THE EAST
ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS,
WATERFRONT:
Historical Background

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PREFACE

The companion cities of St. Louis, Missouri, and East St. Louis, Illinois, face each other across the Mississippi River in the heartland of the North American continent. Now as in the past East St. Louis is overshadowed by its larger, wealthier, and older neighbor on the Missouri shore. St. Louis looks out on the broad river through the legs of the towering Gateway Arch, which recalls the long and colorful history of the city and symbolizes its role in the development of the United States as a nation of continental dimensions. East St. Louis, too, boasts a long and colorful past. It is a less significant past, to be sure, and one subordinately interwoven with the strands of its neighbor's past, but nevertheless one fully worthy of commemoration. Instead of development mirroring the grandeur of the Gateway Arch, however, the East St. Louis waterfront exhibits a maze of railroad and industrial facilities, bridge approaches, and open land fill.

Travel and transportation are dominant themes running through the history of the East St. Louis area. Today railroads, highways, and river vessels are graphic reminders of this heritage. Except for time-honored Eads Bridge, however, no tangible evidences have survived. No historic buildings or structures comparable to the courthouse on
the St. Louis side remain to preserve and display as the core of a
historical development on the East St. Louis side.

This need not preclude such a development, however. As the fol-
lowing report demonstrates, the historical values are there. Even
though not tangibly expressed in historic remains, they can be recalled
and interpreted in an appropriate memorial development. Their his-
torical significance warrants such an undertaking. The development
of the St. Louis waterfront demonstrates what could be accomplished.
More compelling, it dramatizes the need for a complementary develop-
ment on the opposite shore.

This report has been prepared to set forth some of the historical
values that invite a commemorative development of the East St. Louis
waterfront. The report shows that from the earliest days of St. Louis
the opposite Illinois shore drew together major east-west travel, trans-
portation, and communications routes preliminary to their entry into
St. Louis. Foot and horse paths became wagon and stage roads, railroads,
and then superhighways converging on the river across from St. Louis.
Traveling these routes came empire builders and adventurers, fur trapp-
ers and mountain men, traders, soldiers, entrepreneurs, industrial-
ists, laborers, and the emigrating settlers who peopled the West. They
crossed the Mississippi from Illinois at a point that truly became the
gateway to the "Gateway to the West."
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CHAPTER 1

Piggott's Ferry

The Illinois shore of the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis, Missouri, was important not only in the history of St. Louis, "Gateway to the West," but in its own right as well. Although East St. Louis did not emerge as an industrial center before late in the 19th century, the area in which it developed had already played an important role in westward expansion. During the 19th century this Mississippi River crossing figured prominently in the history of transportation and communication between the East and St. Louis and points west. Until Eads Bridge connected the two cities in 1874, the east bank was the western terminus of several major roads and railroads—in a sense the gateway to the "Gateway to the West."

Capt. James Piggott, veteran of the American Revolution, was responsible for the first direct transportation connection between St. Louis and the site of East St. Louis. A native of Connecticut, Piggott had emigrated to Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, by the time of the break with Great Britain. Appointed captain of the Penn-

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sylvania Associates on April 6, 1776, four months later he was made
captain of the 8th Pennsylvania. After fighting in the Battles of
Brandywine and Saratoga, Piggott resigned his captaincy because of
ill health and moved with his family to the Illinois country. There
he reportedly accompanied George Rogers Clark to Kaskaskia. As early
as 1783 Piggott helped establish Grand Ruisseau, in the American Bot-
tom west of the present town of Columbia, Monroe County, Illinois.

Biography (20 vols. New York, 1943), 74, 592. Cited hereinafter as
Johnson and Malone, D.A.B.

3. S. A. Mitchell has provided one of the best descriptive ac-
counts of the area between the Kaskaskia River and Alton, Illinois,
known as the American Bottom: "The portion of the bottom land cap-
able of present cultivation, and on which the waters never stand ... is a soil of exhaustless fertility; a soil that for ages past has been
gradually deposited by the annual floods. Its average depth on the
American bottom is from twenty to twenty-five feet ... The most ex-
tensive and fertile tract of this description of soil in this state is
the American Bottom, a name it received when it constituted the western
boundary of the United States ... It commences at the confluence of
the Kaskaskia river with the Mississippi, and extends northwardly to
the mouth of the Missouri; being bounded on the east by the chain of
bluffs, which in some places are sandy and in others rocky, and which
vary from 50 to 200 feet in height. This bottom is 80 miles in length,
and comprises an area about 450 square miles, or 228,000 acres. On the
margin of the river is a strip of heavy timber, with a rank undergrowth:
this extends from a half to two miles in width, and thence to the bluffs
is generally prairie." S. Augustus Mitchell, Illinois in 1837 & 8; A
Sketch Descriptive of the Situation, Boundaries, Face of the Country,
Prominent Districts, Prairies, River, Minerals, Animals, Agricultural Im-
povements, Manuf., & etc. of the State of Illinois: Also Suggestions to
Emigrants, Sketches of the Counties, Cities, and Principal Towns in the
in 1837 & 8.
Captain Piggott was one of the more restless and impatient of the Americans living in the French-dominated American Bottom. He was one of the principal participants in the unsuccessful attempt in the spring of 1787 to capture control of the court of Kaskaskia from the French. The Americans wanted to establish a court either at Bellefontaine or Grand Ruisseau that would be independent of those at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. In the late summer of 1787 Piggott led a movement against the French-speaking element. Since the court of Cahokia prohibited independent assemblies of the people or sessions of the proposed court, it condemned the leaders of the movement, including Piggott, to be placed in irons for twenty-four hours.

With the revolution suppressed, the Cahokia justices concluded that the Americans had legitimate complaints and attempted to satisfy their demands. When the Americans petitioned for admittance to the district of Cahokia and the right of electing a justice of the peace at Bellefontaine and Grand Ruisseau, the petition was granted at the October 1787 session of the Cahokia court.

Upon the formation in 1790 of the first civil Government in Illinois, Piggott was appointed a militia captain and justice of the peace at Cahokia.\textsuperscript{7} The French-dominated court at Cahokia continued to perform its functions until April 1790. Governor Arthur St. Clair had arrived in Kaskaskia on March 5 to organize new Illinois territorial government. The court of the district of Cahokia, which had been established by the state of Virginia, never met again after April 1790. On April 27 the county of St. Clair was established, and two days later the judges of the new courts were appointed.\textsuperscript{8} The century-old settlement of Cahokia, which had played a prominent role in the history of the French occupation of the Illinois area and the Mississippi Valley, became the seat of government for St. Clair County. For a short while it was the only county in the large area known as the Illinois country.\textsuperscript{9} As a justice of the peace in the new government, Piggott held a position of importance.

\textsuperscript{7} Johnson and Malone, \textit{D.A.B.}, \textit{II}, 593.

\textsuperscript{8} Alvord, \textit{The Illinois Country}, p. 378.

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., pp. 117, 404. It is difficult to establish precisely when the first white men came to live in the Cahokia area. Some writers maintain that French traders remained with the Indians following the visit of Sieur de LaSalle in 1682. The fairly well accepted date for the beginning of the French settlement at Cahokia is 1699, when a mission was opened by priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec to minister to the Tamaroa tribe. See Charles E. Peterson, "Report on Cahokia, Illinois, and the Holy Family Church," unpublished manuscript prepared for Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, March 26, 1948.
In 1795 Piggott rose to even higher position. On September 28 he was made judge of the court of common pleas, which exercised jurisdiction in all civil suits. The next year he was appointed justice of the quarter sessions. This court had criminal jurisdiction in cases involving life, long imprisonment, or forfeiture of property, and had general administrative authority over its district.  

In his successive positions of influence in Cahokia, Piggott had come into contact on numerous occasions with the Spanish authorities in St. Louis, the administrative capital of Upper Louisiana. At the same time he had retained a close relationship with Governor Arthur St. Clair dating from service together in the Revolutionary War. His association with St. Clair and his friendly relationship with the Spanish officials in St. Louis led Piggott to believe that both the American and the Spanish authorities would sanction a ferry between St. Louis and the Illinois shore immediately opposite St. Louis. First Piggott took steps to secure a foothold across from St. Louis. During the winter of 1792-93 he built two log cabins on the Illinois side, and during the next two winters he built a 150-foot bridge across Cahokia Creek and a new road from the ferry landing to the village of Cahokia, five miles to the south.  


11. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 1, 1068; J. C. Wild and Lewis F. Thomas, The Valley of the Mississippi Illus-
In 1795, after threat of Indian attacks diminished, Piggott moved his family from Grand Ruisseau to the cabin he had recently built near Cahokia Creek. This was the beginning of the first permanent settlement of what became East St. Louis.

An earlier attempt at settlement had failed. In 1765 Richard McCarty had obtained a tract of 400 acres from the British and erected a mill and trading post on Cahokia Creek between what are now Illinois and St. Clair Avenues. He named his settlement Post St. Ursule, in

trated: In a Series of Views Embracing Pictures of the Principal Cities and Towns, Public Buildings and Remarkable and Picturesque Scenery, on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers (St. Louis, 1841), p. 112. The Wild and Thomas book is an extremely rare publication. For this study, I used a reproduction of the original published by Joseph Garnier, St. Louis, 1948. This publication will be cited hereinafter as Wild and Thomas, The Valley of the Mississippi. The Swiss-born Wild came to St. Louis about 1840. He concentrated his "sensitive vision on the young towns that were growing up" along the shores of the Mississippi. See Perry T. Rathbone, ed., Westward the Way: The Character and Development of the Louisiana Territory as seen by its Artists and Writers of the Nineteenth Century (St. Louis, 1954); same, Mississippi Panorama: The Life and Landscape of the Father of Waters and its Great Tributary, the Missouri: with 188 Illustrations of Paintings, Drawings, Prints, Photographs, Bank Notes, River Boat Models, Steamboat Appurtenances and the Dickeson-Egan Giant Moving Panorama of the Mississippi (St. Louis, 1950).

12. Following the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, in which the Indians were badly defeated by the forces of General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, the British refused to give support to the warring Indians along the Maumee River in what is now northern Ohio and those along the present boundary between Ohio and Indiana. In August 1795, at Fort Greenville, in what is now west-central Ohio, the Indians signed a treaty with General Wayne, in which they ceded vast tracts of land to the whites and agreed to "bury the hatchet." Their defeat was so stingling "that they gave the United States no further trouble for many years to
honor of his French-Canadian wife. Soon after the great flood of the Mississippi in 1784, "a most malignant malady prevailed in the infant colony, and the remaining inhabitants fled never to return." Apparently a typhoid fever epidemic, which so often was an aftermath of a flood, took a heavy toll of lives and caused the settlement to be abandoned.

Two years after moving his family, Captain Piggott applied to the Spanish authorities in St. Louis for permission to establish a ferry between the Spanish settlement on the west bank of the Mississippi and the Illinois shore directly opposite. In his petition to Governor Zenon Trudeau on August 15, 1797, Piggott asked that the Spanish authorities not allow anyone else "to set people across the river for pay (at this place)." He believed his effort and private expense in constructing the road to Cahokia and building the bridge over Cahokia Creek entitled him to exclusive ferriage rights between his landing and St. Louis.

