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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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Published Quarterly

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, \$2.00 PER YEAR

SINGLE COPY, 50 CENTS

Entered as second-class matter September 16, 1913, at the postoffice at
Bloomington, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Indiana Historical Society Publications

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Uniform volumes, 8vo cloth, uncut, with continuous paging and complete index. The earlier numbers have been reset in the same style as the later ones and the volumes are now uniform throughout. Volume \$1.50. Number 50c.

THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY

Publishers for the Society

INDIANAPOLIS

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COOPERATION OF

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY THE INDIANA STATE LIBRARY

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Subscription Price, \$2.00 per year.

Single Number, 50 Cents.

Address all communications to the Managing Editor, Bloomington, Ind.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XIII

MARCH, 1917

No. 1

Universalism In Indiana

By REV. ELMO ARNOLD ROBINSON, Anderson

PIONEER UNIVERSALISM

The scope of this paper does not permit a detailed discussion of the pioneer Universalist immigration into Indiana. Only a few of the points of contact with the denominations in the Eastern States can be indicated.

Somewhat out of the main line of Indiana Universalism are the Rappites, who came to this State in 1813. Their teaching concerning the future life came through the channel of German Mysticism, and apparently had no contact with organized Universalism.

The early history of the Universalist church in Indiana is closely connected with the development of the denomination in Ohio. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum, the president of the Ohio Company, which was organized in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1786, was a factor in the story of New England Universalism. Capt. Winthrop Sargent, the secretary of the company, and adjutant to the first governor of the territory, was one of the Sargent family of Gloucester, Massachusetts, whose loyalty to the Rev. John Murray contributed largely to the establishment of this division of the liberal church in America. A number of early settlers in the Northwest Territory were Universalists. The list includes such names as Col. Joseph Barker, Aaron Waldo Putnam, Ludlow, Armstrong, Perin, Durham, Buckingham, Snider, Baldwin, Cary, Laboyteau, Capt. W. H. Harrison, Maj. I. S. Gano, T. Goudy, George

Gorden, T. Gibson, Charlotte Ludlow, Maj. J. M. Lovell, C. Smith, Capt. B. Shamburgh, Eliza Sellman, Eliza Symmes.

The earliest recorded preaching by a Universalist minister in what is now Ohio was in Rome township, Athens county, in 1807, by Rev. Abel Morgan Sargent, from Maryland or Pennsylvania. He did not become a resident until several years later, when he moved, first, to Gallia county, then to various other Ohio points, including Cincinnati, and finally to some point in Indiana—said to be either Rising Sun, New Albany or Evansville—where he died in August, 1839. During a part of his work in Ohio he organized Halcyon churches, which held to the doctrine of annihilation.

The first resident Universalist preacher in this region was Rev. Timothy Bigelow, who came into northern Ohio from Winchester, New Hampshire, in 1814 or earlier. In 1815, in Cincinnati, John Jenkinson published an English edition of a widely circulated book on universal salvation, entitled *The Everlasting Gospel*, by Paul Seigvolck (George K. Nicolai).

By 1821 there were sufficient Universalists in northeastern Ohio to call a meeting at Palmyra and to organize the Northern Ohio Universalist Association. They mention "a large body of brethren still further to the west" who are about to organize. Rev. Timothy Bigelow, who was chosen clerk at the Palmyra meeting, wrote a few months later to an eastern paper that there were ten Universalist ministers in his part of the State.

Rev. Sebastian Streeter and Rev. Thomas Whitemore visited Cincinnati about 1825 and preached there, probably in the old courthouse. A group of people calling themselves Universalians existed there at that time, and were supposedly the pioneers of the church organized in May, 1827. Rev. J. C. Waldo came as their first pastor in 1828 and remained three years. Cincinnati soon became the headquarters for traveling clergymen and for resident printers, whose missionary journeys and journals penetrated the wilder regions of Indiana.

There was a meeting at Jacksonburg, Ohio, in 1826. (This may be the present Jacksonboro in Butler county.) Here was organized the Convention of Universalists of the Western

States. The second session was held in October, 1827, near Franklin, Warren county. Samuel Tizzard was the first president and P. J. Laboyteaux the first secretary. A conference was arranged for the month of May at Mt. Pleasant. The session of 1828 met at Eaton, with Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, president, and Rev. A. H. Longly, secretary. A hymnal was proposed in 1829. The next year at Oxford a constitution was adopted and the name changed to the Western Convention of Universalists. Delegates were to be chosen by the various associations. Professors McGuffy and Scott, Presbyterians, of Miami University, are mentioned for friendly hospitality. A committee reported having received books from the London (England) Unitarian Society. Mr. Samuel Jenks, living near Somerset, Franklin county, Indiana, was appointed a subscription committee for the support of an itinerant preacher. Dayton was chosen as the place of meeting for 1830.

The session of 1833 was held at Philomath, Indiana.¹ Delegates were present from the Richland, Central Ohio, and Western Union Associations. John Winn served as moderator and Samuel Tizzard as clerk. Educational matters were discussed and the republication of Bellamy's *Translation of the Five Books of Moses* was proposed. In 1834 the constitution was revised and the name again changed to the General Convention of the Western States. Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Tennessee were especially urged to send delegates. A resolution favoring temperance was adopted. In 1835 at Ashland, Richmond county, Ohio, no church could be obtained for the convention. A Mr. Whitney "erected, enclosed, and prepared a house for the reception of 500 worshippers, and in the short space of three weeks." In 1837, in response to a growing demand in Ohio, the scope of the organization was limited and the name became the Ohio State Convention of Universalists.

The year 1826 also witnessed the removal of Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, a native of Kentucky, to Sulphur Spring, near Abington, Wayne county, Indiana. At the age of 18 he had begun

¹ This town was laid out in the northwest corner of Union county in 1833 by Jonathan Kidwell and J. Adams where they founded a Universalist college and press.

the work of a Methodist minister, but seven years later sought greater liberty among the Disciples. In two years more he had discarded orthodoxy, and for a time even religion itself. But upon rereading his Bible, he became a Universalist, and from 1815 to 1849 he labored in behalf of that interpretation of Christianity, meeting with much opposition and even personal violence. He traveled in a circuit comprising seven counties in eastern Indiana and nine in western Ohio. When he first moved to Indiana he estimated the number of Universalists in this region to be about 200; three years later he stated that there were about 2,000, and that in one season five church buildings were being erected.

In July, 1827, the above-mentioned Abel Sargent, now living in Cincinnati, began the publication of a magazine, *The Lamp of Liberty*, which continued, however, for only about two years. Another more permanent publication made its initial appearance at Eaton, Ohio, a few weeks later than Sargent's. This was *The Star in the West*. The editors were Jonathan Kidwell and D. D. Hall, and the printer Samuel Tizzard. At first the numbers appeared monthly in a little pamphlet form of eight pages, measuring nine by six inches each. But two years later the office was moved to Cincinnati, the paper changed to a weekly of increased size, and the name to *The Sentinel and Star in the West*. Rev. J. C. Waldo replaced Mr. Hall as an editor. In 1833 the place of publication was changed to Philomath, Indiana. This venture was unsuccessful and Mr. Tizzard soon returned to Cincinnati with his paper, securing Rev. George Rogers as editor. This partnership continued until 1837, when *The Star* passed into the control of Rev. John A. Gurley.

In 1829 Indiana agents for *The Star* were to be found in Milton, Richmond, Connersville, Indianapolis, Danville, Greencastle, Eugene, Attica, Lawrenceburg, Covington, Harrison, and Patriot. In addition to these the following places are mentioned in the list for 1831: Montezuma, Terre Haute, Leavenworth, LaFayette, Versailles, Bloomington, Rome, Brookville, Somerset, and Logansport.

The following paragraph is quoted from J. A. Stoner's essay on *Before and After Winchester*:

For a number of years Jonathan Kidwell continued to serve as field agent for the *Sentinel* (and *Star*), as it was called. He visited the remotest parts of the country, and frequently preached where Universalism was but little known. While on a business trip to Indianapolis, in the winter of 1829, Mr. Kidwell, by request, preached a number of times in the State House. At the close of his last lecture, Rev. Edwin Ray, a young Methodist minister of the capitol city, arose and announced that he would reply to the arguments that Mr. Kidwell had advanced. He was promptly invited to do so then and there, but firmly refused. A challenge for a joint public debate quickly followed. The discussion took place in the Methodist meeting-house, January 21, 1830, and drew an immense crowd of interested people. The legislature voted to adjourn in order that the members might attend the debate. The clergy of the city were solidly arrayed against the champion of Universalism, and the local papers manifested a bias in favor of Mr. Ray. As usual orthodoxy claimed the victory, but it was evident that they were surprised at the capable defense made by Mr. Kidwell, for Mr. Ray's friends would not consent to the publication of an official report. Mr. Kidwell on his own account prepared *A Series of Strictures*, or notes, on the debate, filling about one hundred pages: and these, with some additional matter, were printed in book form and widely circulated.

In 1830 there appears a notice in the *Star*, calling a conference at Milton, Wayne county, to meet on August 14 and 15 "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of our brethren organizing themselves into societies." This seems to imply that hitherto Indiana Universalists had not organized churches to any extent. In the same issue there appears a letter from an ex-Presbyterian minister living near what is now the Fincastle church, asking that a Universalist minister be sent there. He mentions the names of Messrs. Purley, Jennison, Gleason, and John Foster as being Universalists. Rev. A. H. Longley was preaching during this year at Liberty.

In the next few years there was a rapid increase in the number of clergymen, especially of itinerants. A list of preachers in the western States in 1836 and 1837 includes the names of E. Beals, A. Bond, J. Bradley, A. A. Davis, S. W. H. Jolly, Sweet, Truman Strong, Daniel R. Biddlecome, T. H. Johnson, J. J. Hollister, D. Tenny, N. Wadsworth, E. Richardson, L. L. Sidler, W. Y. Emmet, C. Rogers, George Rogers, Leidy. The homes of most of these men were in Ohio, but many of them traveled in Indiana. George Rogers and Sidler were in Cincinnati. Erasmus Manford took his

first missionary journey through southern Indiana on his way to New Orleans.

It is difficult to estimate the strength of Universalism at this time. Kidwell's rather glowing statement of conditions should be compared with one by A. C. Barry, D.D., to the effect that at this time it had only a scant and weak foothold in Ohio and Indiana. According to the denominational publications, E. B. Mann and Jonathan Kidwell were the only resident ministers, but Col. R. P. De Hart's *Past and Present of Tippecanoe County* on page 253 refers to Rev. Hiram Curry as a preacher of Universalism in Dayton as early as 1828. Little is known concerning E. B. Mann, but he appears to have been an early and sturdy pioneer preacher in Floyd and other Ohio Valley counties. For a number of years he made his home at Leavenworth.

The theology of pioneer Universalism is indicated by an echo of the "Restorationist" controversy which temporarily split the denomination in New England. There is a reference in the *Star* to Reverend Robert Smith, who about 1840 was living at New Trenton and who was the author of a book entitled *Both Sides of Religious Ceremonies*. This book argued against public prayer; excessive opposition to his views led Mr. Smith to transfer his fellowship to the Disciples. The *Star* says that Mr. Smith was the "only Universalist minister to our knowledge that does not advocate and practice public prayer. However, Rev. Mr. Parker, a Restorationist, as he calls himself, agrees with him." The Restorationists were Universalists who believed in punishment after death, whereas, the word Universalist, at that time, implied the "death and glory" theology. In response to an inquiry made probably a few years earlier, Rev. J. C. Waldo, of Cincinnati, said, "Mr. R. is thoroughly acquainted with the Universalists in every section of this country. The Restorationists, he says, are comparatively nothing." Similarly, Jonathan Kidwell replied that "There is but one preacher within my acquaintance, calling himself a Universalist, who believes in future punishment, and there are but few private individuals." These statements would be far from true in 1917.

These early Universalists were believers in religious freedom and unity. To emphasize this some of their predecessors

in Ohio had for a time taken the name of the Free Church. In Indiana they contributed frequently to the building of Union churches, and of churches of other denominations which were to be open to any religious society. When they built churches of their own they frequently provided that the buildings were to be open for all meetings of a religious, moral or educational character. Sometimes these situations led to misunderstandings. For example, the Otto United Brethren Church of Franklin county built a church which was to be free to all denominations who believed the essential doctrines of Christianity. The Johnson Fork Universalist Church was refused permission to use the building. A little later the latter were provoked by an attack upon the character of one of their deceased members. Reverend Robert Smith, after holding a service outside the door of the church upon a cold day in February, made application to the court for, and obtained, an injunction permitting them to use the building. But even then almost a riot took place on the day appointed for the meeting.

A case of a slightly different character is that of the Universalists of the White Water Society, who attempted to maintain a Sunday school, which they had organized on June 3, 1838, on a non-sectarian basis. Failing to get the support of the community in this, they relate that they were obliged to "go for the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible." Their school thereupon became prosperous, and two years later was in a vigorous condition.

The progress of pioneer Universalism may be summed up by the following statement from the *Indiana Gazetteer*, published in Indianapolis in 1849 (page 75).

Universalism has been preached in this State, more or less, for 20 years, but not until within six or seven has there been much attention paid to organization; and at this time it is supposed there are more believers out of the churches of this denomination than in them. Within a few years, there has been a rapid increase of the adherents to that form of Christianity, and it now has unyielding advocates in all parts of the State. There are 29 preachers, 15 meeting houses, 55 societies, 10 associations, and 1 convention of that denomination in the State, and they publish two periodicals, *The Western Olive Branch*, Indianapolis, E. Mann, editor and proprietor, and the *Independent Universalist*, Terre Haute, E. M. Knapp, editor.

ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCHES

Inheriting the custom from Congregationalism, New England Universalists were organized upon the dual basis of parishes and churches. In Indiana there were few if any instances of such a separation between the business and religious phases of church work. The word parish was not used. The term society, however, was common, but apparently was synonymous with church. The officers were frequently moderator, clerk, treasurer, three trustees and two or more deacons.

The following list is a partial summary of places where Universalist churches have existed in this State. The first date indicates the date of organization; dd indicates building built or dedicated; D stands for dormant or dead; c for about, b for before, and R for reorganized. * shows that the church is still in existence. The location of a few of the places mentioned is uncertain.

- 1860 ABINGTON, D b 1897.
- *1841 ANDERSON, R 1896, dd 1916.
- 1853 ANDERSONVILLE, D b 1872.
- 1870 ANNAPOLIS, D b 1897.
- 1877 AURORA, D b 1897.
- b1844 BEAR CREEK, Perry co., D b 1872.
- 1890 BEECH GROVE, Clay co., Dd 1890, d b 1916.
- BEAVER PRAIRIE (near Morocco).
- 1870 BIG SPRING.
- b1847 BLOOMINGTON, Dd 1847, built by a Mr. Labertaw.
- 1855 BLUFFTON, R 1878, dd 1879, sold 1906.
- 1843 BONO, D b 1872.
- *b1868 BOSTON (Manford was once arrested here for preaching in a school-house) R 1868, dd 1870.
- *1881 BROOKSTON, Dd 1891.
- b1844. CAMBRIDGE, D b 1872.
- *1898 CASTLETON, Dd 1908.
- 1858 CENTER SQUARE, sold 1886.
- *1894 CLAYPOOL.
- *1845 CLEVELAND, D b 1872.
- 1844 CLOVERLAND.
- 1891 COLLAMER. Building project interrupted by bank failure.
- 1878 COLUMBIA CITY, Dd 1879, sold 1906.
- 1843 COLUMBUS, D b 1872.
- 1843 COVINGTON, D b 1872.
- 1843 CRAWFORDSVILLE, Dd 1844, r 1895 by Ballard and Guthrie, d.
- *1891 CROMWELL, Dd 1891.

- 1841 CUMBERLAND, D b 1872.
- *1895 CUNOT, R 1906.
- 1850 DANVILLE, Db 1879.
- c1839 DAYTON, Dd 1839, r 1848, d b 1897.
- *c1840 DEVON, organized by Babcock. First met in houses, and once entertained an Association in a mill. R 1869.
- b1844 DICKSON SCHOOL HOUSE, D b 1872.
- *1842 DUBLIN, Dd c 1848, r 1864.
- 1871 DUNDEE, active only a few years.
- 1892 ELWOOD, organized by Ballard; active only a few years.
- b1844 EVERTON, Dd 1844, d b 1872.
- 1848 FAIRFIELD, six years of preaching preceded, dd 1850, burned 1902, disorganized.
- *1914 FAIRVIEW, (Near Lexington.)
- b1866 FARMERSVILLE, D b 1872.
- b1866 FILLMORE, D b 1872.
- *b1861 FINCASTLE, date of first building unknown, a minister desired 1830. R and dd 1871.
- c1843 FORT WAYNE, Dr. Thompson, physician, active in organization. R by Crosley 1875, d b 1897.
- c1843 FRANKFORT, D b 1897.
- 1843 FRANKLIN, D b 1872.
- *1894 GALVESTON, by Fosher, dd 1896.
- 1858 GERMAN TOWNSHIP, St. Joseph co., Dd shortly after.
- b1845 GOSPORT, D b 1872.
- 1871 GRANTSBURG, D b 1897.
- 1841 GREENFIELD, D b 1872.
- 1836 GREENVILLE, D b 1872.
- 1871 HARMONY, D b 1897.
- c1854 HARRISON TOWNSHIP, Cass co. Dr. Edwards, physician, active in organization, Dd 1857, Edwards moved away c 1860, gradually dwindled, building removed 1878, traces of graveyard said still to remain.
- b1845 HARTSVILLE, D b 1872.
- b1836 HIGH BANKS, D b 1872.
- 1842 HIGHLAND, D b 1872.
- *1874 HOBART, Unitarian with Universalist cooperation.
- 1860 HOLTON.
- *1850 HUNTERTOWN, by a Dr. Vanderhyden, dd soon after.
- 1872 HUNTINGTON, Dd c 1879, d b 1897.
- 1833 INDEPENDENT, D b 1872.
- *1844 INDIANAPOLIS, Longley here before Manford; the latter came in 1838. Foster an early resident. Organization of 1844 not permanent. R 1853 by Foster. A second church had a short life c 1860. Excellent opportunity to purchase lot on circle neglected. Foster continued pastor many years. R 1884 by Ballard. Present lot given by Mr. John Herron 1889, dd 1894, parsonage 1896, completely remodeled 1916.

- *1856 IRELAND, R by Mitchell 1868, dd 1871.
 1859 JACKSONVILLE.
 1842 JEFFERSON, by Manford, D b 1872.
 b1868 JEFFERSONVILLE, merged with Unitarians in 1868.
 1841 KNIGHTSTOWN, Dd 1844, d b 1872.
 b1836 LACONIA, D b 1872.
 1841 LADOGA, D b 1872.
 c1838 LAFAYETTE, revived by Manford 1841, rapid growth, R 1850,
 dd 1852, r 1868, internal disputes led to dormancy and sale
 1898.
 b1836 LEAVENWORTH, D b 1872.
 b1836 LIBERTY, Longley here as early as 1830, Dd 1845, d b 1872.
 b1856 LIGONIER, Dd 1856, sold to Disciples 1870.
 1842 LOCKPORT, by Manford, D b 1872.
 *1857 LOGANSPOUT, Manford and others preached here as early as
 1838, W. S. Clark here often c 1843, then Foster and West-
 fall. Revival by T. C. Eaton 1857, followed by organization.
 Thomas Gorman the first resident minister 1859. Services at
 first held in Courthouse, dd 1866, parsonage c 1898.
 c1833 MADISON, R 1869, recently sold.
 *1843 MANCHESTER, by Platts and Israel Noyes, laymen. R 1855
 and 1868.
 ---- MANWARING, no minister at first, monthly meetings at which
 Messrs. Rhorer and E. Gird would "talk to the people, tell
 them what our faith is, what it is built on, answer objections,
 etc." D b 1872.
 1845 MARTINSVILLE, D b 1872.
 c1888 McCORDSVILLE, Dd 1888.
 1844 MIDDLEFORD, D b 1872.
 *1894 MIDDLEFORK, Dd 1901.
 1873 MIER, by Ballard, Dd 1875, d b 1897.
 *1859 MILAN.
 1843 MONTEZUMA, by Manford, D b 1872.
 *1850 MT. CARMEL, Dd 1886.
 c1875 MT. PLEASANT, D b 1897.
 *1859 MUNCIE, by Foster. Earlier preaching secured through efforts
 of Samuel Watson. Dd 1860, several times remodeled.
 1878 MURRAY.
 1859 NEW ALBANY, Dd \$12,000 building 1861, d b 1872.
 b1845 NEW DISCOVERY, D b 1872.
 1865 NEW HAVEN, by Merrifield at home of H. W. Loveland, lot
 1878, D b 1897.
 1854 NEWVILLE, D b 1875.
 1843 NEW YORK, D b 1872.
 *b1878 OAKLANDON, Dd 1878, r 1883.
 _835 PATRIOT, for first few years met weekly with only occasional
 preaching, Dd 1839 attended by large party from Cincinnati,
 recently sold.

- 1873 PAWPAW, (first church in Miami county), D b 1897.
- *1859 PENDLETON, Dd ----, remodeled.
- PERRYVILLE, by Marble, five meetings a month—two religious, two social, and one business, library to loan to non-members. Dd 1841, sold c 1852.
- b1845 PHILOMATH, D b 1872.
- 1865 PIERCETON, by Crary. Dd 1869, sold b 1879.
- b1843 PINE TOWNSHIP.
- 1883 PLEASANT GROVE (Wilkinson), by Brown, Dd 1883, sold 1915.
- 1847 PLEASANT HILL, Dd 1852, d b 1916.
- 1870 PLEASANT LAKE, Dd 1872, d b 1897.
- *1891 PLEASANT VALLEY, by Pope, Dd c 1893.
- PORTLAND, preaching here and in vicinity by Marble, D b 1872.
- 1844 PORTLAND MILLS, D b 1872.
- 1843 PRAIRIETON, D b 1872.
- 1843 RAINSVILLE, D b 1872.
- b1845 RICHLAND CREEK, D b 1872.
- *1893 RICHMOND, by Fosher, R by Jones 1907.
- b1845 RIPLEY COUNTY, south of Versailles, D b 1872.
- *1840 RISING SUN, Dd c 1841.
- *1875 ROANN, Dd 1875.
- ROME, D b 1872.
- b1845 SAINE'S CREEK, D b 1872.
- *1893 SALEM (near Peru), by Pope, Dd 1893.
- *b1848 SALUDA, Dd 1855.
- b1840 SHELBY COUNTY (Flat Rock).
- 1865 SOUTH BEND, D b 1875.
- 1859 STRINGTOWN, D b 1897.
- b1859 SUGAR CREEK TOWNSHIP, Park county, Dd 1859.
- b1856 SUTTONVILLE.
- 1841 TERRE HAUTE, by Manford. Foster soon became pastor and a building was erected. New building after 1865. Sold 1902.
- 1843 THORNTOWN, D b 1872.
- b1866 TOBINSPOUT, D b 1872.
- 1860 TRIPTON.
- b1854 UNION CHURCH, Fountain county. Built by Universalists and Disciples; the former abandoned their interest after the war.
- 1848 UNION CHURCH, Perry county, D b 1897.
- 1870 UNION CHURCH, Union county.
- 1860 UNION CITY, Dd 1872, soon d.
- b1886 UPLAND, D b 1897.
- b1844 NORTH VERNON, recently sold.
- 1826 VEVAY, R 1861, new building 1895, sold 1916.
- 1860 WABASH, D b 1872.
- 1871 WALDRON, D b 1897.
- *1868 WALTON, Dd 1869, rebuilt 1903.

- b1866 WARREN, D b 1875.
 1871 WEST FORK, D b 1875, Crawford county.
 1879 WEST LEBANON, Dd 1880 and 1895.
 c1842 WEST UNION, by Manford.
 1882 WHITESVILLE, Dd 1883, d b 1916.
 b1853 WHITEWATER, First Society on the.
 b1866 WILKENS MILLS, D b 1872.
 1842 WILLIAMSPORT, D b 1872.
 b1874 WOODVILLE, r 1884, D b 1897.
 1842 YANKEETOWN.
 b1845 YORKTOWN, D b 1872.

ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASSOCIATIONS

Like many other denominations of Indiana, and in conformity to the custom of eastern Universalists, the early churches of the middle west were grouped into Associations. The plan of organization usually called for Quarterly, Semi-Annual or Annual meetings. All matters of fellowship, ordination and discipline were originally in the control of these Associations, but later such responsibilities were transferred to the State Convention.

The minutes of Association meetings have not been preserved, except in case of the Rogers Association, which is the only one having a continuous existence from its beginning to the present time. The decline of Associations and the growth of State Conventions is a common tendency throughout the denomination.

The organization of the "First Association of Universalists in the State of Indiana" took place in a three-day meeting beginning September 30, 1831, at Leavenworth. The counties of Crawford, Harrison, Perry and Pike were represented. The temporary officers were Moses Boon, moderator (resigned, and succeeded by Levi Kinman), and William Course, clerk. Committees on Constitution and Resolutions were appointed, and \$200 appropriated for the purchase of Universalist books. It was voted to correspond with a number of prominent clergymen of the eastern States—Hosea Ballou, Hosea Ballou, 2nd, William Balfour, Thomas Whittemore and Sebastian and Russell Streeter—for information and suggestions. This apparently led to the purchase of a shipment of books from Boston and their subsequent sale to

Indiana Universalists. A pretentious corps of officers for the coming year was chosen. President, Rev. E. B. Mann; vice-president, William Course; secretary, David Greggs; treasurer, John Popham; elders, Levi Kinman, Jesse Chapple, George Ewing; committee on discipline, Samuel Harding, John Cooper, Thomas Copehart; trustees, Horatio Sharp, Philip Pearce, William Vaughn.

Subsequent meetings are recorded at Rome, 1832; Laconia, 1833; Tobin's Bottom, Perry county, 1840, and the Association is known to have been in existence as late as 1879.

The Cambridge Association was organized soon after 1831. It was possibly identical with the Western Union Association. The latter met at Anderson and at Richmond as late as 1843.

The Laughery Association was first convened at Versailles in 1840. It included the counties of Jefferson, Switzerland, Dearborn, Ripley and Franklin. Reverend Thomas Hewson was elected moderator; M. L. Edwards, clerk, and E. Rudd, treasurer. During the meetings a church was organized at the home of Armit Robinson, four miles south of Versailles. In 1843 Hewson was employed as an itinerant missionary. He was succeeded by S. P. Oyler.

In 1847 the Laughery Association met at Stringtown. The Kidwell-Manford controversy (see section 5) was causing disruption here and the friends of Manford and Foster were invited to the home of S. H. Knapp, where they formed a new organization, called the Rogers Association, in honor of the Reverend George Rogers. Since then meetings have been held annually or oftener. The association has really been a kind of subordinate Convention for the southeastern corner of the State.

Other associations are as follows:

Name.	Organization	Known to	
		Exist	As Late As
Northern (Lower) Wabash.....	1842		1878
Upper Wabash	1842		1886
Blue River	1844		----
White River	1844		----
Decatur	1844		1845
Whitewater	1856		1906
St. Joseph's Valley	----		----
Central	----		1886
Elkhart	----		1894

THE OLD STATE CONVENTION

The next step in the organization of the church was the grouping of Associations into a State Convention, composed of delegates from the various Associations and from those churches which were not included in any Association. As already stated, a Western Convention had been organized in 1826, but in 1837 its scope was limited to Ohio. This same year saw the organization of State Conventions in Indiana and Illinois. The former convened at Sheets Mills, Jefferson county, on July 28, 1837. Delegates were present from the First and Western Union Associations and from the Patriot society. Among those in attendance were E. B. Mann (moderator), Em Gird (clerk), Reverends Blalock, Kidwell, Wadsworth, Messrs. D. G. Wilson, E. Milligan, J. Hicks, Sr., J. A. N. Gooch, A. Gazeley, and Dr. J. Hubbard. A constitution was adopted, after which Kidwell was elected president, Mann, vice-president, and Gird, clerk.

The session of 1840 was at Patriot, where, in the previous year, a church building had been dedicated. The delegates represented the First Association, the First Society on the Whitewater, the Patriot Society, and the First Society in Shelby county. In addition, visitors from the counties of Ripley, Dearborn, Hancock and Jennings were invited to seats in the council. By-laws were added to a previously adopted constitution. Thomas Hewson of Jefferson county and W. W. Dean of Louisville were given letters of fellowship and license to preach. E. B. Mann was chosen president; Jonathan Kidwell, vice-president, and E. Gird, clerk. The committee of last year "to inquire into the propriety of getting up a book printing establishment" was continued.

The Convention met in 1841 at Flat Rock, Shelby county, at the home of Hallick Vanpelt, five miles southwest of St. Omer. Delegates appeared from the First, Laughery and Western Union Associations and from the societies at Patriot, Knightstown, Perrysville, Marion township in Decatur county, Flat Rock, and other parts of Shelby county, and from Indiana and Kentucky. Mann, Kidwell and G. C. McCune of Knightstown were the clergymen present. Reverend Jacob

M. B. Kaler was granted ordination. Support was pledged to Kidwell's *Encyclopedia*.

The Convention of 1842 met at Knightstown. It drew a larger attendance than any previous session. There were twelve ministers present, including Biddlecome and Rogers from Ohio, and Mann, Manford and Babcock from Indiana. Rev. B. F. Foster was ordained during the meetings. He was said to be "a young man of promising talent." Subsequent years showed this talent unfolding in the service of the Universalist church, the Odd Fellows and the State of Indiana.

Subsequent sessions are recorded at Terre Haute in 1843 and 1845, Madison, 1844, Dublin, 1846, and Laconia in 1847. Meetings were doubtless held yearly from the date of organization to about 1854, but the records are frequently missing. The energy of the convention was largely expended in controversy, the story of which is related in the following section.

THE KIDWELL-MANFORD CONTROVERSY

The decade of 1840 was marked by a bitter controversy between two factions of Indiana Universalists. Although the issues came to be largely personal ones, they grew out of fundamental differences of opinion in regard to Biblical criticism and ecclesiastical policy. On the one side were the earlier pioneer preachers, led by Rev. Jonathan Kidwell; on the other, the more recent comers, headed by Rev. Erasmus Manford.

The work of the former leader has been already referred to. With no apparent educational opportunities, he became a thinker, preacher and writer of merit. For this his opponents never forgave him. Their mean and petty references to his occasional grammatical errors are phrased in abusive language that would not be permitted today. It must be confessed, however, that he did not hesitate to reply in kind. But in the little town of Philomath he edited his monthly *Philomath Encyclopedia and Circle of the Sciences*, and actually succeeded in what his opponents were many years in doing, that is, he opened a Universalist school. In addition to his magazine, he published several books on the Bible. The preface to *The Alpha* (1843) says:

The object of the Alpha is to show that the Jewish Pentateuch was not written by Moses, the Hebrew legislator; that it never existed in its present form until nearly one thousand years after Moses; that in all probability it was the work of Ezra; that the work is a heterogeneous mass of vague traditions combined with Jewish history; that it is not a work of divine authority, nor does the truth of the Christian religion depend on the truth or falsehood of the Pentateuch.

This last clause gives the real clue to Kidwell's position—that Christianity was not dependent upon certain portions of the Old Testament nor upon the miracles of the New. In this he was violently opposed by nearly all of his contemporaries, although today his propositions would be accepted.

A second point of controversy grew out of the first. The opponents of Kidwell wished to disfellowship him for his heretical opinions. This fact, and doubtless his convictions as well, led him to oppose the efforts they were making to place the Indiana Convention under the authority of the United States Convention.

The opening notes of disagreement were sounded as early as 1836, the year in which Rev. George Rogers came west. He and Kidwell were not congenial. It is asserted by Kidwell's friends that Rogers opened the attack, and that he was assisted by Manford. The peacemakers, however, succeeded in preventing any open breach.

But criticisms of Kidwell's heretical views continued to find spoken and printed expression, and he replied by accusing Rogers, Pingree, Manford and others of trying to establish a kind of priesthood, ironically calling them "little bishops." The sentiment of a unified form of church government was growing rapidly among Universalists through all parts of the country, and to this tendency Kidwell was violently opposed. In the convention of 1841 he and his friends were able to vote down the approval of such a proposition originating in the Miami (Ohio) Association, and to secure the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Universalists of Indiana are of age and consider themselves capable of self-government, and therefore can not submit to any dictation or control, either on the part of our brothers in the east or elsewhere, and that our delegates to the United States Convention be so instructed.

Kidwell's extreme individualism led him to certain ecclesiastical acts that would not be permitted by the fellowship rules of the denomination today. But it must be remembered that there were no uniform rules in those days, and indeed hardly any rules at all. The first case was of G. C. McCune, who was disfellowshipped by the Montgomery (Ohio) Association. It is related that Kidwell restored him to fellowship. This probably means that some Association in Indiana restored him through Kidwell's influence. A second case was that of Judah Babcock, who had befriended McCune. In 1842 he was notified of charges against him in the Allegheny (New York) Association. He went east and returned the next year with papers of recommendation from a large number of friends, which Kidwell published. There was no mention in these, however, concerning the disposition of the charges, which may possibly have been decided against him. A motion in the Indiana Convention of 1844 to disfellowship him was lost, by a vote of thirty in favor to thirty-one opposed, and the matter referred to the Blue River Association. Kidwell's friendship for McCune and Babcock drew this sentence from Manford, "It is well known that Philomath has been for a long time the city of refuge for outcasts of the Universalist Ministry."

A partial cause of the rivalry between Kidwell and the group of men connected with the *Star in the West*, Rogers, Pingree and Gurley, may have resulted from the competition of their papers. Their enmity continued for several years, with charges and counter-charges between the respective camps.

Technical details began to prove a matter of contention in the Convention sessions. It had been the custom to have delegates chosen by the churches, whereas the constitution declared that they must be chosen by Associations. This was pointed out by Kidwell in 1842, who claimed that many supposed delegates were not eligible to vote. His point was sustained by the president, E. B. Mann, whereupon Jordan, one of Manford's supporters, severely criticised Kidwell. This controversy was continued the following year.

In the United States Convention of 1844 a committee was appointed to draw up conditions of fellowship and a uniform

system of church government for all Universalists in the United States. Kidwell was immediately up in arms. In the Indiana Convention of that year his opponents offered a resolution that "this Convention represent itself in the councils of the United States Convention of Universalists this year, and annually, and ask for its fellowship." Kidwell then offered as an amendment "that in becoming a member of the United States Convention we do not surrender the right of legislating for ourselves, but reserve to ourselves the right of making our own laws and regulations." The amendment was adopted, 32 to 30, whereupon the main question was "thrown under the table." The Associations and churches were asked to express themselves on the whole question before the next convention.

In response to this request a few resolutions were adopted in various parts of the State. The special committee of the United States Convention reported its plan of uniform church government, and this, the "Sawyer report," was adopted. The First Association went on record as opposing this report; the Upper Wabash as favoring it. Action by the State Convention was deferred, at first one year, and eventually until the secession of 1848.

In 1846 resolutions were introduced into the Convention questioning Manford's fellowship. These were tabled. The following year at the White River Association, with which Manford held his fellowship, he exhibited documentary evidence from New Hampshire proving his ordination. He invited Kidwell to bring charges against him before the Association.

According to the custom, if not the rules of that time, the Convention had no jurisdiction over questions of fellowship, except in cases of appeal from an Association. Kidwell claimed that the above action of the White River Association constituted a trial and acquittal of Manford, and he accordingly appealed to the Convention. Manford, on the other hand, denied Kidwell's right to bring this appeal, asserting that there had been no formal charges and trial. The president, E. M. Knapp, sustained Kidwell and was in turn sustained by the Convention, 21 to 5. The White River delegates were then excluded and the minutes of their Association in

regard to Manford were "set aside." Kidwell, Babcock, McCune and Mann then preferred five charges of libel against Manford, who was allowed to reply, but given no opportunity to introduce evidence. He was voted guilty and suspended from fellowship pending confession or proof of innocence.

Manford paid no attention to this decree, but treated it as a piece of persecution. He and his friends made an "appeal to the State" by urging the organization of a new Convention. This proposition was approved by the White River, Upper and Lower Wabash, Laughery, and other Associations, and supported by several ministers. The delegates met in 1848 and accomplished the organization of the present State Convention. The old Convention continued to meet in the southern part of the State. But within a few years both Kidwell and Knapp died, and with them the strength of their organization.

