factors contributed to his transformation including Logan’s political ambition and his war experiences, yet something acted as a catalyst for this transformation. The search for the “real” Logan is problematic due to the dearth of non-partisan accounts of his life. Even letters and unpublished materials bear the taint of clearly visible political overtones. As noted by James Jones in Black Jack, “No balanced biography of Logan exists.”² However, by searching through the historical works of John Logan himself, his wife Mary, the various primary documents, articles and literature, and especially the works by prominent Logan historians such as James Jones we can gain a better understanding of Logan’s transformation.

To understand John Logan, one must understand the nature of his upbringing. The first settlers moving westward into Illinois had come predominantly to the southern part of the state. These people traveled fixed routes from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia through Tennessee and Kentucky to Illinois. They brought with them slaves and customs, making “southern” Illinois a cultural as well as geographic term.³ Southern Illinois, or Egypt as it was affectionately known, retained, (and still does even to this day) a distinct “Southern” character despite its location in a northern state. Logan was born into a strong

Democratic family in 1826; his father, a doctor by trade, was a “Scot-Irish immigrant who, having acquired a fortune in Missouri, sold his slaves and moved to Jackson County, Illinois, in 1824.” There he met and married Elizabeth Jenkins, the daughter of the most influential and firmly Democratic family in the region. Dr. Logan had married into the foremost political power in the county, and like many wealthy men in his day, Logan’s father entered into politics. Having been a Jacksonian Democrat, Dr. Logan served three terms in the state legislature, and was a friend of Abraham Lincoln. He believed “it is no odds how obscure a young man may be Brought up he may aspire even to the presidential chair . . . Man rises on Marrit and falls on Demarit . . .[sic].” This would be an idea that his son, John, would take to heart. While his father balanced a very large and successful medical practice, farmstead, and political career, young Logan enjoyed the benefits of a private tutor and the best education available on the Illinois frontier. From an early age, Jack, as the young Logan was known, took great interest in his father’s political machinations. Logan aided his father, when allowed, in his election campaigns, never missing a speech and taking great pleasure in the processes of government.

The outbreak of the Mexican-American War in 1846 (a war his father heartily supported) provided Logan with an opportunity to both aid his country, a duty to which he truly aspired, and hoped to achieve glory. With these goals in mind, Logan joined the 1st Regiment of the Illinois Volunteers earning the rank of 1st Lieutenant but failed to see battle due to a measles epidemic that swept through the encampment at Santa Fe. Disappointed, yet undeterred, Logan returned home. Wishing to follow his father and uncle in the world of politics, the now twenty-two year old Logan spent a few months reading law at his uncle’s home before entering the race for county clerk. He easily won due to his familial connections and name recognition. Using this opportunity, Logan saved his pay as clerk in order to finance his attendance to law school, a move he deemed necessary if he was to have a serious political career. With money in hand, Logan made his way to Louisville, Kentucky, and entered law school there. It was there in the moot court sessions that Logan honed his talent for public oratory, a skill for which he would become well known. Having spent little over a year in law school, Logan returned home with his diploma, and with the help of his family’s clout, won office as prosecuting attorney of the Third District. Shorty after his victory, Logan resigned in order to run for state representative to the 18th General Assembly. Logan’s political ambition is clearly indicated by his calculated movements, from lowly county clerk through law school and into his first race for the Illinois

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
legislature. Logan declares in a letter to his father that “Politics is a trade and if my few fast friends in Jackson will stand by me, the day is not far distant when I can help myself and them to pay tenfold.” Politics in this era focused heavily on patronage and the spoils system, an aspect that clearly excited Logan. “Bitterly Anti-Negro,” Logan ran as a Jacksonian Democrat, promising support for a bill to exclude free blacks from the state, and sought the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. The 1853 election saw Logan victorious in his first bid for a state level position.

Logan wasted no time in establishing himself firmly as a supporter of the “Little Giant” Stephen Douglas. Logan, along with Democrats in congress in his home state of Illinois, exalted Douglas. Logan’s letters and correspondence are filled with praise for the Douglas and his policies. Even his private letters to his family contain denunciations of Douglas’s enemies and praise for his triumphs. There is little if any separation in Logan’s life between the private and public man. This is evident as early as his first campaign, when Logan is cautioned by his family to “tone down” his boisterous and rambunctious nature during his stump speeches and fundraisers. Logan’s penchant for roughhousing with children during these events, even going so far as wrestling with them on the ground, drew criticism from those who saw such behavior as undignified. Logan rejected their advice, deeming it part of his nature and reminding them that the people of Southern Illinois were of a same mind.