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15. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, I, 1068.
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15. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 1, 1068.
At this time a ferry already linked the Missouri shore and Cahokia. The landing on the Missouri side was near where the United States Arsenal was later located, approximately three miles south of the center of St. Louis as of 1797.\(^\text{16}\) This ferry was based in St. Louis and appears to have been operated by the Spanish authorities.\(^\text{17}\)

In his negotiations with Trudeau for ferry rights, Piggott gave assurances that he would be under the same regulations with his ferry, "respecting crossing passengers or property from your shore as your ferry-men are below the town, and should your people choose to cross the river in their own crafts, my landing and road shall be free to them." As an inducement to approval of the petition, Piggott promised that he would be ready to serve the governor should he want anything which came to market from the Illinois shore, and he would supply him with timber at the lowest rates.\(^\text{18}\) Piggott's offer to accommodate the Spanish governor, as well as his own stature as a judge and war hero,

\(^{16}\) Ibid.

\(^{17}\) After the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by the United States in 1803, the Cahokia ferry was operated for many years by Louis Pensoneau, who had emigrated from Canada to Cahokia in 1798 with his two brothers, Louison and Etienne. See John Reynolds, The Pioneer History of Illinois, Containing the Discovery in 1673, and the History of the Country to the Year 1818, When the State Government was Organized (Second Edition, Chicago, 1887), pp. 362-363. The first edition was privately printed in Belleville, Illinois in 1852. Cited hereinafter as Reynolds, Pioneer History of Illinois.

\(^{18}\) Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 1, 1068.
seemingly made a favorable impression. Also, the residents of St. Louis stood to gain much from the new ferry because of the more direct connection it provided with the Illinois shore, from whence much of the foodstuff for St. Louis came.

Governor Trudeau did not want it to appear that he was giving special favors to a foreigner. Accordingly, in granting the petition, he made Piggott a citizen of St. Louis and "clothed him with other powers and privileges." The new "citizen" of St. Louis erected a small ferry house below Market Street on the St. Louis side of the river and established a landing on the Illinois shore. The exact location of the original Illinois landing is not known. As the Mississippi shoreline on the Illinois side of the river in 1797 was approximately where it is today, the original landing most likely was in the vicinity of the present Peabody Coal Company docks. By 1843 the Mississippi had moved eastward, taking the original ferry landing and considerable bottom land with it. The 1843 Survey of Bloody Island (see Plate X, Map No.2) shows the ferry landing as of that date as well as earlier landings. The map does not, however, locate the landing which Piggott established. The Illinois shore in Piggott’s day was considerably to the west of the area designated as the "former Illinois shore" on the 1843 survey. In 1843 (and also in 1841, when J. C. Wild made drawings

19. Ibid., p. 1069.
of Illinoistown and the ferry site) the landing was near the bridge Piggott had built over the River l'Abbé, or Cahokia Creek as it was more commonly known.20

Captain Piggott managed the ferry until his death in February 1799. As executrix of her husband's will, Mrs. Piggott rented the ferry to a Doctor Wallis for the years 1800-02. Subsequently, she rented it to a Mr. Adams. He operated the business until May 5, 1805, when John Campbell took over under a ten-year lease.21

Campbell obtained a license for the Piggott ferry in his own name and renamed it "Campbell's Ferry." Mrs. Piggott, who had remarried and moved to St. Louis, apparently ceased to take an active interest in the ferry. But her children--Piggott's principal heirs--initiated a lawsuit against Campbell. Basing their claim on a grant of March 12, 1803, by Indiana Governor William Henry Harrison, whose jurisdiction extended over the Illinois country, the Piggott family won the case and reclaimed the ferry property.22

In January 1815 five of the seven Piggott heirs conveyed their interest in the ferry to John McKnight and Thomas Brady, merchants23

20. See "Survey of Bloody Island," Map No. 2 of this report. See also photograph in Plate II of this report.


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., I, 1069; 2, 1869.
of St. Louis. There must have been disagreement among the Piggott heirs over management of the ferry. While some of them sold their interest to McKnight and Brady, others disposed of their's in March 1820 to Samuel Wiggins, a man of some financial means recently arrived from New York. The dissenting members of the Piggott family had contracted with Wiggins in 1819 to operate a ferry in competition with that of McKnight and Brady.\textsuperscript{24} In May 1821 Wiggins purchased the interest of McKnight and Brady in the ferry. Thus Wiggins came into full possession of the enterprise founded by the Revolutionary War veteran James Piggott. In fact, Wiggins had received from the state of Illinois one of the broadest charters ever granted, confirming to him a monopoly of ferry traffic between Illinoistown and St. Louis.\textsuperscript{25}

A description of crossing the Mississippi by ferry from Illinoistown in 1815 is given by Edwin Draper, as noted in Scharf's \textit{History of Saint Louis}:

The ferry-boat in which we crossed was a small keel-boat, without upper deck or cabin, and was propelled by four oars by hand. The wagons, then the only means of land travel, were run by hand on to the boat, across which were placed broad planks transversely, resting on the gunwales of the boat, while the tongue of the wagon projected beyond the side of the boat, and as the latter swayed gracefully to the motion of the waves the tongue-

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 1069.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 1070; East St. Louis \textit{Journal}, May 21, 1961, p. 5 E.
chains would dip politely into the water, as if acknowledging the power of the mighty monarch they were daring to stride. The horses, wagon, and saddle, family, slaves and dogs were stowed in the bottom of the boat between the wagons, and thus we triumphantly entered Missouri. Our crossing, with many other families, was detained several days by high winds and waves preventing the safe crossing of the boat. . . . My first crossing of the great water certainly inspired me with some fear. . . . At the time I first crossed the stream in 1815 it was fully a quarter of a mile wider at St. Louis than it is at the present time.27

Wiggins' business flourished, and by 1828 he had three boats of one horse-power each. In that year he added the steam-propelled "St. Clair." The steam ferry made two landings in Saint Louis each day, one at the foot of Market Street and one at Morgan Street, then returned to the Illinois shore.

In 1832 Wiggins sold his ferry franchise to a group headed by Samuel C. Christy of St. Louis. Along with the ferry franchise, Wiggins transferred to the syndicate about eight or nine hundred acres lying between Brooklyn and Cahokia commons. These tracts of land are identified on the 1843 "Survey of Bloody Island." One member of the new ferry syndicate was William C. Wiggins, brother of Samuel Wiggins. William Wiggins remained in active management of the ferry for many years after its purchase by the syndicate, and it continued to be known as Wiggins' Ferry.

27. Scharf, History of Saint Louis City and County, I, 1067-1070.
CHAPTER 2

Illinoistown, "Mother" of East St. Louis

In the years following establishment of Piggott's Ferry in 1797, there were repeated attempts to begin towns in the vicinity. Some of the buildings were located too close to the river, however, and the ever-changing channel washed them away. The first of the settlements to succumb was Washington, consisting of a tavern owned by Samuel Wiggins and four or five dwellings. Another victim was Jacksonville. The settlement to survive and become the "mother" of East St. Louis was Illinoistown (sometimes spelled Illinois Town). On property that had once belonged to Piggott, the first lots were laid out in 1817 by John McKnight and Thomas Brady, the St. Louis merchants who had purchased the majority of the Piggott family interest in the ferry.¹

Illinoistown is mentioned in the early travel accounts as the place where one took the ferry to St. Louis. Henry R. Schoolcraft, noted 19th century explorer and ethnologist, wrote of traveling through Illinoistown in 1821. En route to St. Louis he noted the road from Belleville

is carried for a distance near the brow of the bluffs, and frequently presents the most extensive and interesting view; it then descends through a lengthened chasm,

¹ Scharf, History of Saint Louis City and County, 2, 1869.
down a winding and romantic path, occasionally overhung with rocks and trees, into the alluvial tract whose western boundary is the channel of the Mississippi. This tract, so well known under the appellation of the American Bottom, consists partly of prairie and partly of forest, the latter being chiefly confined to the margin of the river.

Both from its qualities, and its great extent, it is generally considered one of the most valuable districts of alluvion in Western America; and is calculated at a future day to sustain a dense population. The very considerable portion of it, which still remains unimproved, and the extreme flatness of the surface renders a ride across it, less pleasing and interesting than would be expected, as the views are generally confined, and there is no prospect of the Mississippi until you arrive within a hundred yards of its current.

The road took Schoolcraft close to the Great Cahokia Mound, a prehistoric Indian ceremonial mound located in the American Bottom about half way between East St. Louis and the bluffs.² Then he and his party passed through the village of Illinoistown, which was "separated into two parts by the stagnant and pestiferous channel of Cahokia Creek." A few moments later, his carriage halted on the banks

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2. The Great Mound, sometimes called "Monk's Mound," is today part of the Cahokia Mounds State Park. This particular mound, "the largest prehistoric American earthwork north of Mexico," covers approximately sixteen acres at its base and rises almost one hundred feet above the surrounding area. One of the outstanding construction projects of early man, the Great Mound stands as a monument to the ingenuity and culture of the Indians who inhabited the area probably as early as 800 A.D. and as recently as the 1400s. The mounds in the American Bottom were not built by Cahokia Indians living in the area at the time of the arrival of the French in the late 1600s. See the following for additional information on the Cahokia mounds: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1967 edition) 4, 580-581; P. F. Titterington, *The Cahokia Mound Group and Its Village Site Materials* (St. Louis, 1938), pp. 1-40.
of the Mississippi. He described his first view of the Mississippi River as striking: "The view of the opposite shore . . . covered by the town of St. Louis, stretching for a mile along the river, with the lines of barges, and steam-boats, which greatly add to its city-like aspect; the distant summits of the great mounds in its vicinity, and the verdant islands in the river; --presented at one burst to the eye of the traveller, suddenly ushered from dark unvaried woods, is calculated to produce a powerful and striking effect."

Of the river crossing he wrote:

The intercourse between the two shores is kept up by a line of team-boats. With that gayety of heart, inspired by the termination of a tedious overland journey, we here dismissed our carriage, and entering on board one of the boats, which appeared to unite great strength, with neatness and convenience, were landed at St. Louis at three o'clock and took lodgings on the upper plain, which is a second bank to the river, and commands a good prospect of the town and its environs. ³

At this time Illinois was the principal supplier of the St. Louis market. The greatest portion of the foodstuffs and coal came from the American Bottom, across from St. Louis. ⁴

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3. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Travels in the Central Portions of The Mississippi Valley: Comprising Observations on Its Mineral geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population (New York, 1825), pp. 223-226. By the expression "team-boats," Schoolcraft meant boats which were propelled when a horse caused the paddle wheel to rotate by stepping on a treadmill.

Illinoistown was still described as a small village in 1837. The Reverend John Mason Peck, a well-known Baptist minister who wrote extensively on the geography and history of Illinois, said that Belleville and Lebanon were the principal towns in St. Clair County. Cahokia and Illinoistown were small villages, while Illinoistown claimed about a dozen families. Wiggins Ferry, which for all practical purposes was the same as Illinoistown, consisted of a public house or hotel, a livery stable, store, and post office. Wiggins Ferry was the official name of the post office and Illinoistown was the name of the settlement.\(^5\)

In 1841 the popular illustrator J. C. Wild described Illinoistown as a lively commercial river town comprising 125 houses, an iron store, one distillery, two stores of general merchandise, five grocery stores, two town bakeries, one saddlery, one shoemaker, two blacksmith shops, one cooper's shop, one tailory, and two taverns or hotels, besides a variety of other subsisting businesses. Also a recently established printing office issued a weekly newspaper, the *American Bottom Reporter*.\(^6\)

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5. John Mason Peck, *Illinois Gazetteer* (N.p., 1837), 135, 225, 312; East St. Louis *Journal*, May 21, 1961, p. 5 D. Samuel Wiggins was appointed the first postmaster of Wiggins Ferry by President John Quincy Adams on August 7, 1826. An idea of the extent of settlement in St. Clair County, of which Illinoistown was a part is the fact that in 1835 the county had a population of 9,055. See Mitchell, *Illinois in 1837 & 8*, p. 105.