Thus ended the controversy. It has been related with a detail somewhat out of proportion to the remainder of this essay for several reasons. It is probably the only instance of rival Universalist Conventions; it reflects the spirit of the day; it perhaps explains the inefficiency of later generations; and, most important, it opens up, for further investigation on the part of some other student, the interesting career of a true pioneer, Jonathan Kidwell.

(To be continued.)

Old Corydon

By CHARLES MOORES, Indianapolis, Member of the State Historical Commission

The sentimentalist is wont to personify a commonwealth as a broad-shouldered, underclad young woman lifting a torch or flourishing a sword or emptying a cornucopia. She commands deference because in her Amasonian presence—like that of our latter-day Golduh—no mere man would dare cross her purposes. Her monster physique offers no suggestion of a possible maternity, the normal function of a state, nor any hint of a useful occupation—although a state really ought to have something to do.

In the effort to set before you the picture of Indiana's birthplace I would personify our State, not as torchbearer, sword swinger or cornucopia-emptier, but as the mother of us all, who, at the close of her first century, is still young and strong and wise and fit to bear and rear and train her children for a place among America's idealists.

This year Indiana is struggling after a memory of her infancy. Like one who is world-weary she finds it hard to command a clear vision of the place where she was born. Many a loyal Hoosier shamefacedly confesses his ignorance of the capital of a hundred years ago and wonders where Corydon is and what it is like. Even the cultivated non-classicist pronounces it Corydon and the railway conductor calls it Croydon.

Where William Henry Harrison and John Tipton and Isaac Blackford and many a comrade and friend of Washington used to gather and James Monroe and Andrew Jackson received a royal hospitality, and while men were still talking of Napoleon, Indiana's tiny capital rested in village simplicity among sheltering elms and nestling hills.

To be great it is not necessary to be big. Richard Hard- ing Davis was bigger than Robert Louis Stevenson, and

Shafter outweighed Napoleon. In the days when American civilization was in the making, more leaders gravitated toward Springfield and Richmond than ever enjoyed the hospitality of Kansas City or Chicago. In Corydon the capital there were only a score who had reached the age of forty-five.

In the decade of its primacy—from 1813 to 1824—the group who came there year after year to lay the foundations for a commonwealth were pioneers of a distinctive type. They were not unlettered men to whom learning had been denied, nor brawlers escaping the restraints of civilization, nor as in the Kentucky of 1800 or the Arizona of 1900, were they rebels against stable government who believed in a liquid and dilute constitution. On the contrary, many of them were missionaries of education and of political idealism who had come to Indiana to create a commonwealth with all the stability which the years of revolution and of constitutional reaction had made them covet so earnestly. At the same time they hoped to realize more completely than in the elder east the democracy of which Jefferson was the forerunner and Jackson the apostle. To them equality under a stable government was a passion and the exclusion of human slavery a religion.

The Corydon of a hundred years ago was a protest against commercialism. It had no metropolitan ambitions like Madison. It was not cosmopolitan like Vincennes. It had no river trade, no Indian trade, no land speculators. It was an easy-going, old-fashioned Virginia village, with an ambition to be decent and to cultivate the social spirit. Its older houses were log cabins, but it had some generous brick colonial residences, which still stand. Democracy had become a social ideal everywhere. The man in the big colonial house and the man in the log cabin neither patronized nor toadied. Labor was not self-assertive as it is today, for everybody labored. Wealth signified little, for the only commodity it could buy was land, and the more land a man had the more labor he had to provide. Where slavery was forbidden and labor scarce, men coveted large land-holdings about as much as a tired housewife longs for a big house with many rooms and no servants.

One way to judge the character of a town is by its representative men. Old Corydon as a social study calls for a broader view, for the student must consider the things done there and the men who did them; those whose labor drew them there from time to time as well as those to whom Corydon was home. Of the men who lived in Corydon while it was Indiana's capital, Dennis Pennington, John Tipton, Spier Spencer, and Isaac Blackford were probably the leaders, and of those whose duties brought them there often and kept them there, mention may be made of Governors William Henry Harrison, Jonathan Jennings, and William Hendricks, Treasurer Samuel Merrill, Secretary of State Robert A. New, and Judges Benjamin Parke, James Scott, and John Johnson.

Some of these were men of state-wide fame, but the one who is always identified in history and tradition with the fate and fortune of Harrison county is Dennis Pennington; from the time he came with the family of Daniel Boone and other adventure hunters at the dawn of the nineteenth century to open the wilderness and wrest it from the treacherous Indian, until long after his heroic fight to prevent the removal of the capital to Indianapolis he was Harrison county's trusted and devoted champion. His portrait done in oil hangs in the Representatives' Hall in the old capitol to show how far character can surpass human beauty.

Dennis Pennington's spelling was even more unconventional than Washington's. He gained his culture by the slow process of social attrition. He was too busy with the affairs of men to read books. He held closely and consciously to his heart the ideals of the community and from the earliest days threw the weight of no inconsiderable influence into the anti-slavery fight, warning a friend in 1815: "Let us be on our guard when our convention men are chosen that they be men opposed to slavery."

Dennis Pennington is remembered because he built the cutest little State house that was not hatched from an easter egg or set up to play dolls in; so ugly that men love to look at it. For nearly a generation he was a legislative leader, representing Corydon and serving as speaker in the Territorial legislature of 1810, and serving again in the Constitutional Convention of 1816, in thirteen sessions of the State

Senate and in five sessions of the House. Such scant records as are preserved of the early legislatures show that "Uncle Dennis" as he was called gave to the lawmaking in which he bore so conspicuous a part an unusual degree of horse sense and old-fashioned honesty. As representative of a river county he can not be blamed for trying to put off the inevitable eclipse of Corydon, and the removal of the capital, for it took longer then to travel from the river civilization to the semi-barbarism of Indianapolis than it requires now to go from Indianapolis to Constantinople, and the journey was fraught with graver dangers than those of floating mines or treacherous submarines. A brave fight he waged each winter, when the General Assembly took up its regular program of trying to lower the cost of boarding the legislators by threatening to adjourn to some cheaper town. No Hansard has preserved for us Uncle Dennis' blunt eloquence when he made his brave defense of the Corydon cuisine as against the cheap labor of Charleston's cooks. The danger was so real that even the Corydon *Indiana Gazette* of December 14, 1820, whose motto was "Willing to praise but not afraid to blame," and which discussed only questions of great import, came out December 14, 1820, boldly with this editorial utterance:

The old famous resolution to remove the legislature to Charleston or some other place where it is imagined members can get boarding lower than Corydon is going the formal rounds of legislation, when it is understood that no more is intended by it than to beat down the prices of boarding.

This nefarious measure was opposed by Simon Yandes of Marion and supported by the jurist Joseph Holman, the bloodthirsty fighter John Tipton, and the financier Samuel Merrill of Switzerland county. The price of board was fixed by law of the county commissioners at 37½ cents for breakfast or dinner, 25 cents for supper, and lodging 12½ cents, with whiskey at 37½ cents a quart. Whether legislative agitation brought it down, we shall never know, but the vote of 11 ayes to 16 noes shows that Corydon's cohorts won the skirmish under Dennis Pennington's leadership.

Samuel Merrill's account of the village in the *Indiana Gazateer* for 1849 mentions the stone courthouse built by

the Speaker of the House of Representatives—and a better man the State never had—who it was said was often called from the hammer and trowel to the chair:

The other buildings there, not exceeding one hundred in number, were either cabins or of hewn logs. As the town was but little visited except during the sessions of the legislature, there was then often a large crowd, while the means of accommodation were not in proportion. The supplies came from Louisville, twenty-five miles distant; but the state of the roads and streams was such that no regularity could be relied on. Whenever anything was wanting the arrival of the wagon from Louisville was to supply the deficiency. As this explanation was often given, much merriment was excited one morning by a modest boarder's being asked, when he had no plate, knife or fork, whether he too was waiting for the wagon.

Received of Samuel Merrill nine dollars fifty
for conveying the law Library to Indianapolis
from Corydon
Corydon Dec. 20. 1824
For W. H. and H. L. Luy
Barton Lacey

EXPENSE FOR MOVING LAW LIBRARY

Captain Spier Spencer, more than Tipton or Harrison, was Corydon's military hero. His company of Indian fighters adopted a uniform that justified their warlike name—Spencer's Yellow Jackets—and made life at the frontier capital safe, while it brought a certain military glory to the little town. When real warfare broke out in 1811 and Tecumseh and the Prophet had to be suppressed, Corydon was proud of its fighting company as they marched out in their yellow finery to join the regulars and Kentucky militia under William Henry Harrison's command.

Spencer was territorial sheriff of the county from 1809 to 1811, and at the same time kept the village tavern, which his wife continued for many years after his heroic death at Tippecanoe.

On that fatal November morning in 1811 Spencer's Yellow Jackets held the place of greatest danger through the

darkness in which the Prophet's braves had hoped to surprise them. A survivor of the fight reported that firing was so constant that the bark was flying from the trees. He could see the Indians in the half darkness running from point to point with tomahawk and scalping knife and bow and arrow, trying to finish their work of destruction before the whites could organize to resist, while Spencer kept calling incessantly, "Hold the line, men; hold the line." They did hold the line till daybreak. "As the fight continued," this pioneer's story goes on, "we got the welcome order to fix bayonets and charge. We moved on while as the men fell I could hear Captain Spencer's voice—'Close up, men! Steady! Steady!'" The captain of the line was wounded in the head, but fought on. He was shot through both thighs and fell. The men raised him up so he could see to give his commands and a ball through the body brought his brave life to an end. Spencer's boy, twelve years old, was brought back from this tragic scene to civilization by General Harrison and educated by Harrison for West Point.

General John Tipton was more than a local figure in Indiana's pioneer life. So long as history was being made at Corydon he belonged there, and there his descendants still live. He was first sheriff of the county, having already laid the foundation of his greatness by serving as justice of the peace.

In 1818 the county board made him custodian of the courthouse and "accountable for any damage that may be sustained by reason of any societies of people either religious or otherwise occupying said courthouse."

Governor Jennings in 1820 appointed him one of the commissioners to locate the "scite" for the permanent seat of government, and the Corydon paper records on May 18 that Gen. John Tipton left that place yesterday for White river, accompanied by his excellency the governor, to fix the location for the new capital, and notes his return in the issue of June 25th. Next year he was serving again in the legislature and was chosen as a commissioner to lay off the town of Indianapolis on the site he had helped to choose.

In 1820 he announced his candidacy for the legislature in a thoroughly frank way:

As my term of sheriff is expiring and I will not be eligible for re-election, I am a candidate for the legislature. As actions speak louder than words, having resided twelve years among you, nine of which I have been in office, it is unnecessary to say more than that I have become a candidate unsolicited.

No Machiavellian pretense about that! In 1823 he was vice-president with Governor William Hendricks presiding, at the grandest Fourth of July celebration the world ever witnessed. In 1831 he became United States Senator by appointment, and in 1832 by election. Besides locating and directing the survey of Indianapolis he surveyed the disputed Illinois boundary, and tried his best to locate Chicago in the Hoosier State. He donated part of the site of Columbus and became a prominent citizen of Fort Wayne, and Logansport, where he died in 1839. His fame was won at the Battle of Tippecanoe, and because his comrades were buried there he bought the Battleground and gave it to the State. For all his civic activities it was as an Indian fighter that he was longest remembered.

Tipton's father had been killed by the Indians, and the boy as he grew up needed no encouragement to become an Indian fighter. He understood the ways of the savage and met their stealth and treachery and merciless cruelty with equal stealth and cruelty, but with high courage. As frontier sheriff he had no trouble in dealing with lawless characters. He was a scrapper and a rough rider, and he carried a big stick and used it, though he did not talk about it before and after as other fighting characters in American history have been known to do. At the battle of Tipton's Island, a little Indian skirmish near Seymour, one of his command, a stalwart Hoosier, persisted in talking, despite Tipton's order of silence. When a reminder of the order proved ineffective, Tipton took the ranger's gun from him, tied him to a tree in the tall weeds and left him there an ignominious captive until the battle was over.

Two years earlier Tipton was with Indiana Territory's first governor at Tippecanoe. It was one of the last important Indian engagements east of the Mississippi river, and although there were less than two thousand engaged, the consequences were vastly significant.

General John Charles Black, whom many of this club have heard and admired, said:

Had Harrison failed here . . . there would have been no mourning along the St. Lawrence and no bitter withdrawal to the Rio Grande, but instead, pushing forward to the very feet of the Alleghenies the uprising power of Great Britain would have helped to choke and destroy the infant republic that she hated.

William Henry Harrison was victorious, and by his gallant conduct captured the imagination of the American people and won and held through all too short a life the passionate affection of the people of the West. Eleven heroes of Tippecanoe who won immortality on that bloody field gave their names to Indiana counties. Of these, Harrison, Parke, Floyd, Spencer, and Tipton were well known at the little capital that was to be.

John Tipton was twenty-five years old when the slaughter began, Captain Spier Spencer of the Yellow Jackets fell, and immediately after, his first lieutenant, and Ensign Tipton took charge of the company. General Harrison rode up to the young ensign and asked, "Where is your captain?" "Dead, sir," was the reply. "Where is your lieutenant?" "He is dead, too, sir." "Who is in command of this company?" "I am, sir," was young Tipton's answer. "Hold your own, my brave boy," Harrison replied, "and I will send you reinforcements." The young ensign was elected captain, so his comrade, Isaac Naylor, tells us, "as a reward for his cool and deliberate heroism displayed during the action."

It was largely Tipton's influence that led to the naming of so many of Indiana's counties after the heroes of Tippecanoe.

In the federal Senate Tipton was a conservative opponent of the extension of slavery. As long ago as 1836 he was an earnest advocate of preparedness and a greatly strengthened army, and when he differed with the president he declared:

I do not stand here to register the executive will, but look for my instruction to the boys of the West, those with hard hands, warm hearts, and strong arms, who fell the forest, hold the plough and repel foreign invasion.

Oliver H. Smith, who served with Tipton in the Senate of the United States, describes him as having a round head, a low, wrinkled forehead, sunken gray eyes, stern countenance and stiff, reddish hair, grown pompadour; a man of great energy, frank and confiding. "He saw the question clearly," his colleagues tells us, "and marched directly at it without any rhetorical flourishes. . . . When his term ended we parted warm friends; with the last grasp of my hands as he bade me farewell, his voice choked and the tears ran down his cheeks."

An advertisement in the Corydon newspaper of October 28, 1819, shows much of the advertiser's personality:

RETURN MY BOOKS AND I WILL LEND AGAIN

The persons who have borrowed of me, *Scott's Military Discipline*, with the plates; *The Naval History of the U. S.*; *Duane's Handbooks for Infantry and Rifle Corps*, *History of the Late War*, *Webb's Monitor*, *Steuben's Military Guide*, and *The Trial of Gen. Hull*, will confer a favor by returning them immediately.

JOHN TIPTON.

It proves that the pioneer sheriff was not lacking in literary and military taste.

Corydon's best known citizen, at least until her much loved Walter Q. Gresham became judge and cabinet minister, was Isaac Blackford. In 1786, the same year that John Tipton was born in the backwoods of Sevier county, Tennessee, Isaac Blackford was born at Bound Brook, New Jersey. He entered Princeton, where he made a brilliant record in Latin and Greek, excelled in mathematics, and graduated in 1806. He studied law and began the practice in Morristown, New Jersey, but responded to the call of the wild and in 1811 floated down the Allegheny and the Ohio on a flatboat to Lawrenceburg. In 1812 he was at Brookville, (qualifying there for greatness as all early Hoosiers did). In 1813 he was clerk and recorder at Salem, and in 1816 he was at Vincennes, where next year he was elected to the legislature and sent to Corydon, to receive almost immediately from Governor Jennings his appointment as judge of the supreme court. His judicial duties identified him with the life of Corydon until 1825, when the removal to Indianapolis took place. He held his place on the supreme bench by repeated

appointments from 1817 until 1851, when the new constitution, to Indiana's shame, made the supreme bench elective and made it possible to turn the control of that court over to the politicians.

Blackford was defeated for governor in 1825, and the same year he failed by a single vote of an election to the United States Senate. It was as a judge and a reporter of supreme court decisions that he became famous, and as an interpreter of the Common Law Blackford's *Reports* of what were largely Isaac Blackford's decisions introduced him to the courts of America and England and won for him a position of the highest authority. In his Corydon days his recognized scholarship, his courtesy and his high character, won for him the respect of a community that had free and friendly ways and yet for a frontier settlement had more than its share of dignity and self-respect. The loneliness of Judge Blackford's widowed life found its compensation in the companionship of books and the contact his scholarship brought him with the scholarly men of an exceptionally intelligent frontier community.

The early settlement of Indiana owed much to Daniel Boone, the woodsman and trapper and Indian fighter who in his frequent journeys over the Wilderness Trail had led the caravans of emigrants out of Virginia and Pennsylvania and over the Cumberland mountains into the heart of Kentucky. But his explorations and long hunting journeys were not confined to Kentucky, for the wild life north of the Ohio river soon called him into Indiana, and before 1800 he was pitching his hunting camp among the hills of Harrison county. The earliest of those who came to live in that picturesque county were Dennis Pennington and Squire Boone, brother of Daniel Boone. Squire Boone was a famous hunter, the tales of whose strange adventures with bears and with Indians are still told about the old county seat at Corydon.

This region is historic ground, on the edge of the battleground which divided the half-civilized Indians of the south from the savages of the north. It was subject to incursions from these irreconcilable enemies. It was a land of game; bear, deer, and turkeys were abundant. Notwithstanding the danger of the situation, this hunting ground soon at-

tracted the attention of the Boones and other Kentucky pioneers. Every excursion was a scouting expedition, every trail a war path. On one of their hunting expeditions Squire Boone, in passing along the eastern bluff of Buck creek, noticed a small opening in the rocks, partially hidden by bushes. It appeared to be a good hiding place for large game. A few miles further on he was attacked by Indians. His only chance was to hide. He remembered the cave he had just discovered, and reached it when his pursuers were at his very heels. Throwing himself into the cave he heard the Indians pass over his head. The little cavern had saved his life. To him it was a sanctuary. He chose it as his place of burial, a natural sepulchre.

A rough stone in the hillside closes the entrance to Boone's grave. About seven feet within is a little room where a recent search disclosed the broken coffin and the exposed bones of Squire Boone, a man of stalwart frame and of great strength.

Squire Boone spent his latter days near this cave. A great spring poured its torrent from the cave down the hillside, having a fall of eighteen feet. Here he built a mill of stone almost wholly with his own hands. On many of the blocks he carved quaint figures and emblems. A trailing vine in full leaf and laden with fruit was cut upon the lintels, and figures of deer, fishes, a horse, a cow, a lion, a human face, and stars, and many texts from the Bible, were sketched upon the stone in different parts of the building. Over the doorway was this inscription, "The traveler's rest. Consecrated by Squire Boone, 1809." Over another door is the following: "I sit and sing my soul's salvation, and pledge the God of my creation."

The settlement of Harrison county proceeded rapidly. Among the first to enter land in the county was Governor Harrison himself, who in 1804 bought from the government the land where Corydon stands and held it for a short time. Three years later he took up other land in the same region and built a water mill and set out a large orchard, some of whose trees were still standing a century later.

There were 640 acres of this Harrison farm, and the place was so much esteemed that in 1818 when the Governor had

to sell it and go back to Ohio it brought him \$10,000. Every part of Harrison's Valley recalls its first owner, one plot being known as the Governor's Field, another the General's Meadow. The valley is almost an amphitheater, walled by limestone hills. In the middle is the Harrison spring, in a basin rimmed with a natural stone wall two feet high, filled with pure, clear water hundreds of feet deep and flowing in a strong stream that widens in time of flood to a torrent at the spring and flows out in a stream one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep. From the spring to Blue river, a few hundred yards distant, there is a fall of eight feet, and the power is used to run a mill. And so the Governor erected a mill here and employed himself between campaigns as a farmer and miller. General Harrison is said to have received the grain with his own hands and carried it to the hopper. Only a few shrubs and a part of the orchard he planted so carefully survive to mark the Harrison home.

William Henry Harrison was twenty-seven years old when he began his administration at Vincennes. His duties and his personal interest brought him often to Harrison county. On one of these journeys as he passed through the new settlement that was to be the seat of government he was asked to give a name to the village. It was at Edward Smith's cabin, where the county fair grounds now are. The young governor, whose taste for music and verse was of the somber-sentimental sort which Abraham Lincoln so greatly admired, had asked, as usual, that Jennie Smith, his host's pretty daughter, might sing his favorite song, "The Pastoral Elegy."

Modern experts have tried in vain to wring music out of the song. The singer must have been singularly attractive or the young governor would not have stood for it. It seems that one Corydon had recently deceased and his fiancée, Caroline, with the gracious co-operation of a nightingale, was inflicting her grief on a melancholy world:

"O, Corydon! hear the sad cries
Of Caroline plaintive and slow;
O Spirit look down from the skies
And pity the mourner below."

Caroline was plaintive, all right, and she may have been slow, but Corydon's name is linked forever with that of our first State capital. And the attractive name the village received may be credited to Governor Henry Harrison's bad taste in music.

The chief function of the village newspaper a hundred years ago was to print the news from abroad, necessarily from a month to three months after the fact, and to keep the readers of Indiana informed as to the doings at Washington. In a village of 300 inhabitants, more than two-thirds of whom were under 26 years old, local news such as we search the daily press for would have been absurd. Everybody of course knew everybody else's doings. So one finds few such items in the Corydon files of that early day. And yet the columns of the Corydon *Indiana Gazette* reveal the social life of the village in a way its editor and its readers a century ago did not dream of. Even the advertisements give us glimpses of the way society lived.

John Martin will give liberal prices for bear skins, grey fox, red fox, mink, muskrat, otter, raccoon, rabbit. Also beeswax.

Here was an innocent fur trader, perhaps, the sort we read about in histories and dime novels. And yet there were strange doings at Mr. Martin's place if *Senex* is to be believed, especially during the legislative sessions, for we find this savage communication in the issue for New Year's Day 1823:

MESSRS. EDITORS:

Suffer me through your paper to recommend Mr. Martin to break up the *rendezvous* at his house, otherwise he will be complained of at the next Circuit Court for the County of Harrison. Also members of the General Assembly who are in the practice of resorting thither are admonished to desist or their names and their conduct will be exposed to their constituents. The makers of laws should not be lawbreakers.

SENEX.

There is a modern touch about this:

NOTICE

Oct. 9, 1819.

The subscriber wishes the person who borrowed his *Great Coat* (without leave) to return it immediately as he is *known* and it will prevent further expense.

D. B. FOANS.

Here is an advertisement inserted in the leading newspaper west of Ohio, between whose lines may be read a story of separation and possible unhappiness growing out of the impending failure of the Rappite experiment at Harmonie:

INFORMATION WANTED

Stephen Bach, who lately came from Germany, wishes to know where his brother-in-law, John Jonas, now resides. They (Bach and Jonas) came to America about the same time, since which Bach has received one letter from said Jonas, directed to Harmonie, Indiana. Any person who may be able to give any information respecting Mr. Jonas at this time will confer a particular favor by communicating it to the Rev. George Pfrimmer, near Corydon, Indiana.

The German paper at Lancaster, Ohio, will please insert the above once or twice and the favor will be reciprocated when occasion requires.

And this is an advertisement to show that domestic science and vocational training were a part of our educational system almost a hundred years before our progressive educators of the twentieth century discovered "the new education."

EDUCATION

HARRIET TARLTON, *Milliner*, (from Baltimore) Intends opening a school in Corydon on the 1st day of April next for the

EDUCATION OF YOUNG LADIES

and pledges a careful attendance to the instruction and moral conduct of such as may be committed to her charge.

PRICE:

For Reading, Writing and plain sewing, \$2 per quarter; Embroidery, \$4 per quarter; Boarding, \$1.25 per week, exclusive of washing; Country produce will be taken in payment for boarding at the market prices.

And here is another:

LADIES SCHOOL

Mrs. MITCHELL and Mrs. BAKER will teach young ladies committed to their care the following branches of education, viz: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Geography, Composition. Also Plain sewing, sampler and cotton work.

The social instinct in Corydon while not exhausted in entertaining the legislative multitudes every winter found its outlet in the main in simple things. Thus the *Gazette* announces:

Singing is appointed in the Senate Room on next Friday the 11th of June (1819) at 6 o'clock p. m. and singers are invited and requested to attend.

The following November the spirit of music was revived by this notice:

(Nov. 27, 1819.) The young ladies and gentlemen of Corydon are requested to meet in the Senate Chamber on Thursday evening next at early candle light for the purpose of singing and forming a singing school.

Next to the singing school as a means of uplift was the debating society, whose transactions are reported all too seldom in the public press. Two of these accounts were all I was able to discover. These meetings were in June, 1820, and were published as paid advertisements:

CORYDON DEBATING SOCIETY

(June 15, 1820)

The following question will be discussed by this society on tomorrow evening commencing at half past 6 in the Representatives' Hall:

Which is most admired, Virtue or Beauty?

The ladies and gentlemen of the place are respectfully invited to attend.
R. McCULLOUGH, *Sec'y.*

CORYDON DEBATING SOCIETY

(June 22, 1820)

The following question will be discussed by this society on tomorrow evening commencing at half past 6 in the Representatives' Hall:

In which does Virtue shine most brilliant, the Male or Female?

R. McCULLOUGH, *Sec'y.*

How the "Females" came out is impossible to tell, for they could not afford to pay to advertise the result and the press was mercenary. But the sex was enormously self-conscious in those days. They did not try to force their propaganda upon any historical pageants as they are doing nowadays, but they were bent on treating women as a distinct order of creation. Witness this advertisement of the proposed Connersville publication:

(9-10-23) Prospectus of a New Periodical Work to be published at Connersville, Indiana, entitled *Western Ladies' Casket*, and Edited by a Female. "Improve, excel, surmount, subdue your fate."

The entire tendency of this publication will be to disseminate useful knowledge and to excite a taste for mental improvement, particularly among

the female part of the community. . . . As this perhaps, is the first publication attempted to be published by a female in the western country a hope is entertained that it will not be deficient in merit or short in duration for want of a liberal support. \$1.00 a year.

A later issue contained a poem on "Female Literature."

Brains were not the only feminine equipment that came in for improvement, for a dispatch from Liverpool is published in the issue of August 21, 1819, announcing the invention of a velocipede for females.

Those of us who have provided funds for foreign missions are but paying back for the gifts our seaboard patrons made to convert the heathen in Indiana a hundred years ago. Religious services in old Corydon were in the main a community affair, unimpaired in their efficiency by any sectarian influences. The Corydon paper during the ten years when the seat of government was located there mentions no local sectarian services.

In January, 1819, this announcement appears as the leader on the editorial page:

The Reverend Mr. Rogers, missionary to the State of Indiana, will preach tonight at candle-light and tomorrow at 12 m. at the courthouse.

And this (March 10, 1824) :

Adam Payne, a traveling preacher from Kentucky, will preach in the courthouse tonight at candle light.

The news columns contained the story of religious revivals in New York and New England and in time Corydon came in for its share of the spiritual interest. I quote:

It will be peculiarly grateful to the lovers of Christianity to hear of the revival of religion which has taken place in this town. A few weeks ago our streets exhibited little else than intemperance and profanity; but now so far has the scene changed that morality seems to predominate in every quarter through the day and at night the sound of prayer, praise and the shouts of new-born souls cheer the evening shades.

Henry P. Coburn was clerk of the supreme court. His name is a familiar one in Indianapolis. He was the superintendent of the community Sunday school which kept up the atmosphere of righteousness in the Senate Chamber when the General Assembly was not in session.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

(June 21, 1821)

The advantages of this institution are clearly manifest by the progress the scholars make in learning. Two boys of Mr. James Kirkpatrick distinguished themselves on last Sunday by the number of verses they rehearsed by memory, which they committed the week previous. James, who is eight years old, rehearsed 118 verses; and Moses, who is seven years old, rehearsed 101 verses.

Here is the only published fiscal statement of the Corydon Sunday School Society:

\$6.50 in paper, \$2.50 in specie, \$2.12½ in branch of Indiana Bank, 10 of McDonald's *Spelling Books*, 5 Webster's *Spelling Books*, 7 *Philadelphia Primer*, 5 of *New England Primer*.

J. JENNINGS and BENJ. ADAMS. *Committee.*

J. Jennings was governor of Indiana and Benjamin Adams was a local statesman whose descendants are among the best people of Corydon to this day.

Intemperance was not as disreputable then as it has come to be. At election time—and they held general elections every summer while the legislature elected State officers every winter—there was some drinking as we note from this editorial of August 16, 1821:

We congratulate the citizens of Harrison county that the late election has been conducted more decently than the election of last year. Nevertheless there is much room yet to mend. We were mortified to hear some severe censure on the immoderate use of whiskey coming from the mouths of some respectable strangers who were visitants to our town and attentive observers of the passing scenes of the day. Surely candidates for office would not wish to have it understood that their popularity rests upon the strength of whiskey, nor would the voters succumb to the pitiful idea that they would barter their liberty for a *dram*. Then there can be no good reason that the day of election should exhibit scenes of intoxication grating to the feelings of every good man. The laws of the state as well as those of morality are against the practice and if nothing else will effect a reformation the civil authority ought to take cognizance thereof.

The Fourth of July was observed as a community affair; sometimes fittingly and sometimes not, but always by the entire populace. J. Tarlton, who kept one of the taverns and was an unsuccessful candidate for office, advertised (June 29, 1821):

I will prepare a Dinner and furnish plenty of Domestic Liquors at my house in Corydon on the 4th of July, where gentlemen are invited to attend. Price \$1 per head.

J. TARLTON.

A representative Independence Day program is preserved in full:

Fourth of July. At daylight in the morning the day was announced by a discharge of the 6 pounder. Governor Hendricks was selected President and John Tipton Vice-President of the day. At 11 o'clock notice of the meeting was announced by a second gun at the Court House, when the Declaration of Independence was read by H. H. Moore, which was followed by an address appropriate to the occasion by Benjamin Hurst in presence of a large concourse of citizens. From thence the procession, formed agreeably to the previous arrangements, proceeded to Littell's Spring, where the company partook of a dinner prepared by Thomas Highfill under a bower erected for the purpose. After the cloth was removed a number of patriotic toasts were drank, accompanied with platoons of musketry and loud huzzas. From the spring the company returned in the same order of procession to town, where they were dismissed in good order and harmony about 5 o'clock p. m.

TOASTS

1st. The day—May it never be forgotten as long as liberty warms the American bosom.

2nd. The United States. The home of happiness, the refuge of the oppressed—may their fraternal affection be entwined by the cord of patriotism.

3rd. Presidents Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, etc.

4th. Army.

5th. Navy.

6th. Porter's Squadron, The Scourge of Pirates.

7th. South American Republics.

8th. Seminaries of Learning—may the genius of liberty revolve around them.

9th. Domestic Manufactories—the hum of the wheel, the rattling of the Loom, and the gingling Cash are far more musical than the rustling of Silks with an empty purse.

10th. Internal Improvements.

11th. Commerce and Agriculture of the West.

12th. State of Indiana—may it discern with wisdom and with energy pursue the public good.

13th. The American fair—While their smiles are destined to grace and ornament virtue the sons of America will not be the votaries of vice.

They were eloquent in those days as the following brief paragraph from an oration by John N. Dunbar delivered in the old capitol will prove:

The sad and helpless orphan left unfriended and alone in the wild and merciless ocean of life, without one friend to guide, one smile to cheer him, struggling against the threatening wave that rises to engulf him, looks with an aching eye and desolate heart upon the benighted course his hard untoward destiny points out. There is no glimmering of joy for him. Futurity holds out to him no loved, no cherished expectation; and retrospection but serves to show him the withered fragments of the bliss his youthful nature painted. He has no wish but death.

The biggest day in all the village history was the one that brought to little Corydon James Monroe, President of the United States, and Major General Andrew Jackson, America's popular idol. They were met by the citizens, escorted into town, where they were welcomed by the most cordial feelings. At four o'clock the President, General Jackson and suit, dined with the governor. The invitation to a public dinner to be given by the citizens was declined.

Enjoyable as the Fourth of July and presidential parties must have been, another function took place at Corydon that would have interested me more. Here is the announcement:

Natural Curiosities will be exhibited at Corydon on the 3rd and 4th of December; the

AFRICAN LION, FULL GROWN,
THE AFRICAN LEOPARD,
THE COUGAR FROM BRAZIL,
THE SHETLAND PONY, WITH ITS RIDER,
THE ICHNEUMEN AND SEVERAL OTHER ANIMALS.

Admission 25 cts. Children under 12 years of age half price. Good music on the ancient Jewish Cymbal and other instruments. Hours of Exhibition 10 a. m. until 5 p. m. (November 26, 1823.)

Sensational events sometimes occurred. I read from the issue of March 27, 1819:

LAMENTABLE ACCIDENT

On Saturday last in the vicinity of this place a woman of colour was killed by a yearling calf. The animal became impatient for its accustomed food and thrust his horn into her body. She expired in ten minutes. Let this be a caution to the unwary. She has left a husband and numerous family of children, to whose evident distress and unfeigned sorrow should cause to blush the proud *intelligence* who *boasts* of his exclusive possession of those refined feelings which *distinguish* and add dignity to man.

A strong sense of duty to a bound boy is proved by the following display advertisement. I should say its publisher must have been a Puritan if it were not for his sense of humor:

ONE CENT REWARD

Ran away from the subscriber September 1819, John Napper, who was bound to me to learn the tanning business. He is about 16 years of age, 5' 8 or 9" high, black hair, blue eyes. The above reward will be given if delivered to me in Spencer county, Indiana, but no thanks.

by JOHN GREATHOUSE.

There was actual slavery in Corydon despite the intense anti-slavery feeling of Governor Jennings and Dennis Pennington and the other social and political leaders of the community. Thus in 1812 the county records show that Amy, a woman of color, of full age, indentured herself to the services of Isaiah Boone and his family and heirs for seventy-five years in return for his agreement to furnish her with clothing and "suitable diet." Isaac Blackford and his associates on the supreme court early declared slavery in Indiana to be unconstitutional. (See volume 1 of Blackford's *Reports*.) But long after negro apprenticeships ceased to be, there were negro-hunts in Harrison county, and the greed of slave owners was stimulating and strengthening the abolition spirit north of the Ohio.

We can imagine the subtle effect of this little paragraph published January 23, 1819:

We are informed that Susan, a woman of color, who was kidnapped some months ago, has returned into the neighborhood of this place. She made her escape from the boat descending the Ohio somewhere about the mouth of the Tennessee river. It is expected she will have her trial for her freedom at the next term of the court if she is not again kidnapped before that time.

I have told nothing of Corydon's political history—of her constitutional convention that met beneath her splendid elm a hundred years ago next month, or of her part in the Civil War, when John Morgan's raiders fought a bloody skirmish in her streets, for that would be history, and this paper is meant only as a brief social study. Despite the temptation to gossip and expand, I have had to omit most of the fascinating detail of

Do the Speaker of the House of Representatives
 Sir In obedience to the act entitled an act establishing
 the permanent seat of Government of the State
 of Indiana and of the Joint Resolutions
 respecting the furniture belonging to the State
 at Corydon, I have the honor to state that
 the following expenses have been incurred and
 paid for Removing the Records public property
 &c from Corydon to Indianapolis.

To Messrs Poy and Wilson their account for bonds and nails, voucher no 1.	7,56 1/2
To Mr Laffer for one box machine &c	.50
To Mr Licens and Seybert for the trans- portation of 3948 lbs voucher No. 3.	\$74,94 . . .
To Jacob and Samuel Henoyer for the transportation of one box No 4	35,06
	<hr/> \$ 118,06
Debit proceeds of sale of furniture ^{Statement} as per bill no 5	52,52
	<hr/> \$ 65,54

The above sum ^{should be allowed} ~~is due~~ to me provided the

Legislature approve of the payments made

her social life, retaining only enough to help us project our imagination into the capital of Indiana as it was a hundred years ago and realize for ourselves how men lived then.

It was but a village. Its biggest men would be counted young to cope with such responsibilities in our modern day. They were young, but they possessed scholarship and character. Harrison, Jennings, Blackford, New, Merrill, and Benjamin Parke were classical students—several of them teachers by profession and by choice, readers and gatherers of the best books. And Pennington and Spencer and Tipton were men of valor and character. These pioneer patriots gave of their own character to the State whose foundation they laid. They were young for such genuine achievement. In 1816 Jennings was 32, Hendricks 33, Tipton 30, Blackford 30, Ratliff Boon 35, Samuel Merrill 24.