Logan announced his wholehearted support of Douglas’ famous “Compromise of 1850” on the condition that the Northern states actually enforce the Fugitive Slave Act. Logan’s concerns seem to stem more from a regard for the upholding and enforcement of law rather than a support the institution of slavery. Despite this caveat, Logan’s views on Negroes cannot be glossed over. It is abundantly clear from his writings, speeches, and manners that he considered the Negro to be inferior to whites in every way, a common held belief by most in his day, including many abolitionists. After the war his disdain for blacks continued; “The negro equality talk … is all bugbear and humbug. I don’t consider a nigger my equal.” The majority of Logan’s constituency agreed with this assessment, and demanded something be done to counter the abolitionists in the Northern part of the state who were fighting for black rights. In 1853 Logan took up the issue with his usual vigor and fervor. Taking advantage of the 1848 Illinois

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7 Ibid., 12.
Constitution, which had banned Negroes from voting or participating in the state militia, Logan addressed the issue of Negro immigration. The resulting Negro Exclusion Bill of 1853 banned any Negro from entering the state and placed further restrictions on travel by those already in the state. Logan’s actions in championing the cause of his beloved “Egypt” brought simultaneous celebration from his supporters, and condemnation from his opponents. The Benton Standard, a local newspaper, declared Logan, “our worthy and talented young representative who has demonstrated to the North by his talent and eloquence that we, in the South have interests to foster, guide, and protect, and that we have men who are willing and able to do it.”

It was Logan’s role in the Exclusion Bill that cemented his popularity in the state and helped to propel him to the national stage. Logan’s private law practice continued to flourish at this time as well, garnering him even greater support and admiration in his home districts. When his hero returned to Springfield, in order to raise support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, Logan hastened back to the capital to see Douglas speak. Following a speech by Douglas on the importance of popular sovereignty, Logan declared, “I tell you the time has not yet come when a handful of traitors in our camp can turn the great state of Illinois …into a Negro worshipping, Negro equality community.”

Douglas’s opponents labeled him a proslavery advocate in the pocket of the Southern slave powers, a charge that is blatantly false as evidenced by his fight with President Buchanan over a federal slave code. Logan, who modeled his own beliefs on those of Douglas, believed firmly in the notion of popular sovereignty and opposed the idea that the federal government should decide any such issue that lay in the prevue of the states.

Logan’s re-election campaign to the Illinois House was a rousing success. His second term was marked, much like the first, with highly partisan politics with Logan denouncing “Black Republicans and Know-Nothings with equal fervor.” By the spring of 1858, rumors of a possible run for U.S. Congress were being whispered in Little Egypt. These rumors proved to be true when Logan was given the go ahead by party leadership to enter the race. Northern Illinois papers quickly denounced him as a puppet for Douglas and “an arrant trickster of the black-guard order.” Douglas greatly aided Logan’s campaign, speaking on several occasions in Southern Illinois on behalf of the young politician. The combination of the two fiery orators was apparently quite a sight, and even the Republican Chicago Tribune noted their

10 Benton Standard, March 24, 1853.
11 James Pickett Jones, Black Jack, 22.
12 Cairo Times and Delta, July 16th, 1856.
13 Illinois State Journal, April 28, 1858.
effectiveness. The November election saw Logan victorious by a landslide, 12,000-vote margin. Logan was headed for Washington.

Logan’s journey to Washington was punctuated by a stop at the infamous Harper’s Ferry, which had only recently been attacked by John Brown. The still visible signs of the shootout caused the freshman congressmen to write home to his beloved wife Mary about the incident: “There is more danger of a rupture in this government now more than has ever been before.” Logan placed blame for this danger firmly in the hands of the radical abolitionists. Logan spoke on the House floor for the first time on December 9th, and the incident bears recollection because it accurately depicts Logan’s rabid devotion to both Douglas as well as his highly partisan nature. When opponents of Stephen Douglas took advantage of a lull in House activity to attack the Illinois Senator, Logan sprang to his defense. The young Democrat, with his swarthy skin, jet-black hair, and large drooping mustache, made his auditors take notice as he spoke with a booming voice.

I tell the gentleman now, since he has refused this morning, to bring forward his proof, that from this time forth, I shall never notice it. I scorn to notice it any further, and the reason for it is this: I made a charge once, in the Legislature of the State of Illinois, and I stood up and did prove it, when called upon for proof, and did not shrink from responsibility, and like a spaniel cower.