A comparison of Wild's 1841 description and Peck's of 1837 suggests that Illinoistown grew considerably during this four-year period. Wild's portrayal is graphically presented in two illustrations. The one in Plate II shows Illinoistown in the vicinity of the new bridge over Cahokia Creek. The bridge Piggott built was a short distance upstream from this point. Immediately to the east of the new bridge, at the left edge of the photograph, were three small buildings, a grocery, and a large two-story building that was probably a hotel. West of the bridge and toward the Mississippi appear a two-story structure, either a residence or a residence-hotel; a one and one-half-story building, most likely connected with the ferry landing; a substantial building, apparently a residence; and three other smaller buildings. The Wild illustration shows the river in close proximity to the Cahokia Creek bridge. The photograph in Plate III, "St. Louis and Vicinity," a copy of another 1841 Wild illustration, shows Illinoistown in an aerial view from the vicinity of the Old Courthouse at Fourth and Chestnut Streets in St. Louis. This illustration shows the structures essentially as depicted in Plate II. In addition, it shows the Illinois shore as wooded--sparsely around the village and more heavily to the south. Bloody Island appears in the upper left, with the southern end of the island opposite the center of the St. Louis business district.

Wild described Illinoistown as "not unfavorably situated." From the village, the spectator was "afforded a pleasing view" of St. Louis.

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which crownded the "beautiful slope on the opposite bank of the Mississippi." 7

A map drawn in 1843, "The Survey of Bloody Island," shows "Illinois Town" laid out in twenty-eight squares on the east side of the Cahokia Creek, with the following streets located: Main Street, 5th Street, 6th Street, Trendley, Market, and Brady. On the west side of Cahokia Creek is a new ferry road, along which several buildings are identified: stable, grocery, boarding house, and blacksmith shop on the south side and one dwelling and a grocery store on the north side, with the dwelling close to Cahokia Creek and the grocery store very close to the ferry landing. It is likely that some of the area designated "Illinois Town" was on paper only. The town plot does not match the street pattern of modern East St. Louis, while the street pattern for St. Louis and the river alignment for the west shore of the Mississippi coincide almost exactly with the modern map. To understand the relationship between Illinoistown, St. Louis, the Mississippi River of 1843, and today's scene, one should study Plates X and XI, Composite, which presents the 1843 map in overlay. This enables one to relate the 1843 scene to the present. 8

7. Ibid.

8. See Maps No. 2 and 3.
Of the economic importance of Illinoistown, Wild noted that in 1841 two-thirds of all the cattle and agricultural and horticultural products supplying the St. Louis markets came from the American Bottom, for which Illinoistown was the thoroughfare. Alluding to the financial stimulus a proposed additional ferry would provide, Wild noted: "The quantity of wagons, movers, horses and cattle which pass through this place is very great. The competition which will now probably take place between the old and new ferries will very materially conduce to the improvement of the bottom and Illinoistown. . . . It is now in a greater state of activity than it has been years before, and time will do the rest." Continuing, he wrote that "a more interesting spot for the enterprising and active capitalist does not probably exist in the neighborhood of Saint Louis."9 He was especially impressed with two "distinct appendages or clusters of houses, called respectively, St. Clairsville and Paps Town." The latter was on the "high road" to Belleville and the former was the "seat of the pens whence the butchers of St. Louis draw their stock for that market."10 St. Clairsville was in the vicinity of the present stock yards.

Contributing greatly to the economic growth of the east bank of the Mississippi was the abundance of coal in the bluffs at the edge

9. Wild and Thomas, The Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 112-114.
10. Ibid., p. 112.
of the American Bottom. The discovery of coal here reportedly was
made by a group of Trappist monks who were located on the ancient
Indian mounds of Cahokia from 1807 to 1816. The discovery came as
a result of observing lightning ignite the earth at the root of a
tree. Digging a little below the surface, the monks discovered a
vein of coal.\textsuperscript{11}

St. Louis grew dependent upon the beds of bituminous coal that
lay close to the surface in parts of the American Bottom, mainly
in the bluff area from Collinsville south to Belleville. The Illi-
nois coal was in demand as fuel for St. Louis homes and for the iron
industry developing there.\textsuperscript{12} In 1836 wagons bearing 300,000 bushels
of coal crossed the Mississippi on Wiggins' Ferry.\textsuperscript{13}

The coal business was so profitable that in 1836 John Reynolds,
Member of Congress and former governor of Illinois, joined George
Walker, Vital Jarrot, S. B. Chandler, and Louis Boisemen in building
a railroad across the American Bottoms to Illinoistown, a distance
of six miles.\textsuperscript{14} Reynolds and his associates owned a three-mile strip

\textsuperscript{11} Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, September
1949, pp. 352-354.

\textsuperscript{12} Rodnick, "The Economic Development of St. Louis and the Sur-
rounding Area," p. 15.

\textsuperscript{13} Reynolds, My Own Times, p. 321.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.; John Mason Peck, A Gazetteer of Illinois in Three Parts:
of land on the bluffs,\textsuperscript{15} as well as most of the land on which the railroad was built.\textsuperscript{16} Unable to afford iron rails or a locomotive, Reynolds and his associates were compelled to rely on wooden rails and horsepower. Reynolds, more interested in politics than in a struggling business, sold his interest in 1838.\textsuperscript{17} Defeated for re-election to Congress two years earlier, he devoted himself wholly to regaining his seat. The effort paid off, and he was returned to Congress in 1838 and again in 1840. Reynolds was one of the most prominent citizens of Illinois—governor, Congressman, justice of the State Supreme Court, member and speaker of the State House of Representatives, militia officer in the Black Hawk War, newspaperman, and author.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{flushleft}
\textbf{Containing a General View of the State, A General View of Each County, and a Particular Description of Each Town, Settlement, Stream, Prairie, Bottom, Bluff, etc. (Philadelphia, 1837), p. 63; Mitchell, Illinois in 1837 and 8, p. 19; William Oliver, Eight Months in Illinois, with Information to Immigrants, (Newcastle Upon Tyne, England, 1843), p. 169. The Oliver book was republished in 1924 by Walter M. Hill, Chicago, and the 1924 reprint was used for this study.}
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17. Ibid., p. 322.

Long before railroads came to Illinoistown to connect St. Louis with the East, the village on the Illinois shore was the western terminus for several primitive though well-used roads. John Melish, in *Travels Through the United States of America in the Years 1806 & 1807, and 1809, 1810 & 1811*, shows that the principal overland route from the East to St. Louis was by way of Chillicothe, Ohio; Limestone (Maysville), Paris, Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville, Kentucky; Jeffersonville and Vincennes, Indiana; and Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory. While Illinoistown did not exist at the time of Melish's travels, his map shows the main road approaching the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis, about where Captain Piggott's Ferry was located.19

When Reverend John Mason Peck brought his family from Litchfield, Connecticut, to St. Louis in 1817, he planned to travel entirely by land. He wrote to his wife that the most common route to St. Louis consisted of the following: Litchfield to Philadelphia, 200 miles; Wheeling to Zanesville, 55 miles; Zanesville to Chillicothe, 72 miles; Chillicothe to the crossing of the Ohio River at Limestone, 63 miles; the Ohio to Lexington, 68 miles; Lexington to Louisville, 73 miles; Louisville to Vincennes, 172 miles; "through the wilderness" to Kaskaskia, 145 miles; Kaskaskia to St. Louis, 57 miles. Once Peck com-

menced his journey, he changed his plans. For a while he considered proceeding from Shawneetown, at the mouth of the Wabash River, by road to St. Louis. But because of the extremely bad condition of the road, he decided to continue his journey by keelboat. The fare from Shawneetown to St. Louis was $25 for Peck and his family. 20

After the War of 1812 southern Illinois settled rapidly. "The 'new comers' like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for breadstuff," said Reverend Peck. In the summer and autumn of 1816, "they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and mov-
ing to the 'Far West.' Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the 'great river' at St. Louis."21

Not until the early 1820s, however, did the St. Louis area get re-
liable and regular land communication with the eastern states. Earlier

20. Rufus Babcock, ed., Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, Edited From His Journal (Carbondale, Illinois, 1965), pp. 73, 75. The 1965 reprint is of the 1864 edition by Babcock, a close friend and ministerial associate of Peck. In 1817, Peck was appointed a missionary to the West by the Triennial Baptist Missionary Convention. After living in St. Louis for five years, Peck moved to Rock Spring, St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1822. He was one of the most prominent theologians and early historians in Illinois. He was awarded the honor-
ary degree of Doctor of Systematic Theology by Harvard University in 1852. In the same ceremony, Alexis de Tocqueville was awarded the honor-
ary Doctor of Laws degree.

21. Stevens, St. Louis, The Fourth City, I, 303. Stevens was quot-
ing from Peck, who moved to St. Louis in 1817.
river vessels filled the need, although many travelers disembarked at Shawneetown on the Ohio River, and went by land to Kaskaskia and St. Louis. 22

An Indiana newspaper in 1820 announced with gratification that a line of stages had been established to run from Louisville to St. Louis via Vincennes. It was encouraging to know that "a stage coach with passengers will soon be humming across those vast and cheerless prairies, where, but a short time since, the wolf and deer were the principal inhabitants, or men in savage attire, as ferocious and wild as they. 23 About the same time, a St. Louis paper rejoiced over the "revolution" in the speed of the mails:

After the vexatious delays which we have been long subjected to in our mail communication with the Atlantic states it is a matter of agreeable satisfaction to find a line established on which dependence can be placed. On the Vincennes route we now have regular arrivals from the principal towns in Kentucky and Ohio in six days, from Washington to Baltimore in twenty, Philadelphia twenty-one, New York twenty-two, and Boston twenty-four. 24

The running time between Vincennes and St. Louis in 1820 was approximately three days. The Union Line, for instance, beginning on September 5, 1820, left Vincennes on Tuesday at two p.m. and arrived at

22. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904) 10, 254.


24. Ibid., p. 758.
St. Louis on Friday at two p.m. The average rate of travel by stage-coach rarely exceeded three miles an hour.²⁵ That Illinoistown was on the stage route between St. Louis and Vincennes was clearly evidenced by Piles Way Bill of 1826, which listed Illinoistown as ten miles from Hathaway's Tavern and two miles from St. Louis.²⁶

In 1837 one could travel by stage from St. Louis to Louisville via Vincennes on alternate days. The fare for the 273-mile ride was seventeen dollars. Stage lines also connected with Evansville and Terre Haute. A stage left Shawneetown twice a week for Carlyle, Illinois, where it intersected the line from Louisville to St. Louis.²⁷

Two years later, in 1839, it was estimated that 80,000 emigrants traveled overland from Louisville during the five months that river navigation was impossible.²⁸ Stage fare in the West during the late 1830s was about six cents a mile. Steamboat fare, including meals, from Louisville to St. Louis was twelve dollars. Stage fare was seventeen dollars, plus 37 1/2 cents for each meal.²⁹

²⁵ Ibid., p. 762.
²⁶ Ibid., p. 591.
²⁷ Peck, Gazetteer of Illinois, p. 325.
²⁸ Ibid.
By 1840 four roads entered Illinoistown. They corresponded to the present highways U. S. 460, U.S. 50, U.S. 40, and Illinois 3.\textsuperscript{30} The road from Vandalia to Illinoistown is often erroneously listed in guidebooks of the 1830s and 1840s as the National Road. By 1839 the National Road had been located and marked as far west as Vandalia, Illinois. The Illinois State Legislature had consented to further work only if the road passed through Alton and crossed the Mississippi River above the mouth of the Missouri.\textsuperscript{31} The western terminus therefore came to rest at Vandalia, but the road did connect with another leading through Illinoistown to St. Louis.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{30} Roscoe Carlyle Buley, \textit{The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period 1815-1840} (2 vols., Bloomington, 1951), 1, p. 446.