It will be recalled of the largest and wickedest city of all time that ten righteous men were deemed enough for its salvation. The character of a community for righteousness and for lesser things, scholarship and self-respect and ability to achieve is determined by a few men whose leadership it recognizes. Corydon was righteous, for its men were of the saving sort. And so of Indiana. To the purity and strength of its pioneers as well as that of the pioneers of its later capital, Indianapolis, is due the fact that Indiana has been able to prove that righteousness exalteth a people.

Reminiscences of the Civil War; Escape From Fort Tyler Prison*

BY HORACE B. LITTLE, Danville, Ind.

If I remember correctly, it was on the second day of April, 1864. We (43rd Ind.) with the 77th Ohio and 36th Iowa were detailed to escort a wagon train back to Little Rock after supplies. This train consisted of 350 to 400 wagons, which reached out over two miles. Each wagon was pulled by from four to six mules. Our regiment was greatly scattered out in acting as a guard for the train. The first thing we knew the rebels were upon us. General Bank's army had been defeated by them and then their main force came back on us. We were not a very large army and it was scattered out over two miles. But we held them from early morning until about noon, when we were surrounded by very superior forces and a great many of us were made prisoners. A large part of our regiment were wounded or killed.

Our captors marched us from Camden, near Mark's Hill, to Camp Ft. Tyler, Texas—Smith county.

We were young, and had no maps. We did not know just where we were. You heard me say Smith county, Texas, but that does not give you any idea of what portion of the state it is in. That was the condition we were in.

The prison was a stockade with high walls, built of long timbers, with stations where guards with guns could look over and keep an eye on us. We found some five or six thousand prisoners already confined there when we arrived. There was no shelter and only two trees within the enclosure.

* Mr. Little enlisted from Rockville in Co. K, of the 43 Ind. Vol. for the three-year service. His regiment was part of the command of General Steele, who was seeking to make a junction with Gen. Banks, who had set out on an expedition from New Orleans. Shreveport was the objective of both wings. Mr. Little was with the so-called Arkansas wing, which was moving south from Little Rock to join with Banks. The army had reached Camden, when the events began that are the basis of Mr. Little's story. This story appeared substantially as here given in the *Danville Gazette*, Dec. 7, 1916.

We were permitted to roam around in the enclosure during the day, but at night each man had a certain spot—just enough to lie on—where he was expected to stay and sleep at night. During the day, after roll call, we mingled with the other prisoners and got acquainted and talked over the situation. There were boys there from all over the United States. For food we had corn meal, issued to us dry. Once or twice a week we were given a little meat. When we got tired of eating our corn meal dry we would mix it with a little water, place the cake on a board and prop it up before a fire to bake. There were but few camp kettles and we had to take turns in using them. These were the only things we had to eat while we were there. We had nothing to do except look for a way to escape, if inclined that way. There seemed no way to get out; yet some did, and I never gave up hope of getting away. The ground was so level that digging under the stockade did not offer a good chance, as the distance necessary to dig would have been too great. Besides the soldiers were camped all about the stockade. The stockade had two gates—one on the south and one on the west. These were used by the guards and by the prisoners who went after fire-wood under guard. They went in bodies of from 50 to 100 after fire-wood, and once in a while some of the boys succeeded in concealing themselves and making their escape that way.

A few days after I arrived at the stockade I began to plan some way of escape. I devised a number of plans, but could never form one which would seem to lead to success. When run down to the extreme, in my mind, nearly every one would fail. One had to consider the guards watching us and the pickets and the camp surrounding us.

Frequently wagons would be brought within the stockade to haul out the trash. One of my thoughts was to get a man to cover me over with trash and haul me out that way. If I could bribe him to keep still long enough I felt I might get safely away. But others were also watching that means of escape and I never had the opportunity. Some actually got out of the stockade that way, but every one of them but one was captured and returned during the three months I was confined there. Finally I asked some of the recaptured

men how it was that they did not succeed after getting outside the stockade. They all said it was on account of having to go to farm houses to get something to eat. They became victims of their appetites. There were no surplus provisions within the stockade and a man could not provide himself with food. When hunger drove him to a farm house he was reported and the bloodhounds were put on his trail.

I resolved that if ever I succeeded in getting outside I would not be caught that way. It was three or four hundred miles to our lines, but I believed I could manage without going to a house for food. The lesson learned by questioning the returned prisoners saved me when I did escape.

On the west side of the stockade was a clapboard shed which was used for a hospital. It was not much of a hospital as they were known in the north, but it served that purpose. Prisoners who became so ill that there was no danger of them trying to escape were removed from the stockade to this hospital. Union soldiers, also prisoners, were detailed to nurse them. They were made trusties and were allowed to come and go in the stockade to examine the sick. These were reported to the surgeon in charge and by his permission and that of the post commander they were placed on a stretcher and removed to the hospital.

A friend of mine by the name of Jake Thomas, who enlisted from Parke county, was one of the nurses. He had a pass and could come into the enclosure to look after the sick. He had two assistants who always came in with him. These two men carried the stretchers. Mr. Thomas frequently came around and talked to me. One day I asked him how he got in and out. He told me he had a pass. I had thought it likely that he did have one. I asked him if he would let me see it and he finally consented. After I had read it I asked if he would let me use it for a little while. He thought it was too risky, but I urged so strongly, and promised to return it safely, that he finally gave in. I had previously learned that a man from a New York regiment had pen and ink and I intended to have him make me an exact copy of the pass. He was a good penman and when I made my request he agreed to try. I told him to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" just like he found them on the copy. He was a

good scribe and he succeeded in making an almost exact copy. I then returned the pass to Mr. Thomas and jokingly told him I was coming out to take dinner with him soon. He warned me never to attempt it.

Now the question was how to use my pass. The dead-line prevented me from going closer than ten feet to the gate. The guard had orders to shoot every one who came within ten feet of the stockade walls. The guards had plank walks up near the top of the stockade where they could walk around and watch us inside. It was impossible for me to use the pass without crossing this dead-line. Mr. Thomas repeatedly warned me never to attempt that, but I told him that winter was coming on and that I would about as soon run the risk of getting shot in that way as to remain in the stockade without food or shelter.

Then I set about developing my plans. Mr. Thomas had two assistants, and it was up to me to get two men to go with me on the venture. I went to a comrade and told him what I had in mind, and showed him my forged pass. He would not join me and warned me against attempting it. Then I went to the meanest oneriest man in our company—James Steele. He immediately said he would tackle it. I knew he would because he was no coward. He was not a genial companion, however, and if there was anything around to drink there was no putting up with him. But I knew he could not get anything to drink around there. I next went to a young fellow by the name of Neavins, who lived southeast of Rockville. (I have since learned that he was a relative of Harvey Neavins of Danville.) He was also a member of my company. He was not educated—could not read nor write—nor swim. He also consented to go, as I had anticipated, because he was daring.

Up to that time I had no definite plan in view, and had fixed no date for the attempt. There was one thing I did want, though, in carrying out my plans. There was one guard whom I wanted at the gate when I presented my pass. I don't know why I wanted him to be there, because I had never said a word to him and could only see him from a long distance off.

Mr. Thomas came in one Saturday afternoon and we talked about other things. Just before he went away I told

him I was coming out to take dinner with him the next day—told him this in a joking way. He again warned me not to attempt it, but my mind was made up.

The next day came and I told some of the comrades what was in the wind and what I wanted them to do to hide the escape until I could be out long enough to escape the bloodhounds. We had to answer roll call every morning. If I did not respond to my name the bloodhounds would soon be on my trail. It was customary every morning to line the prisoners up in companies and call the roll. It happened there were many sick and if one failed to respond to his name it furnished an excuse. I arranged that I was the one to be missing at roll call the next morning and was to be reported sick. The second day some one was to respond to my name and one of the other boys would be missing. It was so arranged that neither of the three was to be reported missing two days handrunning. This deception was kept up for eight days, and we by that time had got beyond danger from the bloodhounds—but that is getting ahead of the story. In explanation, however, once every month all the prisoners were lined up for general muster and roll call. Every man had to be in place, or if sick, accounted for. This came on the eighth day after we made our departure. The guards asked the boys where the missing men were. They said:

“When we got up this morning they were gone.”

They got out the bloodhounds and tried to trail us, but the hounds came back.

About one or two o'clock—we had no time-piece—Sunday afternoon I decided to start for the gate. Some of the boys knew we were going. They watched us, but kept back in the crowd so they would not be noticed. The guards were always watching for anything of that kind which might indicate movements to escape.

We started in single file for the gate, I holding the pass in my hand. The guard I wanted to be on the job was there. Without question he took the pass and read it.

The pass, which was on a piece of paper about the size of my four fingers, read: “Please permit Mr. Thomas and two assistants in and out as nurses.” The writing covered

about all of the paper and the surgeon barely had room to sign at the bottom and the post commander had countersigned it on the back.

When the guard had read the pass he said: "You will have to have that countersigned by the post commander before you can get in and out of here."

Then I knew he had never seen Mr. Thomas' pass. My heart was right up in my throat and I could hear it pound. How to speak was more than I could tell. I did not want him to suspicion anything was wrong and was afraid my voice would betray me, but I had to answer. I blurted out: "It is countersigned on the back, if you will just turn it over and read."

That threw him off his guard and he folded it up, returned it and allowed us to pass out.

We found ourselves in a worse shape than ever. Soldiers were all around us; those who were on guard and those who were not. In addition there were many citizens. Why they did not catch on has always been a mystery to me. We were ragged and dirty and were not carrying a stretcher. But the guard let us out and we resolved to put on a bold front.

We had to pass right by the post commanders' headquarters. He was sitting by a log cabin surrounded by soldiers. It was the only way we could get out. We had to be bold to avoid suspicion. We made a polite bow to the commander, which he answered, and we went on. We always supposed that everyone took it for granted we would not have been there unless permission had been granted.

We went up to the hospital where Mr. Thomas was and he was very much surprised to see us. He did not know what to do with us at first, as he was not willing to expose himself to the danger that would come to him and us if detected. In the meantime I had put the pass in my mouth and chewed it up. I did not want to have it about me if recaptured.

As soon as he had recovered from his surprise, Mr. Thomas called attention to some old haversacks hanging near the shed hospital, and to disarm suspicion he told us to get those haversacks and go with him to gather some

grapes. It was then the 14th day of August and grapes were just beginning to get ripe.

He led us down into the woods until we came to a hollow. Stopping by a brushpile he told us to stay there until dark and he would return with food if he could. He would not promise for sure. He said he would give a certain whistle. We crawled under the brushpile and after dark we heard his whistle. We crawled out and he gave us some cornbread. We relished it very much.

He then bade us farewell. It was dangerous for him to go with us for he would have been shot if recaptured. He was very much afraid for us. He never thought we could get through the pickets, which were all about the woods. After bidding him farewell we started north, crawling on our hands and knees. We had some trouble deciding which way to go when we got out. Mr. Steele wanted to go south, but for some reason I wanted to go northeast. I did not know why, but something seemed to tell me that safety lay halfway between east and the north star. We decided to leave it to Mr. Thomas and he said to go towards the north star.

I do not know how many miles we crawled on our hands and knees. It was very tiresome. Finally we decided we were beyond the picket lines and had not been discovered. Then we arose to our feet and made fast tracks to get as far away from the stockade as possible and find a hiding place before daylight. We went through brush and wood. When it began to get daylight we began to hunt a hiding place. Fortunately we happened to find a tree overgrown with green vines which hung down and spread out over the ground. The vine had thorns on it. The tree resembled our umbrella tree, only it was larger. The vine was very thick. We parted these vines and crawled in around the trunk of the tree to rest after our first night's march towards home. We could see out but no one could see inside and we felt pretty safe if the dogs did not come. The bloodhounds were thick down there, everybody having some, but we resolved to keep out of their way if possible. We lay there during the day with nothing to eat.

While we were marching the first night out we came to

a road which was going our direction. It was a great temptation to take it, as we could make double the speed on it that we could across the country. We finally concluded we would follow the road so long as it went our direction. We had not gone far until we heard some one in front of us. We could not tell whether or not we had been discovered, but knew it was useless to run from the road because the motion would be heard and then the dogs would come. We held a hurried consultation and decided to drop down at the side of the road and take our chances. The approaching men were a party of soldiers returning to camp. They walked past us without discovering our presence. We then got up and went on but resolved to avoid roads after that. The next night we stayed entirely in the woods.

Before we had left the stockade we had vowed to each other that we would starve before we went to a house to get anything to eat. This forced us to live on corn. Corn was then just a little past the roasting ear stage. We could break off the grains and eat as we walked along. That was fifty years ago, however, and corn fields were not as plentiful as they are now, and there were days at a time when we could find no corn. The next thing we did was to dig up the moist roots of certain trees and get the juicy bark. That was our food for days.

Later in our travels we saw a squirrel run up a tree while we were hiding out one day. The squirrel ran into a hole but left his tail hanging out. One of the boys was a good climber and after trying to club the squirrel out he clambered up and killed it. The next thing was to decide what to do with it. We had no fire and no way to cook. I happened to have an old knife—I have it yet at home in a trunk—which was spared to me in this manner: When first captured we had good oil-cloth haversacks, while the rebels had only cheap cloth ones. They forced us to trade with them. The man who made me change with him had an old piece of dirty fat meat in his haversack. It was so dirty no one would touch it to take it out. I had taken this piece of meat and made a hole in it, in which I had placed my knife, a little money and some trinkets. I then put dirt over the hole and put the meat back in my haversack. Whenever I was

searched the chunk of fat meat was left alone because it was so dirty, but it was the same as a bank to me.

I whittled some sticks with this knife and we took turns about rubbing them together to make a fire. We worked for a considerable time but never succeeded in getting a blaze. The sticks would smoke but not blaze. We had to give this up. We thought maybe we could run across a bed of coals where some one had camped and we carried the squirrel along with us. We did not find a place where we could cook it, so we decided to eat it raw. It was very good and we wished we had another one.

We found a few grapes, but after we got into Arkansas they were not ripe enough to eat and we had to live on corn and roots.

To add to our troubles our clothes began to come to pieces. We tore them more every night. Now we had to fix that, so we peeled bark from trees and darned the torn places. At the end of 21 days of our journey our clothes were mostly bark.

We had a great many streams to cross, including Wichita and Red River. When we came to Red River it was up very high and in places was out of its banks. Mr. Neavins could not swim and we had to make a raft. The water was so high we were afraid to attempt crossing at night. In making our raft we used cypress rails. That wood is very light and the rails were made very large. We struck the bank of the river near an old cotton ware-house and we cut the rope off cotton bales to use in lashing the rails together. We tied each rail separately and then fastened another layer cross-wise. We first tried the raft with three rail depth, but it would not hold up our weight. We added a fourth layer. We got three boards and used two for oars and the third for a rudder. The water was very high and we were carried quite a distance down stream, and when we got to the opposite side we could not find a place to land, having struck a canebrake and slough filled with underbrush. We spent the night on the water and as it began to grow light we heard a chicken crowing. We decided that if there was a place for a chicken around there, there was also a place for a man.

Drawing the raft up into the mouth of a small stream

we abandoned it and set out across the marshy country. Hiding by day and traveling by night the journey was continued. While trying to get across some backwater we saw some men wading toward us. Hastily drawing to one side we stooped in the water until it all but covered our heads. The men passed without discovering us. They brought us good news. If they could come in that way we could get out that way. It was a cypress knee swamp and the traveling was hard. Frequently we came to deep places and we would have to put Mr. Neavins on a log and push him across. We came to many lagoons which forced us to go out of our way to get around them. Some of them looked like small lakes.

When we got out of this backwater we found ourselves in a big corn field. We sat down and had a feast. I remember I ate three ears of corn without stopping. Before this we had eaten a few grains at a time as we walked along.

About this time Mr. Neavins began to fare badly. To begin with, he had no shoes, having thrown his away before he had been put in the stockade. When I first proposed to attempt to escape he hesitated because he had no shoes. I had an extra pair of shoes, having purchased an extra pair in anticipation of winter, with a little money and some buttons. The Confederates wanted buttons more than anything else. I offered Neavins this pair of shoes. He wore No. 6 shoes and I wore No. 7. The shoes had lain out in the rain and sun and had become very hard. He took the shoes but after we had marched several days they began to rub his feet and made them sore. He decided he would go barefooted. It was the worst thing he could have done, as his feet became poisoned and began to swell up. He said he did not believe he could continue with us.

We had made an agreement before we left the stockade that if any one found himself unable to travel the others were to go on, and the abandoned one was not to go near a farm house until the remainder of the party had been gone long enough that the hounds could not pick up the trail.

"You go on," he said. "I will try to travel by day and get my feet well." It was very sad to leave him sitting there with his feet sore, and sick; and he had nothing to eat, but we pushed on. I have never heard of him again from that

day to this. His grandparents over in Parke county were dependent upon him. They afterwards made application for a pension on his supposed death, and the government has sent examiners to me and Mr. Steele to tell them the story of how it happened. This is the only story to substantiate his death. The government in after years granted the old people a pension—\$8.00 per month, I think.

But we pressed on. Many times in crossing a stream we found we had landed in a canebrake which had been there for years and years. The cane was thick and very hard and brittle. It broke easily and made a splinter which was dangerous to travel over. The cane fell over and new cane would grow up through it. One could not walk on the fallen cane. The only way to go through a cane brake was to get down and crawl under it. We tried that several times, but invariably we came out to the stream near where we had started in. We could not see the north star for guidance and crawled in a circle. It was impossible to keep a straight road. We were always lost. We had to go a long ways out of our path on account of these obstacles.

One day as we were walking along through some wood, something looked strangely familiar to me and I said to Mr. Steele: "I've seen this before." I could not give a description of any one thing, but knew there was something familiar about it. Steele did not believe me, and we went on.

Soon we struck a river, but we could both swim. This was on the 5th of September, as we afterwards learned, and the 20th day of our march. As we swam across the river darkness had just fallen. On the opposite bank we encountered a high fence and soon discovered that we were in a stable lot. We were tired, wet and hungry, and decided if we could find anything in that lot to ride we would spend the night riding and would turn our mounts loose the next day to return home.

We went into the stable, but could not find a bridle or even a strap. We then decided we would make a bridle out of bark, but in the darkness we could not find the bark, so we gave up the project.

We supposed there was a house near and we were watching out for it. In glancing to one side we discovered what

appeared to be an open door through which came a flickering light. We could hardly see the outline of a house, but only a flicker of light. We were wet, and hungry, and the temptation to investigate was strong. We crept closer. Listening closely, we heard voices. A rail fence ran close to the door through which the voices came and we decided to creep up to it. From the voices we determined the occupants were old people and only two in number.

We decided to cry "hello," and keeping in the dark, see what would happen. The old man answered. He asked us in and the temptation to accept was strong. The old man was lying on the floor with his feet poked through the doorway. The old woman was sitting before a fireplace knitting by the light of a pine knot. That was all the light they had.

As the couple were very old we decided to take a chance and walked up to the door. Looking across the room I saw an old-fashioned gun and a powder-horn above another door I walked across the room and took the gun. I explained that I was doing it for our protection and that he was in no danger so long as he told us the truth. We then had quite a conversation, and finally he asked us if we were hungry. We were glad he asked the question.

Up to this time the old woman had said nothing, but had continued her knitting before the fire-place. The old man told her to get something to eat. She replied she was willing to divide with us, only she did not like to be fooled. The bushwhackers and others had preyed on them.

The old lady got up and went to the kitchen and I told Steele to go with her, so she would not have the opportunity to betray us. I stayed to entertain the old man. I asked how far we were from the closest Confederate camp, and the old man said he did not know of any. "But," he said, "at Pine Bluff—21 miles away—the Union troops are there."

My heart bounded at the words, but I had to be cautious. But we were in safe hands. We became very well acquainted and I found there was no truer Union man in the north than he was. Soon supper was ready. We had corn coffee, some very fat meat swimming in a bowl of grease and some corn cakes made from unsifted meal. But never before had I sat down to such a feast!

They insisted that we stay until morning and have the same kind of breakfast. It had been twenty days since we had tasted food, so we stayed.

They conducted us to the kitchen again, where there was an old-fashioned high bed with straw tick and feather bed. It was a great treat to climb up on that bed with a full stomach and rest!

Next morning the old man told us where we were. He said he knew every section of land between his home and Pine Bluff, and it was just six miles across the country where we had been captured. Then I knew why it was that the place had seemed familiar to me. The old man said it would be safe for us to make the rest of the trip during the day time if we kept to the woods.

I had four dollars in greenbacks still stowed away in the chunk of fat meat. I took them out and gave the old couple two dollars.

"This is of no value to you now, but when the war is over you can use them," I said.

The old couple seemed greatly pleased with the greasy old greenbacks and said they would retain them as keep-sakes.

We then struck into the woods and traveled all that day. About sundown we came to a stream, but the banks were so steep we could not get down to the water and it was necessary to go up or down stream to find a place to cross. We found a road which went the way we wanted to go and we followed it. Presently it led to a bridge over the river, but we were afraid to risk crossing until after dark. We started to turn off to one side to wait for night, when we saw some soldiers come out in the road ahead of us. They were a long ways off but we knew we had been discovered. We could not tell whether they were Union or Confederate soldiers, but all we could do was to wait for them to come up. Before they got to us, however, we could see they wore the blue. They proved to be our own men on picket duty. We were 40 miles below Little Rock.

When they escorted us back to the picket line they would not consent for us to go on until we had told our story. We did not want to stay out there with the outposts. We had been through too many dangerous experiences to risk cap-

ture when that near to our camp. We insisted that we be sent in. They sent two men to conduct us to the inside picket lines. We did not feel safe out there.

It was very near sundown on Sunday evening. We escaped on Sunday and had arrived at our lines on Sunday. They had had a dress parade and the companies were drilling before the citizens. Our two guards marched us along. The citizens wanted to know why they had brought us there. They thought we were rebels and yelled for the men to string us up to the first tree. The troops had had a skirmish that morning with some roving bands and a Union soldier had been killed. The citizens and some of the soldiers followed us with cries of "string them up."

But the guards knew their business and marched us to headquarters. They called the commander. He asked us the necessary questions to determine who we were and to what command we belonged. He knew our officers and knew of the incidents we related of our fight and capture. He turned to the growing mob and made a short speech, relating the true situation briefly.

I never before saw such a change in a body of people. Before they were wanting to hang us and now they wanted us—dirty and ragged as we were—to stay with them, and they wanted to give us things to eat and wear. But we preferred to stay with the soldiers. There was no government supply of clothing there, but the boys fitted us out: one gave a shirt and another a pair of pants, etc.

Mr. Little concluded his story at this point. To those who are curious about how he got back to his command it might be said that at the time of his capture his three-year enlistment had expired and he had signed up for another enlistment. The members of the regiment who had escaped wounds or capture, and who had signed up for another enlistment, had been transferred to Indianapolis, where the regiment was being recruited up to its normal strength. Mr. Little was accordingly given the customary 30-day furlough and went to Indianapolis and rejoined the regiment.

The Wilderness Road

By FRANCES HIGGINS, Washington County

AMONG the choice of automobile routes from Hoosierdom to Florida is the Dixie Highway which makes its way across the States from Chicago to Miami. The scenic stretch between these points is the "Old Wilderness Road" or "Boone Way" of Kentucky. It is also the most interesting from a historical viewpoint. It is now being improved in the various counties through which it passes, and another year will bring its transformation from a typical mountain road to a modern automobile highway—a link in the Dixie route.

James Lane Allen says: "It is impossible to come upon this road without pausing, or to write of it without a tribute." Those motorists, who have already braved the mule-roads of the Cumberlands, are enthusiastic about the region. It is without a doubt one of the picturesque spots of America. The mountains afford a "wild, romantic, prospect" as they did to the pioneers, and "the aspect of those cliffs is so wild and horrid that it is impossible to behold them without terror" (Boone). The rugged beauty of the Pineville region has been compared to the old world: its forests are still as dense as in the early days. The Cumberland river is a mountain stream of rare beauty, that adds many a picturesque feature to the landscape.

But to many a Hoosier motorist the old Wilderness Road will be more than a scenic mountain highway—it will be a pilgrim way. For it was by this route that so many of our ancestors came over the great divide to Indiana Territory. The automobiles will traverse the very steps of the pioneers. From Mt. Vernon, Kentucky, to Cumberland Gap the route is exactly the same as was marked out by Daniel Boone himself. No more fitting monument could be erected to this hero and idol of the West than the present improvement of his road.

No ancient road has done so much for society as this

one; the West owes much to "Boone Way." It contributed not only to the development of Kentucky, but of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. The great emigration by way of the Wilderness Road has no parallel in history. For more than twenty years they came, an almost endless throng. It is almost impossible to estimate their number. In one year alone thirty thousand came from Virginia and North Carolina to Kentucky. That Indiana's growth was affected by this great emigration is shown by many old records. The story of our ancestors who came from Virginia and the Carolinas has been repeated frequently this centennial year.

The name Wilderness Road arose from the nature of the country through which the pioneers first blazed the trail. It was a wilderness, indeed, with primeval forests on every hand. George Washington as a surveyor in eastern Kentucky, discovered trees of almost fabulous size, as did Dr. Thomas Walker, who came after him. Between these giant oaks, elms, and sycamores was an almost impenetrable thicket of vines, laurel, hazel and brush through which the pioneers were obliged to cut their way. Along the water courses were numerous canebrakes; the streams themselves were deep, and at times most difficult and dangerous to ford. This has been called the "longest, blackest, hardest, road of pioneer days." Only experienced teamsters could bring a wagon safely over the mountains. For brakes down the steep western slope, forest trees were felled and dragged behind the wagons to be cast aside at the foot, where they became so numerous as to impede the way.

The great terror of the road was the savage Indian, whose hunting grounds extended to the border settlements of Virginia. Rarely a day passed but some of the emigrants were attacked, murdered or scalped. There were other dangers also. "On their way through the wilderness they encountered bear, buffalo, wolves, wild-cats and sometimes herds of deer. Thus they moved cautiously onward in a long line through a narrow bridle-path, so encumbered with brush as to impede their progress, and render it necessary that they should sometimes encamp for days in order to rest their weary pack-horses, and forage for themselves."

Many families joined together for mutual safety and pro-

tection from the Indians. Ten and twenty often united for the journey and a great caravan of two hundred families is recorded in an old account of the trail. Whole churches moved in a body into the West. During the great emigration the Society of Friends vanished entirely from South Carolina. The State of Kentucky finally provided an armed guard for the protection of the emigrants in the Cumberland region—at one time fifty, at another time one hundred men. The hero-martyr of those days was Captain James Estell.

Other historic characters who traversed the "Boone Way" were General George Rogers Clark, Benjamin Logan, and Col. Richard Henderson. As this was our best connection with the east, no doubt our earliest congressmen, political and military leaders used it in passing between the capitals. From the "high swung gate way" of Cumberland Mountain Gap the road extended to Crab Orchard, Kentucky, and from Crab Orchard to the Falls of the Ohio. A western extension ran from the Falls to Vincennes, Indiana, and thence to St. Louis on the Mississippi.

The story of the great emigration is told today by the gray-haired children of the pioneers. In southern Indiana the story of the pioneer mother who walked from the older land is common. You will be told of Abigail Coffin, who as a young girl walked beside the ox-cart that contained all the possessions of the family, and carried in her hands the 500-sleigh for the loom. Or you may hear the pathetic story of Mary Hollowell, the orphan girl, who brought her small brother to Indiana Territory with a company of North Carolina families. The two walked the entire distance and even helped push the wagon up the steep mountain roads. For this privilege the sister paid by dropping corn at the rate of ten cents a week. It is with much pride that the stories are repeated by the descendants today. There are some who can remember the wagons in which their parents made the long journey. These, unfortunately, have long ago gone to decay in some forgotten corner of our Indiana farm-yards.

There are, however, many relics of the days of the Wilderness Road which have been brought to light this centennial year. They make those times seem very near to us. The old compass which was used to guide the way over the moun-

tains and on across the Ohio, served also as a clock by day. Among other relics that have survived the years and the ravages of time are chests and trunks and an occasional bit of willow ware. There are also letters, diaries, wills and marriage certificates in the hand-writing of the pioneers. Some of the handiwork of these ancestors of ours is greatly treasured. You may find a neatly made herchief, or a skein of thread, or a sampler that was made in the "Old North State." And in some sections of the southern hills are splendid specimens of the southern cypress, now more than a century old, which were brought by the pioneers from the old home across the mountains.

Surely the Hoosier motorist enroute to Florida over the Dixie Highway will see much more than the scenic beauty of the Cumberland region. The way is well marked—there is a monument to Boone at the Gap, another at Flat Lick in Knox county. The mountain folk will point out to you where the Warriors' Path branched from the Wilderness Road and made its way to the north. A tributary of Fighting Creek bears the name of Trace Branch from its location near the Boone trace. On the hills above Fighting Creek is a lonely grave which is said to be that of a child, a member of Boone's party. In the vicinity of the Gap there are stones that mark the various engagements of the Civil War, which took place there.

The Cumberlands occupy a peculiar place in the literature of our country, and are better known in popular novels than elsewhere. But with the advent of the railroad and the opening of rich mines, the mountains are coming to. The days of feuds and feudists are rapidly passing. No one is more interested in the improvement of the road than the mountaineers themselves. There are, however, old world ways and primitive customs that make side trips in the region well worthwhile, and add greatly to the charms of the historic "Boone Way."

Memories of the National Road*

By HARRIET MCINTYRE FOSTER, Indianapolis

The trails of the world have been made by primitive man and wild beasts since primeval days. They have left their foot prints on the mountain tops, in jungles, on the prairies and in forests. In our Western world the Indians and the wild beasts found the direct trail to lake, river, pasture and hunting ground. "The Path of Nemacolin" was a famous Indian trail that was "blazed" by Nemacolin the great Delaware chief through the forest from Wills Creek (later called Cumberland) to the Ohio River. This trail was used by General Washington in 1754 and later was followed by General Braddock and his army and, in consequence, was called Braddock's Road. Many years afterwards this path of Nemacolin was included in the old Cumberland Road or National Road as we now know it.

The cow paths of the village of Boston became the streets of that now famous city. Our ancestors found many well defined trails, followed them through the forests, until they became well trodden paths. Our country is now crossed and re-crossed by countless roads. In this great labyrinth of highways there is one that is of great historic interest—the old Cumberland Road as it is named in all the government documents or the National Road as we call it.

This thoroughfare so full of life and business, was once Indiana's only commercial artery. Her pioneer citizens once deemed it a matter of great importance to be located upon this highway. The National Road is the only one ever planned and constructed by the United States government.

It was not until 1806 when Jefferson was President that the idea of a National Road originated. It is commonly said that Henry Clay proposed the idea. It was, however, really

* Read at the dedication of the Marker at the crossing of the National and Michigan Roads in Indianapolis.

suggested by the great financier, Mr. Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury. The construction of the National road began at Cumberland, Maryland and it was called the Cumberland Road but, as it was built by the government of the United States, the people persisted in naming it the National Road. If not the originator Henry Clay was certainly the great champion of the road in Congress. In his life it is related that he had "to beg, entreat and supplicate Congress" to make the appropriations necessary for the completion of the road. He also said in one of his speeches to Congress—"I have myself toiled to prevail upon you to make the necessary appropriations." He passionately devoted his great eloquence to securing favorable legislation from Congress.

Commencing under Mr. Jefferson its construction was sanctioned and prosecuted by every President and every Congress for more than twenty-five years. It passed through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and into Illinois. Finally each of these States accepted the responsibility of keeping up the road within its bounds. From the time the road was begun in 1806 until 1818, when it was opened, and until 1852, the date of the coming of the railroad west of the mountains, the National Road was the one great highway over which passed the trade, travel and mails between the East and the West.

Its many stately stone bridges, its iron mile posts and iron toll gates some of them still remaining are enduring monuments of its grandeur and stability. Many of the most illustrious statesmen and heroes of that period passed over the National Road on their way to and from Congress, and the capital—Jackson, Harrison, Clay, Sam Houston, Polk, Taylor, Shelby, Butler, Davy Crocket and many others. The long line of stage coaches that succeeded the wagons that were first used to carry passengers, then the private coaches and finally the "prairie schooner," made an almost continuous procession of vehicles and horsemen. Many really excellent taverns came into existence. For some years the ruins of one of these taverns stood on the western limit of Irvington.

The traveler on this road passed through a great variety of scenery diversified by mountain views, grand and historic

rivers, flourishing towns and villages and interesting homes of distinguished people. A few miles east of Wheeling, on the National Road, is a very beautiful stone bridge over Wheeling Creek. Near this bridge stands a time-stained monument erected in 1820 in honor of Henry Clay by Col. Moses Shepherd, the son of my Revolutionary ancestor, Col. David Shepherd. The inscription upon this monument bears testimony to the grateful appreciation of Henry Clay's great efforts for the National Road.

The monument is surmounted by the statue of liberty. Near by on a picturesque eminence stands the historic Shepherd mansion now known as the Monument House, a stone building erected in 1798 near the place where old Fort Shepherd stood, built by my great-great-grandfather, Col. David Shepherd, the hero of the defense of Fort Henry at Wheeling. In the old cemetery surrounding the Old Stone Church is another handsome monument bearing the following inscription in memory of Col. Moses Shepherd, son of Col. David Shepherd:

To him the country owes a large debt of gratitude as well for his defense of it when a frontier settlement as for his recent public services in aiding the extension and construction of the Cumberland Road through Virginia.

Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont gives an interesting account of her visit to the Monument House and delights of bowling along this fine road over the Blue mountains in early spring in a large reserved coach and four, and of the great inns where they stopped at night. But this road led mainly among stern pine forests and upland wastes of stony lands. Mrs. Fremont wrote that this fine road and the public men connected with it made great reputations and also great fortunes. One of these men was my great uncle, Colonel Shepherd and he and his wife used to drive to Washington in their coach and four every winter, in order to make to Congress his reports of the progress of the building of the National Road.

It was opened to Columbus, Ohio, in 1827 and to Indianapolis in 1830. The length through Indiana beginning in Wayne county and ending in Vigo county is 149 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and the cost through this State was \$513,099, paid by the United

States government. The work began at Indianapolis and extended east and west. From 1827 to 1847 the National Road was Indiana's chief commercial highway. It ended in Terre Haute. With the coming of the railroad in 1847 before the National Road was completed beyond the western boundary of Indiana, the railroad had become the chief agency of travel and commerce, and our grand old National Road was practically lost in the prairies of Illinois.

My personal interest in the National Road is very great, as for nearly thirty years my life was passed beside it. I was born in my grandfather's house on the National Road near Columbus, Ohio. A few years later my father, Reverend Dr. Thomas McIntire, with his wife and three children, drove in a carriage from Columbus, Ohio, to Indianapolis, over this road. One trunk was carried on the trunk rack behind. The remainder of the baggage was sent to Cincinnati, then down the Ohio river to Madison, thence to Indianapolis by way of the old Madison railroad, then the only railway in the State. Several of the trunks did not arrive for six weeks. We then came to our new home, the Deaf and Dumb Institution, on this road. At that date the National Road passed through the grounds of this institution which extended on the north to Michigan street and to one-half a mile south of the Michigan Road. On the north side and by the road was a fine orchard, garden and gardener's house. A small stream ran through the garden. On the south side of the road stood the institution with school buildings and shops, all surrounded by beautiful grounds laid out in the formal English style with fountains and green-houses, with drives and walks interspersed with every variety of evergreen and shrubbery. It was a perfect copy in every detail of an English formal garden and for twenty-seven years my father had charge of this school. Here I was married and lived in a cottage on the National Road where two of our children were born. During these years almost every distinguished person that came to Indianapolis, including all the governors of Indiana, frequently passed over this road to visit the school for the deaf. Rutherford B. Hayes, afterward President, was a guest in the institution for a day and night when he came to meet and escort Mr. Lincoln to Ohio on his first and fateful journey

to Washington City. President Benjamin Harrison was a frequent guest as well as friend and counselor of my father. One of Queen Victoria's maids of honor, Miss Murray, while a visitor in this country, was a deeply interested tourist of the West and was entertained by my parents. An entertainment in the institution was always given to the members of the legislature during the sessions and a dinner for the special committee in charge of the benevolent institution. Once much to the delight and entertainment of the children, General Tom Thumb drove out on the National Road to the institution in his gilded coach and four ponies and took one of my little sisters a drive in his coach.