These remarks elicited a fierce response from Kellogg and the two men rushed at each other ready to fight. Once order had been restored, Logan turned his fury on those members of the Southern Democrats who had agreed with the attack against Douglas, calling them ungrateful and urging them to remember Douglas, “whose efforts had always been in their behalf.” Still yet, his anger was not sated, Logan now turned his attention to the Republicans present, denouncing and railing against “Republican violations of federal law” in regards to the Fugitive Slave Act while defending popular sovereignty in the western territories in regards to slavery. Continuing, the young Democrat declared,

14 Chicago Press and Tribune, Sept. 19, 1858.
15 Chicago Press and Tribune, Nov. 18, 1858.
16 John Logan to Mary Logan, Nov. 27, 1859, Logan Mss.
18 Congressional Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, 82-83.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 83.
Every fugitive slave that has been arrested in Illinois, or in any of the western States - and I call Illinois a western State, for I am ashamed longer to call it a northern State - has been made by Democrats. In Illinois the Democrats have all that work to do. You call it the dirty work of the Democratic Party to catch fugitive slaves for the southern people. We are willing to perform that dirty work. I do not consider it disgraceful to perform any work, dirty or not dirty, which is in accordance with the laws of the land and the Constitution of the country.21

The phrase, "Dirty Work" would become his nickname in the Republican press.22 Logan finally concluded his remarks by urging the Democrats to unite and seize power from the "anti-Constitution, anti-Union, and anti-everything" Republicans. Furthermore, Logan announced his hatred of the opposition from his youth, claiming, “I will never affiliate [with them] so long as I have breath in my body.”23 This first speech on the House floor would be indicative of Logan's entire pre-war career and highlights the highly partisan nature of his politics.

The remainder of Logan's first Congressional term was filled with vicious attacks against extremists on both sides of the aisle, and fierce defense of his hero Douglas. His actions in defending Douglas and fighting to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act gained the Congressman much respect and admiration, both by his constituents and Douglas himself, and easily catapulted Logan into a second term as the Illinois Congressman from Little Egypt. With the threat of secession weighing heavily in the air, Logan, along with his wife and infant daughter, made their way to the capital. When President Buchanan announced the fateful news of the South Carolinian secession on December 4th 1860, Logan was uncharacteristically silent. No record exists of his response to the news. Some twenty years later he described the President as, “a weak and feeble old man.... Well-meaning, doubtless, and a Union man at heart, but lacking in perception, forcefulness, and 'nerve.'”24 Like the President, Logan held secession unconstitutional and opposed coercion. But while Buchanan remained largely inactive, Logan felt that swift compromise efforts were necessary to save the Union.25 As the House tried desperately to reach a solution, hope continued to fade. Splits in the Illinois delegation mirrored those in the House itself. The Democrats in the delegation all opposed secession, yet they equally opposed the use of force to solve the problem. Logan followed the opinion of Douglas who wrote, "I will not consider the question of force

21 Ibid., 85.
23 Congressional Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 86.
25 James P. Jones, "John A. Logan, Freshman in Congress, 1859-1861" 50
& war until all efforts at peaceful adjustment have been made & have failed."26 Despite this sentiment, the tone back in Little Egypt was quite different. A local newspaper wrote of South Carolina’s departure, "Let her in God's name go peacefully. The sympathies of our people are mainly with the South."27 Such sentiments alarmed Logan who wrote a friend stating, “Those who dream that this Confederacy can separate peacefully will wake up to the conviction of their sad error I fear too late.”28 Logan placed blame for the growing conflict and divisiveness equally on both “abolitionist Black Republicans” and southern "fire-eaters" as creators of civil conflict.”29 His hatred of Lincoln is evident in the same letter:

History informs us that Nero, a royal but insane and blood thirsty man fiddled while Rome was burning, and it does seem to me that the President elect and his friends flushed and drunken with victory are plunging deeper into their fanatical orgies, the nearer our beloved country is undone.30

Despite this hatred of the Northern Republicans, he sternly warned his Southern colleagues, "The election of Mr. Lincoln, deplorable as it may be, affords no justification or excuse for overthrowing the republic. [We] cannot stand silently by while the joint action of extremists are dragging us to ruin."31 Logan’s message was clear, secession was an outside the law and a traitorous act. Though continuing to work with others in the House to reach a compromise and avert a national disaster, he began to despair over reaching a peaceful solution. The month prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, Logan continued to denounce the radical malcontents of both sides in a series of fiery speeches on the House floor. During one such heated oration Logan compared the Republicans to King George III as oppressors upon the nation. This would prove to be a most unfortunate slip, as his enemies pounced on the opportunity to paint Logan as a “fire eater” sympathizer despite his denunciation of the same group.32 Despite the pressure, he continued to fight for compromise and maintenance of the Union. With the ending of the congressional session, Logan rushed back to Southern Illinois to decide what he would do.