\textsuperscript{31} Mitchell, \textit{Illinois in 1837 \\& 38}, p. 58.

CHAPTER 3

Railroad Hub

Today East St. Louis boasts twenty-seven trunk and switching lines--more railroads than any other city in the world except Chicago. 1 As a transportation center it got an early start. Because of its advantageous location, Illinoistown and, subsequently, East St. Louis became an established rail center long before St. Louis secured direct rail connections with the East. The first railroad, in 1837, was the horse-drawn conveyance on wooden rails built by Congressman Reynolds and his associates. By the late 1850s this road, known as the Illinois Coal Co. Railroad, had extended to Caseyville, at the western edge of the bluff and the coal fields, and to Brooklyn, a few miles above Illinoistown. In 1857 it was handling both passengers and freight. 2 The line shown in the 1855 lithograph by Leopold Gast and brother (Plate 5) is probably the Illinois Coal Company Railroad. This lithograph shows the Illinois waterfront teeming with people and animals and trains approaching on double tracks from both the north and south. The tracks were located fairly close to the river below

1. Polk's East St. Louis (St. Clair County, Ill.) City Directory, 1861 (St. Louis, 1861), vi.

Bloody Island. Directly east of Bloody Island the tracks were inland because by 1855 the island had been joined to the mainland. The ferry landing was located on the southwestern edge of what had been Bloody Island, approximately 800 feet west of where the Continental Grain Company is located today. The engraving shows the ferry landing on the west side of the river in the vicinity of Spruce Street.  

Frederick Gerhard in *Illinois As It Is* (1857) lists three railroads in 1857: the Alton and Illinoistown connecting these two sites, a distance of twenty-five miles; the Belleville and Illinoistown, fifteen miles; and the Illinois Coal Company Railroad between Caseyville and Brooklyn, approximately eleven miles.

Not listed by Gerhard because not completed until June 1857 was the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. This important line, which became part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad System, was begun at Illinoistown, its western terminus, in February 1852. Citizens of St. Louis, vitally interested in the commercial advantages of connections with the East, played a large role in promoting the enterprise. They furnished more than $1,500,000 toward the construction of the line.

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3. John Hogan, *Thoughts About the City of St. Louis, Her Commerce and Manufactures, Railroads, etc.* (St. Louis, 1854) frontispiece. Even though the copyright of the book is dated 1854, the superb lithograph is dated 1855. The lithograph very accurately shows both sides of the Mississippi in great detail.

turned out in large numbers for the groundbreaking ceremony in 1852. St. Louis Mayor Luther M. Kennett, speaking of the profitable relationship between St. Louis and Illinoistown, noted that St. Louis now proposed to strengthen the connection with iron bands. The eastern end of the railroad was being developed from Cincinnati. By 1854 the rails were advancing from both east and west toward the Wabash River at Vincennes, Indiana. The last rails went down on April 22, 1857. A grand celebration for the completion of the first uninterrupted rail communication between St. Louis and the Atlantic Coast was staged almost two months later, with excursion trains leaving Cincinnati amidst a great display of excitement and enjoyment. All along the route to St. Louis the trains were greeted by popular rejoicing.

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for June 20, 1857, carried as its headline feature the account of the celebration in Illinoistown and St. Louis: "The Grand Celebration of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, Arrival of the Excursion Train at Midnight, Opposite

5. Stevens, St. Louis, the Fourth City, 1, 342.
6. Hogan, Thoughts About the City of St. Louis, p. 7
7. Jacob N. Taylor and M. O. Crooks, Sketch Book of Saint Louis: Containing a Series of Sketches (St. Louis, 1858), p. 127
St. Louis, The Guests Going on Board the Steamers Provided for their accommodation by that City for the Night Previous to the Celebration."\(^9\)

The excursion trains began to arrive at Illinoistown shortly after midnight on June 5.\(^{10}\) The lateness of the hour was not a deterrent to celebration; the moon shone brightly and torchlights had been placed in profusion to make the scene "almost as brilliant as daylight."

The arrival of the first engine, the "San Francisco," evoked loud cheers from St. Louis and Illinoistown residents gathered to witness the event. Repeated shouts of joy subsided only when Mayor Wimer of St. Louis mounted the driving wheel of the locomotive and made an address.\(^{11}\)

The main celebration was reserved for later in the day in St. Louis.

After the celebration in Illinoistown, officials, dignitaries, and guests boarded steamboats and spent the remainder of the night. Among the prominent individuals who accepted the invitations and railroad passes for the gala affair were the Compte de Sartiges, Minister of France; Chevalier Bosch Spencer, Minister of Belgium; Edward Stockel, Minister of Russia; Philip Francis Thomas, former governor of Maryland; and George Bancroft, popular historian and former Secretary of War in

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11. Ibid., p. 37.
the Polk Administration. The highlights of the day's activities in St. Louis on June 5 included parades, torchlight processions, and the firing of one hundred guns. On the following day speeches were given in the St. Louis Courthouse (now headquarters for Jefferson National Expansion Memorial) as part of a railroad convention then in progress.

Completing the first major rail connection between the Atlantic Coast and the Mississippi River, construction of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad was a highly significant milestone in the transportation history of the United States. As the western terminus of the line, the future of Illinoistown was assured. Within nine years ten railroads connected Illinoistown with points in the North, South and East. The coming of the railroad—principally the Ohio and Mississippi—foreshadowed the transformation of Illinoistown, an undistinguished river settlement, into East St. Louis, the central component in the virile industrial region of today.

14. Ibid.
Although St. Louis benefitted greatly from the commercial ties cemented by the Ohio and Mississippi, it suffered economically from want of a bridge to carry the "iron road" across the Mississippi River from Illinoistown. Not until a year after the completion of Eads Bridge in 1874 did the rails enter St. Louis itself (see Chapter 5). 16

Before the construction of Eads Bridge, and to a certain extent afterward, the railroads entering East St. Louis maintained passenger and freight stations on the east side of the river. Passengers bound for St. Louis crossed by ferry before the bridge was built and by omnibus afterward. Even after 1875, most freight destined for St. Louis except car-load lots, broke bulk in East St. Louis and was hauled by transfer companies to St. Louis. Each railroad line maintained ticket offices on both sides of the river. Before the completion of the bridge the old Planters Hotel in St. Louis was the point of arrival and departure of passengers. 17

The Ohio and Mississippi and other railroads, including the Illinois Central, brought prosperity to Illinoistown. Several competing


communities sprang up. Chief among them was East St. Louis, a subdivision of lands belonging to Samuel L. Barlow, Henry Chauncey, William H. Aspinwall, and Samuel W. Comstock, and including a tract that had once been owned by the fur magnate, John Jacob Astor.\textsuperscript{18} Although platted in 1817, Illinoistown had not been incorporated until 1852. East St. Louis was platted in 1859.\textsuperscript{19} Two years later citizens of the two communities decided to merge and to call their new town East St. Louis. An attempt in 1865 to change the name to St. Clair failed, and since April 1, 1861, the city has borne the name East St. Louis.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} Scharf, \textit{History of Saint Louis County and City}, 2, p. 1870.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
CHAPTER 4

Bloody Island

During the first half of the nineteenth century, much of today's East St. Louis waterfront was part of Bloody Island or was covered by the Mississippi River. From the founding of St. Louis in 1764 until about the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Mississippi River opposite Market Square was very deep and narrow. The human voice could be heard distinctly from the other shore.¹ In 1780 the river was so narrow that British soldiers and Indians enroute to attack Cahokia fired their muskets across the river and rattled the roofs of St. Louis houses.²

Before Piggott's Ferry went into operation in 1797, the narrowness of the river permitted travelers to summon a boat from the other side. One such traveler in 1787 was "Danny" Boone, son of Daniel Boone, enroute to St. Louis "to seek his fortune in the field service of the fur traders." Tradition says that young Boone rode down to the Illinois shore and gave the customary call: "O-O-O-ver!" Boone waited for some

¹ Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 2, 1868.
sign of activity at the foot of the rocky bluff on the other side. Several minutes later he again put forth the lusty halloo: "O-O-O-ver!" An hour or more passed before he saw a flat-bottomed boat rowed by two men leave the Missouri shore in response to his shouts.³ Haphazard as this system was, the narrowness of the river enabled the traveler to make himself heard on the western shore.

"Bloody Island" derived its name from its role as the favorite dueling grounds for the St. Louis area. Men with disputes involving their honor came here to settle them according to the traditional code for such affairs. Among the numerous duels staged on Bloody Island, three are especially noteworthy.

On August 2, 1817, Thomas Hart Benton, later Senator from Missouri, and Charles Lucas, United States Attorney for the Territory of Missouri, determined to settle their differences according to the "gentleman's code" as they faced each other on the wooded island in the Mississippi. Lucas, who had become involved in a controversy with Benton over the manner in which a trial had been conducted, was severely wounded. More than six weeks later, on September 27, Lucas and Benton again met on Bloody Island to settle their differences once and for all. At that time, Lucas fell mortally wounded.⁴

³ Stevens, St. Louis, Fourth City, 2, 255.
⁴ Tyson, History of East St. Louis, Its Resources, Statistics, Railroads, Physical Features, Business & Advantages (East St. Louis,
Bloody Island was the scene on June 23, 1823, of a duel between Thomas C. Rector, brother of Brig. Gen. William Rector, United States Surveyor of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, and Joshua Barton, United States District Attorney. Barton, who had accused General Rector of corruption, was killed by the general's brother.5

Seven years later, on August 27, 1830, Maj. Thomas Biddle, Army paymaster in St. Louis, and U. S. Representative Spencer Pettis of Missouri mortally wounded each other in a duel on Bloody Island. Pettis, who was against the controversial United States Bank, had criticized Mayor Biddle's brother, president of the bank. Biddle had then entered Pettis' room in the City Hotel in St. Louis and beat the sleeping congressman with a cowhide.6

Auguste Chouteau, Jr., son of a co-founder of St. Louis, recalled that at the time of the city's founding there was no Bloody Island.7 Instead, opposite South St. Louis was a heavily timbered island separated from the Illinois shore by a slough, or inlet. Cahokia Creek joined the slough at the head of the island and flowed past the village of

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1875), Tyson was Professor of Rhetoric at Howe Literary Institute in East St. Louis.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 2, 1868.
Cahokia to empty into the Mississippi. In 1799 all of the space between the northern end of the slough and the southern end of what became Bloody Island (see Plate X, Map No. 2, Map of 1843) and between the Mississippi and Cahokia Creek, was bottom land. It was covered with "majestic forest timber, interspersed with pea-vine, rushes and winter-grass, upon which stock kept fat all seasons of the year." This description was confirmed by Dr. Isaac Piggott, descendant of Captain James Piggott, in a lecture before the East St. Louis Historical Society. According to Dr. Piggott, the land between Cahokia Creek and the Mississippi, directly across from St. Louis, was the camping ground for the Indians who traded at St. Louis. 8

The distance between the east bank of the Mississippi and Cahokia Creek was approximately one-half mile. 9 If Cahokia Creek in 1799 had essentially the same course as shown on the 1843 map, the Illinois shore in 1799 was about 415 feet closer to the Missouri shore than it is today and two thousand feet closer in 1799 than in 1843. The bottom lands described by Dr. Piggott would have been in an area bounded by the present Eads and MacArthur Bridges and the Mississippi, and where Trendley Avenue crosses the old Cahokia Creek.