Memory also recalls the environment of this spot as it was in those long ago days. Across the Michigan Road was a small and beautiful woods, Bates' Woods, where as children we went for the first violets and spring beauties. Just beyond was the home of Mrs. Lawrence Vance. Across the road on the north, by historic Pagues Run, was Bates' mill, across from this spot was the farm of Governor Noble, then dead, but his son Winston Noble lived on the northern part of it and his sister, Mrs. Davidson, lived on the eastern part. On the National Road further east Dr. William Latham resided, also Col. John Ray and beyond the institution Dr. Nofsinger lived, now the residence of Mr. Wm. M. Taylor. On the Michigan Road lived Dr. Bobbs, beyond lived the Misses Canby, relatives of General Canby and relatives of the late Gen. Hawkins; Mr. J. K. Sherpe, Senior, lived at the corner of what is now State street and Michigan Road and beyond was the birthplace of William Chase, the famous artist. This picturesque point is unchanged for thirty years, and is occupied by Miss Heim, the daughter of Mr. Heim, who built the house. These are a few of the homes that memory recalls on this eventful occasion.

During these early years there was a great exodus of people from the East to the West who were constantly passing over the National Road to the far West. It was a constant source of interest for all the children to stand by the entrance gate and watch the almost endless stream of "Movers" in their canvas covered wagons, "prairie schooners" as they were called, followed by droves of weary cattle. It was a

passing scene of great interest and often of tragedy. Once the leader of a party died by the way. He was brought into the institution and Father Bessonies was sent for. He was a great friend of my father and they were co-laborers in charity work. That night a wake was held in one of the shops and the next morning the man was taken to St. Johns and then buried. Another time a poor little baby was very ill. My mother brought the mother and child into the house but it was too late, the baby died and my father held a funeral service in the chapel and the baby was buried in Green Lawn. In my childhood the National Road was a shifting and endless panorama of the human comedy.

The placing of this milestone not only marks the crossing of two important roads, the National Road and the Michigan but also marks the beginning of the construction of the National Road in Indiana as, contrary to the usual procedure, the building of the road was begun in Indianapolis and worked east and west. With the coming of the railroads began the decline of our famous old highway. In many places it was greatly neglected and in some counties it resembled a country lane. After years of neglect and almost abandonment, the magical influence of the motor cycle and the automobile has instilled new life into the old road. Once more it is restored to its old fame as the first and only government road.

The great awakening of interest in good wagon roads has caused the construction of the Dixie Highway which crosses the National Road in Indianapolis and extends from the limits of the north and south; and also of the Lincoln Highway which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, passing through the northern part of our State.

Allusions have been made to the trails of the vanishing Indian days. The word is no longer limited to the blazed paths of the Indian. It has become a common appellation much in use by cycle riders and automobile tourists.

The great adventurers of these days are the automobile tourist and the motorcyclist. For them the new trail has evolved with its bands of red, blue, yellow, white or black, with various designs of black arrows or red and blue balls or diamonds.

These painted signs mark the highways from city to city,

from State to State, from region to region. Many of the older trails are being restored such as the old Natchez Trace, Boone's Route through this State to the French settlements on the Great Lakes, the Sante Fe Trail and many others of the Indians and the original white explorers.

So once more our grand old pioneer National Road is coming into its own and is being restored to its former greatness as the first highway from the East to the West.

Tecumseh's Confederacy

By ELMORE BARCE, Fowler, Indiana

THE PROPHET'S TOWN

BEFORE entering upon the final details of the struggle between Harrison and Tecumseh, it may not be uninteresting to recur to a point of time just before the Treaty of Fort Wayne, when the two Indian leaders removed from the neighborhood of the white settlements at Greenville, Ohio, and established the Prophet's Town on the Wabash river in the month of June, 1808. This was to be the spot from whence should emanate all those brilliant schemes of the brothers to merge the broken tribes into a confederacy; to oppose the further advance of the white settlers, and with the aid of the British power in Canada, to drive them back beyond the waters of the Ohio. It was, as General DeHart has aptly remarked, "the seat of Indian diplomacy and strategy for many years."¹

In leading their followers to this new field, the brothers were guided by certain lines of policy which were both remarkable in their conception, and signal for their far-sightedness. The rendezvous at Greenville had been marked by intense enthusiasm, hundreds of red men flocking thither to imbibe the new faith and to commune with the Prophet; so many in fact, that Governor Harrison had ordered them to be supplied from the public stores at Fort Wayne in order to avert trouble. But it was evident to the new leaders that all this congregating did not turn aside starvation; that warriors could not be held together who were hungry and who lacked corn; that the proximity of white traders was conducive to drunkenness; that if back of outward appearances any war-like exercises were to be indulged, or the emissaries and arms of the British were to be received, that these things would re-

¹ *Report Tippecanoe Monument Commission, 1905, 33.*

quire secrecy and seclusion until the plot was ripe; that some strategic position must be secured on one of the great waterways of the interior, within quick striking distance of the settlements and easily accessible to the British posts.

Such a spot was the site of the Old French and Indian trading post on the right bank of the Wabash and about ten miles above the present city of Lafayette. To the west about one and one-quarter miles is the marble shaft of the Battle-ground, and going from thence east across the fields and open woodlands you come to the fringe of woods that still lines the river. You have walked over the old Indian corn-fields and are now standing on the exact location of the old Prophet's Town. The scene is one of great beauty even at this day, when the forest has been despoiled and Nature ravished of her choicest charms. Here, the river extends in an almost unbroken line for three or four miles, bordered by sycamores and maples, and with a wealth of clinging vines, crab-apple blossoms and blooming flowers on either bank. The old trading post was located on one of a series of high cliffs, crowned with huge forest trees, and commanding the river through vistas of foliage. The face of these cliffs is frequently broken by sharp ravines, that extend on back among the hills with many devious windings. At the foot of the steep slopes, extends a long narrow tableland of forest bordering directly upon the river; this is interspersed with springs of fresh water that burst from the hillsides. On the cliffs stood the camps and cabins of the warriors and their followers; below, and on the tableland next to the water, the horses were tethered, and canoes were drawn up out of the river.

Thither the Prophet and his brother now turned their eyes. The whole upper valley, including the basins of the Tippecanoe and the Wild Cat, was the rightful possession of the Miamis and Weas, but the brothers now secured a pretended right or license from the Kickapoos and Pottawattamies to establish a camp. The Miamis of the north and the Delawares of the south, were alike alarmed. The Delawares in particular had been the friends of the white people and adherents of the governor. They divined, and divined truly, that the Prophet's plans ultimately involved mischief. To

avoid a possible war they sent a deputation of chiefs to the Prophet, who refused to see them, but deputed Tecumseh to answer their remonstrances. On this mission he was entirely successful. By threats and persuasion he turned them back, although they had received strict instructions from their tribe to oppose a new settlement. On a visit shortly afterwards by John Conner, interpreter for the Delawares, on a search for stolen horses, he found the Prophet safely ensconced in his chosen position, with a following of thirty or forty Shawnees, and about ninety others, consisting of Pottawattamies, Chippewas, Ottowas and Winnebagoes.²

The location selected was certainly ideal. "By a short portage the Indians could go by canoe to Lake Erie or Lake Michigan, or by the Wabash reach all the vast system of watercourses to the north and west. It was only twenty-four hours journey by canoe, at a favorable stage of water, down stream to Vincennes, the capital of the white man's territory;"³ the British post at Malden was only a few days distant. As to the Indian tribes, the Prophet's Town was almost centrally located in the Miami Confederacy; to the north as far as the post of Chicago and Lake Michigan extended the realm of the Pottawattamies; on the Vermilion below, and to the west of the main stream, lay the villages of the Kickapoos, whose hardy warriors, second only to the Wyandots, had accepted the new faith; the Sacs and Foxes, the Winnebagoes, Ottowas, Chippewas and Wyandots were all within easy reach, and secret embassies and negotiations might be carried on without much fear of detection.

The brothers now resolved to pursue the following course—to wean their followers entirely away from the use of whiskey, which was fast destroying their military efficiency; to teach them, if possible, the ways of labor, so that they might raise corn and other products of the earth and thus supply their magazines against a time of war; to dupe the governor into the belief that their mission was one of peace, and undertaken solely for the moral uplift and betterment of the tribes—in the meantime, by the constant practice of religious ceremonies and rites, to work on the superstition of

² Moses Dawson, *Life of Harrison*, 106-107.

³ Alfred Pirtle, *The Battle of Tippecanoe*, 3-4.

the warriors; win them, if need be, from the chieftains who might counsel peace, and by a series of war-like sports and exercises, hold together the young bucks and train them for the inevitable conflict between the races.

What strange mysticism did the Prophet practice to make the Indians of the Wabash "abandon whiskey, discard textile clothing, return to skins, throw away their witch-bags, kill their dogs, and abandon the white man's ways, even to giving up flint and steel for making fires?"⁴ That he had gained fame and ascendancy among the neighboring tribes since the episode of the eclipse in 1806, is testified to by the fact that when Richard McNemar, the Shaker, visited him in 1807 at Greenville, Ohio, he found a temple of worship one hundred fifty feet in length surrounded by wigwams and cottages, and the Indians then told McNemar that they all believed implicitly in the Prophet and that he could "dream to God."⁵ The Prophet had at that time also gone so far as to institute the confessional, and all sinful disclosures were made to himself and four accompanying chiefs. The question was asked: "Do they confess all the bad things they ever did?" Answer: "All from seven years old. And cry and tremble when they come to confess."⁶ A sort of nature or sun-worship had already been introduced. McNemar thus describes a salutation to the lord of the day:

Next morning, as soon as it was day, one of their speakers mounted a log, near the southeast corner of the village, and began the morning service with a loud voice, in thanksgiving to the Great Spirit. He continued his address for near an hour. The people were all in their tents, some at the distance of fifteen or twenty rods; yet they could all distinctly hear, and gave a solemn and loud assent, which sounded from tent to tent, at every pause. While we stood in his view, at the end of the meeting house, on rising ground, from which we had a prospect of the surrounding wigwams, and the vast open plain or prairie, to the south and east, and which looks over the big fort, toward the north, for the distance of two miles, we felt as if we were among the tribes of Israel, on their march to Canaan.⁷

By weird incantations, symbolic ceremonies, and practice of the black art, the Prophet had gone far. He was now re-

⁴ J. P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, 100-101.

⁵ Richard McNemar, *The Kentucky Revival-Shakerism*, 124-127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

garded as invulnerable, and his person sacred.⁸ But that which gave point to his oracles, and authority to his imposture, was his Shawnee hatred of the pale face. To incite their growing jealousy and malice, he told his dupes, that the white man had poisoned all their land, and prevented it from producing such things as they found necessary to their subsistence.⁹ The growing scarcity of game, the disappearance of the deer and buffalo before the white settlements, was indisputable proof of his assertions. To drive back these invaders who polluted the soil and desecrated the graves of their fathers—what more was needed to incite the savage warriors to a crusade of blood and extermination? About this time it was noticed that the Pottawattamies of the prairie, who were under the influence of the Prophet, were frequently holding religious exercises, but that these exercises were always concluded with, “war-like sports, shooting with bows, throwing the tomahawk, and wielding the war-club.”¹⁰

In the meantime, the relation of these religious ceremonies at the Prophet's Town, and their seemingly good effect upon the red men, completely disarmed the governor for the time being. He now entertained the idea that the great Indian leader might be “made a useful instrument in effecting a radical and salutary change in the manners and habits of the Indians.”¹¹ To stop the use of ardent spirits and to encourage the cultivation of corn, were two important steps, as the governor thought. Events which succeeded but added to Harrison's deception. In June or July, 1808, messengers appeared at Vincennes, and one of them stated that he had listened to the Prophet for upwards of three years, and had never heard anything but good advice.

He tells us we must pray to the Great Spirit who made the world and everything in it for our use. He tells us that no man could make the plants, the trees, and the animals, but they must be made by the Great Spirit, to whom we ought to pray, and obey in all things. He tells us not to lie, to steal, nor to drink whiskey; not to go to war, but to live in peace with all mankind. He tells us also to work and to make corn.¹²

⁸ Dawson, *Harrison*, 105.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹² Eggleston, *Tecumseh*, 146.

In August of the same year, the crafty Prophet himself appeared and stayed at Vincennes for more than two weeks. The governor was surprised at the great address and ease with which he handled his followers, and had the pleasure of listening to a speech, in which the Prophet professed the most pacific intentions, constantly haranguing his retinue upon the evils of war and liquor, and holding out to them the advantages of temperance and peace. It seems that the governor even made a few personal experiments to determine whether the Indians were in earnest about their pretensions, but could induce none of them to touch fire-water. The interview closed to the entire satisfaction of the governor, the Prophet promising to keep him fully informed as to anything that might be inimical to the settlements, and receiving in return many presents from the governor in the way of implements of husbandry, arms, powder and other things which the Indians claimed that they were in sore need of.

How vain this trust! Scarcely had the Prophet returned to his town, before he was entertaining an emissary and spy of the British government, who urged war on the United States. In the following spring of 1809, the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawattamies were being urged by the Prophet to take up arms against the inhabitants of Vincennes, and to destroy the settlers along the Ohio, as far up as Cincinnati. Reports of these proceedings were confirmed by Michel Brouillette, an Indian trader, and by Toussaint Dubois, a confidential agent of the governor. Harrison probably averted an Indian attack, by promptly organizing two additional companies of militia and throwing them into Fort Knox, to guard the approaches to the capital by land and water. The Indians, seeing this prompt action, deserted the Prophet and returned to their homes. The governor was not fooled a second time. The Prophet again visited him in the summer or 1809, and made the same old pretensions of peace. But the governor forced him to admit that he had entertained the British the fall before, and that he had been invited, as he said, to join a league of the Sacs and Foxes against the whites in the early spring, and he could make no satisfactory explanation as to why he had not imparted these facts to the gov-

ernment, when he had been solemnly enjoined so to do. From this time on, the Prophet was regarded with a just suspicion, and Harrison diligently regarded every movement of the new faith.

HARRISON'S VIGILANCE

The spring of 1810 opened with peril to Vincennes. The eternal vigilance of Harrison alone saved the day. The fall before had witnessed the making of the Treaty of Fort Wayne and the acquisition of the new purchase; this had strengthened the claims of the Prophet and Tecumseh for a closer union of the tribes, and had given added force to their argument in favor of a communistic ownership of all the land. What right had the old village chiefs to dispose of the common domain without the consent of the warriors who had fought to maintain it? The Great Spirit gave the soil in common to all the tribes; what single tribe could alienate any particular portion of it?

Reliable word came to the governor in April that the Prophet had assembled one thousand souls at the Prophet's Town, with probably three hundred fifty or four hundred men among them; that the French traders along the Wabash had been warned by the Prophet's followers to separate themselves from the Americans at Vincennes for trouble was brewing; that the Indians at Tippecanoe had refused to buy ammunition of the traders, saying that they had a plenty and could get plenty more without paying for it; that Matthew Elliott, the British agent at Malden, was busy with plot and intrigue against the United States. But Harrison was surrounded by some of the best scouts and confidential agents that a frontier official ever commanded—among them Tous-saint Dubois, Joseph Barron and Michel Brouillette. He kept awake and on the alert.¹³

Tecumseh now assumed a more active leadership. The day had arrived for the statesman and warrior to sound the alarm, form an active league and confederacy of all the tribes, and with tomahawk in hand, resist any further advancement on the part of the whites. As Harrison has remarked, he appeared today on the Wabash, a short time later on the shores

¹³ Dawson, *Harrison*, 138.

of Lake Erie or Lake Michigan, and then upon the Mississippi.¹⁴ Everywhere he was masterful, eloquent, convincing, and "made an impression favorable to his purpose." At one time during the early summer it is known that he was at Detroit, and he was probably in close communication with his British allies, although he professed to hate them.

About May, 1810, a council of all the tribes of the Wabash and those to the north was called at the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. The whole situation was fraught with danger, for Harrison had reason to believe that many of the tribes had already received the tomahawk and were meditating a combined attack on the settlements. Subsequently events proved that his fears were well founded. He immediately despatched John Conner to the Delawares and

Pointed out to them the unavoidable destruction which awaited all the tribes which should dare to take up the hatchet against their fathers, and the great danger that the friendly tribes would incur, if war should be kindled, from the difficulty of discriminating friends from foes.¹⁵

A messenger was despatched in haste after the deputies of the tribe deputed to the council, with full instructions dictated by the governor, to urge these facts upon the assembled tribes. In addition, the governor in response to the demands of a company of officers, merchants and others at Vincennes, at once called two companies of militia into active service, established alarm posts upon the frontier, and used all available means at hand to put himself in readiness for war. Fortunately, the Delawares remained faithful. If Winamac is to be believed, the Prophet in person urged upon the council an immediate surprise of Detroit, Fort Wayne, the Post at Chicago, St. Louis and Vincennes, and a junction with the tribes of the Mississippi, but the "forcible representations" of the Delaware deputies, who were looked upon as "grandfathers," prevented the adoption of his plans. It seems that the younger men and some of the war lords of the smaller bands were ready to go to war, but the sachems and older village chieftains who had participated in the treaty of the year before held aloof. The Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawattamies re-

¹⁴ Eggleston, *Tecumseh*, 207.

¹⁵ Dawson, *Harrison*, 139.

fused to take up arms, the council broke up without any concerted action, and Winamac and the Pottawattamies were sent to the governor to make report of the proceedings. When he arrived at Vincennes in the latter part of June, he reported that as he passed through the Prophet's Town an attempt was made to assassinate him—so enraged was the Prophet at his failure on the St. Joseph. Winamac further told the governor that about the time of the council the Prophet had proposed to the younger warriors that the principal chiefs of all the tribes should be murdered; that they were the ones who had brought about a sale of the Indian lands, and that their, the warrior's hands, would never be untied until they were rid of them.¹⁶ The brothers were baffled in another mission. Tecumseh urged the Shawnees at Wapakoneta, Ohio, to join the league. A letter of John Johnston, Indian agent at Fort Wayne, informed the governor that the Shawnees refused even to enter into council with him.

The ugly temper into which the Indians had now worked themselves is well illustrated by the episode of the salt. On the 15th of June a boat came up the Wabash to the Prophet's Town laden with salt for the use of the tribes, according to the terms of a former agreement. The man in charge of the boat reported that the Prophet and some Kickapoos with him at the time, refused to receive it and he was directed to leave the salt on the bank of the river until Tecumseh should return; Tecumseh being reported as at Detroit. On his return trip home the master of the boat was directed to re-load the salt; that the Indians would have nothing to do with it.

Whilst the hands were rolling in the barrels, the brother of the Prophet seized the master and several others by the hair, and, shaking them violently, asked them if they were Americans. They, however, were all young Frenchmen. They also insulted Mr. Brouillette, and called him an American dog, and a young Pottawattamie chief directed his men to plunder his house, which was immediately done, depriving him of all his provisions, tobacco, etc.¹⁷

Brouillette was the French trader heretofore referred to, and probably had a cabin for his trading supplies on the bank of the river.

¹⁶ Dawson, *Harrison*, 146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

On one of their embassies, however, the brothers were successful. One of the most influential of the tribes in council was the Wyandots or Hurons, now greatly reduced in numbers, but still of great prestige and power among the red men. Harrison always ranked their warriors among the best, and General Wayne at Greenville had delivered to them the original duplicate of the treaty. In a speech by Massas, a Chippewa chief, to General Wayne, he referred to this tribe as "our uncles, the Wyandots," and this was the designation generally employed by all the tribes.¹⁸ It was plain that if the Wyandots could be won over to the new cause, a great diplomatic victory would be gained and the influence of the new movement greatly augmented. The Prophet accordingly sent a deputation to the Wyandots, "expressing his surprise that the Wyandots, who had directed the councils of the other tribes, as well as the treaty with the white people should sit still, and see the property of the Indians usurped by a part," and he expressed a desire to see the treaties and know what they contained. The Wyandots were greatly flattered by these attentions, and answered "that they had nothing nearer their hearts, than to see all the various tribes united again as one man—that they looked upon every thing that had been done since the Treaty of Greenville as good for nothing—and that they would unite their exertions with those of the Prophet, to bring together all the tribes, and get them to unite to put a stop to the encroachments of the white people."¹⁹ It seems that the Wyandots were also the keepers of a certain great belt, which had formerly been a symbol of the union of the tribes at the time of the war with Anthony Wayne. They now came in deputation to the Prophet's Town, carrying this great belt with them, and producing it among the clans of the Miamis at the villages of the Mississinewa, accusing them of deserting their Indian friends and allies. The tribes at Mississinewa sent for the Weas and accompanied the deputation to Tippecanoe.

Though thwarted on the St. Joseph and among the Shawnees, it was plain that a strict espionage would have to be

¹⁸ John B. Dillon, *History of Indiana*, 387.

¹⁹ Dawson, *Harrison*, 140.

maintained over the proceedings at the Prophet's Town, and especially over the Prophet himself. The heart of this priest was filled with plots of assassination and murder. Grosble, an old Indian friend of the governor, informed him that the Prophet had at one time planned a wholesale slaughter at Vincennes, and that it had been arranged that the Prophet should enter the governor's house with twelve or fifteen of his followers and slay him. To the Prophet may be attributed all the horse stealing expeditions, the insults to messengers and agents, and the plans for the murder of the older Indian chiefs. While Tecumseh either countenanced these transactions, or else was unable to control them, he seems, with strange sagacity for a savage, to have at all times realized that the assassination of Harrison, the stealing of a few horses, or the slaughter of a few white men on the border, would really never accomplish anything save to intensify the feeling between the races. While never comprehending the great forces of civilization and of the government which he was resisting, he steadily kept in mind that a handful of naked savages at the Prophet's Town would avail him nothing; that in order to effectively strike he must have back of him a substantial body of warriors recruited from all the confederated tribes, well victualled, armed and equipped, and equal in number to the armies of his adversary. He knew the Indian character well enough to know that they would never long resist a superior force. If he could keep his rash and impulsive brother in leash long enough to form a permanent and powerful league, then he had hopes of ultimate success. But there was the great danger, in fact, the very peril that finally engulfed him. The Prophet, with that fatal egotism of the fanatic, vainly imagined he was more than a match for the governor, and in the absence of his brother, let his vindictive hate and malice destroy the last dream of empire.

In the latter part of the month of June, Harrison sent Du-bois and Brouillette to the Prophet's Town to take note of what was going on. They reported that while the tribes of the Mississinewa, the Weas and Kickapoos were living in expectation of trouble, that there was no immediate danger,

for the defection of the tribes at the St. Joseph had upset the plans of the brothers. On the 4th of July, however, four canoes, filled with the Prophet's followers, passed the Wea village at Terre Haute, and Harrison sent out the militia to discover what had become of them.²⁰ One of these canoes came down the river to a Shaker settlement sixteen miles above Vincennes. The Indians there attended meeting on Sunday, the Prophet professing to believe in the Shaker creed, and then finished the day's proceedings by stealing five horses. They made no attempts to conceal their tracks, but the governor stopped any pursuit, as he "had been informed some time before, that one of their plans to bring on the war, was to send out parties to steal horses, and, if they were pursued, to kill their pursuers." This was plainly the work of the Prophet. More alarming stories came in. It was said that the Sacs and Foxes were awaiting the signal from the Prophet to take up arms; that a party of them had visited the British superintendent, and that Elliott had said to a Miami at Malden: "My son, keep your eyes fixed on me—my tomahawk is now up—be you ready, but do not strike till I give the signal."²¹ Harrison in the light of all these events, determined to send Barron, his trusted interpreter, to the Prophet's Town. The reception of Barron is thus dramatically related:

He was first conducted ceremoniously to the place where the Prophet, surrounded by a number of Indians, was seated. Here he was left standing at a distance of about ten feet from the Indian prophet. "He looked at me," said Mr. Barron, "for several minutes, without speaking or making any sign of recognition, although he knew me well. At last he spoke, apparently in anger. "For what purpose do you come here?" said he, "Brouillette was here; he was a spy. Dubois was here; he was a spy. There is your grave; look on it!" The Prophet then pointed to the ground near the spot where I stood."²²

No harm was done him, however. Tecumseh interceded and the governor's messenger was finally received with respect. Barron delivered a speech of Harrison's to the Prophet in the presence of Tecumseh. The purport of this address

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

²¹ Eggleston, *Tecumseh*, 175.

²² *Ibid.*, 176.

was that while the governor said he believed that there had been an attempt to raise the tomahawk, that the old chain of friendship between the Indians and whites might still be renewed; that there were two roads open, one leading to peace and the other to misery and ruin; that it was useless to make war against the Seventeen Fires as their blue-coats were more numerous than the sands on the Wabash; that if complaint were made as to the purchase of the Indian lands, that the governor was willing to send the principal chiefs to Washington to make these complaints to the President in person; that everything necessary for the journey should be prepared and a safe return guaranteed.²³

On this visit Barron held much personal converse with Tecumseh and lodged with him in a cabin. He professed to be much pleased with Harrison's speech, observing that he had not seen him since he was a young man seated at the side of General Wayne. He disclaimed any intention of trying to make war, but said that it would be impossible to remain on friendly terms with the United States unless they abandoned the idea of trying to make settlements further to the north and west, and unless they acknowledged the principle that all the lands were held by the tribes in common. Said he:

The Great Spirit gave this great island to his red children; he placed the whites on the other side of the water; they were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes, we can go no further. They have taken upon them to say this tract belongs to the Miamis, this the Delawares, and so on, but the Great Spirit intended it as the common property of all. Our father tells us, that we have no business upon the Wabash; but the Great Spirit ordered us to come here and here we will stay.²⁴

Tecumseh now resolved on that famous meeting with the governor at Vincennes. Harrison had long known that there were those in his midst who were inimical to his purpose and who had opposed the purchase of the fall before, but he did not learn until afterward the full extent of their treachery. It seems that Tecumseh had been given to understand that about half of the population of Vincennes was friendly to his cause.

²³ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁴ Dawson, *Harrison*, 153.

An American had visited him during the winter of 1809-10 who informed him that Harrison had no authority whatever from the government to make the purchase; that the governor had only two years more to remain in office, and that if Tecumseh could prevail upon the Indians to refuse their annuities under the treaty until the governor "was displaced, as he would be, and a good man appointed as his successor, he would restore to the Indians all the lands purchased from them."²⁵ How far these representations may have deceived Tecumseh into the belief that he was dealing with a man who was tottering to the fall, is not certainly known. He determined at any rate to make a show of force. If the governor was a weakling who sat insecurely in his seat, and was fearful of public clamor, here was an opportunity to display that fact. As he remarked to Barron he had not seen the governor since he was "a very young man" sitting at the side of General Wayne. The governor was younger in years than Tecumseh and no doubt the Shawnee was disposed to regard him with contempt. To appear suddenly at the capital of the white man with a band of armed warriors; to openly and haughtily declare his purpose of resisting the pretensions of the governor to pour out his insolence upon the heads of the chieftains who had dared to sell the lands—what a grand culmination of all his plans this would be, if it had the desired effect! There was nothing to lose, everything to gain. He resolved to try it. Accordingly, on the 12th of August, there swept the river to Fort Knox, eighty canoes, filled with naked savages painted in the most terrific manner. All of them were armed and ready for attack. At their head was the great war-chief, described by Major George R. Floyd, commandant at the fort, as "about six feet high, straight, with large, fine features, and altogether a daring, bold looking fellow."²⁶ The conference with the governor was appointed for the morrow.

THE COUNCIL AT VINCENNES

The great house of the governor at Vincennes is situate inland from the Wabash river about six hundred feet and

²⁵ John Law, *The History of Vincennes*, 90.

²⁶ Eggleston, *Tecumseh*, 181.

there formerly stood in front of this house and next to the river a grove of walnut trees which afforded a gracious shade. It was here, that on a bright sun-shiny day in August, the dramatic meeting occurred between the Shawnee chief and Governor Harrison. Local tradition has preserved a tale that the governor had secreted in the great parlor of his house a company of one hundred well-armed soldiers to provide against any treachery on the part of the red men, and computations have been made to show that the room would accommodate that number of infantry, but this story must be regarded with suspicion.²⁷

Tecumseh and his party seem to have arrived at the rendezvous in canoes and by way of the river; he appeared on the scene with a retinue of forty warriors accoutered in the elaborate costume of the ceremonial, with painted bodies and feathered head-dress, and fully armed with war clubs and tomahawks. The chief himself, invariably wore a simple dress of Indian tanned buckskin, with a mantle of the same material thrown over the left shoulder. In his belt he carried an elegant silver mounted tomahawk and a hunting knife in a leathern case. "Tall, athletic and manly, dignified, but graceful," he stood as the chosen exponent of his people's wrongs, ready to voice their plaints in the "musical and euphonious" accents of the Shawnee tongue.²⁸

A close observer of the savages of that day has stated that, "those who have been familiar with the Indians of the northwest, when they were Indians, and took sufficient interest in them as a race to study with care their customs, laws and usages, are aware that when attending councils with other nations or tribes, or with our agents, that they were always acting a part, a kind of diplomatic drama."²⁹ To Tecumseh the moment appeared propitious. The time had arrived to put the youthful governor of thirty-seven years to the test. Harrison was attended by the judges of the supreme court; Gen. Gibson, the secretary; Major G. R. Floyd, and other officers of the regular army, and a guard of twelve men from the garrison under the command of Lieutenant

²⁷ W. H. Smith, *History of Old Vincennes*, 265.

²⁸ Benjamin Drake, *Life of Tecumseh*, 130; Law, *History of Vincennes*, 85.

²⁹ Wm. Stanley Hatch, *War of 1812*, 104.

Jennings; there was also a large assemblage of citizens present, who had been invited thither to hear what Tecumseh had to present. The stage was well set, and the bold and insolent heart of the savage rose high.

As he came in front of the dais, an elevated portion of the place upon which the governor and the officers of the territory were seated, the governor invited him, through his interpreter, to come forward and take a seat with him and his counsellors, promising the invitation by saying: "That it was the wish of the Great Father, the President of the United States, that he should do so." The chief paused for a moment, as the words were uttered and the sentence finished, and raising his tall form to its greatest height, surveyed the troops and the crowd around him. Then with his keen eyes fixed on the governor for a single moment, and turning them to the sky above, with his sinewy arm pointed towards the heavens, and with a tone and manner indicative of supreme contempt, for the paternity assigned him, said in a voice whose clarion tones were heard throughout the whole assembly: "My Father?—The sun is my father—the earth is my mother—and on her bosom I will recline!"³⁰

Thus the council opened. The governor, with a short sword at his side, seated on the platform with his officers and advisers; the Indians in front of him seated on the grass; to the left, the Pottawattamie chief, Winamac, with one of his young men, extended on the green, and all about the eager and curious faces of the crowd, now wrought up to a high state of tension by the sarcastic retort of the Indian chieftain. The speech that followed, "was full of hostility from beginning to end."³¹ Tecumseh began in a low voice and spoke for about an hour. "As he warmed with his subject his clear tones might be heard, as if 'trumpet-tongued' to the utmost limits of the assembled crowd who gathered around him."³² He denounced with passion and bitterness the cruel murder of the Moravian Indians during the Revolutionary War, the assassination of the friendly chief Cornstalk, and other outrages, and said that he did not know how he could ever be friends with the white man again; that the tribes had been driven by the Americans 'toward the setting sun, like a galloping horse,' and that they would shortly push them into the lakes where they could neither stand nor walk; that the

³⁰ Law, *History of Vincennes*, 83.

³¹ *Western Sun* (Vincennes), Aug. 25, 1810.

³² Law, *History of Vincennes*, 85.

white people had allotted each separate tribe a certain tract of land so as to create strife between them, and so that they might be destroyed; that he and his brother had purposed from the beginning to form a confederation of all the tribes to resist any further encroachment of the whites; that the Great Spirit had given all the lands in common to the Indians, and that no single tribe had a right to alienate any particular portion of it. He declared that the Treaty of Fort Wayne had been made with the consent of only a few; that it was largely brought about by threats of Winamac, and that a reluctant consent had been wrung from the Weas because they were few in number. So fierce and vitriolic became his abuse of Winamac that that chieftain primed his pistols and seemed ready at any moment to take Tecumseh's life. The speaker went on to declare: "that if the government would not give up the lands that were purchased from the Miamis, Delawares, Pottawattamies, etc., that those who were united with him, were determined to fall upon those tribes and destroy them. That they were determined to have no more chiefs, but in the future to have everything under the direction of the warriors;"³³ that the governor would see what would be done to the village chiefs who had sold the land, and unless he restored it he would be a party to the killing of them.

The bold and defiant attitude of the speaker, and the tone of insolence that pervaded all his words, astonished even the governor. A weak or corrupt man would have trembled in his place and been at a loss how to answer. Not so with Harrison. All who knew him, says John Law, were willing to acknowledge his courage, both moral and physical. He knew that the Treaty of Fort Wayne had been concluded under the instructions of government; that his dealings with the tribes had been open-handed and fair, even with the insignificant Weas of the lower waters; that the "unwarranted and unwarrantable" pretensions of Tecumseh were made largely for their effect upon the audience, and after Tecumseh's remarks had been openly interpreted by Barron, he arose without tremor or hesitation to deny the chief's assertions. He

³³ *Western Sun* (Vincennes), August 25, 1819.

spoke no doubt with some degree of force, for he undoubtedly understood by now that Tecumseh would never have given utterance to many of his charges without entertaining a belief that they would meet the approval of some traitorous faction of the assembly. He answered:

That the charges of bad faith made against our government, and the assertion that injustice had been done the Indians in any treaty ever made, or any council ever held with them by the United States, had no foundation in fact. That in all their dealings with the red men, they had ever been governed by the strictest rules of right and justice. That while other civilized nations had treated them with contumely and contempt, ours had always acted in good faith with them. That so far as he individually was concerned, he could say in the presence of the "Great Spirit," who was watching over their deliberations, that his conduct, even with the most insignificant tribe, had been marked with kindness, and all his acts governed by honor, integrity and fair dealing. That he had uniformly been the friend of the red men, and that it was the first time in his life that his motives had been questioned, or his actions impeached. It was the first time in his life that he had ever heard such unfounded claims put forth, as Tecumseh set up, by any chief, or any Indian, having the least regard for truth, or the slightest knowledge of the intercourse between the Indians and the white men, from the time this continent was first discovered. That as to the claim of Tecumseh that all the Indians were but one nation and owned the lands in common, that this could not be maintained; that at the time the white men arrived on the continent they had found the Miamis in possession of the Wabash that the Shawnees were then residents of Georgia, from which they had been driven by the Creeks; that the lands in question had been purchased from the Miamis who were the original owners of it; that if the Great Spirit had intended that the tribes should constitute but one nation, he would not have put different tongues in their heads, but taught them all to speak a language that all could understand, that the Miamis had been benefited by the annuities of the government and that the Seventeen Fires had always been punctual in the payment of them; that the Shawnees had no right to come from a distant country and control the Miamis in the disposal of their own property.³⁴

An event now took place, that but for the quick presence of mind and decisive action of the governor, might have terminated in bloodshed. Harrison had taken his seat and Barron had interpreted his reply to the Shawnees, and was turning to the Miamis and Pottawattamies, when Tecumseh excitedly sprang to his feet and told Barron to tell the governor that he lied. Barron, who as a subordinate in the

³⁴ Dawson, *Harrison*, 155-160.

Indian department, had great respect for his superiors, was seeking to mollify the harshness of this language, when he was again interrupted by Tecumseh, who said: "No! No! Tell him he lies!"³⁵ The governor noticed Tecumseh's angry manner, but thought he was seeking to make some explanation, when his attention was directed to Winamac who was cocking his pistol, and a moment later, General Gibson, who understood the Shawnee language, said to Lieutenant Jennings: "Those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard." In an instant all was confusion. The warriors on the grass sprang to their feet brandishing their war-clubs and tomahawks; Harrison extricated himself from his chair and drew his sword to defend himself; Major Floyd drew a dirk, and the Methodist minister Winans ran to the governor's house, got a gun, and stood by the door to protect the family. Such of the citizens as could armed themselves with brickbats. In the midst of this turmoil the guard came running up and were about to fire on the Indians, when Harrison quickly interposed and commanded them not to do so. He now demanded a full explanation, and when the intemperate words of Tecumseh were explained, told him he was a bad man and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come there under the protection of the council fire, he might go in safety, but that he must immediately leave the neighborhood. The firm stand and commanding attitude of the governor at once quieted the storm, and Tecumseh and his followers leisurely withdrew and retired to their camp. That night two companies of militia were brought in from the country, but no trouble occurred, and the time passed quietly until the morning.