Details of what Logan did from February to April are non-existent. The historian John Jones believes that the sudden lack of documentation is possible evidence of censorship on the part of Logan and his followers to remove any evidence of his decision making process from the record,

26 Ibid., 51.
27 Cairo City Gazette, Dec. 6, 1860.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
lest it give credence to claims that he contemplated treason himself. These rumors that Logan would stir up rebellion in the heavily Democratic Little Egypt were widespread. The Chicago Tribune declared, “if any section of the free states could be lured into secession then, [Little] Egypt was the place.” Logan publicly still called for compromise between the factions, yet the accusations continued to fly. His family, including his own brother-in-law publically supported the South. It is clear that Logan was torn over what course he should pursue following the firing on Fort Sumter. When the political leaders gathered in Williamson County to hold a secession meeting to discuss breaking Little Egypt from the rest of Illinois and join the Confederacy, Logan was absent. He denounced their decision not to take up arms against their Southern brethren and recognized the Confederacy as treason, but wrote to his friend that he would:

Suffer his tongue to cleave to the roof of his mouth and his right arm to wither before he would take up arms against his Southern brethren, unless it was to sustain the Government; and that if war was prosecuted solely with the purpose of freeing Negroes, he would not ground his arms but turn them and shoot North.

Logan headed to Springfield to sit in on the special joint session of the legislature in order to judge sentiment in the capital. A day prior to his arrival Stephen Douglas gave a rousing pro-Union speech in the capital. Logan was furious that his former hero had abandoned the cause of peace and compromise in favor of conflict. Douglas had just returned from a tour of the South and had a better grasp of the Southern sentiment than Logan. In defense of Logan, it must be said that he had always proven to be an accurate representative of his constituency and had yet to definitively assess the will of his people.

May 1861 would prove to be a tipping point for both Logan and Little Egypt. The area was increasingly being swamped with Southern refugees and Union troops building up strength in the city of Cairo. This combination seems to have decreased secessionist feelings as well as suppressed the desire for a peaceful resolution. With the death of Douglas in early June, Logan seemed to have reached his decision. Aided by the swing in sentiment in Little Egypt, he would follow the path of Douglas and advocate the defense of the Union. During a visit to Springfield on June 18th, Logan again condemned the “abolitionists of the North as well as the secessionists of the South,” but shockingly pledged support to the government and vowed to join the army.

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33 Chicago Tribune, April 2, 1861.
34 James Pickett Jones, Black Jack, 79.
Immediately following a special session of Congress. What caused this sudden decision is unclear. Perhaps Logan felt some responsibility to carry on the legacy of Douglas. This seems to be the best choice considering that Logan always followed every decision and policy of Douglas with such fervor and determination. Logan returned to Washington for the special session of Congress and while there, managed to insert himself into a most dangerous situation. Like most Congressmen, Logan wished to see the war for himself, and when the opportunity to witness the Battle of Bull Run occurred, he jumped at the chance. Attaching himself to the 2nd Michigan volunteers, he marched with them in civilian clothes to the battle, even firing at rebel troops despite a promise to his wife to stay at a safe distance. Logan then spent the next few days dodging fire and caring for the wounded on the field and behind the lines. Disgusted by the war, yet galvanized to join the fight himself, Logan began his return to Egypt. True to his word, Logan announced on August 19th 1861 in front of a large crowd at Marion Illinois, “I, for one, shall stand or fall for this Union. ... I want as many of you as will to come with me. If you say 'No,' and see that your best interests lie ... in another direction, may God protect you.” Logan then began to raise troops from his native state to aid in the struggle against the Confederacy, almost single handedly forming the Illinois 31st Volunteer Infantry Regiment.

During the War he distinguished himself as an outstanding general and was renowned for the respect he commanded with his men as well as his superior officers including Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman. In 1864, Logan, at the bequest of President Lincoln, returned to Little Egypt to rally support for the President and the War. Logan did so while at the same time ignoring pleas by Democratic leadership to aid in their campaigns for election. Instead Logan turned his silver tongue against his former allies. Historian John Dickinson notes that his wrath was great, and that Logan “flailed the Democrats of Illinois without mercy.” Speaking against the Confederacy Logan claimed, “I am willing to subjugate, burn, and I almost said exterminate [!]”