8. Ibid. Scharf obtained much of his information on early East St. Louis from this lecture given by Dr. Piggott. It is known that Piggott's lecture was presented prior to 1883, because it was in that year that Scharf's book was published.

9. Ibid.
The changing course of the main channel of the Mississippi continually altered both shorelines. During the late 1790s the main channel ran nearly straight from the Chain of Rocks toward and close to the old western boundary of the Cabanne Island (now Gabaret Island), from there striking the Missouri shore above St. Louis. The channel ran deepest against the rocky shore to Market Street, below which a sand bar began to form that ultimately grew into Duncan's Island. This island deflected the current toward the Illinois shore south of St. Louis and consequently carried off a considerable portion of Cahokia Island (below present MacArthur Bridge). At the same time a sand bar formed in the middle of the river opposite the upper section of St. Louis. Within a short time it had grown into an island covered with willow and cottonwood. By 1843 it had attained a length of one and three-fourths miles\textsuperscript{10} and taken the name "Bloody Island."\textsuperscript{11}

As Bloody Island grew, it split the main channel and a strong current deflected eastward to eat into the Illinois shore. This current devoured a valuable tract of bottom land two miles long and one-fourth to one-half mile wide,\textsuperscript{12} and the Indian camping ground gave way

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10. Ibid., p. 1868.

11. See Map, "Survey of Bloody Island," attached to this report.

to the river. As the river washed away the bottom land, it intruded on Cahokia Creek and the slough, filling the bed of the slough at the southwest corner of Illinoistown and turning Cahokia Creek from its former channel past Cahokia to a new one that emptied into the Mississippi opposite St. Louis.¹³

By the late 1830s the main channel of the Mississippi had moved so far that it threatened to flow east of Illinoistown.¹⁴ At the same time St. Louis stood in danger of becoming an inland city. By 1837 Duncan's Island had grown to more than two hundred acres. Extending two miles below the lower part of St. Louis, it had virtually shut off the city from the river. The extensive shoals that formed around the edge of the island extended on the east to the middle of the river. During low water land communication was possible from the south end of St. Louis across Duncan's Island to the middle of the river.¹⁵ The War Department sent 1st Lt. Robert E. Lee of the Corps of Engineers to examine the sand bars and take the necessary steps to relieve the threat.¹⁶

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¹³ Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 2, 1869.
¹⁵ 1st Lt. Robert E. Lee to Gen. C. Gratiot, December 6, 1837, House Executive Document No. 298, 25th Congress, 2nd session. Also see Map, "Harbor of St. Louis, Mississippi River, October, 1837," included in this report. The river, Bloody Island, and Duncan's Island, were surveyed by Lee, with the assistance of 2nd Lt. Montgomery C. Meigs. At the time the survey was made the river stage was twelve feet above low water mark.
Accompanied by 2d Lt. Montgomery C. Meigs, Lee arrived in St. Louis on August 5, 1837.17 His first task was to survey the rapids at the mouth of the Des Moines River, but he was back in St. Louis by October 11, ready to attack the sand bars and current. Before undertaking corrective measures, he had to know what the current was doing. This required an accurate survey and a detailed map on which to plot the depth of the river at certain intervals. Lee took soundings about every eighty feet, at times in a straight line directly across the river and at other times, particularly in the critical area in front of St. Louis and in the vicinity of Bloody and Duncan's Island, making triangulations. Assisting him were J. S. Moorehead, his steamboat captain, and Henry Kayser of St. Louis.18 After the findings had been plotted by Lieutenant Meigs, Lee had a good picture of where the current was the strongest, where the sand was accumulating the fastest, and where the water was deepest and shallowest. From this information he could predict the results of the various courses of action open to him.

Lee's plan for improving the harbor relied upon the current to do most of the work. He proposed to run a dike from the Illinois shore to the head of Bloody Island and thereby divert the current along the western

17. Ibid., p. 140.
18. Ibid., p. 146.
side of the island. This side would be revetted in order to strengthen it against the current. At the foot of the island, opposite downtown St. Louis, another dike would throw the full force of the current against the head of Duncan's Island and the shoals between it and bloody Island. Lee felt confident that he could meet the challenge presented by the Mississippi, but the project would cost $158,554, and a Congressional appropriation was necessary. 19

Lee presented his plan to Brig. Gen. Charles Gratiot, Chief of the Corps of Engineers, in a formal report on December 6, 1837. Realizing that ice would prevent work on the project until spring, Lee requested permission to travel to Washington. After disbanding his working crew, laying up the steamboat on the Ohio, contracting to build another for 1838, and ordering four new flatboats, he and Meigs --future Quartermaster General of the Army--proceeded over the Cumberland Road, via Wheeling, to Frederick, Maryland. Here they boarded a Baltimore and Ohio railroad coach to Washington. 20

When Lee returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1838, he brought Mrs. Lee and the children. Leaving Washington in late March and stopping briefly in Pittsburgh, the Lee family reached St. Louis on May 1.

19. Ibid., p. 147.
20. Ibid., p. 148.
After settling his family in new quarters, Lee wasted no time in beginning work. Before the end of June he was constructing the Bloody Island dike, which was to throw the heaviest current against the head of Duncan's Island and ultimately to destroy it.

Two rows of piles were driven twelve to seventeen feet into the bed of the river, with a space of forty feet between the rows. This space in turn was filled with sand and small stone to a height well above the water level. Subsequently, on both outer faces of the dike, brush was dumped into the river until the accumulation reached thirty to forty feet beyond the piles. The brush was then weighted with stone.

Work on the dike had progressed so well by the end of the 1838 season that the southern end of the dike was opposite Market Street and 2,500 feet from the foot of Bloody Island. Developments on Duncan's Island and the channel had materialized as expected. Seven hundred feet of Duncan's Island had disappeared; the channel across the sand bar between Bloody Island and Duncan's Island, below the foot of the dike, had been deepened seven feet; and the old channel had been greatly improved. The eighteen-foot channel on the Illinois side below Bloody Island had been filled in until it was only eight feet deep. Now boats could once more reach the lower part of the city.

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21. See drawing at top of map, "Harbor of St. Louis, Mississippi River, October 1837," Plate VIII.

22. Freeman, R. F. Lee, 1, 152.
Although the dike at the southern end of Bloody Island was accomplishing its objective, Lee was still convinced that the harbor could be saved only if the height of the lower dike were raised and the projected dike above Bloody Island constructed.\textsuperscript{23} He strongly felt the necessity for the latter. The ice flow during the winter of 1837-38 had formed a barrier at the head of the island and had thrown the water and late ice toward the Illinois shore. This deepened the channel even more directly east of the island. Lee feared that the annual flow of ice would make impractical his plan of building the upper dike perpendicular to the Illinois shore. An alternate plan was to start the dike farther upstream, above the town of Brooklyn, and run it to Bloody Island along a course roughly parallel to the river. This longer dike, Lee figured, would not cost much more than the shorter one because it would be built in shallower water.

Much to the disappointment of Lee and the businessmen of St. Louis, Congress adjourned on July 9, 1838, without appropriating money for the improvement of the St. Louis harbor. Citizens of St. Louis had already advanced $15,000 to prevent the suspension of the enterprises. Now Lee was authorized by the Mayor and General Gratiot to use the remainder of the city’s funds to begin construction of the

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
upper end of the slanting dike. He made little progress, however, before the early ice in the river forced him to terminate his work for 1838. He could well look back on the season's work and be justifiably proud. Heightening his sense of satisfaction was the fact that he had been promoted to captain of engineers on August 7, 1838, a year and eight months after advancing to first lieutenant.

Besides his disappointment over the lack of appropriations, Lee was discouraged by the misfortune that had befallen his superior, General Gratiot. During the winter of 1838-39 he was removed from the army for alleged mishandling of public funds. Lee felt a personal loss. He had always regarded Gratiot as a man of unchallengeable integrity. Furthermore, Gratiot had approved Lee's alternate plan for improving the harbor. Gratiot's successor, Col. Joseph G. Totten, had little interest in Lee's project and for economy reasons directed him to revert to the earlier and less expensive plan.

When Lee resumed work on the harbor in August 1839, it was on the construction of the dike to run perpendicular to the Illinois

24. Ibid., pp. 154-155.

25. Ibid., p. 156. It would be eighteen years before Lee would receive further promotion, except by brevet.


27. Totten was promoted to colonel and appointed chief engineer in December 1838. He remained in this post until his death in April 1864. See Johnson and Malone, D. A. E., 28, 598-599.
shore. He added to the original design an intersecting dam to secure the head of the dike more firmly to the shore.²⁸ Work had been underway only two weeks when an Illinois property holder procured from the Second Illinois Circuit an injunction against further work. This action was unexpected by Captain Lee because he had secured the necessary permits from the owners of Bloody Island and from the owner of the land where the dike left the Illinois shore. Nevertheless, the court issued a restraining order on the grounds that the harbor improvements would create a shoal on the Illinois shore and injure property values in the town of Brooklyn.²⁹

Lee reported the proceedings to the United States District Attorney for Illinois, requesting him to have the injunction set aside. There was little likelihood that the case could be decided before the regular term of the court in February 1840. Therefore, work at St. Louis had to be suspended in August 1839.³⁰ At that time, the dike at the lower end of Bloody Island held fast, Duncan's Island continued to wash rapidly away, and a stretch of 1,700 feet of the sand bar between Duncan's Island and Bloody Island was being swept away. But the upper dike was far from finished. With the injunction against continuing the work on the Illinois shore, Lee was forced to confine his

²⁸. Freeman, R. E. Lee, I, 173.
²⁹. Ibid., p. 174.
³⁰. Ibid.
activities for the remainder of the construction season to the rapids on the Des Moines River.\textsuperscript{31}

After spending the winter and spring at Arlington, Lee returned to St. Louis in July 1840, confident that Congress would have appropriated funds for completion of the upper dike. When he discovered that Congress had indeed adjourned without making such an appropriation, there was little to do but inspect the effects of the stream on his earlier work. The unfinished dike at the head of Bloody Island was throwing the current toward the Missouri shore, continuing to deepen the channel on that side. Duncan's Island was steadily being washed away, and the channel between Duncan's Island and Bloody Island was deep enough to allow the largest of the Mississippi steamboats to tie up at the St. Louis wharves.

Disappointed over leaving the project half completed, Captain Lee had no choice but to abide by the decision of the Federal Government. Further harbor improvement was to be undertaken by St. Louis and the State of Missouri.\textsuperscript{32} On October 6, 1840, Lee completed his last work at St. Louis, the writing of his reports. Shortly afterward he started home to Arlington.