It was a part of the local tradition of later years, that when Tecumseh called the governor a liar, that quick as a flash, he arose to his feet, drew his sword and was about to resent the insult, when his friends interfered and prevented the blow.³⁶ This story seems improbable, from the fact that the governor was aware that there were many unarmed citizens present, and that any rash or inconsiderate

³⁵ Law, *History of Vincennes*, 87-89.

³⁶ Smith, *History of Old Vincennes*, 266.

action on his part would precipitate a conflict that could only end in blood and carnage. He knew, moreover, that Tecumseh, by all the rules of civilized intercourse, even among open belligerents, was entitled to protection while engaged in council, and it is not probable that as brave a man as Harrison would violate these rules by becoming the aggressor. Instead, by quick word of command, he recalled the excited chief to his senses, dismissed him at once, and averted a catastrophe.

In the solitude of his camp that evening Tecumseh was forced to acknowledge defeat. The young governor instead of quailing had remained firm—it was plain that he was chosen plenipotentiary of his government in all the treaties that had been effected. Moreover, in his reply, the governor had not only emphatically repudiated all insinuations of unfairness towards the red men, but had put the chief himself on the defensive by showing that he was an interloper who sought to control the rightful possessions of others. At the last, it was the stolid savage who lost his self-control, and the governor, who by his respect for the laws of the council fire, had brought the flush of shame to the chieftain's cheek. That night, as he afterwards admitted at Fort Meigs, he felt a rising respect in his breast for the first magistrate of the Territory. He was doomed in after years to associate with the cowardly and contemptible Proctor, whom he called a "miserable old squaw," but from the day of this council he paid the involuntary tribute that one brave man always pays to another, though ranged on a hostile side.³⁷

Thoroughly convinced that his conduct of the day previous had been highly impolitic, the chieftain, at the dawn of day, sent for Barron, and said that he desired a further interview, declaring that he had no intention of attacking the governor on the day before, and that he had been advised to pursue the course he did on the counsel of certain white men; disclosing to Barron the circumstances heretofore related as to the visit of certain persons at the Prophet's Town who had said that the governor had no right to make the purchase of the lands on the Wabash; that he was unpopular

³⁷ Hatch, *War of 1812*, 115-119.

and would be removed from office, and that then the lands would be restored. The governor would not receive Tecumseh, however, until due apology had been made through the interpreter; and ample provision was made for the protection of the citizens by ordering the local company of Captain Jones to parade morning and evening and hold themselves ready for instant action. The governor also took the precaution to be well armed, as did several of his friends.³⁸

At this second council, Tecumseh's whole demeanor was changed. While remaining "firm and intrepid, he said nothing that was in the least insolent." He now disclosed in open council what he had theretofore told Barron as to the visits of the white men, and again declared that he had no intention of harming the governor. Harrison now informed the chief that he was about to cause a survey to be made of the New Purchase, and desired to know whether this process would be attended with any danger. Tecumseh at once replied that he and those affiliated with him were determined "that the old boundary line should continue, and that the crossing it would be attended with bad consequences." His words were severally confirmed by a Wyandot, a Kickapoo, a Pottawattamie, an Ottawa and a Winnebago, who each openly avowed that their tribes had entered into the Shawnee confederacy, and that Tecumseh had been chosen as their leader and chief.

This second council does not seem to have been of great length. In it, Tecumseh entirely abandoned any attempt at bluster, but firmly and positively stated to the governor that he would not consent to the sale of the Indian lands, and that any attempt to survey them would be met with resistance. This frank and open statement, elicited a response equally frank from the governor. He told Tecumseh that his claims would be transmitted in full to the President of the United States, and the reply of the President at once communicated to him when received, but that he was convinced that the President would never admit "that the lands on the Wabash, were the property of any other tribes, than those who had occupied and lived upon them," and as these

³⁸Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, II, 483,

lands had been fairly and openly purchased at Fort Wayne, that the right of the United States would be "supported by the sword." With these words the interview terminated.

That night the governor reflected. If the words of Tecumseh as uttered in council, were sincere and genuine, they amounted to an open declaration of war—the government must either entirely recede from the ground it had taken, and restore the lands, or prepare for the coming conflict. Concerning this issue there must be no doubt. The governor therefore resolved to repair to the headquarters of Tecumseh in person, and there, removed from the atmosphere of a council, hold private intercourse with the chieftain and read his intentions. He had hit upon this expedient once before in the proceedings at Fort Wayne and the experiment had proven successful. Accordingly, the following morning, throwing aside all considerations of personal danger, he suddenly appeared at the tent of Tecumseh, accompanied only by the interpreter Barron. He was most politely and respectfully received. Proceeding at once to the main point, he asked the chief if the declarations he had made in his two public interviews were his real sentiments. Tecumseh answered that they certainly were; that he had no grievance against the United States except the matter as to the purchase of the Indian lands, and that he would go to war with very great reluctance; that if Harrison would prevail upon the President to give back the lands, and promise never to consummate any more purchases without the consent of all the tribes, that he would be the faithful ally of the Americans and assist them in all their wars with the British. "He said he knew the latter were always urging the Indians to war for their own advantage, and not to benefit his countrymen; and here he clapped his hands, and imitated a person who halloos at a dog, to set him to fight with another, thereby insinuating that the British thus endeavored to set the Indians on the Americans." He said further that he had rather be a friend of the Seventeen Fires, but if they would not accede to his demands that he would be forced to join the English. The memory of Wayne, the commanding figure and dauntless courage of the present governor had had their

effect; compared to the vile and sneaking agents of the British government, who, in the security of their forts, were offering bounties for American scalps, and urging the Indians to a predatory warfare, the American leaders stood out in bold relief as both men and warriors. Tecumseh recognized this, but the die was cast and his purposes were unchangeable. Stripped of all its savage propensities, the heart of the Shawnee was really of heroic mold. Concerning that great principle of the survival of the fittest he knew nothing; of the onrushing forces of civilization and progress he had no just comprehension; but as the rising sun of the new republic appeared, he saw the light of his race fading into obscurity, and patriotically resolved to stand on his lands and resist to the last. Misinformed, misguided, he sought an alliance with the British, to stem the tide; instead of delaying, this but accelerated the decline of the tribes. Tecumseh, when it was too late, discovered that the promises of the British agents were false, and soon after his death the feeling engendered against the tribes, on account of their alliance with the English and the many atrocities they had committed, drove them beyond the Mississippi. But he who fights for his native land and from devotion to a principle, however wrong, must always be entitled to the respect of the brave.

If coolness and courage had had its effect on the one hand, the candor and honesty of his adversary, when met face to face, had also moved the governor. In after years, in an address before the Historical Society of Ohio, Harrison said: "I think it probable that Tecumseh possessed more integrity than any other of the chiefs who attained to much distinction."³⁹ He now repeated again that he would forward to the government all the propositions of the chief, but that there was little probability that they would be accepted. "Well," said Tecumseh, "as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head, to induce him to direct you to give up this land. It is true, he is so far off, he will not be injured by the war; he may still sit in his town and drink

³⁹ H. Montgomery, *Life of Harrison*, 318.

his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out." The conference ended with an appeal by Harrison, that in the event of war, no outrages should be committed on women and children and those who were unable to resist. This, the chief manfully acceded to, and said he would adhere to his promise.

Thus ended this remarkable conference participated in by the two greatest figures then in the western world. The one representing the advancing tide of immigration that was to build the cities and plow the fields of a new empire; the other representing the forlorn hope of a fast decaying race that was soon to be removed from the pathways of civilization.

Those who have vainly sought to make it appear that Harrison afterwards wrongfully passed over the northern boundary line of the new purchase to provoke a fight and bring on a conflict, have certainly scanned the records of this council at Vincennes with but little care. The truth is, that the two principal figures in that affair, parted each other's company fully realizing that hostilities were at hand. To say that Harrison was bound to sit helplessly in his capital while his enemies gathered a force sufficient to overwhelm him, and all without a move on his part to avert a calamity, but illustrates the foolishness of the whole contention. Immediately on the breaking up of the council, Tecumseh departed with a portion of his braves to organize and cement a federation of the tribes; Harrison, in the meantime, ordering an additional body of troops under Captain Percy Cross at Newport, Kentucky, to come to the relief of the settlements, and redoubling his vigilance to avoid the surprise of a sudden attack. Without hesitation, however, he wrote the surveyor general to make a survey; the lines to be run under the protection of the military.

The governor was informed by the Weas, that during the progress of the proceedings, they had been urged by four persons at Vincennes, whose names they furnished, to join the Prophet and insist upon a return of the lands. False representations were also made to the chiefs of this tribe that the purchase at Fort Wayne was made without the con-

sent or knowledge of the President, and that a council of the Miamis had been called on the Mississinewa, to make a full inquiry. The treasonable designs of this coterie came to naught. Whether British agencies were actually at work within the town, or whether the actions of this clique were prompted by the jealousy of the governor's political enemies, will probably never be fully known. Be that as it may, like all cravens of their kind, when the danger became imminent, they slunk out of view, and Harrison found himself surrounded by the brave and valorous of every settlement, both in the vicinity of Vincennes and on the borders of Kentucky.

Much conjecture has been indulged in, as to whether Tecumseh actually meditated an attack at the time of the first council. That his impulsive action might well have led to disastrous consequences, but for the cool, quick command of the governor may well be conceded, but that he formed any premeditated design before coming to the council, must admit of some doubt. The reasoning of Drake possesses cogency. He states that Tecumseh's probable purpose in attending the meeting with a considerable force was to

Make a strong impression upon the whites as to the extent of his influence among the Indians, and the strength of his party. His movement in the council may have been concerted for the purpose of intimidating the governor; but the more probable suggestion is, that in the excitement of the moment, produced by the speech of the governor, he lost his self-possession, and involuntarily placed his hand upon his war-club, in which movement he was followed by the warriors around him, without any previous intention of proceeding to extremities. Whatever may have been the fact, the bold chieftain found in Governor Harrison a firmness of purpose and an intrepidity of manner which must have convinced him that nothing was to be gained by an effort at intimidation, however daring.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Drake, *Life of Tecumseh*, 130.

Minor Notices

THE M'CORMICK FAMILY AS PIONEERS

(From a letter by M. C. Martz, of Arcadia, Ind., to Chauncey Langdon, dated May 26, 1916.)

THE history of the McCormick family can be traced back to an early period in Scotland. When the trouble arose between the Established Church and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland the McCormicks on account of persecution emigrated to the northern part of Ireland. They remained there for a while and later emigrated to America and settled in Pennsylvania and Virginia. John McCormick, Sr., a member of this family, was born near Winchester, Virginia, August 30, 1754. The records of the War Department show that he enlisted three times during the Revolutionary struggle for independence, his service continuing during the greater portion of the war. After the close of the war he moved his family to Ohio, but later to Indiana while it was yet a part of the Northwest Territory, settling where the city of Connersville now stands. His death occurred April 18, 1837. Catherine McCormick, his wife, died February 22, 1862, at the age of ninety-three years. After the death of her husband she was pensioned as the widow of a Revolutionary soldier.

John McCormick, Jr., the founder of Indianapolis, was the fourth child; his birth occurred September 15, 1791. In the year 1811 he was married to Bethiah Case, of near Hamilton, Ohio. Soon after their marriage the second war with Great Britain broke out and, like his father of Revolutionary fame, he also took up arms in defense of his country. After the close of this struggle he and his wife moved to the home of his father near Connersville, Indiana. He remained there until the year 1820, when, with the assistance of his brothers, James and Samuel McCormick, and nine men to cut the trail, he moved his family to the present site of Indianapolis and

built his cabin on the banks of White river. Before the stream could be crossed it was necessary to make a canoe or dugout, which was hastily constructed from a tree near the river. In a few weeks after settling here, Mr. McCormick built a ferry which afforded other settlers coming in an easier way of crossing. After operating the ferry for a few years he moved up the river and built a mill on the river, just opposite Crown Hill cemetery, operating the same until his death. While the men who accompanied Mr. McCormick were assisting in building a cabin the family lived in the wagons. They were kept warm by keeping huge piles of logs burning. After the cabin was completed James and Samuel McCormick with the men who accompanied them returned to Connersville, and the family remaining did not see the face of a white person until some time in March, when James McCormick returned with his family.

Reviews and Notes

The First Century of the Public Schools of Tippecanoe County.
By BRAINARD HOOKER, County Superintendent, Lafayette, 1916.

THIS is a historic and pictorial review of school work of Tippecanoe county. The most attractive feature of the book to an outsider is the illustrations. First are pictures representing the past—a grist-mill, a saw-mill, Harrison Monument, Fort Ouiatenon, Soldiers' Home, Prophet's Rock, the Last Wooden Bridge, etc. Then comes a series of school-houses, first a log house, then a box house with the boards on end (French fashion), then the weatherboarded cottage style, then the red brick, and last are the pictures of eighteen modern buildings built since 1907. Sketches of the principal educators are given, as well as short accounts of the evolution of the various schools of the county. A set of maps shows the organization of the townships of the county. Altogether, it is a very appropriate little centennial volume—just about enough reading to explain the illustrations and just about enough pictures to illustrate the reading.

History of Hancock County, Indiana. By GEORGE J. RICHMAN, B.L. William Mitchell Printing Co., Greenfield, Ind., 1916. \$5.00.

THE author in this book has achieved what he states in his preface was his aim—"to trace the growth of the county from a wilderness to what it is today." Throughout the book the past is set over against and compared with the present. In the illustrations the old courthouse is pictured with the new; the old county seminary with a modern school; the old church with the new; the old Masonic temple with the new; the old pioneer with the modern descendant. The 815 large pages constitute an encyclopedia of information concerning

the county, arranged in readable order. The general history of the county is followed by that of the townships. The social phases of the history, education, military annals, politics, temperance, literature, the legal and medical professions follow, and most interesting are the many biographical details woven in. There are no paid biographies. List of county and townships officers are given. Fraternal and benevolent societies, commercial companies, the newspapers—in short, there is so much that one is surprised at the activity of modern society. As a history of a typical Indiana county, Hancock offers a fine field for sociological and historical study. Mr. Richman has done a favor for his county which will be appreciated as long as the descendants of its present inhabitants live there.

Bulletin No. 8 of the Indiana Historical Commission, December, 1916, contains the record of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Indiana's admission into the Union. The celebration took place in the state house at Indianapolis December 11, 1916. The centennial address was delivered by Prof. James A. Woodburn. His theme was "The Foundations of the Commonwealth." The theme was a favorite one and the address was entirely worthy of the occasion. Hon. William Dudley Foulke of Richmond read a centennial ode full not only of patriotic fervor but of poetic qualities.

THE *American Historical Review* for January has for its leading article President George L. Burr's address to the American Historical Association on the "Freedom of History." Other articles are by Herbert C. Bell on "The West India Trade Before the Revolution"; Victor Coffin on "Censorship and Literature Under Napoleon," and by Carl R. Fish on "Social Relief in the Northwest During the Civil War."

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January has a discussion of special legislation in Iowa by Ivan L. Pollock; an article on "Recent Liquor Legislation in Iowa," by Dan E. Clark, and a "History of the Congregational Church of Iowa City," by Joseph S. Heffner.

THE *German-American Annals* for December, 1916, contains a valuable article for Indiana history by Dr. Preston A. Barba, of the German faculty of Indiana University. The article is entitled "The General Swiss Colonization Society." This society was organized in Cincinnati in 1857. In this same year, through the agency of Judge Elisha M. Huntington, 4,000 acres were purchased and the city of Tell City laid out. The article is a contribution to American history as well as to Indiana history. Dr. Barba had access to many of the company's records, loaned him by the city of Tell City.

THE *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has an article entitled "Daniel Boone at Limestone," by David I. Bushnell, Jr.

THE *Catholic Historical Review* for January has a general review of the last century of the Catholic church, under the title of "Loss and Gain Problem 1800-1916," by Rt. Rev. J. F. Regis Canevin, D.D., and an article by Joseph Magri, M.A., D.D., on "Catholicity in Virginia, 1850-1872."

THE *Smith College Studies* for January, 1917, is taken up entirely with the correspondence between George Bancroft and Jared Sparks. The latter was editor of the *North American Review* and the former was the reviewer for historical literature. Many letters are given showing the relation between editor and reviewer in that day. It may be observed that that day has passed with most reviewers and magazines.

MR. FRANK N. DUNCAN of Bloomington presented to the survey a unique volume of political literature. It consists of all the campaign documents used by the Republican State Central Committee in the campaign of 1888. The documents, sixty-eight in number, were bound for I. N. Huston.

ONE of the most interesting books that have come to the survey is a *History of Lewis Township, Clay County, Indiana*, written by the teachers and pupils of the township schools, arranged and edited by Miss Eunice Asbury, also one of the teachers. The volume consists of 109 pages printed double

column. The material was first published in the *Brazil News-Democrat*. There are thirteen chapters, the first two being given to the history of the township and its geology, and the others to the fourteen school districts. Lists of teachers, trustees, squires and preachers are given; accounts of churches, stores, creeks and other neighborhood places of interest. The style, English and general arrangement of the book are excellent. It is not necessary to be told that this formed a very pleasant diversion for the teachers and pupils. There is evidence that at least some composition work in the schools has been enjoyed. The *News-Democrat* is to be congratulated in cooperating with the children. Nor must mention be omitted of Mr. Woodrow's poem, "Fishin' on Briley Crick." It has the Hoosier sentiment.

THE January *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has articles on "Effects of Secession Upon the Commerce of the Mississippi Valley," by E. Merton Coulter; "Alabama and the Federal Government," by Theodore H. Jack; "Sir John Johnson, Loyalist," by Mabel G. Walker, and one more contribution on "Verendrye," by O. G. Libby.

THE *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1917, contains an article on "Commercial Aspects of the Texas Santa Fe Trade," by Thomas M. Marshall. Also articles on the "Diplomatic Relations Between France and Texas," by H. R. Edwards, and the "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," should be of interest to Indianians.

IN the January *Indiana Alumni Quarterly* Dr. James A. Woodburn continues his historical sketches of Indiana University. The article deals with the gloomy period after the fire of 1854. A page picture of the new (1855) building is given. Frederic Truedley (1878) also writes reminiscently of his college days.

THE *Indianapolis Star*, December 3, 1916, contained a two-column account of the Shaker foundation on Shaker Prairie, Sullivan county, Indiana. The settlement was established in 1805 and lasted till the Civil war period. The com-

munity resembled the Rappites of New Harmony in many ways. On account of their friendship with the Prophet they were regarded with some suspicion during the War of 1812 when the American soldiers destroyed or carried away a great deal of their property.

THE Indiana Historical Commission announces the publication of five volumes of Indiana historical material. These will be welcomed by the people of Indiana not only for the books themselves, but as the beginning of a movement that will make the material of Indiana history more available. The commission ought to insist on better binding and better paper in the next volumes. The State of Indiana cannot afford to advertise its poverty so widely. Reviews of these volumes will appear later.

THE *Elementary School Journal* for November and December, 1916, contains two articles by Dr. R. M. Tryon, of the School of Education, Chicago University. These articles are entitled "Household Manufacture in the United States," and deal with the period 1784-1809. Dr. Tryon has about completed a volume on this phase of economic history. The author is a Hoosier teacher of wide acquaintance, a graduate of the State Normal and the State University.

THE Anheuser-Busch Company of St. Louis has recently issued for free distribution a brochure on the "Exploration of the West," illustrated by nine pictures in colors from the painter, O. E. Berninghaus. The pictures represent De Soto discovering the Mississippi, Marquette descending the Mississippi, La Clede landing at the site of St. Louis, Lewis and Clark on the upper Missouri, Fremont in sight of the Rockies, the St. Louis wharf in the seventies, Indians robbing a stage and a caravan on the plains.

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Published Quarterly

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Single Number, 50 Cents.

Address all communications to the Managing Editor, Bloomington, Ind.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XIII

JUNE, 1917

No. 2

Pioneer Politics in Indiana

By LOGAN ESAREY, Indiana University

THE formation of their State government is the most important duty that devolves on a community of people. When the State is running smoothly people frequently look upon the politicians as rather a useless, if not a mischievous body of citizens. It is only when the government, either national or local, gets in a bad way that we get serious about the subject. The great crises of society are pretty nearly all political. Communities prosper and live long very largely in proportion to the quality of their government. The chief differences between American and other people are political. The chief distinction between Hoosiers and their neighbors are political. The State government directs our daily business, controls and operates our schools, protects our churches, guarantees our property and protects our lives. Hoosiers are often taunted with being politicians. The charge can hardly be denied and certainly no Hoosier objects to it. In the civil war Indiana sent more troops to battle than she had voters. Politics and patriotism usually go hand in hand. It is not a reproach but a credit to the State that this is as nearly true in Indiana as in any State in the Union.

Indiana has taken part in twenty-six presidential campaigns. In all but four of these elections the vote of Indiana has gone to the successful candidate. In 1836 Indiana voted for Harrison in preference to Van Buren. Four years later the nation ratified the choice of Indiana. In 1848 the State supported Cass because Taylor in his official report of the Bat-

tle of Buena Vista in the Mexican war had deeply wronged the Indiana troops and had cast a serious reflection on the honor of the Hoosier name. In 1876 the State gave Tilden a plurality of 5,000 and there are those who think a fair election would have vindicated the choice of Indiana. No other State has quite so good a record.

It is no accident that Indiana has thus so accurately interpreted the public opinion of the nation. Her people have always been alert politicians, have always welcomed political speakers from all parts of the country, and have always heard them with open minds. There has never been a time when Indiana could be "conceded" to any party.

Another line of evidence will lead to the same conclusion. In twenty-four presidential campaigns the State has registered its political conviction by popular vote. In 1824, our first national election in which the people voted, the State cast nearly 16,000 votes out of a voting population of 29,000, over fifty per cent. of its voting strength. Massachusetts cast about three-eighths of its voting strength and Virginia with a voting population of over 215,000 cast nearly 1,000 less votes than Indiana. In 1840 the State cast 117,000 votes out of a possible 137,000; Massachusetts cast 126,000 out of 147,000; Virginia cast 86,000 out of 268,000; Ohio 273,000 out of over 300,000; and Kentucky 91,105 out of 160,000. In 1860 Indiana cast over 90 per cent. of its votes. The calculation has not been completed but I have carried it far enough to show that practically all the available voters in the State have always found their way to the polls on election day. The political history of the State is thus doubly interesting because it so nearly parallels that of the nation.

Almost all the voters, when the State was admitted, were believers in the political teachings of Jefferson. They belonged to the old Jeffersonian Republican party. A few Federalists such as Judge Charles Dewey and Samuel Merrill might have been found, but they soon affiliated with the Republicans. When Indiana was admitted there was thus only one party, and very little faction in it. The old issues such as slavery and aristocracy which had divided the people in territorial times had disappeared. Even the Constitutional

Convention was almost without political antagonism, certainly there was no partisanship manifested.

The first political question which stirred the Hoosier pioneers was the fundamental one of Jeffersonian or Jacksonian politics. Those who made the constitution and administered the government under it for twenty years were firm in the Jeffersonian faith. They believed in the masses participating in politics only so far as to vote. The administrators or officers should come from the professional or educated class. This policy would lead to long terms in office, and that to an office-holding class. There being, in a strict sense, no political party in the State the first generation of politicians did not find it necessary to organize in a political way as we have since become accustomed to do. In fact political machinery had not then been developed anywhere.

It is said, with considerable historical evidence to support the statement, that the political affairs of the first ten years of our history were adjusted almost entirely by three men, a kind of Hoosier Triumvirate. These three men were Governor Jonathan Jennings of Clark county, Congressman William Hendricks of Jefferson county and Senator James Noble of Franklin county. Jennings served two terms, the constitutional limit, as governor and then became a congressman, serving until intemperance drove him from his office. Hendricks served six years in Congress, the period during which the State had only one representative, then became governor, changing to the United States Senate at the end of his term. He served in the United States Senate till the political tension between Clay and Jackson forced him to join a party or retire. He chose the latter and retired. Noble served in the United States Senate till his death, February 26, 1831. These men as stated above were Jeffersonian Republicans, but never formally joined either of the new parties. How closely they worked together is largely a matter of speculation though it is certain they never actively opposed each other. They had staunch supporters throughout the State and likewise bitter political enemies.

It seems that Jennings was politically the master mind of the Triumvirate. He was a professional politician, devoting

all his time to that occupation. He was as great a letter writer in comparison as Jefferson whom he imitated. He made long horseback trips over the southern part of the State electioneering, on which journeys he would frequently be away from home for a month at a time. He likewise made good use of the newspapers not only writing articles himself but enlisting the editors to write in his behalf. His electioneering activities had to be disguised as much as possible as the pioneers objected to that manner of soliciting office. Being an officer he naturally "had business" in all parts of the State and when he "dropped in" at a working, militia muster, circuit court, or camp meeting he was invariably "on his way" some place else.

Hendricks made use of the newspapers, the congressional frank, letter writing, and personal attention to matters in Congress. He was a superior man and a good officer though of no great ability as compared with the leaders in Congress. He had the earnest support of a number of newspapers through his tactful distribution of the publication of local United States Laws, a perquisite at that time equal to the present county or State advertising. At the end of each session of Congress he wrote up a lengthy review of the session which he published in practically every newspaper in the State. He furnished the newspapers at the earliest possible moment with copies of the president's message which every paper delighted to publish. Public documents galore were sent not only to the editors but to all other important men in the State. He was a hard worker, giving unstinted attention to all public affairs in which his constituents and the State at large were interested. Especially was this true with regard to pensions for Revolutionary soldiers, pay for the rangers of the war of 1812, the militia that served under Harrison, and appropriations to construct the National Road.

Noble was never a candidate before the people. His eloquence before juries in the circuit court and his participation in the militia musters, in which he was a general and made an imposing appearance on his fine gray horse, kept him prominently before the people.

It was charged by their political opponents that these men

controlled the politics of the State till about 1830 or later. They are said to have held caucuses at the State capital every year to repair their political fences, lay their plans and parcel out the offices for the ensuing year. The statement is doubtless too broad but it just as certainly contains the essential truth of the matter. All three men were lawyers by profession and it was the custom of the State bar to meet at the capital for the November term of the supreme court, just before the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the State and the national Congress. A majority of the members of both bodies were lawyers thus making it an ideal time for such a caucus.

It was considered bad taste for a candidate to announce himself for office. He was supposed to come out in response to the demand of his friends and it was common for him to insist that he was not a candidate until fairly forced to it by his friends. These announcements were usually provided for at this caucus or one held about the close of the session of the legislature. A paper in the Whitewater Valley, for instance, would observe that a certain man was being urged to run for the legislature in Harrison county whereupon the candidate's home paper at Corydon would announce that the man was a candidate. It will be recalled in this connection that it was customary for General Jackson to be mentioned for the presidency by some editor in New Hampshire, by the legislature of Tennessee, or a paper in New Orleans and then the newspapers, say of Ohio, would quote approvingly. It is still a matter of dispute who first nominated General William Henry Harrison.

Such were the methods and practices in pioneer Indiana. Each county was a State in miniature so far as politics were concerned. But the offices were pretty successfully harvested by a small group of men. Sixteen of the forty-two members of the Constitutional Convention returned to the first session of the General Assembly. At least six more accepted important offices under the constitution. All told the members of the Convention sat for a total of 154 terms in the legislature, thus making an average of four years' service in that body for each member of the Convention. Considering thirty-six,

the number of members in the first session, to have remained the size of the Assembly, there would have been an average attendance of seventeen of the ex-members of the Constitutional Convention. These of course controlled the legislature. Add to these the members serving on the bench, in the administrative service of the State, and in the federal government and one can readily sympathize with those who cried out against the "office-holding aristocracy."

There was considerable dissatisfaction with the new constitution. The following quotations from contemporary papers illustrate this.

CONVENTION

As few things are better calculated to arouse the attention of the faithful citizen who is jealous of his liberties than an attack upon the charter of his rights, I will, in the first place, present you with "An act to authorize the qualified voters of this State, to vote for or against a convention, for the revision of the constitution of this State, at the next annual election." This bill contemplates, that the voter will express upon his ticket, the word *Convention*, or *no Convention*, as he may decide.

Although the present constitution possesses some inestimable excellencies, upon which it is presumed a subsequent convention would erect a more perfect political edifice, yet it contains a greater number of defects, highly unsuitable to the meridian of Indiana, and the prosperity of her people; which if not expunged, must continue to oppress her citizens with enormous taxation, and keep her treasury poor. Ten thousand dollars are annually spent, in fruitless legislation, and not unfrequently on subjects that might be heard and remedied before the judiciary, with but a comparatively small expense to the government. Such will continue to be the situation of affairs until, by a new constitution the General Assembly is required to convene only once every two years, unless oftener called by the executive in cases of emergency.

Removing all officers by impeachment without distinction, before so numerous a body as the Legislature, at the cost of rising two hundred dollars per day, it is evident at first blush is an unpardonable misconception of policy, and too prodigal an expenditure of public money, for Indiana, with all her other difficulties to tolerate.

The judiciary, which must ever be considered the palladium of our liberties, and the principal check upon the democratical branch of the government, always preserving the vessel of the republic, against the violent waves of popular phrenzy is, it is generally believed, badly calculated to administer equal justice. One of its main appendages, (the Supreme Court), is too remote from the people, which places in the hands of the rich a predominating power over the poor. I might enumerate a

number of other fatal defects in that instrument, but the good sense of my constituents know them already too well by their operation; and with that knowledge will discover the reasons of the proposed alteration.¹

The publication of this provoked the following answer by the editor, a typical Jeffersonian Republican of the office-holding class. Note his insinuation that Governor Ray favored the introduction of slavery, though he must have known that no man in Indiana had less admiration for the system than Mr. Ray.

CONVENTION

Junius, a newspaper writer in favor of a Convention, has attempted to point out some defects, which he wishes amended, for some of which he proposes a remedy, and for others none. He thinks that if the constitution was so amended that the Legislature would meet only biennially, there might be a saving of the expense of an annual session. If an annual session is a grievous defect in our constitution then are the constitutions of chiefly all the States in the Union likewise defective, and it is extremely unfortunate that some of the older States have lived so long in this error without discovering it. The same objection might operate against the constitution of the United States, which authorizes an annual meeting of Congress, and who ever thought a biennial meeting of Congress would be a saving of money. So general is the precedents of annual meetings of Legislatures throughout the history of government that it is not reasonable to expect that a convention, if called, would alter the constitution in that particular. Reference to the States which have biennial sessions produces no flattering argument in favor of it. The General Assembly of the State of Illinois met last winter on the first Monday of December and adjourned about the 20th of February, which was about double the time our Assembly sat. If our's should meet but once in two years, but at the same time, when it does meet, should sit double the length of time, like Illinois, what do we save thereby? Nothing. But if the Legislature might produce the proposed saving without violating the constitution, there is no necessity for calling a convention for the purpose of effecting this change in it. This might be done two ways. First, By apportioning the representation so as to have only half the number of members; the expenses would be reduced one-half; second, if the Legislature, with its present number of representatives, would curtail the session to one-half the time, the pay and expenses would be diminished in like proportion. If either or both of these methods are practicable, at all times, for the Legislature, without contravening any provision of the constitution, there is no reason, on this account, to incur the expense of a Convention to do what the General Assembly might do, if thereto disposed.

¹ Extract from a speech by J. B. Ray, at Brookville, February 12, 1823, in the *Corydon Gazette*, February 26, 1823, p. 3.

The same writer thinks that Associate Judges are only a clog to justice, and might be dispensed with; and goes into a detailed calculation of the expenses of that office to the State generally, and the counties in particular, without proposing any substitute therefor, with or without expense. Abolish the office of Associate Judges, and who then shall attend to the probate business in the several counties? If this be made the duty of the Circuit Judges, it cannot be expected without expense to the counties or State nor can it reasonably be expected that the business will be done as safely for the interest of the orphans, by a person who is a stranger and consequently unacquainted with the circumstances of administrators and their securities. Scarce a session of the Legislature has passed without an effort being made to abolish the office of county commissioners, which is a part of the same system of government, and it could not be done, though there is no constitutional objection. We take this as a clear intimation of the will of the people, that they are satisfied with the system of government and the organization of the Circuit Courts; and if a convention was called, the office of Associate Judges would be retained. If so, it would be folly to call a convention on this account.

Junius also complains of that part of the constitution which constitutes the Senate a court of impeachment, for the trial of petty officers, such as Justices of the Peace, and of the expenses attendant on such trials; yet he proposes no substitute. Any substitute might be without precedent, and therefore exceptionable. Most, if not all, the constitutions of the States, as well as of the United States, contain this provision. Would the people consider the rights of their officers secure, if amenable to any other tribunal? Or should the tenure of even the office of Justice of the Peace be less guarded than that of governor? Both are derived from the people, and both are necessary in the organization of government. What would the people of Indiana think of a high court of impeachment formed of two or more magistrates to try the governor, impeached with some high crime or misdemeanor? Would any court less than the Honorable Senate be acceptable in such a case? Then if not for the trial of a governor, why for the trial of the pettiest commissioned officer under the State government?

As to the expense of this mode of trial, we have little to complain of as yet. During the seven years' existence of the State government, four cases of impeachment have been tried before the Senate. Two were Clerks of the Circuit Court, and two were Justices of the Peace. Only one of the four cases resulted in a conviction. Where is there to be found an example of greater moderation than this? The State would have been fortunate indeed could it have exhibited a similar example of economy in the articles of speechifying, and calling for the Ayes and Noes, on questions of little importance. Nevertheless, the convention mania has never driven its votaries to such excess, as to attempt an embargo on words, though the speech may be nothing better than sound-

ing nonsense, or to curtail the privilege of recording the Ayes or Noes of an honorable servant of the people, though it may be on a question of adjournment.

James B. Ray, a senator from the county of Franklin, in an address to his constituents, objects to the organization of the Judiciary System, under our constitution, particularly the Supreme Court, which is "too remote from the people," and though he proposes no substitute definitely, yet if he means anything, he wishes a Supreme Court to be held in every county within the State, and like Ohio, twice in every year. He, too, is vociferous in the flattering and plausible argument of economy and saving of public money. How it is to be accomplished by his scheme of Supreme Court remains for him to demonstrate. To have two sessions of the Supreme Court annually in each county would require, at least, double the number of judges, and consequently double the amount of salary. And it would require the additional attendance of juries and otherwise, of farmers, merchants, mechanics, etc., to whom the loss of time is the loss of money. This scheme might verily produce some good berths for some attorneys, as additional judges, and for their friends, as clerks of the courts; but how money is to be saved, or the poor benefited thereby, is beyond our humble comprehension.

The only remaining defect, in our constitution, which has hitherto been publicly adverted to, has been noticed by our brethren of the type in the State of Kentucky; which is, that it does not admit of Slavery. A call of a convention, we have no doubt, is quite a popular theme throughout Kentucky, and why? Because they would wish our constitution so amended as to admit the introduction of slavery into our State. It would afford such a fine market for their negroes. And forsooth a great many, with droves of blacks, would become settlers on our fertile lands. Soon would our forests fall by the hand of Africa's sable sons; while the echo of the whip, and the horrid shrieks of suffering humanity would musically greet the ears of freemen. If such practice comports with the principle of justice in government, by the laws of God or man, and if the majority of the freemen of Indiana wish to enrich themselves by this traffic, then they will vote for a convention to expunge from the palladium of our liberty this obnoxious prohibitor. It cannot be true that a majority of our citizens would desire the introduction of slavery; though we shrewdly suspect that slavery is the *summum bonum* of the prime movers of a convention; and however secret it may now be kept behind the curtain, if the vote should eventuate in a convention, it would burst forth in an impetuous torrent.

We shall vote against a convention, because we think it impolitic. We admire the wisdom and policy of those sages, who formed our constitution, in prescribing periods of twelve years for the revision of the first principles of our government. It gives reasonable scope to benefit by experience; foils the intrigues of factious demagogues and allays the capricious fervor of the disappointed office hunters, whose only hopes are nurtured by thundering clamor and continual change. The dire effects

of the frequent changes of statutes is almost intolerable on community; but the frequent changes in constitutions or first principles of government is the direct road to anarchy. If the present attempt, by the Legislature should result in a convention, any constitution formed thereby, however perfect it may be, will have its opposition; and we may reasonably calculate, as the precedent is once set, that annual applications will be made to the Legislature for a call of a convention, by the discontented. Thus the convention fervor will be excited from year to year, strange objections started and new principles advocated among the people, until the body politic becomes completely sceptical, and this asylum of liberty be plunged into a sink of iniquity and corruption. We have now, all things considered, a pretty good constitution. But few States in the Union can boast of a better. A convention now might produce one infinitely worse. Our State is growing up with great rapidity, by emigrants from almost every section of the United States, as well as other countries with their various habits, feelings and sentiments, which will require time to amalgamate; therefore we conclude, that good policy should dictate the propriety of waiting the constitutional period for Indiana to revise her constitution.²

The *Indiana Farmer* of Salem joined in the argument as quoted below. It was especially fearful of the slavery question.