Following the cessation of hostilities between the North and South, Logan was tasked with demobilizing various regiments and was stationed in Louisville, Kentucky to ensure the orderly and prompt discharge of these duties as well as protect the civilians from rowdy, belligerent ex-soldiers. With his mind quickly returning towards

37 Ibid. 231.
38 Ibid.
politics, Logan soon returned to his beloved Southern Illinois, but not before urging the Kentuckians to ratify the 13th amendment. When faced by those opposed to the amendment with claims that the document was tantamount to “negro equality,” Logan defiantly responded, “negro equality talk about the amendment is all bugbear and humbug. I don’t consider a nigger my equal.” Yet during the same speech he also ardently insisted “The great questions that have been before the people for the last four years are now settled, the rebellion I suppressed; slavery is forever dead.” Evident by this and earlier statements about the issue of slavery, Logan’s reasons for fighting the war were based on preserving the Union, not on any sentiments for freeing slaves. Shortly after his duties in Louisville were finished, Logan resigned his commission in the US army and returned to his beloved Little Egypt. He was weary of army life, and seemed disenchanted by the turn national politics were taking. Writing to his wife, he says, “From the way politics seem to be moving, I cannot say that I shall ever have anything to do with them again.”

Upon his return to Illinois, Logan was blessed with the birth of a son, and the following months were spent traveling around the state and speaking at various locations, hailed as a hero wherever he went. This attention may have eased his mind and brought him back into the political sphere. The growing threat of Copperheadism in Illinois greatly concerned Logan. He began eyeing the US Senate seat and even turned down offers from the President and Secretary of State to become ambassador to Mexico. This required a trip to Washington to meet with the President and refuse the nomination in person. While there Logan saw firsthand the state of affairs in the Government between Johnson and Congress. According to James Jones:

By 1866 new issues raised by the war and Reconstruction had led Logan into the Republican party. He was convinced that his new party, not the Democrats, could most effectively handle the problems of the postwar era. He also saw in the Republican party the most certain avenue of his own political advancement.

Amid growing concern of a rebound by the Copperheads in Illinois, Logan announced his candidacy as a Republican much to the shock of all. Logan reentered political life, first as a US Congressman and later as a Senator. He developed a reputation as a fiercely partisan supporter of the radical Republicans and helped lead the push to impeach President

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
Johnson. His career culminated in the Vice Presidential nomination during the 1884 election. Two years later, John A. Logan passed away (due to complications from wounds received during the war), and mourning across Little Egypt followed. “His body was laid in state under the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol for one day. At the time of his death, Logan was only the seventh person to be laid in state there, and he is one of only twenty-nine people to receive that honor to date.”

What caused this remarkable transformation from a staunch supporter of Douglas and the Democrats to an ardent, radical Republican after the War? From the very beginning of Logan’s career we see the portrait of a man deeply devoted to the ideology and politics of Stephen Douglas. Every issue Douglas took a stand on is mirrored by Logan’s own stance on the issue. With Douglas’s departure from the Southern wing of the Democratic Party during the secession winter, it was only natural for Logan to follow suit. This is one of the reasons for Logan’s switch, with another being Logan’s war experiences. For his years of service, Logan was forced to work alongside former political rivals day in and day out, while at the same time fighting against former allies. This alone could account for a shift in politics. Seeing the devastation wrought on his Union soldiers would surely bring about a natural affection towards both them and their shared cause. This cause is clear in Logan’s mind: The preservation of the Government and the Union. Though many historians seem to believe, Logan’s reason is not the abolition of slavery. In an age of commonly held racism by nearly all parties concerned, very few would fight in a war to free slaves. Linked to this war experience is the issue of Reconstruction. Logan is vehement during the war years in his hatred for the Confederacy, and this easily translated to hatred of Copperheads during, and after the war. Time and again he refused to even acknowledge requests by Democrat leadership to aid them by speaking at re-election events. To Logan the choice was clear, the country had to move on and the status quo of the old political system would not facilitate the necessary change. The decision seems natural from a political standpoint, to switch political parties. Logan always accurately represented his constituency. As the War wore on, the people of Southern Illinois lost their close affiliation and affection with the South. The prewar hope of compromise and peace had given way to the grim reality of a South unwilling to compromise. As his constituency changed, so did Logan. All these factors contributed to the change Logan exhibited, and his natural inclination towards partisan politics exhibited in the antebellum Democratic Party, carried over into the post-war Republican Party—this was his personal style.