Lee's departure from St. Louis and the withdrawal of Federal aid did not terminate the St. Louis harbor project. The city of St. Louis

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., p. 175. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
assumed responsibility for completing the work. Lee could take some satisfaction in the naming of his former assistant, Henry Kayser, to continue the improvements. Kayser consulted Lee frequently and held to his plans. Although Lee was not allowed to complete the St. Louis project, his two years and a half on it established his professional standing. "He went to Missouri a promising young engineer," wrote Douglas Southall Freeman, his biographer; "he returned [to Washington] an engineer of recognized reputation in his corps."³⁴

The work of Robert E. Lee and his successor, Henry Kayser, vitally affected the Illinois shore, and specifically the East St. Louis area. Perhaps the most important result was in causing Bloody Island to be added ultimately to the Illinois shore. In effect, this returned the Illinois shoreline almost to its configuration before 1800. As the main channel of the Mississippi became more and more diverted toward the Missouri shore, the channel between Bloody Island and the Illinois shore filled with silt.

By 1853, the island had become so identified with the mainland that Wiggins Ferry, applying for a renewal of its charter, asked the Illinois legislature for permission to build a city on Bloody Island, to charge wharfage fees, to build and run ferry boats from the island to St. Louis, and generally to engage in any business required by the exigencies of a city proprietorship.

³³. Ibid., p. 182. ³⁴. Ibid.
In reporting the proposed development on Bloody Island by Wiggins Ferry, the St. Louis Republican expressed concern that the city on Bloody Island, with all its wharves, lots, streets, and alleys, would probably belong for many generations to come to this incorporated company." Observed the editor: "St. Louis has felt . . . the evil of having a great mass of . . . property in the hands of one man or a few men."35

By 1856, Bloody Island, although still connected with the Illinois shore by dikes, had lost its identity as an island.36 In April 1865 the Wiggins Ferry Company hired the St. Clair County surveyor to survey and lay out 734 town lots in the area known as Bloody Island. Also in 1865 Bloody Island became known as the Ferry Division of East St. Louis when the state legislature extended the city's boundaries from Piggott Avenue to St. Clair Avenue and from the Mississippi River to 10th Street.37

Although Bloody Island was no longer an island and officially was no longer so designated, it remained Bloody Island in the minds of old-

35. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 1, 1072.

36. Bertha L. Heilborn, ed., The Valley of the Mississippi, Illustrated, by Henry Lewis (St. Paul, 1967), p. 48. This work represents a joint effort by editor Heilborn and translator A. Hermine Poatgeiter, with the latter translating Lewis' 1858 publication from German into English. See Plate IV for the reproduction of Lewis' painting of St. Louis from the Illinois shore.

37. Scharf, History of Saint Louis County and City, 2, 1070, East St. Louis Journal, May 21, 1961, p. 14 G. See Map, Plate XII.

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time residents of St. Louis and East St. Louis, who remembered its role as the "theatre of several tragic 'affairs of honor.'"\textsuperscript{38}

In 1875 the Bloody Island area, now also including the land built up between the island and the Illinois shore as a result of Lee's dikes, had four streets parallel and eleven streets perpendicular to the Mississippi River. South of the recently completed Eads Bridge and north of today's Poplar Street Bridge were several railroad lines, including the Chicago & St. Louis; East St. Louis & Chicago; St. Louis, Alton, & Terre Haute; and the Illinois & St. Louis Railroad. A large grain elevator, the East St. Louis Elevator, was located in the vicinity of the present Continental Grain Company elevator.\textsuperscript{39} North of Eads Bridge were freight depots for the Chicago & Alton, Illinois & St. Louis Railroads. Also there were extensive yards of the Ohio & Mississippi Railway; the East St. Louis & St. Louis Railway; the East St. Louis & Chicago Railway; and the East St. Louis, Vandalia & Terre Haute Railroad.

Eleven railroads entered East St. Louis in 1875: (1) the Illinois & St. Louis Coal Road; (2) the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad; (3) the Terre Haute, Alton & St. Louis Railroad (later known as the Indianapolis & St. Louis Railroad); (4) Illinoistown & Belleville Railroad (later known as the Cairo Shortline); (5) the Chicago, Alton and

\textsuperscript{38} Wild and Thomas, \textit{The Valley of the Mississippi}, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{39} See Map, Plate XII, from Tyson, \textit{History of East St. Louis}; Photograph, Plate V, from Hogan, \textit{Thoughts About the City of St. Louis}, frontispiece—St. Louis, As Seen From the Illinois Shore in 1855.
St. Louis Railroad; (6) the St. Louis, Vandalia, & Terre Haute Railroad (later known as the Vandalia Line); (7) the Toledo, Wabash & Western; (8) the Rockford, Rock Island & St. Louis Railroad; (9) the St. Louis & Southeastern Railroad; (10) the American Bottom Lime, Marble & Coal Company Railroad (later known as the East St. Louis Railroad). As noted earlier, before the opening of Eads Bridge to rail transportation in 1875, all railroads connecting St. Louis with the East had their western terminus at East St. Louis. Prior to 1869 most of the St. Louis-bound freight was transported across the Mississippi on Wiggins Ferry. In 1869 the Madison County Ferry Company at Venice, a short distance north of East St. Louis, began to transfer railway cars to St. Louis by way of inclines and barges. Soon Wiggins Ferry built inclines and was able to transport freight across the river by the car lot. As recently as 1897, Wiggins Ferry was transporting railroad cars across the Mississippi. In that year, in addition to carrying 73,272 passengers, 354,000 vehicles, 51,400 head of horses, cattle, and sheep, it transported 123,011 railroad cars across the Mississippi.

40. Tyson, History of East St. Louis, p. 55.


42. Ernest Kirschtein, Catfish and Crystal (Garden City, 1965), p. 236.
CHAPTER 5

Eads Bridge: "The Greatest Work of the Age."

July 5, 1874, was a day of great jubilation for the residents of East St. Louis and St. Louis. Dedication ceremonies for the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge, soon to be renamed Eads Bridge, made the headlines. Across the top of its front page, the St. Louis Republican proclaimed: "Gloria! . . . The Greatest Work of the Age Completed . . . Triumph of Art, Science, Industry and Perseverance." The Republican announced that people from almost every state in the Union had come to see "the grandest pageant of Independence day ever witnessed in the country."¹

For many years the bridging of the Mississippi at St. Louis had been "a theme for seers and prophets." In 1836 men began to speculate on the engineering difficulties that would have to be overcome. In that year, several articles on the subject, written over the signature of "Progress," appeared in local newspapers. But skeptical readers paid little attention.

A few years later a prominent Pittsburgh engineer named Lothrop came to St. Louis to study the matter. He concluded that the project

¹. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.
was feasible and proceeded to draw plans for its execution. But the citizens were not ready to be convinced; the undertaking was too stupendous a conception and the enormous sum of money required was unavailable. Nevertheless, Lothrop's studies provided the basis for future studies. Other engineers came, and they too said it could be done yet they could not convince a still unbelieving public. Finally the noted American bridge builder John A. Roebling proposed to build the bridge. His proposal generated much interest but ended only in newspaper articles and street-corner gossip. The continuing publicity eventually brought the local people to view the bridge as a commercial necessity; how it was to be built, they did not know.

Then, at the close of the Civil War, the enterprise fell to a man of great engineering ability and a record of past achievement such as to inspire public confidence and support. Since 1847 Capt. James B. Eads had conducted a successful salvage business on the Mississippi, and he knew the river intimately. His fame, however, rested on his pioneering shipbuilding accomplishments during the Civil War. Working four thousand men in shifts around the clock, Eads turned out ironclad gunboats for the Union Navy throughout the war years. He constructed the first seven ironclad gunboats in the Western Hemisphere and developed a monitor more efficient in its crucial turret mechanism than the more famous monitor of John Ericsson.  

2. For an excellent detailed account of the use of the ironclads
Captain Eads proposed to span the Mississippi with a steel arch bridge. He had studied the Mississippi enough to know that the difficulties would be great. The biggest problem was how to plant piers in the shifting sands of the river bottom on a foundation solid enough to support the enormous weight of the structure.

A combination of confidence in Eads' ability and the realization of the commercial necessity of a bridge led to the organization in April 1867 of the St. Louis and Illinois Bridge Company. The officers of the corporation were Charles K. Dickson, president; J. C. Cabot, secretary; J. H. Britton, treasurer; and James B. Eads, chief engineer.³

The corporation, based in Missouri, had hardly been formed when a rival company, the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge Company, was established in Illinois. It came to be known as the "Boomer Company" because L. B. Boomer, a Chicago bridge contractor, was its principal promoter.⁴ In August 1867 members of the Boomer Company called a con-

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3. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.

vention of twenty-seven engineers, many of whom were their own employees, to meet in St. Louis to consider a competitive plan which had been drawn up by S. S. Post. The Post plan called for a truss bridge, with the longest span not exceeding 350 feet. Eads' more daring plan called for two end spans of 502 feet each and a central span of 520 feet. After lengthy discussion, the engineers in the Boomer convention declared their choice of the Post plan over that of Eads, giving as their reason for rejecting Eads' proposal that "there [is] no engineering precedent for a span of five hundred feet."

No bridge had yet been constructed, they maintained, that would provide reliable data on the serious questions of materials and workmanship required in spans of such great length as those called for by Eads.5

Eads replied that because something had not been done before was no reason for assuming that it could not be done at all. He then went on to show that there were precedents and accomplished facts in engineering that sustained his position. He referred in particular to the 509-foot truss of Holland's Knilenberg bridge spanning the Leck, an arm of the Zuyder Zee.6

The rivalry between the two companies was always heated and sometimes bitter. Disagreement extended from the type of bridge to its

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5. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.

6. Ibid.
location. Especially debatable was the western terminus. The Illinois and St. Louis Company (the "Boomer Company") proposed to erect the bridge at the foot of Bates Street, while the St. Louis and Illinois Bridge Company preferred a location about five blocks to the south, between Washington and Christy Avenues, the present location of the St. Louis end of the bridge.\textsuperscript{7}

Various interests joined the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge Company in opposing Eads' plan. One was Wiggins Ferry, long the principal means of transporting people and goods between East St. Louis and St. Louis. Steamboat companies, northern railroads, and rival river cities took up the fight. Fearing financial loss from the bridge, the opposing interests carried their fight to Washington, where they tried to induce Congress, which had authorized such a bridge in 1865,\textsuperscript{8} to stop the project.\textsuperscript{9}

The publicity generated by the controversy served mainly to win public support for the Eads plan. But Eads understood that the work could be seriously delayed unless a compromise was reached between the two companies. By the end of 1867 they had merged. A condition of

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{8} Kirschten, \textit{Catfish and Crystal}, p. 237.

\textsuperscript{9} Johnson and Malone, \textit{D.A.B.}, 5, 588.
the consolidation was that the name of the new company would be the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge Company, the name of the former Illinois-based corporation. Captain Eads continued as chief engineer and principal stock-holder.  

10  

The project involved extraordinarily complex engineering problems. Eads needed assistants who were expert in engineering. He offered to employ J. H. Lindille, president of the Keystone Bridge Company of Pittsburgh, but Lindille said that he "would have nothing to do with a plan so fantastic."  

11  Finally Eads engaged Col. Henry Flad and Charles Pfeifer. Colonel Flad was a fortunate choice indeed. An 1846 graduate of the University of Münich, he had fled to the United States after participating in the Revolution of 1848. During the Civil War he served as a colonel of engineers in the Union army.  