In order to prepare the public mind on the subject of calling a convention to amend the constitution, we have this day extracted a piece from the Louisville *Public Advertiser*, and shall hereafter embrace every opportunity of giving our readers information on the subject. The editor of that paper seems to congratulate his readers on the prospect of Illinois and Indiana becoming slave holding States, and very humanely, as he supposes, suggests the propriety of such a measure, in order to relieve and ameliorate the condition of the slaves, by spreading them over a greater extent of country. He says this subject "seems to be entirely overlooked by the opponents of conventions." But so far as we are acquainted with the views of the Indiana legislature, in authorizing a vote for a convention, the subject of slavery was not made a question; consequently the doctrine of diffusing slaves would not properly come under discussion. As it respects this subject, when the introduction of slavery is the question, it is never overlooked by the opponents, but viewed with an impartial eye, both as it respects the policy and the justice of the measure. It has often been handled in this State; and but a few years since, when the Missouri question was under discussion, the newspapers, throughout the Union, teemed with arguments, pro and con, on the policy of this diffusion, and the subject was too forcibly illustrated to be obliterated from the public mind in so short a period. The arguments in favor of this dispersion might appear truly logical to minds already biased in

² Corydon *Gazette*, April 2 and 9, 1823.

favor of the principles of slavery, but can never be recognized as such by those who view the subject in its proper light.

The question may, in our opinion, be viewed in all its bearings. Indiana is an independent, and in many respects a separate State, and the policy of introducing slavery should embrace the principles in every respect, as much as if she belonged to a separate and distinct nation, with no other country within a thousand miles of her that tolerated the practice; and we make no hesitation in pronouncing him no less a barbarian who would advocate it than the one who first conceived and put the principles into practice.

Humanity forbids, view the question as we may, the introduction of slavery, and let whatever be said about dispersing them, in order to lessen human misery, to the contrary notwithstanding. But for once suppose this State should admit slavery, and in consequence of which, a hundred thousand slaves would be introduced from other States, would it not leave a vacancy for the introduction of as many more, to fill their places? Most unquestionably, and which would be filled by importations, smuggled into our country by a variety of ways. If we enhance their value, we increase the inducements for smuggling them, which will be done as long as it can be made profitable, and the people will connive at it. Such is the disposition of kidnappers and slave-drivers, that the prospect of a profitable trip to Africa, aided and defended by their friends at home, would, and we have no doubt does, induce hundreds of them to run all risks of apprehension from the officers of the government.

Increase the value of slaves and we add to human misery: diminish the value, and we lessen it. Slavery should be confined to as small limits as possible, and the justice and policy of emancipation will be the sooner discovered.³

These selections have been quoted at length not only to show the political thoughts prevailing at the time but more especially to show where the new constitution was causing friction.

The settlers of Indiana were intensely democratic. As an evidence of this they had made most of the official terms short and in the two most important, governor and sheriff, had limited the succession to two terms. One can imagine with what feelings they now beheld the offices monopolized by this small group. The Hoosiers are sometimes over-patient with politicians but sooner or later they have always put an end to any political situation that did not suit them. In this early instance they were not slow to challenge the officeholders.

Means of attack were sought and soon found. Someway

³ Corydon *Gazette*, April 9, 1823, p. 3., quoting the *Indiana Farmer*.

the common voters must be organized and brought to the polls. The newspapers had a very limited circulation and the editors had a very limited vision of the political field. There were no roads and public meetings were largely neighborhood affairs. Only at rare intervals did a man acquainted with the political situation from a distant part of the State, visit a neighborhood and ten chances to one he was a politician of the office-holding class; if not he was a circuit riding Methodist preacher who paid no attention to politics. The church and the militia organization doubtless offered the solution for the political situation in 1824, the former for a State organization the latter for a local organization.

The situation reached a critical period in Indiana in 1824. There were several important issues dividing the people. Besides the rising discontent against the office-holders, there was the question of the caucus, both local and national, the manner of choosing the presidential electors, (they had been chosen by the General Assembly in 1816 and 1820) and the question of the relation of a representative to his constituents. This latter question was usually called the "right of instruction." This question is still alive; one might say "perniciously" alive in 1912. The Democrats insisted that their representative should vote according to his platform or resign. A number of Democratic members actually resigned their positions rather than vote contrary to the known wishes of their constituents. In the legislative journal are a number of instances in which Democrats explained their votes by saying they were instructed to vote as they did. On the other hand the Whigs as a rule went on the theory that in the election a superior man was chosen but left free to vote as he thought best under the conditions as they arose. A testy Whig in a Whitewater convention said they might as well send an ass to the legislature with instructions tied to his pack saddle as to send an instructed representative. This alternative seems to have been taken in some cases.

It soon came about that those who opposed the caucus, favored electing presidential electors by popular vote, and insisted that all representatives carry out the instructions of their constituents, were supporters of Jackson. They thus

stood for a greater democracy and gradually accepted the name of Jacksonian Democrats in opposition to all those who took the opposite side of these questions and came to be known in Indiana as Clay men, Clay Republicans and finally Whigs.

The following account from *Niles' Register*, February 7, 1824, shows the sentiment of the people on caucuses. Its fate in the General Assembly shows what the office-holders thought of the resolution.

WHEREAS, the encouragement given to caucus nominations for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States excites in us the liveliest apprehensions for the safety of the Union, because we believe it to be a practice tormenting the people in the exercise of their dearest franchise, at war with their feelings and the principles of their political institutions, nourishing the growth of party intrigue, which carries in its train every species of dangerous and degrading corruption; and a practice which if not checked in its progress will ultimately undermine the sacred rights, the prosperity and happiness of the American people, therefore in obedience to our duty to the State we represent, to our fellow citizens of the Union be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana; that it is the right of the people reserved by them in the constitution to elect the President and the Vice-President of the United States, and that any attempt by congressional nominations, in caucus or otherwise, to exercise this invaluable privilege unless authorized by the constitution, should be regarded by the American people as a dangerous encroachment on their rights, tending to ruin the Republic.

Resolved further, that his excellency, the governor, be requested to transmit to our senators and representatives in Congress this plain and matured opinion expressed by the House of Representatives of the people of this State.

This was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 36 to 8.

The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the State militia in their State meeting in April, 1823, resolved "That we do highly appreciate the valuable services of Henry Clay and do most cordially recommend him as a suitable person to fill the office of chief magistrate of the United States." Previous to this the rank and file of the Harrison county militia, after their usual exercises on muster day formed themselves into one of the first county conventions spoken of in history.

HARRISON COUNTY, IA., June 17, 1820.

At a meeting of the delegates appointed by the different Militia Companies, held at the house of Jacob Conrad, in the Harrison district, for the purpose of nominating fit persons to be supported for the next General Assembly; Mr. Jonathan Wright was unanimously called to the chair, and Mr. Barnabas Baxley appointed secretary; after which the house adopted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That Patrick Shields be recommended to the voters of this district as a suitable person to be supported at the ensuing election to represent us in the Senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. Dennis Pennington.

2. *Resolved*, That Jacob Zenor, Jacob Kintner, and Henry Green, be recommended to the voters of this district as suitable persons to be supported at the ensuing election to represent us in the House of Representatives.

3. *Resolved*, That George Bentley be recommended to the voters of Harrison county, as a suitable person to be supported at the ensuing election, to serve us as a county commissioner.

The committee would observe, as it has been a course heretofore not pursued in this State, that in adopting the foregoing resolutions, they do not wish to dictate to the people; but it has been a course pursued by States older than the one of which we have become citizens; and we take this occasion to express the opinions of the different Militia Companies, of which we are the representatives, and would state that in our opinion, the people ought, if they attend to the interests and feelings of the farmers and mechanics of this district, to support the candidates which they have designated in the above resolutions.

The committee would solicit the Militia Companies of the counties generally throughout the State, to hold similar meetings to the one which is now held, to nominate persons to represent us in the different branches of the State government; as it is our wish, not only to provide for ourselves, but for our offspring, against the endeavors of those who wish to misrepresent our feelings and subvert the interests of our country. We explicitly state that we wish to support the farmer and mechanic—they are the mainstay of our country—they are the firm supporters of our republican constitution; and we, as a committee, wish to prevent an evil which has long prevailed, *viz*: of electing persons who do not really feel an interest in the general welfare.

It is recommended by this committee, to the Militia Companies of this district, and to the Militia Companies of the State generally, to appoint, at the ensuing April Muster, two men for each company, to meet at any place and time which may be designated by them, for the purpose of nominating persons calculated to represent their feelings and interests.

The committee to be appointed under the wish expressed in the foregoing paragraph, for the county of Harrison, will meet at the Court House, in Corydon, on the first Saturday of May next, at 11 o'clock, a. m.

The committee respectfully request the Editors of the *Indiana Gazette* of Corydon to publish the foregoing preamble and resolutions, once a week, until the day of election.⁴

JONATHAN WRIGHT, *Chairman*.

Attest: BARNABAS BAXLEY, *Secretary*.

This was held at the tavern of Jake Conrad, who had entertained the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1816. By the following year the Harrison county voters had developed or imported the idea of a county delegate convention as shown by the following quotation:

DELEGATE MEETING

On Saturday next the citizens of the different townships meet to choose delegates to nominate suitable persons to represent the county of Harrison in the next Legislature. This method may answer a very salutary purpose in getting forward modest men of talents whose interests may be identified with the great agricultural and farming interests of the country; and have a tendency of putting down that uncouth and baneful method of a candidate starting up, and to gain a popularity riding all around the country to electioneer for himself, treating at every town or grog shop he comes to as long as he has money or credit. To the dishonor of Harrison county and to the prejudice of the correct principles of morality and the good order of society, was witnessed too much of the baneful effects of this whiskey business at the last annual election. We hope that the future progress of the delegates will be to set their faces against this enormous evil, and leave out of view such as they may discover attempting to gain popularity, either by treating or electioneering round the country for themselves. It is a practice which belongs not to the character of republicans, but to Demagogues, who will sell the rights of their constituents as readily as they would beg their votes with a half pint of whiskey, if opportunity offers. The practice ought to be detested by every moral, good citizen and therefore every effort to put an end to it should be promoted.⁴

The evidence is that nearly all the militia men favored Jackson. Almost at the same time a similar meeting was formed in a similar way at Point Commerce, in Greene county.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

At a meeting of a number of the citizens of the upper part of Greene county, in Indiana, on the 6th of June, 1823, in order to make known

⁴ *Corydon Gazette*, June 22, 1820, p. 3.

⁴ *Corydon, Indiana Gazette*, March 1, 1821, p. 3.

their sentiments concerning the presidential election, being emigrants from the following States, *viz*: Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, their partialities in favor of any particular men or section of this Union they trust has no influence amongst them; for the public good ought to be the polar star of every freeman and cordiality ought to be nourished by the people on all important measures in a free government. For it is the skill and courage of republicans, aided with a concert that always ought to unite them, like a band of brothers, that makes them strong; for we see them, when numerically weak, often defeating overgrown armies of slaves and mercenaries, and baffling the intrigues of the greatest potentates.

We wish for tried and dauntless patriots, men of deliberation, yet prompt to execution, to be at the helm of our government—Andrew Jackson and De Wit Clinton stood firm during the reign of terror in '99 and 1800. Their exertions at New Orleans and New York show that they acted an ample part in defending our country during the late war [1812]. Believing, therefore, that they are undeviating republicans and statesmen too, by this meeting it is unanimously

Resolved, That they recommend Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, as a suitable person for the next President; and De Wit Clinton, of New York, for the next Vice-President of the United States.

Resolved, That it is the desire of this assemblage to cherish harmony amongst the people of this union; and for good cause made manifest, this meeting will not hesitate to transpose the grades of these two gentlemen, or even recede from this nomination altogether.

Resolved, That the people of this republic on this occasion ought to meet not only in cities and towns, but on their farms and in the forests, and express their opinions, and have them published, throughout the United States.

Resolved, That although this meeting is in the wilds of Indiana, it entreats the people of every section of this republic to response.

Resolved, That these proceedings be transmitted to the editors of the *Indianapolis Gazette*, with a request to publish them in their next paper.⁶

J. STOKELY, *Moderator*.

It became customary to take straw votes at the county musters. These showed a strong majority of the young men favoring Jackson. The lawyers practically all favored Clay or Adams. The business men all supported Clay. Among the churches the Quakers supported Clay while the Baptists usually supported Jackson.

The law providing for the selection of electors on a State ticket, enacted January 14, 1824, was the immediate occasion

⁶ *Corydon Gazette*, July 9, 1823, p. 3, quoting the *Indianapolis Gazette*.

for the invention of the political machinery which soon will have been in service in our State a century. The Clay and Adams men in 1824 soon agreed on electoral tickets. These tickets were composed of State officers and hailed direct from caucuses at the capital. There were no Jackson men in office and only one or two of the newspapers of the State favored him. In a short time, however, they had three Jackson electoral tickets in the field. It was clear that this confusion would lead to defeat. As a solution of the matter the editor of the Vincennes *Western Sun*, a personal friend and partisan of Jackson, in the issue of July 31, 1824, outlined a scheme of county and State conventions. He urged all the friends of Jackson to meet in their respective counties sometime in August and appoint one or more delegates to a State convention to be held in Salem, the political capital of early Indiana, on Thursday, after the first Monday in September, to nominate an electoral ticket in favor of Andrew Jackson, issue an address to the people and make such other arrangements for the campaign as seemed necessary. The followers of Jackson met in a large number of counties and formed county and township organizations. The movement was new and popular. The old politicians did not manifest the concern they must have felt. The counties of Fayette, Gibson, Jefferson, Orange, Clark, Lawrence, Shelby, Switzerland, Knox, Ripley and Washington were represented in the convention. It is not necessary to go into all the details of this our first State convention and, it is believed, either the first or second real State convention of which history has any record.

The battle then staged in Indiana was a strange one. There was scarcely a State officer or a man of State-wide reputation then in the Jackson party. Samuel Judah who wrote the first platform, or, as it was called, "an address to the People" was a man of great ability, but then an unknown young lawyer of Vincennes. Samuel Milroy, ancestor of the Milroy family of Indiana, was then an ordinary farmer, living near Salem; David Robb of Princeton was a young Irishman not long from Erin; Dr. Elias McNamee was a physician of Vincennes; John Carr was a farmer of Clarke county, who had served as sheriff and was later to serve in Congress; Jonathan

McCarty, a young man of Franklin county, was just entering on a long official career in the State. These were the first Jackson electors. There were two score of Clay and Adams men in the State better known than the most noted of these. Some of these men had sat in the Constitutional Convention and, in general, the two conventions compare favorably in the mediocrity of their members. Their opponents called the Jackson men "yeomen" or small farmers, peasants. A State Committee of three men was appointed to manage the State campaign; a county Committee of Correspondence, consisting usually of three men was in charge of the county campaign, while a Vigilance Committee looked after the individual voters in each township. With this organization the Jackson men carried the State by a plurality of 2,028 over Clay and 4,250 over Adams.

This contest between Democrats and Whigs continued till 1852 with very little change in the alignment of the principal contestants. The fight seemed most intense in presidential years, but the general situation remained unchanged. The experienced politicians were Whig while the Democrats had a close military organization. Of the fifty-seven delegates to the Whig convention at Indianapolis in 1828 all seem to have been office-holders and nearly all were members of the State government. To all intents and purposes it was a legislative caucus. Forty-one of the fifty-six counties were represented. It seemed that all the State officers were there and such was the case. From 1828 to 1843 the State government was in the hands of the Whigs.

On the other hand a very large proportion of the local, county and township, officers were Democrats. While the "honorable" members of the General Assembly were caucusing for the good of the Whig party the township listers, each in his little field, were taking a poll of the individual voters and passing it on up to the Vigilance Committee for its inspection. The Whigs had the talent and, when they came to use it, the oratory, but the Democrats had the organization and won five of the seven Presidential campaigns from the Whigs.

While this was primarily a struggle for greater democracy there was also another broad distinction between the parties.

The State Whigs gradually became influenced by the national party, supporting the tariff, internal improvements, and the bank. It was a business men's party. During the period from 1828 to 1843, while the State was securely under control of the Whigs, every effort of the State was bent toward aiding the commercial interests of the State, assisting banks, canals and railroads. It can hardly be said that the Democrats made a wholehearted opposition to this commercial policy of the Whigs, but on the other hand it cannot be said that they were directly responsible. As long as this policy was successful the Whigs were invincible in State elections, though as stated above the Democrats carried the national elections. During this period the Whigs established the Second State Bank, built the Michigan Road, opened up the streams to navigation and finally bankrupted the State in the endeavor to build a system of pikes, canals and railroads. The first part of this period from 1826 to 1836 was an era of great prosperity. The Whigs could point to the thousands of flatboats, carrying every year their cargoes of produce to New Orleans; to the stage coaches coming and going between Cincinnati, Richmond, and Indianapolis; to Madison, New Albany, Leavenworth, Terre Haute, Vincennes and Evansville; to Crawfordsville, Lafayette, Logansport, Fort Wayne and Toledo; or by South Bend to Niles and Detroit, Michigan. The State Bank was handling the currency of the State in a satisfactory manner and laying up from its savings a snug endowment for the public schools. It is a most pleasing picture. The people were busy, prosperous, and contented. It was not their fault, the Whigs thought, if a Democratic President, Van Buren, brought on the panic of 1837 and destroyed all this prosperity.

In 1843 the last Whig administration in Indiana came to a close. Three Whig governors had administered the State in succession from 1831. From 1843 three Democrats governed in succession till the Civil War.

The policy of the Democrats was humanitarian rather than commercial. The Whigs investigated the State and found it needed means of commerce, currency and facilities for transportation. The Democrats examined the State and decided its greatest need was more personal attention to the people

themselves. The insane and feeble-minded were then kept in jails with the criminals. The deaf and dumb were uncared for and the blind were left a helpless charge on their friends or placed in the county poorhouses. The growth of illiteracy was startling. In some of the counties one-third of the grown people were unable to read and write. Between 1840 and 1850 the percentage of illiteracy grew from 14 per cent. to 22 per cent. There seemed a bankruptcy of citizenship as well as one of commerce. Here, then, the Democrats felt was the proper field for the State's assistance, rather than with the commercial classes. Under James Whitcomb and Joseph A. Wright, the first two Democratic governors, our present system of educational and benevolent institutions was founded.

Political methods and practices have changed decisively during the century. In the constitution it was provided, by way of experiment, that voting should be by ballot, but if this was not found to be satisfactory the old method of *viva voce* could be again taken up. In the early years voting was all done at the county seat; thereafter for awhile one could vote either at the county seat or in his home township. Still later the voter was required to cast his ballot in his home precinct. From 1828, when the Whig and Democratic parties became well organized, down to the passing of the Australian Ballot Law there was no essential change in the manner of voting. The party organization usually furnished the ballots with the presidential electors' names printed on them. Other candidates from the governor down had to have their ballots printed and see that they were distributed. All kinds of frauds were perpetrated on the voters. Bogus ballots were plentiful. The most common form of the bogus ballot was a straight party ballot except for one name from the opposing party. For instance, a Whig candidate for sheriff would have a Democratic ticket printed complete except for the sheriff and here put his own name. Another common device was the "paster." This was a thin strip of paper on which was the candidate's name, the back of it being adhesive like a postage stamp. This could be used honestly or dishonestly. The candidate's friends found this an easy way honestly to "scratch" in his favor. If the voter was unwilling to "scratch" it was possible to stick

this on his ticket deftly while looking over the ballot, especially if the voter were drunk. The appearance of the "floater" at the polls was a signal to battle. Not infrequently the "floater" was voted by main force by the strongest party after a half dozen fist fights. Usually one party or the other dominated the grounds before the polls had long been open. In a few places public spirited men of both parties joined together and barred all violence. This latter custom has grown slowly but steadily until in nine-tenths of the voting places today there are no longer scenes of violence. But in the early days the voting place was the chosen arena for drunken fights, the exhibition continuing all day long. Very seldom, however, was there any loss of life.

Some contemporary descriptions of scenes at the polls are here given to add details to the picture.

ELECTION

This occasion has reflected some degree of credit on the county of Harrison, compared with years that are past. There has been less rioting and drunkenness than heretofore, as a good omen of the increase of correct morals. Whether the candidates have less confidence in whiskey, or whether the voters are rising above the degradation of selling their votes for a dram is difficult to determine; we hope that both have had a salutary influence. Yet there is room to mend, and if all the citizens would reflect on what constitutes the dignity of freemen, few could be found who would barter their votes for whiskey, and candidates who attempt such would be spurned at.

One point is necessary for the consideration of the legislature. The law regulating elections needs amendment. Elections would be conducted with more regularity and order were the voters limited to their own townships, whereas as the law now stands, the great body of the people collect at the county seats, and chiefly those who are fondest of drinking and rioting. This is one great cause of the disorder which prevails. Necessity will soon force an alteration in the law, otherwise the people cannot get their votes, as so many cannot be taken in at one place in one day, and the constitution will not allow more than one day for election.

We have not been able to obtain an official return of the late election, but we are informed that Jennings will have a majority both for the vacancy and the district; William Polke for lieutenant governor, and that Dennis Pennington and Peter Mauk will be the Representatives in the State Legislature.⁷

⁷ Corydon, *Indiana Gazette*, August 8, 1822, p. 3.

The following account of early elections is by Noah J. Major. The author was a voter at the Morgan county polls for two-thirds of a century.

By 9 o'clock in the morning Martinsville was buzzing and humming like bees in swarming time. The citizens were obscured and ignored for the time being. The sheriff and constable were supposed to keep order, but they let school keep itself on election day. What could they do with a thousand sons of Columbia, all chock-full of the spirit of '76 and wringing wet with sweat? Nothing at all. Many of these could not do anything with themselves by 4 o'clock p.m., and were pulled into the shade to await the return of their senses. Old King Alcohol paralyzed many a chap on every returning first Monday in August. However, the "blowers and strikers" managed to get these "babes and sucklings" to vote "before or after taking," whichever they could.

The old fathers were strong party men; oftentimes in needy circumstances, not worth buying, as is sometimes said, but an attempt to buy their ballots would have been resented with fiery indignation, supplemented by a kick. Men did not stand around in those days, saying as they do now in a half-jocular, half-earnest way, "We are going to vote for the man who has the money." The only approach to undue influence was in the practice of "treating." This was carried on to a scandalous degree, and led to grewsome disorder. From noon till night fisticuffs were freely indulged, and the fighting was fast and furious, but not to kill. While the rules of the Marquis of Queensbury were not strictly observed, if the "under dog" cried "nough," the top cur was jerked off in a jiffy. Deadly weapons were seldom or never used in these combats. This ruling, which was generally accepted, gave strong men a great advantage over the weaker ones; but the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift. What was called foul play was often shown when one of the combatants was short of friends. Many of the pending fights were fixed for election day, when the principals could have their seconds hard by. The stray pen was often used as the arena in which the battles were fought.

After having their heads shaven and soaped, the combatants stripped to the waist, tied their suspenders around their bodies and walked into the ring, while the crowd stood around the pen from four to six deep, to see the fight. Sometimes, just at this juncture, the friends of the fighters brought about a reconciliation and averted the battle; after which the belligerents washed off the soap, and put on everything as before, excepting their hair, while the crowd dispersed to reassemble at the courthouse. Here the polling booth resembled the ticket wagon on a show day. Men were poking their tickets under the nose of the inspector, faster than their names could be written. Ever and anon there was a dispute between the challengers, which, however, seldom resulted in violence. By a sort of common consent, no fighting was to be permitted near the polls. Sometimes when the throng was so great that the voters

were hindering rather than helping the election to a finish by 6 p.m., and giving every one a chance to vote, a sham fight would begin. This started the crowd on the run from the courthouse and gave the board time to breathe.

Tickets could be had anywhere for the asking. They were usually printed with the names of the party candidates in full. As there was likely to be more or less scratching, pasters were supplied for the use of the scratcher, or he could scratch the regular candidate and write his name about the erasure. Some men wrote the entire ticket with a pen, and would vote half a sheet of paper. Many will remember the late Robert Townsend, who sometimes voted in this way: Splitting a long stick, inserting the ballot in the split, and hoisting it in the window over the heads of the bystanders. Mr. Townsend was of a family of very early settlers, simon-pure Democrats, warranted neither to "rip, ravel, nor wear out." Parties might change routes, go up or down, but the original Townsend never failed to plump a Democratic ticket in the ballot box on the first Monday in August. There were, in those old times, as there are now, floaters, sometimes called "ciphers," but it is noted that even ciphers count in times of elections if they can be placed on the right side of the right figures. The shrewdest local electioneers were engaged to watch these annual floppers, and turn them over into their respective camps. It was generally seen in the forenoon which party was capturing the largest number of the doubtfuls. But the greatest merriment was late in the day when "the last of the Mamalukes" were running the gauntlet arm in arm with the "buttonholers."

As the respective parties gained a point they hissed and laughed like ganders at a goose fight. Let it not be understood from the foregoing sketch that any considerable number of the old-time voters were drunken or disorderly. Such was not the case. Ten or fifteen rowdies, in the absence of a good police force, can keep an uproar going among a thousand civil men.⁸

Yet one more pen picture from the good old days when freemen walked up before the assembled multitude and boldly expressed their preferences, or at least as the old patriarch said they did.

The price of liberty, eternal vigilance, is well paid in a New Purchase. With us it was watched by all classes, and throughout the year; it was indeed the universal business. Our officers all, from governor down to a deputy constable's deputy and fence-viewer's clerk's first assistant, were in the direct gift of the people. We even elected magistrates, clerks of court, and the judges, presiding and associate! And some who knew better, yet for rabbleroxing purposes, gravely contended that trustees of colleges, and all presidents, professors, and teachers should be elected directly by the people!

⁸ Noah J. Major, *Pioneers of Morgan County*, 374 seq.

Our social state, therefore, was forever in ferment, forever was some election, doing, being done, done or going to be done; and each was as bitterly contested as that of President or governor. In all directions candidates were perpetually scouring the country with hats, saddle-bags, and pockets crammed with certificates, defending and accusing, defaming and clearing up, making licentious speeches, treating to corn whiskey, violating the Sabbath, and cursing the existing administration or the administration's wife and wife's father! And everybody expected at some time to be a candidate for something; or that his uncle would be; or his cousin, or his cousin's wife's cousin's friend would be; so that everybody, and everybody's relations, and everybody's relations' friends, were forever electioneering till the state of nasty, pitiful intrigues and licentious slanders and fierce hostility was like a rotten carcass where maggots are, each for himself and against his neighbor, wriggling and worming about!

Men were turned into mutual spies, and watched and treasured and reported and commented upon, looks words and actions, even the most trifling and innocent! And we were divided, house against house! and man against man; and settlements, politically considered, were clannish and filled with animosity. The sovereign people was, indeed, feared by the candidate who truckled today, and most heartily despised when he ruled tomorrow. . . .

We had, of course, in the Purchase a passion for stump-speeching. But recollect, we often mount the stump only figuratively; and very good stump-speeches are delivered from a table, a chair, a whiskey barrel, and the like. Sometimes we make our best stump speeches on horseback. In this case, when the horse is excited by our eloquence, or more commonly by mischievous boys, more action goes with the speech than even Demosthenes inculcated—often it becomes altogether circumambulatory.

Once a candidate stood near the tail of Isam Greenbriar's ox cart at Woodville [Bloomington], when some of his opponents (perhaps some of his own friends, for the joke was tempting), noiselessly drew out the forward pins, when at the most unexpected instant, ay, in the very climax of his most ferocious effervescence, Mr. Rhodomontade was canted into the dirt!

Again, our candidate for fence-viewer, with some half dozen friends, was once hard at work with certificates and speeches in Sam Dreadnought's wagon; when Sam, having several miles to drive before dark, and having already waited two good hours for matters to end, suddenly leaped on his saddle horse, and then, at a word and a crack, away dashed the team loaded with politics, very much to the amusement of the people, but most to the discomfiture of our candidate.

Nothing surpasses the munificent promises and at the same time the external and grovelling humility of a genuine rabblouser, just before an election. He shakes hands with everybody, friend and foe; he has agents to treat at his expense at every doggery; and in his own person

he deals out whiskey and gingerbread, as we have seen, to a long line of independent voters marching past him with drum and fife to the polls; and he drinks out of any drunken vagabond's bottle, laughing at his beastly jokes, putting his arm round his filthy neck, and allows himself thus to be slobbered upon, while patting the brute on the back and being patted in turn!⁹

As mentioned earlier in this paper, electioneering was not looked upon with favor by the best people, but it may be remarked that it was universally practiced. A typical case is that of General W. Johnson of Vincennes who announced in the paper that he would serve his people in the General Assembly if they wanted him but would not electioneer for the office. A series of handbills followed at frequent intervals explaining his position but still insisting that he would not electioneer. On the eve of the election he came out with the following card in his paper:

CITIZENS OF KNOX

An American, a child of your State, and a friend of your rights now offers his services to represent you in the legislature. His qualifications are so well known they need no comment. His principles both religious and political, have been tested and passed the Rubicon. Such a one now solicits your suffrages and if he becomes the object of your choice, promises that he will serve you faithfully, and render an account of his conduct.

He was a good, capable man but still he refused to electioneer. Dennis Pennington and John Tipton, both of Corydon, declared in the newspapers, they would not electioneer but both were experts at the art and both were high class men.

There was room for ingenuity in electioneering in the early days just as there is at present. In Ripley county Merritt Craig, a young lawyer from Kentucky, was a candidate for the legislature. The prospects for his election were not good. Some bold move must be made. Groceries, as saloons were then called, were odious. He was a big six foot Kentuckian and entirely fearless. The thought struck him and he went to the nearest grocery, threw the owner out of doors, overturned the counter, wrecked the bar, kicked the bung out of the whiskey barrel, said mean things about groceries in gen-

⁹ Baynard R. Hall, *The New Purchase*, Vol. 1, 209. (First Edition.)

eral, paid the grocer for all the damage, sent his friends to scatter the news over the county and was triumphantly elected, thus helping to vindicate Jackson.

Sometimes outbursts of eloquence were wasted on the pioneers. Judge John Test and Senator O. H. Smith, then rival candidates for Congress in the Whitewater District had been discussing the tariff for two or three hours when an old grizzled farmer, who had occupied a log in the foreground, arose, shook out his long hair, threw his rifle across his shoulder and started for home, observing to Senator Smith, about the tariff, "I never seen one of 'em but I hearn they are dreadfully hard on sheep."

Sometimes one comes across a gem among these old electioneering cards. Reuben A. Nelson, a New Albany attorney, in announcing his candidacy for Congress in 1817 said:

I shall neither attempt to insult your judgment by eulogizing my own talents nor disgust your feelings by a parade of my integrity.

Of course he was defeated; he was more than a century too early with that line of talk.

Or how is this from a young Democratic orator:

Democracy is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted nor compromised. It knows no baseness, cowers at no danger, oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous, humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor and sympathizes with the humble. It asks nothing it will not concede. It concedes nothing it does not demand. Destructive only to despotism, it is the only preserver of liberty, labor and prosperity. It is the sentiment of freedom, equal rights and equal obligations.

A novelty of Governor James B. Ray's candidacy in 1825 was the fact that he publicly announced himself without any solicitation. *Niles' Register* has this comment on him for thus seeking office:

It may be mentioned, I believe, as a thing without precedent among us that Mr. James B. Ray has publicly offered himself as a candidate for the gubernatorial chair, and in a spirited public address solicited the suffrage of the people, a proceeding which we think cannot be approved of whatever be the merits of the individual in other respects.

Senator Oliver H. Smith says of the congressional campaign of 1825: "Stump speaking was just coming into fashion and the people flocked to hear us by thousands. My opponent had

a good knowledge of the issues and I had a powerful voice," and the Senator won out.

As soon as Jackson was installed in office in 1829 he began a wholesale crusade against office holders. Jonathan McCarty became superintendent of the National Road, Samuel Judah became United States district attorney, Henry S. Handy, the Jackson State chairman, became postmaster at Salem, James P. Drake received the land office at Indianapolis, Dr. Israel T. Canby was made land officer at Crawfordsville, and Abel Pepper got the land office at Fort Wayne. Sooner or later every federal office in the State except the judgeship, was turned over to Democrats, even down to country postoffices whose yearly income was less than five dollars. The Democrats were immensely pleased at this because it gave them, in the land offices, a power equal to that which the Whigs held in the State Bank.

The political campaign from 1835 to 1840 was the high tide of politics in Indiana before the Civil War. The Democrats perfected their State organization by selecting a State Central Committee of sixteen men. Congressional Committees of five were appointed in each district to look after the congressman and the usual Press and Finance Committees were appointed. This political organization has been changed but very little since then.

The Whigs opened their campaign with a mass convention of about 1500 men on the Battleground at Tippecanoe. The campaign hardly did more than get under way in 1836. The real contest came in 1840. The Democrats had at last found their voices and opened with not less than thirty-five first class speakers on the stump. Robert Dale Owen spoke for Van Buren at Spencer October 3, Greencastle October 5, Terre Haute October 7, Bowling Green October 8, and Vincennes October 10. Follow this on the map and see what horseback riding it required. These speeches were not less than two hours in length and were often preceded by some local man who spoke for an hour or so. Richard M. Johnson, hero of the Thames, and candidate for vice-president with Van Buren, made a tour of the State speaking at Connersville October 12, Indianapolis October 14, Crawfordsville October 16, Lafayette

October 17, Rockville October 20, Terre Haute October 21, Carlisle October 23, Vincennes October 24, New Harmony October 26, Evansville October 28, Rockport October 29, Troy October 30, and Rome October 31. Johnson was met ten miles north of Vincennes by three hundred horsemen and escorted into the city. This was typical of the enthusiasm of the Democrats but they were almost solemn in comparison with the Whigs.

A part of the itinerary of the Whig candidate for governor, Judge Samuel Bigger, will illustrate the strenuous life of the Whig spellbinders during the campaign. On one of his trips he left Greensburg on horseback, where he had spoken April 6. On April 7 he spoke at Versailles, April 8 at Vevay, April 9 at Madison, April 10 at Charlestown, April 11 at New Albany, April 13 at Corydon, April 15 at Leavenworth, April 16 at Fredonia, April 17 at Rome, April 18 at Troy, April 20 at Rockport, April 21, at Boonville, April 22 at Evansville, April 24 at Mt. Vernon, April 25 at Cynthiana, April 26 at Princeton, April 28 at Petersburg, April 29 at Vincennes, May 1 at Merom, May 2 at Caledonia, May 4 at Terre Haute, May 6 at Bowling Green, May 7 at Greencastle, May 8 at Danville, May 9 at Indianapolis. The trip was made on horseback. Bigger was a stalwart six footer, weighing about 250, but the campaigns killed him.

The Whigs opened their campaign of 1840 with a monster mass meeting at the Battleground, May 29. Delegations came from the nearby States of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky and Tennessee. From Michigan City came a procession with a full-rigged ship, named *The Constitution*, at its head. It was drawn by six white horses. On its pennant floating to the breeze from the ship's masthead was inscribed Harrison and Tyler. Indianapolis was the rallying place for parties from the southern part of the State, whence they could go north over the Michigan Road to the Battleground. Despite the three days rain immense throngs made the trip. The women of Indianapolis presented the political army with a fine banner and it departed in squadrons of two hundred. Those on horseback led the column, followed by the carriages and the men on foot. The footmen spludged along barefoot through the black mud carrying their shoes in their hands. The column

was said to extend along the road twenty-five miles. The men slept by the wayside in barns, corn cribs, or around hay and straw stacks, single delegations numbering 1,000 men marching in line.

The scene at the Battleground outdid the descriptive power of the local editors, some of whom estimated the crowd at 40,000. In one spot was a band of survivors of the Revolution, in another stood the heroes of Fort Meigs, in still another the survivors of the battle of Tippecanoe, the Levites of this shrine. Three tables, each 100 yards long, loaded with the feast, were filled again and again by the hungry multitude. The old Baptist patriarch, John Vawter, called the nations together, as he termed it, and then turned the meeting over to General Jonathan McCarty. The veterans then gathered at the Battleground Tavern, formed in order, whereupon Judge William Polke produced the tattered banner under which Captain Spier Spencer's Yellow Jackets had fought and under which the two gallant pioneers Spencer and Warrick had died. Under this banner they marched to the speaker's stand. It was a baptism of patriotism to all present.

Scores of similar meetings were held in all parts of the State. The State was in a delirium of sentiment from which it seemed impossible for the Democratic orators to recall it. The campaign closed in a torchlight parade at Indianapolis. The crowd was to be addressed by James Whitcomb, a Democrat, and O. H. Smith, a Whig. After waiting till midnight for the parading and noise to cease the speakers good humoredly left their stands and the campaign was over.

From 1840 to 1860 the barbecue featured as an important event in political campaigns. It and the joint debates characterized this period. In the campaign of 1844 the Whigs selected a State Central Committee of twenty-six members. In addition to these, sixty advocates were selected whose business it was to stump the State. This was the beginning of our present Speaker's Bureau. The Central Committee divided the State into nineteen districts in each of which was held a monster barbecue. To each barbecue from two to five speakers were assigned. The times and dates of these official barbecues were as follows: Evansville September 14, Princeton September 18, Washington September 21, Corydon September

25, Charlestown September 28, Madison October 2, Rockville October 2, Napoleon October 5, Lafayette October 5, Logansport October 8, Shelbyville October 9, Fort Wayne October 12, Cambridge City October 12, Andersonstown October 15, Goshen October 16, Bedford October 19, Laporte October 19, Indianapolis October 22, Terre Haute October 28. At each of these from two to ten oxen were berbecued. Each meeting lasted two days, during which two to five speakers, stationed on convenient stumps in the grove, spoke to the multitude. It was not uncommon for a speaker to talk from one stump two hours then go to another stump and speak two hours, making as many as four such speeches in the course of the day at the same meeting. The evidence is unmistakable that the people in general came as much to hear the great speakers as to eat the roasted beef. Many a man listened during eight hours a day to the argument, gnawing meantime at his beef and bread and washing it down with good cider or corn whisky. The following paragraph from a speech by Governor Ray illustrates the eloquence delivered by the spellbinders. One does not have to go beyond our own history to find out why the Hoosiers are universally interested in politics. They have had a marvelous training.

The universal developments of the past year, at home and abroad, on this and the other hemisphere, are calculated to raise the whole human family still higher in the scale of creation, in their own estimation, than anticipation ever reached. Many are the indications that the era has just been ushered in for the complete overthrow of the most hateful errors and deadly enemies of the world, and the triumph and spread of regenerated and reasonable principles, based on the enlightened philosophy of the age and the eternal rights of man. Its great events have given birth to the simultaneous jubilee over half the globe, and planted deep in the thrilling souls of millions a hope of deliverance from long oppressions and the race of kings. The press has succeeded in convincing the governed that they were not made to be ruled *jure divino* but that their rulers belong to them as servants *jure humano*. The genius of liberty, from soaring triumphant with the Eagle and Star Spangled Banner of America, has taken her flight across the Atlantic, to career for awhile with the lilies and tri-colors of France. This celebrated flag, the emblem of popular supremacy and prostrate royalty, now waves unmolested over noble and gallant France.

It is said the governor's voice would carry four hundred yards through the woods.

Colonel John Paul, Hoosier Pioneer; First Proprietor and Founder of Xenia, Ohio and Madison Indiana

By BLANCHE GOODE GARBER, Madison, Indiana

Chronology

- 1758 Born near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- 1766 Moved with parents to Red Stone Old Fort, Pennsylvania.
- 1778 Enlisted in command of George Rogers Clark.
- 1780 Re-enlisted in same.
- 1781 Emigrated to Kentucky.
- 1793 First clerk and coroner of Hardin county, Kentucky.
Resigned 1800.
- 1800 Moved to Hamilton county, Ohio, and elected clerk and recorder of said county.
- 1802 Delegate from Hamilton county to First Constitutional Convention of Ohio.
- 1803 Member from First District of the first senate of Ohio.
November, founded Xenia, county seat of the newly erected Greene county. First clerk, recorder and auditor.
Resigned December, 1808.
- 1807 Bought site of New Albany, Indiana.
- 1808 Bought site of Madison, Indiana.
- 1810 Founded Madison.
- 1811 First clerk and recorder of Jefferson county. Resigned 1817.
- 1812 Volunteer colonel in war of 1812.
- 1814-1824 President of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison.
- 1816-1817-1818 Indiana State Senator from Jefferson and Switzerland counties.
- 1818 Donated site for Versailles, county-seat of Ripley county.
- 1830 Died in Madison.

Pioneer is one of the comprehensive words of the language, it knows no limitations of age, sex, color or previous conditions, or of attainments, and in no combination does it carry greater intensity of meaning than in that of Hoosier Pioneer.

Pilgrim and Puritan ventured into unknown perils, but perils known and unknown were heroically faced by the pioneer of the Northwest Territory. Of this section, on which more than once the fate of the nation hung, Indiana was the storm center of the contending nations of the old world, as it had for centuries been of the warring tribes of the new,—until after it became a State a land yet stained with cannibalism. So shadowed, it invited only the most valiant to its questionable hospitality. Following its conquest from foreign domination by General George Rogers Clark, his soldiers as its earliest American pioneers were the leaders in redeeming it from savagery, and converting it first into a land of homes, and later into a sovereign State. They brought to the dual conquest of untamed man and nature the versatile ability and varied preparation suggested by the above outline of the life of one of them. Their uncritical classification by Bancroft as "Pennsylvania Backwoodsmen" has found too ready acceptance. The ocean lay between the backwoods with its laggards and the new world where the wilderness was all in the foreground, beckoning to civilization. The successful pioneer must possess infinitely versatile ability, be prepared by physical, mental and moral endowment to establish for those less generously equipped a pathway through the unbroken forest and a permanent home. He could not have left civilization behind him if he would, for he was surcharged with it, irradiated it wherever he went, he was civilization.

Hoosier pioneers as nomenclators rivaled those of other States, expressing thereby a refinement due to cultured antecedents possessed by a commanding element among them. Sometimes they may have builded better than they knew. The State name is a classic among those of the American states. It retraces all history step by step,—Indiana, Indian, India, Indus, Hindu, Shindu. The name Hoosier is proudly borne by every discriminating Indianian. One would be an ingrate who failed to give appreciative thanks to those who bequeathed him the euphonious name of Hoosier rather than that of Corncracker, Buckeye, Gopher, Sucker, Wolverine or even of Flickertail or Swiagat. As its coinage dates from

about the year of the death of Colonel Paul, he probably never heard it, but if he had he would have gloried in it. Hoosier-pioneer best describes him, for all he did was incidental to the calling of a pioneer, and in Indiana his life work culminated.

William H. English in his *History of the Conquest of the Northwest Territory* gives in the words of a personal friend of Colonel Paul this description of him. "In stature Colonel Paul was full six feet, of large frame without any surplus flesh, muscular, strong-nerved and tireless."

He was born November 12, 1758, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where his parents, Michael and Ann Parker Paul were married in 1751. Ann Parker, who was of the Dunker faith, was born in 1724, into a home of education and refinement. She was a cousin of the Reverend Samuel Davies, the noted Presbyterian divine, who, in 1755 established the first presbytery of that church in Virginia, and who succeeded Jonathan Edwards as president of Princeton College. Michael Paul was of an educated Quaker family, was born in Holland, and at a date not now known came with his parents to America. He with several brothers was living near Philadelphia early in the eighteenth century. One brother, John, seems to have been of his household, and lies buried beside him at Elizabethtown, Kentucky.

William Paul, an Ohio pioneer of whose estate John Paul was executor is supposed to be another of the brothers.¹

A new impulse was given to western emigration in the sixties, and in 1766 Michael and Ann Paul with their family of four daughters and two sons joined the caravan bound for Red Stone, Fayette county, Pennsylvania where Fort Byrd on the Monongahela promised protection, and the new government road suggested progress. Here, in the heroic atmosphere created by such neighbors as Colonel William Crawford and Colonel Michael Cresap, John Paul grew to manhood, retaining the placid influence of the non-resisting community where his early childhood was spent. To this is doubtless due that poise of character for which he was noted, and this early training, his purposes throughout life reflected. To do what his hand found to do conscientiously, was his ambition. He could fight when fight he must, but civil life appealed more nearly to him.

¹ *Journal of Probate Court*, Hamilton County, Ohio. 1795. Vol. 1, p. 34.

He was educated in the schools of Pennsylvania, and to these schools in later years he sent his only son, who was graduated from Washington College under the presidency of his father's friend Dr. Andrew Wylie, later president of Indiana University.

It is probable that an early acquaintance with George Rogers Clark may have shaped the future of the subject of this sketch. When he was fourteen years old, and had lived six years at Red Stone, better known as Red Stone Old Fort, and now as Brownsville, Pennsylvania, Clark, then a youth of twenty, visited this little settlement. It was then but a cluster of a few pioneer houses surrounding the fort. Impelled by a spirit of adventure, Clark had joined the little company with the Rev. David Jones of New Jersey for a trip through western Virginia and bordering territory. They visited Fort Pitt, and leaving there in a covered wagon October 26th, 1772, reached Red Stone, November 17, remaining there several days. It is not supposable that the future commander and his soldier to be failed to meet. The acquaintance probably begun at that time had frequent opportunity to ripen into that loyal devotion which John Paul evinced toward his commander, in later years, for early in 1777, Red Stone became the rendezvous for Colonel Clark and his officers for perfecting their plans for the reduction of the British posts on the western frontier.

Colonel Clark states, that on January 2, 1778, he received instructions for his proposed campaign from the Governor and Council of Virginia, and on February 1st he arrived at Red Stone, and adds: "Being in the country where all arrangements were to be made, I appointed William Harrod and many other officers to the recruiting service."

John Paul, then nineteen years of age enlisted in the company of William Harrod, and was one of the force which left Red Stone in May of that year for the falls of the Ohio. He bears the honorable record of having stood true to the American cause, and to the valiant Clark throughout the disturbances and desertions at Corn Island, and of being one of the Spartan band which made possible Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and which waded breast deep through miles

of swamp-water flood to reclaim Vincennes from foreign rule. His vivid account of the experiences of this campaign is given by Jacob Burnet as the foundation of his historic story of the downfall of England on the western frontier.²

Upon his return to Red Stone, with the thrilling recitals of his army experience he must have mingled good reports of the then far west in the Mississippi and Wabash country, for on his re-enlistment, in 1780, in the company of William Harrod when it was reformed on the expiration of the first term of enlistment, his elder brother, Peter, enrolled his name on the company roster of Squire Boone.³

Captain Harrod was a veteran of Dunmore's War, and with his company was active throughout the Indian wars in the Northwest. One of its notable services was in the retaliatory campaign of Colonels Bowman and Logan against the Shawnee headquarters at Old Chillicothe, or Old-town, on the Little Miami, which left Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, in July, 1779. Colonel Bowman's splendid soldierly qualities became temporarily paralyzed. He ordered a retreat in the moment when victory seemed assured. Colonel Logan assumed command, and with Harrod, Bulger, Bedinger and their men dispersed the Indians under Blackfish, the adopted father of Daniel Boone while he was their captive. Captain Harrod's company was also with Clark in the campaign in August, 1780, against Colonel Byrd and his Indians and 300 Mingoos under Simon Girty, at Mad river, and in that of Boone and Clark against the Miami river Indian towns in August 1782, which crushed the Indian power so thoroughly that no more organized raids against the settlements were made.⁴ In all of these campaigns John Paul was one of Harrod's company.

The family, in 1781, moved to the west, making their home in that part of Virginia which became Hardin county Kentucky. It is uncertain when the soldier son rejoined them, for in 1791 he was at Marietta, Ohio, though possibly temporarily. In September of that year he accompanied a party of five other men and a boy to Clarksburg, to bring home a

² *Notes on the Northwest Territory*, by Jacob Burnet, 76.

³ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, Vol. 1, 12.

⁴ R. S. Dills *History Greene County, Ohio*, 248-253.

drove of beeves for rations for the United States troops at the post. Returning they stopped over night half a mile from the Ohio. Having seen no Indians, no guard was set. Following the trail of the cattle and horses, a little band of six Shawnee Indians headed by Tecumseh, then a youth, came upon the party at break of day, while assembled at morning worship. The first rifle-shot of the savages killed one man and wounded John Paul "through the hand." Four of the Marietta men and the boy were killed. The two survivors fled for their lives and distanced their pursuers. "John Paul, who had been in many engagements with the Indians escaped by his activity in running."⁵

His home was in Kentucky in 1793, for in that year Hardin county was erected, and he became coroner, and clerk, which office in Kentucky includes that of recorder. The following entries are found in the records in the Hardin county courthouse:

John Paul produces a commission under the hand and seal of Isaac Shelby, appointing him coroner, and thereupon takes the oath of office, 1793.

P. BROWN.

John Paul, clerk *pro. tem.* of this court, produced a certificate of the judges of the Court of Appeals that he was examined by the clerk of the court, in their presence, and found duly qualified to execute the office of clerk agreeably to the constitution of Kentucky; and was personally appointed by unanimous vote of the court. He took the oath of a clerk, and together with Samuel Haycraft, his surety, entered into and acknowledged their bond (\$3,000), conditioned according to law for the faithful performance of the duties of said office, which bond is ordered to be recorded. July 22, 1794.

The Hardin county courthouse was built in 1795, and the Honorable Samuel Haycraft, in a history of the county, calls attention to the fact that until this time there was no public building. That "the clerk had no office, no desk, no presses, no lock up, nor even books;" that his records were kept on loose leaves sewed together, and later bound; that the clerk tumbled them into a basket and carried them to where they were needed, keeping them for safety in his own home, yet none were lost or defaced. These county records further show that "on June 25, 1793, John Paul, Robert Braid, Benjamin

⁵ S. P. Hildreth, *History Ohio Valley*, 300-303.

Helm, and David Phillips, gentlemen, were sworn and admitted as deputy surveyors;" also that John Paul resigned as clerk of Hardin county, March 25, 1800. At this date he removed to the Northwest Territory. April 14, 1795, he married Sarah Thornberry Grover, at Danville, Kentucky, to which place her parents had recently moved from Baltimore county, Maryland, where she was born and educated. An expert genealogist calls attention to the fact that Sarah Paul was one of the very few women of her day who signed her own name to legal papers, most of them making their mark, and that her name was "fair writ." In 1800, with his wife and two-year-old daughter, Ann Parker, in after years the wife of Governor William Hendricks, Mr. Paul moved to the tract of Ohio land historically prominent as "Symmes Purchase." He built a cabin home, and a mill at what is now Trebines Station about three miles west of Xenia on the Pan Handle railroad. Here was born his only son John P. Paul, who in early manhood married the only daughter of Alexander Meek, the first Grand Master of the Masonic Order in Indiana. Here also was born the youngest daughter of John and Sarah Paul, Sarah Grover, who was three times married. Her first husband was Dr. Robert Cravens; her second Dr. Samuel Mackarness Goode; her third the Rev. Benjamin C. Stevenson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which church Colonel Paul and his entire family were communicants. Mary Berry, the eldest child, died in 1798 at the age of two years.

John Cleves Symmes seems to have welcomed most cordially, this Kentucky family as assistant promoters of his pet scheme of western settlement, and made their home his own when in that locality.

Soon after establishing himself in Hamilton county, Mr. Paul was elected clerk, serving until Greene was erected from that part of Hamilton.⁶ These offices included that of Auditor.

When, at the close of the year 1802 the last vestige of the old Northwest Territory vanished, and the State of Ohio rose in its stead, he was a delegate to the first constitutional convention of the new State, which met at Chillicothe November 1, 1802.⁷ By it the constitution was drafted, which was rati-

⁶ G. F. Robinson, *Court Houses of Greene County*, May 1st, 1903.

⁷ Gilkey, *Ohio Hundred Year Book*, also Robinson, *Pioneers of Greene County*.

fied November 29, under which Ohio was admitted to the Union. The discussions of its articles elicited great diversity of opinion and much warmth of feeling. This was especially manifested in the case of the section relating to the extension of suffrage to the colored people living in the territory, numbering about one or two hundred. As this is one of the earliest attempts to give the rights of suffrage to the negro in America, and as the attitude of the subject of this sketch is representative of the trend of thought in the trans-Allegheny section of the United States at that time, his recorded votes became interesting.

A proposition to strike out that part of Section 19, Article 1, which forbade slavery or involuntary servitude in this State was defeated overwhelmingly by a vote of yeas 2, nays 31. Messrs. Paul and Reily of Hamilton county voted in favor of the proposition.⁸

In considering Article 4, on the 22nd of November, the convention voted yeas 19, nays 15 to add these words to the end of the article:

Provided, that all male negroes and mulattoes now residing in the territory shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, if they shall, within twelve months make a record of citizenship. Those who voted ayes were * * Paul * *⁹.

At the same time the convention refused, by a vote of 17 to 16 to extend the right of suffrage to the male descendants of such negro residents.

A motion was made to add to Article 7 of the constitution a new section as follows:

No negro or mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give any oath in any court of justice against a white person; be subject to military duty, or pay poll tax in this state, provided always, and be it fully understood and declared that all negroes, now in, or who may hereafter reside in the State, shall be entitled to all privileges of citizens not excepted by this constitution. This was agreed to by a vote of yeas 19; nays 6; as follows: yeas * *; nays * * Paul * *.¹⁰

The heat of discussion became alarming. The apprehension of disastrous results induced the convention, by tacit consent to abandon all the propositions which had been made relating to the subject by permitting them to lie on the table undisposed of, and proceeding to form a constitution having no direct reference to the matter.¹¹

⁸ *Journal of Constitutional Convention of Ohio*, November 20, 1802; Gilkey, *Ohio Hundred Year Book*, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁰ Gilkey, *Ohio Hundred Year Book*, 81.

¹¹ Jacob Burnett, *Notes on the Northwest Territory*, 355.

Mr. Paul's adherence to conviction, indifference to popularity, and position so far in advance of his times indicated by these votes, are all characteristic of him. The losing minority with which he stood, sixty-three years later became the victorious majority. What his position on the negro question had been in his early life it is hard to say. The indenture of a slave by John Paul in 1800, guaranteeing freedom after 1816 is entered on the records of Hardin county, Kentucky. As this is the year when Colonel Paul removed to the north of the Ohio river, where such indenture was essential to the retention of a slave, the inference is that it was he who executed the instrument, and not his kinsman of the same name who stayed in Kentucky where such provision was not necessary, but proof is lacking. Such indentures were legal in the Northwest Territory. It was considered impossible to open up the new country without help of some kind, and there was none but this within reach of the settler. It was considered a step toward ultimate emancipation, and the safest one for all concerned. It must be viewed in the light of the dawn of the nineteenth century, and not of that of the twentieth. To understand aright the position of the voter of that period it is needful to recall the following facts.

The citizen of the Northwest Territory found himself in a position differing from that he had occupied in his home in the States. He was now under laws enacted and enforced by a congress in which he was not represented. This he was slow to accept, and the institution of each new territorial and State government precipitated the question of adopting the measures of the Ordinance of 1787 as such, or of incorporating into the local constitution only such of its laws as those who were to live under them saw fit to accept. The clause making the Northwest Territory and the States formed within its bounds free soil, differentiated the new States from the old. This was really an act of emancipation, unless enforced with unwarranted discrimination, for slavery already existed here, and had done so from the first settlement by the French. This, and the fact that the restriction was regarded by those upon whom it was imposed, as, as much a commercial one in the interest of existing slave States as a philanthropic one explains

the position of the western voter in demanding the setting aside of the Ordinance forbidding slavery in the Territory and its States. The demand was not for an extension of slavery but an assertion of the right of an American citizen to a voice in making the laws he was to uphold. It was only after a quarter of a century of debate as to the legal construction of the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787 and its predecessor, that of 1784, that a definite conclusion was reached, and in Indiana Territory its interpretation to mean absolutely free soil was due to the Territorial General Assembly of 1810. The pro and anti-slavery question had reached an acute crisis. This, and other issues, led to a demand that the General Assembly be dissolved and a wholly new one elected. Only the most pronounced advocates of the opposing parties were elected to this assembly. Mr. Paul was one of the two representatives from Clark county.¹² And both are enrolled among the anti-slavery men in the Assembly, which was overwhelmingly of that party.¹³ The notable achievement of this assembly was the repeal of the indenture law, and the conclusive interpretation of the slavery proviso in the Ordinance of 1787 to mean absolutely free soil under its jurisdiction.

If Mr. Paul's views on the subject of slavery had not been broad at the time he left Kentucky he would have located elsewhere than in Ohio. His choice of Clark county for his home on coming to Indiana further declares his views, as does the fact that these sections so continuously called him to representative offices. In a country newly risen from monarchy, these offices which today are considered minor ones, then carried more meaning.

The members of the Senate from Hamilton county at the meeting of its legislative session, held at Chillicothe, March 1, 1803, were, Francis Dunlavy, Jeremiah Morrow, John Paul and Daniel Symms.¹⁴

In this same year Greene county was formed from Hamilton. On May 10th the first associate judges of Greene county met to perfect the county organization and elect officers. Mr. Paul was chosen clerk. The first Supreme Court met

¹² John Paul and Thomas Downs Hist. Dillon. *Indiana*. 448.

¹³ J. P. Dunn, *Indiana a Redemption from Slavery*, 404.

¹⁴ Gilkey, *Ohio Hundred Year Book*, 158.

October 25th, 1803, and elected Mr. Paul clerk of this court also.¹⁵ The office of county commissioner was created February 4, 1804. The commissioners elected in April of that year held their first court the following June and chose John Paul clerk of said court.¹⁶ These clerkships, and the office of recorder and auditor he filled from the formation of the county until he left Ohio for his new purchase in Indiana in 1809, tendering his resignation December, 1808.

His conscientious attention to detail in keeping the records is still a matter of remark, even to the fact that he could keep his written lines on unruled paper absolutely straight, an accomplishment which county books show to have been rare.¹⁷ In this connection it may be noted that the investigation of the early records of the ninety-two counties of Indiana by the Centennial Commission, elicited the comment that those of Jefferson county are the fullest and most complete. Mr. Paul was clerk and recorder from its erection in 1811 until he resigned, August, 1817, when in the Indiana Senate.

In November, 1803, on part of a 2,000 acre tract of land which he had bought early in that year, of Thomas and Elizabeth Coleman Richardson of Hanover county, Virginia, "for 1,050 pounds current money of Virginia," Mr. Paul founded Xenia to be the seat of justice of Greene county, which it became and continues to be. The name he gave in its classical sense of "a pledge of friendship;" his founding a town on the frontier expressing his faith in the permanence of interracial peace. As a founder's gift he donated the ground bounded by Main, Market, Detroit, and Greene streets for public buildings.¹⁸

On November 14, 1804, John Paul and Sarah his wife, of Greene county concluded the sale of 257 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land to Joseph C. Vance, a director of the town of Xenia, for the only and proper use of said county, for the sum of \$250, including the site of Xenia.¹⁹

This was the first money paid out of the treasury of Greene county.²⁰

¹⁵ Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ R. D. Dills, *History Greene County Ohio*, 224.

¹⁸ George Robinson, *Xenia Notes*.

¹⁹ Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 194.

²⁰ Robinson, *Xenia Notes*.

Mr. Paul's physical vigor, and pioneer energies, seem to have been unabated at the age of fifty, for he then turned his attention to aiding in the opening up, and settling, the new purchases in Indiana Territory which were being put on sale as fast as they could be bought from the Indians. With the purpose of buying land, he with a neighbor, Robert LaFollette, walked from Xenia to Vincennes, to the land sale in the spring of 1807.²¹ He bought at that time the site of New Albany, which he later sold to the Scribner Brothers. Mr. Paul returned by way of the rivers and inspected his new purchase, Not being entirely satisfied he continued his investigation of conditions along the Clark county river front to within the limits of the present Jefferson county. Here every prospect pleased, and this, and other reasons more significant than those generally assigned, led him to buy, at the sale of public lands at Jeffersonville the following year, the site of Madison. He subsequently bought extensive tracts in both Jefferson and Ripley counties. October 6, 1809, he came with his family to his new possessions and established their permanent home on the banks of the Ohio, in what was then Clark county. His transportation of his family and household effects in wagons drawn by oxen has raised the question why he, a specialist in fine horses chose so tedious a method of travel. A letter of instruction from John Cleves Symmes to settlers going to his new Miami purchase, in the early files of the Cincinnati papers answers it. In it he urges that all family travel in unsettled western lands be by ox-team, "as Indians will attack travelers and take from them their horses or boats." A cabin home on an eastern bluff provided shelter for his household while a clearing was made in the valley, and a house was being built. This bluff long retained the name of Mar's Hill given it by some Bible reading pioneer, because "Paul stood on Mars hill."

The town was at once laid off, and called for a year or less, Wakefield, perhaps as in the case of others of the same name, from the Vicar of Wakefield, which at that time still occupied the position of best seller and school classic. Mr. Paul later named it Madison, and with the expanding purpose of making it the seat of justice of the newly erected county, he admitted

²¹ Robinson, *Xenia Notes, Greene County Items.*

as partners in the project, two Cincinnati pioneers, Lewis Davis and Jonathan Lyon in 1810, and in 1815 Jacob Burnet, also of Cincinnati. John Paul as original purchaser and proprietor always retained the controlling property interest, as the deed books show.

He was elected in 1810 representative to the Territorial General Assembly from Clark county, and to him fell the responsibility of naming the new county erected that year from Clark, and to it he gave the name of Jefferson.

In 1811, John Paul and Jonathan Lyon established the first ferry from Madison to the Kentucky shore opposite, at Milton.

The record of the services of Colonel Paul in the war of 1812 are not obtainable, as none were kept of the branch of the volunteers in which he served, still it was a recognized branch, known as "Gentlemen Volunteers." It was formed of men who had volunteered, but whom the government could not muster into the service because it could neither equip nor pay them. They defrayed their own expense entirely, drawing pay from no public funds. They organized for each emergency as it arose, at home or elsewhere. These troops were commanded by officers, many of whom were past military age, ex-revolutionary soldiers largely, whose military experience made their services valuable when there was such a dearth of prepared military men. They held no commissions, but were given the title of the office which they filled. It was for performing the duties of a colonel in these unassigned troops that the title was conferred on Colonel Paul.²²

Colonel Paul was the proprietor of the second newspaper in Indiana, *The Western Eagle*. William Hendricks and William Cameron were its first publishers. Its first issue was dated Madison, Indiana Territory, May 26, 1813. The building in which it was published is now used for law offices. It was the second brick house in Madison, Colonel Paul's own home, still a beautiful one although considerably changed being the first in this part of Indiana. It was a two story house with a central hall, on the second bank of the river, and from the terrace reaching from his front door to the

²² This statement was made by Edward Eggleston, Historian, shortly before his death, with authority to use it in this connection. He said further, "If I were in my library I could show you where to find the facts in full."

river, he cleared the trees making a lawn 400 by 600 feet before his house. Succeeding pioneers found this the only opening in the forest fringe of the Ohio for many miles, and it became their landing place. The difficulties of his own first landing at Madison, when he had to cut his way through vine-tangled willows probably prompted this provision for his successors. From a spring beside which the Michigan road now runs, whose waters flow abundant and pure as they did one hundred years ago, he in 1812, piped water through hollowed logs to his home two miles distant, for domestic purposes, having installed among other conveniences, a bath room, an evidence that even luxurious necessities were not unknown in pioneer days. The importance he attached to these provisions for household comfort appears from the following entry on the books of the county recorder.

The proprietors of Madison, for, and in behalf of, John Paul, one of the proprietors, reserve the right to conduct the water from his property adjoining town through streets and alleys for the purpose of water-works, for the use and benefit of himself, his heirs and assigns forever.

Another spring in the heart of the new town was also known as Paul's spring. Here was established, in 1812, a pleasure resort. The grounds adjacent were well supplied with rustic seats of hewn logs, and were made the center for summer gatherings of the villagers and settlers within reach of it. Dances on the green, and wrestling matches in which the sons of the pioneers, and the Indian braves from nearby camps, strove for wagers, were popular forms of amusement. These were regular Saturday evening diversions, and after early suppers pretty much the entire population, clad in their best apparel joined the line of march for Paul's springs, as today the amusement lovers fall in line for the picture shows.

In 1813, Colonel Paul built two mills. A beaver dam across a creek just outside the town he accepted as first aid toward building a saw mill, to prepare lumber for erecting town houses. The same year he built Madison's first grist mill, on the same creek, at the head of the street which from it was given, and which still retains the name of Mill street. It was operated by a practical miller named McConathy; the saw mill was run by a man whose name was Lund.

In 1814 banking was added to the many business enterprises already conducted by Colonel Paul. Dr. Logan Esarey, in his recently published *Study of State Banking in Indiana*, speaks in highest terms of the financial ability and sterling integrity of Colonel Paul as a banker, and of how bravely the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, of which he was president, rode the financial storm which raged through the period of transition from territorial to state government. He says:

The territorial government, sitting at Corydon in 1814, chartered two banks. One of these was located at Vincennes, the other at Madison. The officers of the land office at Vincennes were behind one of these, and Colonel John Paul, founder of Madison, and a hero of the George Rogers Clark campaign, was behind the other. The charters were identical, were to last twenty years, and it was provided that all notes issued should be paid in hard money. Though these two banks started under like charters and similar circumstances their careers were very different. While bank after bank failed, and closed, in the financial crisis of 1818 and 1819, and among them that of Vincennes, the Madison Bank held the enviable reputation of having its notes received at the land office at Brookville and of paying all its obligations punctually. Its notes were received at the United States land offices for many years; and were rated highest of all in the Northwest, except the notes of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky. The Madison Bank had a branch at Lexington in Scott county, a town almost as large as Madison, and another at Lawrenceburg.²³

When territorial responsibilities gave place to those of statehood, Colonel Paul bore his share of their weight and the honors that came with it. He was elected a member of the first State senate from Jefferson and Switzerland counties, for the years 1816-1817-1818, and president *pro tem.* of the newly elected senate presiding from its organization November 4, 1816, until and during the administration of the oath of office to Governor Jennings and Lieutenant Governor Christopher Harrison.

When Ripley county was organized in 1818, the selection of a site for its county-seat seemed to have been a difficult matter. The committee appointed to make the selection was John De Pauw, who was allowed \$48 for sixteen days spent in the discharge of this duty, William H. Eads, \$21, and Charles Briggs \$39, for similar services. In the end they unanimously

²³ Logan Esarey, *State Banking in Indiana 1814-1873*, 22-26.

endorsed the selection of a site made by Colonel Paul, and tendered by him to the county as a gift, which was accepted.

The committee reported that after they had explored the entire county, and being fully satisfied concerning the future divisions of the county, the fertility of the soil and the future population of the county, they agreed to fix, locate and establish the permanent seat of justice of Ripley county on the one hundred acres of land donated for that purpose by John Paul of Madison.²⁴

This land is that on which Versailles, and its cemetery, known as Cliff Hill, are now located. Colonel Paul's land purchases in Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana were among the extensive tracts sold to private buyers, ranging up to three thousand acres at a purchase, many times. He gave generously of his land to his kin, and to establish new towns, and often sold for nominal prices. That he donated for the Xenia public square was considered by the commissioners as larger than needed for that purpose, and five building lots were cut off from it in 1817, and sold for \$3,253. Colonel Paul had sold them the entire town, platted, and of a year's growth for \$250; still his real estate transactions were successful. Through them and his varied business ventures he acquired wealth.

Contemporaries and historians have left many tributes to his memory. John Vawter, a Jefferson county resident said, "I was personally acquainted with the first proprietor of Madison, and a more excellent and upright man than Colonel Paul it would be hard to find."

George F. Robinson, in his "Greene County Items" in *Xenia Notes*, says:

Previous to, and at the time of the organization of Greene county there were living in that part of Hamilton county from which it was formed three men of note, John Paul, William Maxwell and John Wilson, Esquires. Also, in a private letter, Of the ten thousand pioneers who lived in Greene county between 1803 and 1840, Colonel John Paul was my ideal.²⁵

Richard Corson Meldruin of Chicago, in a letter to a Madison paper in 1879, wrote "I can never think of Madison but the picture of Colonel Paul on horseback rises before me. He was a perfect rider, and he and his horse were inseparable."

²⁴ Henry C. Jones, History Ripley County; in the *Osgood Journal*, Sept. 10, 1913.

²⁵ R. S. Dills, *History Greene County*, 231.

His fatal illness resulted from a trip to the western part of the county to see horses he was thinking of buying. Heavy rains delayed his return, and filled more than bank-full the creek from Clifty falls. His horse swam the creek, but fell on the slippery bank, striking the rider's head on a stone. He was found unconscious hours after, his clothing saturated by the swollen creek. Three years of helplessness from rheumatism resulted, and caused his death, in Madison June 6, 1830.

Notes Concerning Brookville, Ind., a Century Ago*

By AMOS W. BUTLER, LL.D., Secretary State Board of Charities

IT IS my purpose to speak of Brookville as it was a hundred years ago. What I am to say is from reminiscences of my grandfather, Amos Butler, and the notes of my father, William W. Butler, of Hadley D. Johnson and others of the older inhabitants. It is my belief that they are substantially correct, though there may be some discrepancies.

My grandfather, Amos Butler, a native of Chester county, Pennsylvania, was the first settler of Brookville. He came to its site in 1803 or 1804. The latter year he located and entered the land east of Franklin street and north of the section line running through Dr. Berry's office. His cabin was built about 100 yards northeast of the Hermitage. The site of it has been washed away. His nearest neighbors were the Templetons north toward Templeton's creek. He built the first grist mill about where Speer's flour mill stood and above it a short distance a saw mill. He brought his mill irons and mill stones from Cincinnati on pack horses. Several persons came with him to assist in the work, among whom was David Stoops with whom he lived. He was the father of Robert Stoops, Sr., who was the grandfather of Harry M. Stoops. David is said to have been the father of twenty-three children.

Wild animals were plentiful. My grandfather used to sleep in the mill. His companion was a little dog. Often the wolves would come about the mill and keep them awake. Many times he tried to shoot them but did not know that he ever succeeded. There were many Indians around at that time.

Amos Butler and Jesse B. Thomas, afterward United States Senator from Illinois, and author of the Missouri Compromise,

*Read at the Indiana Centennial Exercises, Brookville, Indiana, June 1, 1916,

together entered the quarter section on which they laid out the original plat of Brookville. It was surveyed by Solomon Manwaring in 1808. Manwaring married Jennie Hanna who was a daughter of old General Robert Hanna.

My grandfather married Mary Wallace of Pennsylvania. In the spring of 1810 they came down the Ohio in a keel boat to Lawrenceburg. They made the trip to Brookville on horseback by way of the site of Harrison, Ohio, arriving March 10, 1810. The next day my father, William Wallace Butler was born in the cabin near the mill. Hannah Moore, the grandmother of Bolivar Templeton, officiated at the birth. Hadley D. Johnson once told me that he understood he was born in 1812 in the same cabin.

My grandfather built three other houses in Brookville. The next was on the high ground back of I. M. Bridgeman's residence. Another was west of that toward the Bloominggrove road. The third was the old brick house with stone kitchen which some of the older citizens will remember near the old Connersville road, where William Smiester's stable now stands. From there he moved to Hanover, Indiana, in 1818. My father as he grew older came back to Brookville from time to time to look after his father's interests and finally returned to make it his home in 1834.

Within a few years after Amos Butler settled here many other settlers came. Among them were the following: Isaac Fuller, Thomas Herndon, Squire Mewhinney, Andrew Jackson, Samuel Goodwin, William H. Eads, John Vincent, John Test, William Martin, Reuben Lines, Ely Adams, Benjamin McCarty, Mr. Dailey, father of Rev. William M. Dailey, James Knight, Thomas Williams, Rev. William Tyner, Benjamin Childers, Abraham Huddleston, — Spangler, Jacob Laforge, — Hartman, — Stringer, Jacob Hetrick, Rev. DeWeese, and Spencer Wylie.

The first graveyard was located in the northeastern part of town where the creamery was built. A brother of my grandmother, Nathaniel Wallace, was buried there. Roswell G. Tubbs' was the only grave there which had a dressed gravestone with his name on it. When burying began in the graveyard at the Lutheran church it ceased at the old site. Samuel

Goodwin and Mr. Symmes bought the lots for the second burying ground. In it are buried many of Brookville's first settlers and others prominent in the early history of the town. These include Gen. Eli Long, John T. McKinney, wife and child of John Henderson afterward United States Senator from Mississippi, the McCleerys, Ben Sed Noble. Few know that there is buried James M. Clayton, brother of John M. Clayton, once United States Senator from Delaware.