12  "A clear-headed, deep-thinking, careful mathematician," Flad was "justly entitled to take rank with the very best engineers of his age."  

13  After Eads, Flad, and Pfeifer had made careful calculations and investigations, they submitted their findings to an eminent mathematician, William Chauvenet,

10. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.  
12. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register of the United States Army from Its Organization September 28, 1789, to September 29, 1889, Washington, D. C., 1890), 771. Also see Johnson and Malone, D.A.B., 6, 445.  
13. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.
Chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis. Although Chau-venet's death in 1870 was a great loss, his advice during the critical planning stage was extremely helpful.

Construction of the "impossible" bridge is a story of solving "unsolvable" problems, of enduring physical hardships--occasionally with the loss of human life--and of meeting extraordinary financial demands. Construction began in the autumn of 1867. First a coffer-dam was built to divert the water from the site of the western abutment pier. Then the inside of the cofferdam was excavated to allow the pier to rest on solid rock. On February 25, 1868, the first stone of the abutment pier was laid on bedrock. High water caused suspension of the work on March 15. The masonry contractor put his crew to work on the arches that were to carry the roadway across the levee.

The strain on Captain Eads during the early phase of construction almost broke his health. He offered his resignation to the company, but it was not accepted. He did take a leave of absence to visit London, where he hoped to regain his health as well as raise money for the bridge. From London he traveled to other parts of Europe to inspect other bridges. While Eads was in Europe the work at St. Louis


15. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.

16. Ibid.
was carried on under the direction of Flad, Pfeiffer, and William Milnor Roberts. The last came to work for the company in 1868 as an associate chief engineer. More than thirty years earlier Roberts, while still a youth, had made a reputation as engineer in charge of building the Allegheny Portage Railroad from Hollidaysburg to Johnston, Pennsylvania.\(^{17}\) He continued on the St. Louis project until late in 1869, when he became chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

While Eads was in Europe he became convinced of the superiority of caissons over cofferdams in bridge construction. When he returned to St. Louis he abandoned the cofferdam method and commenced the construction of immense caissons.\(^{18}\) These were constructed at Carondelet, under the direction of Eads, Capt. William L. Nelson, and H. G. McComas\(^{19}\) and subsequently towed to the construction site. There a breakwater had been constructed to deflect the current and guide piles driven where caissons were to be lowered. On October 25, 1869, the first stone was laid on the east channel pier. Three months later, January 15, 1870, the first stone was laid on the west channel pier.\(^{20}\)


\(^{18}\) Kirschten, *Catfish and Crystal*, p. 238. The caisson was a watertight chamber inside which men could do construction work under water.

\(^{19}\) St. Louis *Republican*, July 5, 1874.

\(^{20}\) Ibid.
Construction of the channel piers made good progress during 1870. Great quantities of granite, magnesian limestone, Ste. Genevieve sandstone, and Iron Mountain granite were brought to the construction site from Grafton, Ste. Genevieve, and Iron Mountain, Missouri, and from Richmond, Virginia.\textsuperscript{21} As the piers were rising men descended into air chambers of the caissons to a depth of more than one hundred feet below the water to loosen the sand and activate the sand pumps, "thus preparing the way for the gradual descent of the caisson with its ponderous load."\textsuperscript{22} The extreme depths at which the men worked made them susceptible to the "bends," or caisson disease. As the workers went down in the caissons the atmospheric pressure increased. There were no complications so long as the pressure continued to increase. But returning to the surface they experienced a sudden reduction in pressure. This often caused gas bubbles to form in body tissues, resulting in intense muscular pain. In some cases the bubbles obstructed blood vessels and caused death. "Bends" caused their first death in early 1870.\textsuperscript{23} Before the bridge was completed, 119 men developed "caisson disease" and 14 men died.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Kirschten, \textit{Catfish and Crystal}, p. 238.
\end{itemize}
Captain Eads met the problem of the "bends" in two ways. First, he equipped a hospital boat and brought out his personal physician to provide immediate medical attention to sufferers. He also reduced the length of the work day for those in the caissons--first to three one-hour shifts, and then to two shifts of forty-five minutes each.\(^{25}\)

When work on the piers ended, the west channel pier had reached bed rock at 70 feet below the water surface at low stages of the river. The east channel pier settled on stone at a depth of 92 feet and the east abutment pier at 110 feet. All of the piers had reached bed rock by the beginning of 1872, and before the close of that year the masonry was completed, including the approach arches across the levees in East St. Louis and St. Louis. Almost five years had elapsed since the laying of the first stone.\(^{26}\)

While the piers were being built, work on the superstructure got underway. On February 26, 1870, a contract was signed with the Keystone Bridge Company for the superstructure and its approaches. J. H. Lindille and his partner in the Keystone Bridge Company, Andrew Carnegie, had agreed to produce and install the steel. Eads had much difficulty negotiating with Lindille and Carnegie, for, on December 1, 1871, they served notice that they were abrogating the contract because

\(^{25}\) Ibid.

\(^{26}\) St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.
Eads had allegedly violated the agreement by adopting an unspecified quality of steel. The contending parties resolved the dispute, however, and Keystone continued to hold the contract.\textsuperscript{27}

By September 1873 the western span of 502 feet and half of the middle arch had been completed. By January 1874 comparatively little remained to be done to provide the first above-water communication between East St. Louis and St. Louis. There yet remained the supports for the 75-foot-wide carriage highway on the upper level and the double railway tracks on the lower level. By the first of May the bridge was almost completed from Third Street in East St. Louis, and before the end of the month the carriage road was open to travel. The first train crossed the bridge on June 9, 1874, carrying a select party of fifty guests in its three passenger coaches. The railroad tracks on the bridge connected with those of the St. Louis and Vandalia Railway in East St. Louis.\textsuperscript{28}

Eads demonstrated the strength of the bridge by covering each railway track from end to end with locomotives. This weight, Eads considered, put a strain on the bridge equal to less than one sixth of the maximum strength of the steel in the arches. The weight of the bridge and the load it should sustain at the extreme allowance for safety, Eads calculated, was 7.2 tons per lineal foot.\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} Kirschten, \textit{Catfish and Crystal}, p. 239.
\item \textsuperscript{28} St. Louis, \textit{Republican}, July 5, 1874.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Indicative of the thoroughness of Eads' planning for strength was the manner in which the five arches at each end of the bridge were constructed. A reporter for the St. Louis Republican ably described the arches:

The arches are composed of four series of tubes, starting from ponderous skew-backs in the solid masonry of the piers. These tremendous buttresses, against which the arches rest, are secured by cast-steel bolts, which pass twenty-eight feet through the solid masonry. They are each ten inches in diameter. . . . There are two series of these arch tubes springing from the arch at a distance of twelve feet one above the other, thus making the arches 12 feet deep. Thus from each pier the arch springs out with eight cast steel tubes, each 18 inches in diameter. These are strengthened and firmly united by ponderous truss bars or vertical bars of steel, extending from the lower to the upper chords of the arch; adjusted in such a manner as to secure the equal distribution of the weight of the bridge and the load it may carry. By this arrangement of the tubes each railway track will in fact be supported by four of the ponderous chords of crucible cast steel. These arches . . . are supported on four immense piers, based on the solid rock. . . . On the east side of the river there are five arches like those we have described. 30

The eastern approach to the bridge was described by the Republican reporter as "a great work apart from the bridge to which it leads."

This portion was built by the Baltimore Bridge Company, under the supervision of Charles Shaler Smith. 31

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.; Johnson and Malone, D. A. B., 17, 251-252. An engineer of national reputation, Smith had long been a successful bridge-engineer. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was chief engineer of bridges and
The roadway leading from the bridge toward East St. Louis was described shortly after it was opened to the public as a "grand highway." The St. Louis Republican feature writer noted, "Leaving the stone arch supports on the East St. Louis side the 'grand highway' is carried across a space of some sixty feet on immense steel columns, which support great iron girders." About eighty feet from the stone arch the road divided and descended at the rate of about three feet to the hundred. The division was considered necessary so that the railroad tracks could be laid with a descent of about one foot to the hundred. About four hundred feet east of the main portion of the bridge, the highway and railroad tracks were on the same level for a short distance before the tracks once again were elevated above the roadways on either side.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32} St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874.
The eastern approach to Eads Bridge passed through an area of East St. Louis that was still known at that time as Bloody Island, even though dikes and fills had successively joined it to the Illinois shore. The Bloody Island area at this time was described by a local historian:

All over this Island, forming the west part of the city, the lively business aspects are very interesting. . . . The Island has the Presbyterian Church and Douglas public school. Passing eastward the second natural feature that we see is the old eastern channel of the river. Under the eastern approach of the great bridge we see the Avenue Dyke. . . . To the left is Bowman's Dyke crossing the old channel from the Island to the Railway Depot. . . . Trestle works for the railroads, also cross the old channel from the Island eastward, north and south of the dykes. A third prominent dyke, which as were the others, was erected at great cost, is the Vaughan Dyke. Let us cross the Avenue Dyke, see this long strip of land lying . . . east of the old channel. This is what remains of that fine body of timbered land half a mile wide, which in 1800, divided Cahokia Creek and the Mississippi. . . . This strip is now probably fifty paces wide.33

At last Eads and his highly capable engineers had conquered the great river. The completion of the bridge merited national attention and celebration. On June 15, 1874, a committee was formed to arrange for a celebration and dedication. Enthusiastic committee members decided to make the occasion a celebration of both Independence Day and the

33. Tyson, History of East St. Louis, p. 116. Professor Tyson, Professor of Rhetoric at Howe Institute in East St. Louis, noted that the Illinois and St. Louis Bridge Company had reimbursed in the sum of sixty thousand dollars those parties in East St. Louis whose land was damaged by the building of the eastern approach to Eads Bridge.
completion of Eads' Bridge. Early plans called for invitations to President Ulysses S. Grant, governors, and Members of Congress.

As the grand day approached, St. Louis and East St. Louis took on an air of great excitement. Streets were cleaned, public buildings made to look their best, and the bridge itself elaborately decorated. The Third Street entrance to the bridge in St. Louis was ornamented with a large fresco painting of Captain Eads. Immediately underneath were two "large symbolic figures of Missouri and Illinois, with hands clasped in a loving grasp, typical of the close and imperishable union in which these two great commonwealths" were then held by bonds of steel. On the East St. Louis end, where the east- and west-bound lanes separated, a grand triumphal arch stretched from one side of the bridge to the other. Wreathed in bunting and evergreens, the arch "sent aloft half a dozen spiring flag-staffs, bearing fluttering banners." High in the air above each lane of the roadway was the coat of arms of the sister states, which, proclaimed the Republican reporter, "no longer divided by the great father of rivers, will walk forward henceforth, hand in hand to their predestined greatness."

The mutual benefits which the bridge would bring to St. Louis and East St. Louis, the beauty and wonder of the remarkable engineer-

34. St. Louis Republican, July 5, 1874. 35. Ibid.
ing achievement, and the genius of the chief engineer were frequently expressed sentiments at the dedication ceremonies. Mayor Gratz Brown of St. Louis, in delivering the major address, voiced his feelings and those of thousands of spectators:

Science has spanned the river. Illinois and Missouri are wedded. Their shores kiss each other. Let their people rejoice and love one another. . . . No Moses stood on the bank shielded by a pillar of cloud and stretched out his rod by divine command over the . . . [river] to divide it. James B. Eads, imbued with a divine inspiration, encircled with a halo of intellectual glory, by his matchless genius and energy, joined these pillars, fashioned these arches over this resistless flood, and, placed in mid-air over earth and river, a royal highway for travel and commerce—for the star of empire on its westward way. The Lord was in the work! The Lord was with the builder. 36

Governor John L. Beveridge of Illinois extended to "his excellency the governor of the great state of Missouri and all the people of that state, the right hand of fellowship and brotherly greeting."
The governor of Missouri called the bridge "a link in the highway of the nations." The governor of Indiana, Thomas A. Hendricks (later Vice President of the United States) proudly noted that Eads was a native of Indiana. 37

Eads himself ably expressed, for his time as well as for today, the real meaning of the bridge: "I am justified in declaring that

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. Eads was born in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, May 23, 1820.
the bridge will exist just as long as it continues to be useful to the people who come after us, even if its years should number those of the pyramids. This bridge will endure as long as it is useful to man. He, alone, will destroy it."\textsuperscript{38}

Since the completion of Eads Bridge there have been five bridges built at St. Louis to accommodate the accelerating east-west flow of railroad and vehicular traffic. The first to join the Eads was the Merchants Bridge, opened in 1890, but for railroad traffic only. For thirty-six years Eads Bridge provided the only above-water communication for pedestrians and vehicles traveling between St. Louis and East St. Louis. It was not until November 10, 1910, that the McKinley highway bridge was opened to the public. Completed six years later, with an upper deck for vehicles and a lower deck for trains, was the MacArthur Bridge. The Veterans Memorial Bridge joined the scene during the 1935-40 period, greatly alleviating the traffic situation in the St. Louis-East St. Louis area. Yet, when the interstate highway system began to bring more and more travelers to St. Louis in the mid-1960s, still another bridge was sorely needed. To meet this need the clean-lined Poplar Street Bridge was opened to traffic as recently as 1967. Despite the addition of the five bridges since Captain Eads' "impossible" bridge was opened, the creation of the master engineer

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.

67
has not been "modernized" into disuse. The bridge has endured. The
prophetic words of Captain Eads were well spoken; Eads Bridge continues to this day to serve as a vital communications link between East and West.

The significance of Eads Bridge has been recognized not only by professional engineers but also by students of American history. It was a landmark in bridge building, one of the major engineering achievements of its time, the first of the big arch bridges of iron and steel.\(^{39}\) Eads' cantilever method was soon copied by other bridge builders, and with only rare exception it has been followed for most major bridge construction since then.\(^{40}\) National recognition of the historical significance of Eads Bridge was given in November 1963 when the Secretary of the Interior, on the recommendation of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, proclaimed it to be of national significance in illustrating and commemorating the history of the United States in the field of travel and communication. As a result it has been designated a National Historic Landmark.\(^{41}\)


\(^{40}\) Ibid.

\(^{41}\) Minutes of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, November 4-6, 1963.
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Heilborn, Bertha L., ed.; A. Hermina Poatgieter, translator, *The Valley of the Mississippi, Illustrated*, St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1967. The original of this work was Henry Lewis' book, *Das Illustrierte Mississippiptal*, which was published in Dusseldorf, Germany, in 1854-1858. Lewis, English-born, came to St. Louis in 1836. He was possibly the first artist to conceive of the idea of a moving panorama. During the summers of 1846-1848, he boated the entire length of the Mississippi River, making preliminary sketches for his mammoth panorama.


James, U. P., *James' River Guide: Containing Descriptions of All the Towns and Principal Objects of Interest on the Rivers of the Mississippi Valley*, Cincinnati, U. P. James, 1871.


Wild, J. C., and Lewis F. Thomas, *The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated: In a Series of Views Embracing Pictures of the Principal Cities and Towns, Public Buildings and Remarkable and Picturesque Scenery, on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, St. Louis, J. C. Wild, 1841. Wild's publication originally appeared in monthly issues and was printed by the St. Louis Republican press. For this study the reproduction used was published by Joseph Garnier, St. Louis, 1948.*


**Works of an Autobiographical Nature**


**Contemporary Histories**

Hogan, John, *Thoughts About the City of St. Louis, Her Commerce and Manufactures, Railroads, & etc.*, St. Louis, Republican Steam Press Print, 1854.


**Newspapers**

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 6, 13, 20, 1857.

*St. Louis Republican*, July 5, 1874. A fairly complete, as well as well-written, history of the construction of Eads Bridge is contained in this issue, which came out the day after the grand celebration for the opening of the bridge.

*St. Louis Daily Globe*, July 5, 1874.

**Government Publications**


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**SECONDARY SOURCES**

**Books**


Beers, Edwin C., *Hardluck Ironclad: The Sinking and Salvage of the Cairo*; Being a first hand account of the discovery of the torpedoesd Union gunboat and operations to raise her from the bottom of the Yazoo together with a description of artifacts found on board; including a history of the Western Flotilla of which she was a part, with numerous illustrations and Maps, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1966.

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Blanchard, Rufus, History of Illinois, Chicago, National School Furnishing Co., 1883.


Buck, Solon J., Travel and Descriptions, 1765-1865, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 9, Springfield, 1914.


Checchi and Company, The Future of Tourism in East St. Louis, Economic Development Administration, Technical Assistance Project, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., 1966. There were two objectives of this study: (1) To make a general evaluation of the tourism potential of East St. Louis, and (2) to evaluate two tourism projects specified by the City of East St. Louis. These two projects were the National Museum of Transport and a civic-convention center.


Heitman, Francis B., Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April 1775, to December 1783, Washington, D. C., The Rare Book Publishing Company, Inc., 1914.


Rathbone, Perry T., ed., Mississippi Panorama: The Life and Landscape of the Father of Waters and Its Great Tributary, the Mississippi; With 188 Illustrations of Paintings, Drawings, Prints, Photographs, Bank Notes, River Boat Models, Steamboat Appurtenances and the Dickeson-Egan Giant Moving Panorama of the Mississippi, St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1950.

Rathbone, Perry T., ed., Westward the Way: The Character and Development of the Louisiana Territory as Seen by Its Artists and Writers of the Nineteenth Century, St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1954.


Swarz & Van Hoefen, The Pace Plan for East St. Louis, Illinois, St. Louis, Sworz & Van Hoefen, 1966. The "Pace" (Progress and Action by Citizens' Efforts) Plan for East St. Louis recommended an overlook part extension of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial to form a Bi-State National Monument, the construction of the "Great River Road," and overlooks straddling the flood wall with rail lines below, a 5-acre Museum of Transportation site on axis with the St. Louis Arch, and to the east of these features, the development of a high-density residential community for over 30,000 persons.

Unpublished Materials


Articles in Periodicals


Newspapers


February 13, 1963. This article noted...

"The East St. Louis City Council today approved committees appointed by Mayor Alvin Fields to study the development of the Mississippi River riverfront and the possibility of a civic auditorium." The City Council contemplated plans for the East St. Louis riverfront to include a marina city, the location of the National Museum of Transportation, and the establishment of a park along the levee.

Metro-East Journal, East St. Louis, Illinois, December 20, 1963. In this issue there are the following references to proposed development of the East St. Louis riverfront area: "TC Rejects Plan on Riverfront"; "The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association has asked the Illinois Central Railroad to release the...
on the East St. Louis riverfront as a site for the National Museum of Transport." The article noted that Mr. W. A. Johnson, President and Chairman of Executive Committee of the Illinois Central Railroad said that the railroad planned to use the site for industrial development. Continuing, the article read, "The Railroad has opposed an attempt by the Southwest Regional District to condemn the site which never has been developed by the railroad." A letter from Mr. Luther Ely Smith, of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association, to Mr. W. A. Johnston expressed the Association's interest in "the improvement of the area surrounding the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, particularly the Illinois side of the Mississippi River opposite the Gateway Arch." The late Eero Saarinen, according to Mr. Smith, was hopeful that something could be done to improve the Illinois side just opposite the Memorial which would blend into the whole motif of the Memorial concept. Suitable utilization of the East St. Louis riverfront "which obviously complements the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial," said Smith, "is of vital interest to us."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, August 13, 1961. The magazine section contains a superb close-up photograph of East St. Louis.

July 15, 1963. An article entitled "Illinois House votes East Side Planning Group," noted the creation of the Southwestern Metropolitan Area Planning Commission to promote the development of Madison and St. Clair Counties.

January 19, 1964. The magazine section has an excellent article on Eads Bridge.

February 9, 1964. This article features a good brief account of the role of the ferry in the history of East St. Louis.

October 30, 1965. Mayor Alvin Fields of East St. Louis noted that the Federal Area Redevelopment Agency was completing a study on the feasibility of riverfront development. Mayor Fields noted also regarding the proposed scenic highway: "All proponents of the riverfront development agree that a vital ingredient of the project is revival of the oft-mentioned four-lane scenic highway from Venice to Cahokia along the river's edge."

May 1, 1966. The magazine section contains an excellent photograph of the riverfront area.

St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, August 29, 1961. A letter to the editor urges that general measures be taken to improve the visual appearance of the East St. Louis side of the Mississippi.

July 16, 1962. This issue contains an article entitled "Park Proposed for East Shore Opposite Arch."

January 23, 1963. It was noted that a $20,000 E. St. Louis Riverfront Outlay had been made to carry out ground and aerial surveys of the riverfront to determine the magnitude of the job of redeveloping the riverfront area.


March 20, 1966. An excellent photograph of both sides of the Mississippi appears on page 25.
PLATE I

Photograph of Wiggins Ferry at the Illinoistown Landing, 1832. From a Reproduction of Leon Pomarede's Painting, "View of St. Louis from Illinois Town." Original is in the City Art Museum of St. Louis. Perry T. Rathbone, ed., Mississippi Panorama, 111.
PLATE II

Illinoistown in 1841, as Illustrated by John Casper Wild. J. C. Wild and Lewis F. Thomas, *The Valley of the Mississippi, Illustrated.*
PLATE III

St. Louis and Vicinity, 1841, as Seen from the Roof of Planters Hotel. Illinoistown and Bloody Island can be seen in the upper left. J. C. Wild and Lewis F. Thomas, The Valley of the Mississippi, Illustrated.
OUIS AND VICINITY.

1. Illinois Town
2. Baptist Church
3. Central Empire House
4. Concert Hall
5. St. Louis Cathedral

PLATE III
PLATE IV

The Illinois Shore and Bloody Island, with St. Louis in the Distance. Reproduction of Henry Lewis' painting, "St. Louis," 1848. The original was part of the gigantic panorama of the Mississippi from St. Anthony Falls to the Gulf, which Lewis painted during the summers 1846-1848. Perry T. Rathbone, ed., Mississippi Panorama, 177.
PLATE V

Thoughts About the City of St. Louis, frontispiece.

St. Louis, As Seen from the Illinois Shore in 1855, John Hogan,
The completion of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad to Illiniostown was cele-

Prairie Letter, Illustrated Newspaper, July 20, 1857.

Preaded upon the arrival of an excursion train from the East, July 4, 1857.

PLATE VI
PLATE VII

PLATE VIII

East St. Louis Riverfront, 1967. Courtesy, Arteaga Photos, St. Louis, Missouri.
PLATE IX (Map No. 1)

PLATE X (Map No. 2)

The Survey of Bloody Island, 1843. From the original map drawn by Louis Winkelmaster, November 1841. Reproduced in East St. Louis Centennial Program, 1861-1961. Scale of map: 1" = 1650.'

PLATE XI (Map No. 3)