The church now there was erected by the Methodist Episcopal denomination and was the first meeting house built in Brookville.

My father said the first school he remembered was taught by Solomon Allen in a two-story frame house about the site of the home of the late R. P. C. Barwick. There was also a school in the old John W. Keeley residence about 1819. Later the old M.E. class rooms, now torn down, were used. My father-in-law, William Reynolds, went to school there in the early forties to Joseph Ryman. Squire St. John taught there a year or two before. A small brick school house used later stood back of where Frank Masters' store is.

One experience I shall always remember was a visit to our home by Hadley D. Johnson in January, 1893. He was commissioned by the State of Utah to carry its official vote for Grover Cleveland for president to Washington and on his return trip stopped with us. I was able to get an agreed statement from him and my father about much of the early history of Brookville. The following notes will give some idea of Brookville about 1820.

James Knight built the "Old Yellow Tavern." He took the contract of building the first courthouse but died before it was completed. His widow sent to Frederick, Maryland, for her brother, William McCleery, to complete the work. That he did and later married Knight's daughter by his first wife.

Andrew Wallace, father of Governor David Wallace, governor of Indiana and grandfather of General Lew Wallace was an early hotel keeper. David Wallace lived in a brick house on the lot north of the present Catholic parsonage. There his son, General Lew Wallace, soldier, author and governor of New Mexico, was born. Major William Beeks, Mrs. Butler's grand-

father, afterward lived in the same house which I remember well. Another member of the Wallace family and former resident of Brookville was William Henson Wallace who, I think, was at one time governor of Idaho.

Gen. James Noble, United States Senator from Indiana, lived in a frame house on the adjoining lot south. It was long used as the Catholic parsonage and was later moved one square west to make room for the present house of the priest and is still in existence. His brother, Noah, became governor of Indiana. Another brother, Lazarus, was in charge of the United States land office at Brookville. He died at Squire Mounts' at Metamore, while engaged in moving that office to Indianapolis. He was succeeded by Robert Hanna who later became United States Senator from Indiana. Martha Noble married Richard Tyner.

Another house in that part of town then standing was the old brick house where John L. Case lived when I was a boy. That was occupied by a family named Herndon. This is the same house in which Dr. George Berry and Dr. John Hughes afterward dissected the body of a well known citizen when they were "reading medicine" and on account of which they became voluntary exiles for a time.

John Test, Lew Wallace's maternal grandfather, lived on the site of the old Carmichael house where Mrs. Loper now lives. The large cedar trees that stood in the southeastern corner of the yard when I was a boy were said to have been planted by Lew Wallace's mother. In that same house at other times lived Hadley D. Johnson's father, and Ben Noble.

Abraham Hammond, later governor of Indiana, lived with his father, Squire Nathaniel Hammond. John Henderson was a shoemaker who acquired his education while working at his bench. He afterward moved to Mississippi and was elected to the United States Senate. Sampson Powers, brother of Hiram Powers, the sculptor, had a store just north of the Valley House before 1831. He was the postmaster. He married the daughter of Enoch McCarty.

Stephen S. Harding, later Governor of Utah, lived with his relative, Dr. Davis, in the residence afterward the home of the late Dr. George Berry. Dr. Oliver lived not far from the

present jail. He was the foster father of Oliver H. Glisson who became rear admiral in the United States navy. Richard Tyner lived in the Tappen house until he built the one in which John Roberts and A. M. Tucker afterward resided. At that time the big store was kept by William H. Eads. He "broke up" about 1824. Richard Tyner clerked for Eads and succeeded him in business. Eads was the brother of Thomas Eads the father of James B. Eads, the engineer. Tyner was the father of James N. Tyner, postmaster general of the United States. The old half-house in the east bottom was probably erected by Robert Breckenridge. It was once used for the land office and was a bank about 1820. There were six or seven banks at Brookville at one time. The old State Bank according to my father's recollection stood on the site of the southern part of the Valley House.

Gen. Robert Hanna built Dr. George Berry's residence in 1816. It was probably the first house built in Amos Butler's plat. Dr. Berry with his wife, Ann Wright Berry, went to housekeeping there. They made it their home for over fifty years and both died there.

At that time the population reached its lowest ebb. Dr. Rufus Haymond took a census of the town. Hadley D. Johnson's recollection of this was that it showed a population of 250.

About 1826 or 1827 the total amount of cash taken in by four general stores in one day was $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents. These stores were conducted by Richard Tyner, George T. Noble, Abner McCarty and Nathan D. Gallion. At that time there was very little money in circulation and the credit system prevailed.

Brookville is to be complimented for the increasing interest in local history. The Historical Society is a fine thing and should receive encouragement and substantial support. The old landmarks are rapidly passing. How many of them will remain at the next centennial? I would suggest that permanent markers be placed at the historic spots. This should be done while it is possible. These landmarks are among the most valuable assets this community has.

Early Days in Switzerland County

By ANNETTE DANGLADE, of the Julia L. Dumont Club, Vevay,
Indiana

Switzerland county lies in the far southeastern corner of the State and Vevay, its principal town and capital, is on the Ohio river. The name of the county is explained by the fact of its settlement by Swiss immigrants who were drawn by the supposed adaptability of the soil to the growth of the grape. It is bounded on the north by Ohio and Ripley counties, on the east and south by the Ohio river and on the west by Jefferson county. It contains an area of 221 square miles and is divided into six townships, Pleasant, Craig, Jefferson, Cotton, Posey and York.

The first settlers in the county of whom any definite account can be given was Heathcote Picket, who located above Plum creek and about three miles above Vevay in the year 1795. There was an abundance of wild game and bread was made from corn ground on a hand mill. He piloted flatboats down to New Orleans returning by land through the Indian country on foot. He also built the first flatboat known as "Orleans Boat." John James DuFour in 1796 explored the country along the Ohio river, seeking a location for the future home of himself and family. The selection was between Plum and Indian creeks. Under special act of Congress May 1, 1802, he purchased four sections of land, 2,500 acres, paying an entry fee of \$2 per acre and having twelve years time to complete payment. The lands were then divided and sold to the Swiss families who were vine dressers. The first wine produced in this locality by Jean D. Morerod, Philip Bettens and John DuFour, was made in 1806 and 1807. The quantity was limited but of good quality; the vineyards were enlarged each year and in 1809, 1,200 gallons were made.

These lands had been covered by the heaviest of forest trees, walnut, poplar and oak, with a thick undergrowth. In 1805 a crop of wheat was raised and the straw taken care

of and made into hats. In 1798 the Cotton and Dickason families settled on Indian creek, and in 1799 Robert Gullion on the Ohio river bottom above the mouth of Log Lick creek. The family of Morerods located on a farm in 1804 one mile south of Vevay. The first corn mill was erected in 1807 on the bank of Indian creek. Before that the settlers were compelled to cross the river, swimming their horses to the side of a canoe, then on to Lexington, Kentucky, where there was only a hand mill. In the spring of 1814 persons from Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York commenced moving into the county and a petition was placed in the hands of Mr. DuFour for a new county. He laid it before the territorial legislature and he was given the privilege of a name which is Switzerland after his native land. The county officers were: clerk and recorder, J. F. DuFour; sheriff, John Francis Siebenthal; coroner, Ralph Cotton; and surveyor, Elisha Golay. The judge of the circuit court was Elijah Sparks, who served until June, 1815, after which James Noble served until March, 1816. Jesse L. Holman was appointed and served until the organization of the State in 1816. The first couple married after the organization of the county was Richard Dumont and Matilda Phillips, the license being issued by J. F. DuFour in September, 1814. In 1812 the population of Switzerland county was about 900, in 1813, at the time Vevay was laid out it was about 1,000 and was mostly confined to the immediate vicinity of the river and creek bottoms.

The increasing population of the county as early as 1810 suggested to the people the necessity of a postoffice in their midst as they were almost shut out from the world around them. If one wished to get letters or papers from his friends or to send any he was obliged to go to Port William, now called Carrolton, Kentucky, which was supplied with a mail once in two weeks. John DuFour drew up a memorial to the Postmaster General which was signed by all the citizens of the colony and neighborhood and sent to Senator Buckner Thurston, who was a senator from Kentucky in Congress. Mr. DuFour was appointed postmaster and continued to serve until October 1, 1835. Although the postoffice was named Vevay, the town was not laid out until October, 1813. Until that

time no regular towns had been laid out within the limits of the county. In that year the era of town making began. John F. DuFour and Daniel DuFour laid out Vevay since which additions have been made by John Sheets, Perret DuFour and David Armstrong. In 1815 Edward McIntire laid out a town opposite Carrolton and called it "Erin," which was vacated. Peter Harris in 1815 laid out the town of Jacksonville, which for a while was a thriving village. October 29, 1814, the Switzerland county court divided the county into two townships and named the upper Posey and the lower Jefferson. Elections were held at the home of Robert M. Trotter, and John Dumont was inspector of elections. George Craig was appointed by the governor first justice of peace after the State was admitted to the Union in 1816. In the February session of the county commissioners the county was again divided. Plum and Indian creeks flow entirely through the county giving it a good drainage and rich lands for farming.

The first election held in Cotton township was at the home of Lot Hammond in Allensville, it being the first village laid out, platted and recorded in this township. Peter Demaree was the founder of this village. Fairview and East Enterprise were laid out by John Littlefield. A tanyard was established by D. K. Harris and did business for many years. Craig township was named in honor of George Craig as he was the first settler and some years later (1822-1825) was elected to the State Senate. In 1805-06 the residents built a block house in which to shelter the women and children should the Indians approach. David Bray was among the first settlers and the village of Braytown was in his honor. The first mill was built in the McKay settlement and schools were established as soon as there were enough children to go. About the year 1817 the Dutch (Pennsylvania) settlement in Pleasant township was formed and in a few years began to supply Vevay with produce. In the early days the people of this township were compelled to go to a horse mill opposite Carrolton to get their corn ground or else use a grater. The land produced fine wheat but made unhealthy flour. During these years there was very little money in circulation. If the farmers had more produce than was needed at home they took it to Madison or Rising Sun

market until the demand at Vevay was greater. On the west side of Pleasant township a number of Scotch families settled, also a number settled on Long Run, known as Seven Day Baptists.

Moorfield was laid out in 1834. Stilwell Gram, a carpenter, was one of the first residents. Abijah Grimes and James Long built a saw mill in the early days. Bennington was founded by Dan Loudon and "city lots were staked for sale above old Indian Graves." It is the capital of the township. Augustus Welsh built the first store building. School buildings were built soon after the settlement. The type all over the county was the log cabin. With one end for a fireplace, a log left out for a window, a log split open and holes bored in the end and pins drove in for a seat, a slab fixed under the window for a writing desk the furniture was complete. The teacher must know the "Rule of Three", reading, writing, and be able to make a neat pen out of a goose quill. The wages were from \$20 to \$35 per quarter of 60 days and when a teacher "boarded round" the salary was less. The first settlers of Posey township found it occupied by a lawless set from Kentucky. In 1810 Oliver Ormsby and Patrick Donahue, natives of Ireland, purchased what is now called Mexico Bottom, Donahue laying his part out in town lots, called Montgomery, but none were ever sold. In 1812 Elisha Wade purchased land and laid out the town of Troy, now called Patriot, the river at this point being broad and deep and the banks high.

The first school was taught by Mr. Fordyce in a log house with a sheet of greased paper for a window. He had about eighteen pupils. Thomas Dugan laid out Quercus Grove commonly known as Barkworks as a Mr. Smith in 1816 purchased a tract of land near Quercus Grove and built machinery for grinding the bark of oak trees which he shipped by flatboat to New Orleans, thence to Europe, where it was used for coloring clothes, etc. In May, 1830, a new township called Jackson was set aside and in 1831 the name was changed to York. Benjamin Drake was among the first settlers and laid out the town of New York later called Florence, the population being less than 70. The land in York township is in some places rough and hilly but very fertile. March 18, 1874, the plat of

Markland was recorded being named for Charles Markland its founder. The plat contains one and a half acres with Main street and Broadway running north and south. John Marsh bought the first lot and erected the first dwelling, John McClellan being second. The first store was built by James H. Beard. Centre Square was laid out by William Lawrence in 1835 and at one time candidates for legislature thought of changing the county seat to this place. Mr. Lawrence made the remark that he spoiled a good farm trying to have a town built. Charles Muret was the only physician in the colony for many years before 1813. Dr. Muret went on a flatboat to New Orleans and there became fireman in a steam mill to raise means to pay his passage to Europe. Dr. Norton came about 1813 and Dr. James Welsh in 1819 established the first drug store. Dr. John Mendenhall was a leading doctor, coming from South Carolina in 1815.

Daniel DuFour from the time of his coming to the colony in 1804 until as late as 1817 was in the habit of reading a sermon to the colonists every Sunday, but occasionally a minister would pass by and stop to preach. The *Indiana Register* was the first paper published in the year 1816 by DuFour, Keene and Company with Keene as printer; but later he left and Robert Berchfield was printer. Berryman and Child published the *Weekly Messenger* about five miles north of Vevay. In 1832 Richard Randall published the *Monitor* and for awhile there was not any paper when Isaac Stevens came in 1836 and published the *Village Times*. Then later the *Indiana Statesman*, then the *Spirit of the Times* was published for three years by James G. Fanning. Then Stephen C. Stevens and Benjamin Simmons published the *Indiana Palladium* for two or three years when, under new management, the name was changed to *Ohio Valley Gazette*. This was sold to Otis S. and Frederick J. Waldo who called it the *Indiana Reveille*. In 1855 Charles C. Scott published the *Weekly News* which, when it changed hands, was just called *News*. In December, 1860, W. J. Baird bought the *News* office and called the paper the *Reveille and News*, although this office changed hands several times it is still the *Reveille*.

The celebrations of Fourths of July were great events in the early days, not only for persons in Switzerland county but

across the river the invitation had been extended. These meetings were held in a grove just below town. William Cotton read the Declaration of Independence and John James DuFour delivered the oration. Sometimes a barbecue was held and an immense crowd always came.

Switzerland county was not behind the others in giving attention to her educational interests. About 1810 Lucien Gex taught in a log school house near Vevay and in 1811 and 1812 J. F. Buchetee also taught. The increase in 1865 of the State tax for tuition from 10 to 16 cents on the hundred dollars put the public educational work on a firm footing and since then the growth has been rapid. The first site selected for the town of Vevay by John F. DuFour in 1813 was a good one as it lies midway between Cincinnati, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky, and the steamboats plying between these two cities are its only medium of communication with the world as no railroad touches it. The lots in the original part of the town were partly in woods and partly in the "deadening" and some in the cleared land. The town plat was laid out and recorded in the recorder's office of Jefferson county at Madison. Notice of the sale of lots was given through papers published at Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington and Frankfort. The sale took place in November, 1813, and was cried by John M. Johnston, Elisha Golay acting as clerk of the sale, the price varying from \$22 to \$92. Other lots were sold later at private sale. Dr. Eggleston says:

The sound of the anvil in the smithy and the soft clatter of remote cow bells on the commons linger in my mind as memories inseparable from my boyhood in Vevay. A certain poetic feeling which characterized my life from childhood and which perhaps finally determined my course toward literary pursuits was nourished by my delight in the noble scenery about Vevay, Madison and New Albany in which places I lived at various times. Nothing could be finer than our all day excursions to the woods in search of hickory nuts, wild grapes, blackberries and paw-paws, or of nothing at all but the sheer pleasure of wandering in one of the noblest forests that it ever fell to a boy's lot to have for a playground. Then too, when we had some business five or even twenty-five miles away, we scorned to take the steamboat but just set out afoot along the river bank getting no end of pleasure out of the walk and out of that sense of power which unusual fatigue cheerfully borne always gives. The old story of Vevay, Switzerland, can almost be used here in Indiana. "A quaint old town nestling at the foot of lofty mountains in the midst of vineyards and gardens of beautiful flowers."

Universalism in Indiana

By REV. ELMO ARNOLD ROBINSON, Anderson

(Concluded)

THE PRESENT STATE CONVENTION

Dissatisfaction with the refusal of the "old" Convention to affiliate with the General Convention led to the organization of the present Universalist Convention of Indiana, at the home of Erasmus Manford in Indianapolis, on May 12, 1848. Others present who were apparently ministers were Charles Cravens, Alpheus Bull, W. J. Chaplin, M. N. Byington, James Freeman (chairman) and B. F. Foster (clerk). Lay delegates were A. Labertaw, W. I. Hubbard, W. Henderson, Royal Hicks, W. R. Rose and I. H. Jordan from the White River Association; John Miller, Sr., John Miller, Jr., Lewis Cockafair, Mahandry Hollingsworth from the Whitewater Association; John Pool, John Bayless, from the Upper Wabash Association; and from the society at Dublin, A. D. Smith, S. G. Custer and L. A. Custer. Rising Sun, Madison, Saluda and Vernon were admitted to fellowship and ministerial fellowship was given to James Freeman of Greensburg, W. J. Chaplin of Summit, and G. C. Linon of Putnamville. A constitution was adopted. Resolutions were adopted favoring Sunday schools, asserting the necessity of accepting the Bible, opposing creeds, and also, although opposed by Manford and Craven, asserting the necessity of belief in final harmony as an essential to ordination. From this date until the present, the Convention has met yearly or oftener.

From 1848 to 1862 may be called the organization period, during which the Convention was gradually put on a permanent basis. The sessions were devoted primarily to fellowship and discussion, and, while plans were often proposed, little work was actually done between meetings. The average attendance of ministers was about fourteen. Those attending

most regularly were B. F. Foster, W. J. Chaplin, A. H. Longley, W. C. Brooks, B. B. Bennett, W. W. Curry and Daniel St. John. Toward the end of the period M. G. Lee, T. J. Vater and H. F. Miller became prominent.

Several matters of denominational policy came up during this period. The relationship of the new Convention to the old was a problem. After a discussion at the meeting of 1850, W. J. Chaplin was sent to the old Convention as a messenger, presumably for the purpose of harmony or union. The last meeting of the old Convention was apparently in 1854. Two years later its members were again invited to affiliate with the present body. The latter adopted a new constitution in 1855.

A proposed new Western Convention of Universalists to include Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa was discussed in 1855. Two years later a vote approved a plan to divide the United States Convention into four independent bodies. But by 1859 sentiment had changed and a proposition to approve disbanding the United States Convention was rejected. The importance of church membership, the Christian ordinances and a sense of personal responsibility were emphasized in 1862.

The status of missionary work during this period is obscure. In 1852 the "work of W. J. Chaplin and the Missionary Society" was approved. The Upper Wabash Association later raised funds for circuit work. In 1858 the establishment of a missionary board was proposed.

The sessions of the Convention seem to have been optimistic in spirit. The chief complaint was lack of ministers. Even during the war, in 1862, a spirited and businesslike session, accompanied by many conversions, is reported. At this time there were eight Associations, forty-six churches and twenty ministers in fellowship.

The twenty years beginning in 1862 may be called the missionary period of the Convention's history, as there was considerable attention given to the spreading of Universalism within the borders of the State. The average ministerial attendance upon Conventions was about twelve. Of those mentioned as prominent during the preceding period, Foster,

Brooks, and Curry continued active. T. J. Vater is recorded as being present at fifteen of the nineteen sessions. H. F. Miller attended frequently. Other clerical names found most often in this period are M. D. Crosley, Thomas Abbott, M. G. Mitchell, T. S. Guthrie, D. R. Biddlecome and R. N. John.

At the session of 1863 a Board of Missions was appointed and soon incorporated. There is little evidence that this board ever accomplished very much. In 1867 a motion to disband the board was lost, but two years later it had no positive report to make. In 1873 it was merged with the Executive Committee. Some things, however, were done. Rev. H. F. Miller was secured as State missionary in November, 1863, and served perhaps a year. M. G. Mitchell replaced him in February, 1865, and continued perhaps a year and a half. The Army Mission in Kentucky, maintained for a time by the Northwestern Conference of Universalists, was supported by Indiana churches. Reverend Munson was sent to Canton (N. Y.) Theological School for training for the ministry. The convention called for a full time superintendent of churches in 1870, and, for about a year, W. W. Curry gave at least a part of his time to this work. The next Convention again called for a superintendent and planned to pay him \$1,000, but apparently no one was appointed.

After the abandonment of the idea of a Missionary Board in 1873, W. W. Curry was again asked to serve as superintendent, and did so. Marion Crosley succeeded him in 1874, and J. B. Gilman of Smithson college in 1876. An evangelistic campaign was planned in 1875. At the session two years later \$300 was pledged for the superintendency, but no one was employed then or until 1879, when W. C. Brooks was appointed. He served about two years. In 1881 T. J. Vater was chosen to replace him, but refused to serve. The next year R. N. John was elected and nearly \$700 was quickly pledged for his support.

The question of legal incorporation came to the front several times. The above-mentioned Board of Missions was incorporated on December 2, 1863. A committee on incorporation of the Convention was appointed about 1870, but had made no report three years later. Another vote authorizing

incorporation was passed in 1882, and the following year the legal requirements were met and the incorporation placed on record at Marion.

Among other matters of denominational policy we may note that a new constitution was adopted in 1868, and that internal dissensions of an unknown legal nature arose in 1869. At this session the proposition of securing a Sunday school missionary was discussed, leading the following year to the consideration of organizing a separate Sunday school convention. This step was taken at Dublin in 1871. The first women's organization, the Women's Smithson Association, was a temporary affair, formed in 1871, for the purpose of helping Smithson college. In 1879 the Convention asked the women to organize, and they did so.

The question of the relationship between the State and General Conventions, so prominent in the early days, was now accepted as settled. The General Convention gave financial aid to the Indianapolis church in 1872 and 1873.

The years 1882 to 1898 may be classified as the period of financial development. Ministers of the previous period who continued active in the Convention during this were R. N. John and T. S. Guthrie. Others who came to the front were T. E. Ballard, I. B. Grandy, J. B. Fosher, Henry Groves, Henry Brown and Mary T. Clark. Drs. Demerest and Cantwell, representing the larger denominational interests, were frequent visitors. A home study course for ministers was provided for in 1895, and in the following year placed under the direction of the newly reorganized ministerial circle. The only serious case of ministerial discipline came during this period. Charges were preferred against M. W. Tabor, who left the State to avoid trial. Charges were also brought against I. B. Grandy, who at first was suspended for a year, but upon appeal was practically acquitted. Counter-charges were also preferred against other clergymen, but these were never deemed worthy of serious consideration.

As above recorded, R. N. John was chosen State missionary or superintendent in 1882. He served in that capacity until 1891, at a salary of from \$600 to \$800 per year. During the last two years of this period, however, on account of lack

of funds, he gave only a part of his time to the work. His reports indicate that he was very active and enthusiastic. His chief fields of activity were preaching, arranging pastorates, publishing a large four-page paper called *The Convention Reporter*, and helping to solicit the permanent funds of the convention. After his resignation the office remained vacant for some years, and no mention of the superintendency occurs until 1897, when the Ministerial Association asked for an appointment to be made.

The Convention adopted a new constitution and by-laws at the time of its incorporation in 1883. The following year it was proposed to raise a \$20,000 fund to be used only for missionary purposes, and the success of this undertaking led to the increase of the goal two years later to \$40,000. The early gifts to this fund were in the form of farms, some of which were apparently to pay annuities to the donors during their lifetime. The first gift was in 1884, by Christian Swank, and consisted of over 200 acres near Sheldon, Allen county, the second, in 1888, by Edmund Green, included eighty acres near Aldine, Starke county. The records are not clear as to the exact value of these and other lands, but in 1885 the estimate of the total was \$10,000. The labor involved in caring for these properties resulted in the gradual sale of the land and the adoption of the policy of investing the funds in first mortgages. The Convention was involved in certain lawsuits in connection with the wills of Joshua Smithson of Vevay and of a Mr. Foxworthy, but these are recorded as being settled favorably to the Convention.

Missionary matters were not entirely forgotten during this period. The organization of a Young People's Missionary Association was urged in 1884 and perfected in 1890, under the name of the Young People's Christian Union. In this same year a church extension society was proposed, but the plans did not mature. In 1889 there was organized a State church, which was to consist of isolated Universalists who wished to become church members. In 1897 this church was merged with the Indianapolis society. In 1891 and '92 it was proposed to give Convention aid to the erection of a church building in Indianapolis and to the payment of the pastor's salary.

A decision of an anti-missionary character came in 1893, when the custom was abolished of receiving upon the floor of the Convention pledges for home missionary work. The session at Brookston, in 1898, is recorded as having a larger number of churches represented than any previous session—namely, twenty-five; seventy-two officers, ministers and delegates were present.

The United States or General Convention was appealed to twice during this period for aid for Indianapolis, which was presumably granted, for in 1892 the minutes record that this was the only year that the Convention had not been aided by the General Convention. The truth of this statement may be doubted, but evidently it had been the custom for a number of years to receive such aid. Five years later \$50 was voted to the General Convention, and since that time when money has passed between the two Conventions it has been in that direction. The Anti-rationalist controversy came to the surface in a resolution passed in 1896, which was followed the next year by instructions to the delegates to the General Convention to oppose any change in the Universalist profession of faith.

Several attempts were made to prepare a history of Indiana Universalism. In 1884 J. A. Stoner and T. E. Helm were appointed a Committee on History, and later R. N. John was added. From year to year progress was reported and some form of publication was promised in 1890. No further mention is made of this committee, and the only trace of their work is the valuable private collection of books now in the hands of Mrs. J. A. Stoner.

The Rome City meetings stand out as the prominent feature of the years 1898 to 1917.

The only previously mentioned clerical leader in the Convention who remained active during this period was T. S. Guthrie. The new leaders were M. D. Crosley, James Houghton, G. I. Keirn, George Crum, H. C. Beckett, Leon and Martha Jones and F. D. Adams.

The custom of holding the sessions of the Convention in the various parishes was abandoned, during the years 1899-1913, inclusive, for the plan of enlarging the scope of the ses-

sions to include a summer Chautauqua and outing at Rome City. These meetings were in charge of a manager who made arrangements with railroads, hotels and speakers. This office was held by Revs. M. D. Crosley, the originator of the idea; J. E. Haffner, J. S. Cook, and Mr. John Clifford. At one time it was proposed to make the summer meetings of greater interest to Universalists of the middle west by placing them in the hands of a committee representing the various State Conventions, but this plan failed to materialize. Similarly, the endeavor to secure the co-operation of the Unitarians in the management of the meetings met with delay and defeat.

The speakers at these meetings from year to year included many of the denominational leaders, such as Drs. I. M. Atwood, F. W. Bisbee, W. H. McGauffin and C. E. Nash. The attendance was large and the interest keen at the beginning, but gradually conditions changed. The vacation possibilities of the resort began to interfere with the business sessions of the Convention. Moreover, the location was inconvenient for those in the southern part of the State. On the other hand, the business problems of the Convention were increased by the establishment of the Thompson Home. Consequently, it was found necessary to hold adjourned sessions at Indianapolis in February of the years 1909 to 1915, inclusive (except 1913). These conditions led to the abandonment of the Rome City meetings, and in 1914 to the return of the previous policy of holding sessions in various parts of the State.

Some of the items of business during this period were the adoption of a new constitution in 1901, the temporary merging of the Sunday School Convention with the Church Convention for five years beginning in 1905, the publication of the *Convention Reporter* for a few years, and the approval of a short-lived organization known as the Laymen's League. In 1908 it was proposed to seek closer co-operation between Universalists, Unitarians and New Light Christians, but the sponsor of this idea changed his mind during the following year. This desire for church unity has been more recently manifested in a vote to seek admittance into the Indiana Federation of Churches. Another significant movement was the evangelistic campaign of the season of 1912-13, when it was

planned to have every church in the State hold an evangelistic service of at least one week's duration. This is believed to have been the first state-wide campaign of evangelism in the denomination.

M. D. Crosley became State Superintendent in June, 1899, and continued in the office for about four years, but he gave only a part of his time to the work. Plans were developed for placing Indiana and Michigan under one superintendent, but apparently the latter State withdrew from the agreement. J. S. Cook was called to the superintendency in October, 1905, and gave his entire time to the work for a year and a half. In 1907 Crosley was again re-elected to the office, but served only a short time. For several years Mr. John Clifford has given a portion of his time to this office without pay. In 1916 Rev. Charles E. Petty was chosen superintendent.

Some miscellaneous missionary work was done in the early part of the period, but in 1908 the Executive Board adopted the present policy of centralization. The plan is to concentrate the resources of the Convention upon a few points for a number of years until they are self-supporting. The churches at Indianapolis, Anderson, Logansport and Cunot have been included in this arrangement.

The Rationalistic controversy, already referred to, came to a climax in 1900-01. A number of Indiana clergymen began to adopt the Rationalistic views advocated by the higher critics of the Bible, which were spreading generally among Universalists. Rev. T. E. Ballard, who was a pronounced Supernaturalist, entered the lists in defense of the older ideas. He correctly pointed out "that originally, and until recently, the Universalist Church upon this issue stood with the Supernaturalist, believed in the miracles of the Bible, and accepted its teachings in all matters of real faith and practice, as the word of God." At the Convention of 1900 he introduced a resolution which included the following:

This had been originally written by Hosea Ballou of New England and adopted by a General Convention in 1847, just at the time when the whole denomination was greatly alarmed by the Rationalistic teachings of Jonathan Kidwell and a few like-minded men.

This controversy of 1900 was, therefore, almost identical with that of fifty years earlier. The main question was Rationalism *vs.* Supernaturalism. Personal elements also entered into the debate. But there was this difference. The whole denomination, including Indiana, had really changed front, and it was now Ballard, the supporter of Supernaturalism, who pleaded against what Kidwell would have called the influence of the "little bishops."

This resolution was introduced during the last hour devoted to business. Its opponents cut off debate by a motion to table, which they carried by a yea and nay vote of 51 to 10, thus defeating the resolution. The session concluded in some confusion. Rev. J. W. Hanson of Chicago, who was to have preached the following day, immediately withdrew his appointment by announcing that he had "no desire to preach to a Convention which votes down the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ." Several months later Mr. T. E. Ballard, who had been one of the first students at Smithson college, and had been present at all sessions of the Convention from 1873 to 1900, inclusive, except 1876, 1882 and 1899, withdrew from fellowship and entered the Methodist ministry.

In the last fifteen years whatever controversies there have been have concerned the administration of the fund, rather than theological matters. The Convention has had in fellowship both Rationalists and those who were not, but men of both temperaments have developed a new spirit of toleration.

The following table gives some data of the Convention:

Year	Place	Funds	Moderator	Vice-President	Clerk	Treasurer
1848	Indianapolis	.....	A. Labertaw	.....	B. F. Foster	W. I. Hubbard
1848	Indianapolis	.....	J. M. Jordan	.....	B. F. Foster	N. R. Stedman
1849	Dublin	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	B. F. Foster	A. Gaylay
1850	Patriot	.....	John Pool	.....	B. F. Foster	P. D. Page
1851	Dayton	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	B. F. Foster	L. L. Case
1852	Crawfordsville	.....	E. Singer	.....	B. F. Foster	James Wright
1853	Danville	.....	W. J. Chaplin	.....	B. F. Foster	John Miller, Jr.
1854	Fairfield	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	M. G. Lee	John Miller, Jr.
1855	Indianapolis	.....	A. H. Longley	.....	B. F. Foster	M. G. Lee
1856	LaFayette	.....	A. H. Longley	.....	B. F. Foster	M. G. Lee
1857	Indianapolis	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	S. J. Gibson	M. G. Lee
1858	Devon	.....	A. H. Longley	.....	B. F. Foster	M. G. Lee
1859	Dayton	.....	E. Singer	.....	B. F. Foster	M. G. Lee
1860	Muncie	.....	E. Singer	.....	H. F. Miller	M. G. Lee
1861	Pendleton	.....	John Huston	.....	H. F. Miller	M. G. Lee
1862	Hunterstown	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	H. F. Miller	S. Hathaway
1863	Indianapolis	.....	E. Singer	.....	M. D. Crosley	D. Rowsman
1864	Muncie	.....	B. F. Miller	.....	M. D. Crosley	D. Rowsman
1865	Dublin	.....	H. F. Miller	.....	M. D. Crosley	D. Rowsman
1866	Loansport	.....	H. Tripp	.....	H. C. Munsen	D. Rowsman
1867	Terre Haute	.....	M. G. Mitchell	.....	George Rogers	D. Rowsman
1868	LaFayette	.....	J. B. McGrew	.....	George Rogers	D. Rowsman
1869	Loansport	.....	A. W. Bruce	.....	W. W. Curry	D. Rowsman
1870	Muncie	.....	J. M. Bulla	.....	W. W. Curry	Jacob Custer
1871	Pendleton	.....	P. R. Kendall	.....	W. W. Evans	Samuel Oler
1872	Loansport	.....	T. J. Vater	J. W. Eldridge	M. D. Crosley	G. W. McQuaddy
1873	LaFayette	.....	T. J. Vater	J. W. Eldridge	M. D. Crosley	G. W. McQuaddy
1874	N. Vernon	.....	N. S. Sage	George Rogers	M. D. Crosley	G. W. McQuaddy
1875	Terre Haute	.....	J. M. Bulla	Mrs. W. S. Phelps	M. D. Crosley	J. M. McQuaddy
1876	Dublin	.....	J. M. Bulla	S. O. Budd	M. D. Crosley	J. M. McQuaddy
1877	Muncie	.....	J. M. Bulla	Jacob Custer	R. N. John	J. M. McQuaddy
1878	Ft. Wayne	.....	J. M. Bulla	Ezra Bourne	R. N. John	J. M. McQuaddy
1879	Dublin	.....	F. H. Sleeper	Ezra Bourne	R. N. John	J. M. McQuaddy
1880	Roann	.....	M. Trusser	.....	R. N. John	J. M. McQuaddy
1881	Muncie	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

At the meeting of the Western Convention of Universalists at Philomath, 1833, the first action in regard to educational matters was taken. Jonathan Kidwell and a few friends were proposing to establish here a Universalist town and to found a non-sectarian academy, organizing for this purpose the Western Union Association. The State of Indiana, February 2, 1833, had granted a charter to Israel Bigelow, Daniel St. John, James Ayres, Aaron De La Barr, William D. Jones, Jesse Willetts, Peter J. Labertaw, John Beard and Jonathan Kidwell for the founding of the school. The Convention now accepted from this association a proposition to take charge of the seminary, but appointed Mr. Kidwell a committee to raise funds for the building. Apparently, he was not successful, for three years later the trust of the seminary was resigned to the Western Union Association. During this time a building had been erected and Henry Houseworth placed in charge of the school. He was the author of the *Federurbian, or United States Primer*. It was during this period that Mr. Kidwell began the publication of his *Philomath Encyclopedia, or Circle of Sciences*, seven volumes of which were issued.

The plans for the town and its academy were never satisfactorily realized. Just how far the possible causes of failure—the general conditions of the age, unwise management, opposition to Kidwell's theology—were responsible is uncertain. The Western Convention borrowed \$225 for the school in 1833; ten years later the Ohio Convention was trying to raise money to pay this obligation. Mr. Kidwell recounted that he personally had in eight years "sustained a clear loss of \$2,000 on a steam mill; sunk more than \$1,000 on the Western Union Seminary; paid more than \$1,000 security money," and this in addition to \$2,000 unpaid subscriptions to his magazine.

After the ending of the Kidwell-Manford controversy there came a new interest in educational problems, both civil and ecclesiastical. In 1850 a resolution pledged Universalists to the support of a liberal and enlightened system of education in the State. The extension of free common schools and

higher institutions of learning was encouraged in 1853, and a committee on education and reforms was appointed. Indiana schools were criticised in 1859. Several clergymen connected themselves with, or organized, small private schools, such as Patriot Collegiate Institute, Jackson Collegiate Institute, Logansport Collegiate Institute.

In 1854 the Convention voiced an expression of the need for a Universalist seminary. In the following year a committee was appointed to undertake the establishment of such an institution. It was proposed to raise \$50,000 for this purpose. In 1857 the committee reported that the Green Mountain College at Richmond was for sale. This was a coeducational, non-sectarian institution, under control of John Haines, who offered it to the Universalists at one-half its value, and also offered to sell them a hundred acres of land at their own price. This offer was not accepted.

After several attempts to organize a denominational school, a meeting was held at Oxford, Ohio, in March of 1857 or 1858, under the name of the Universalist Collegiate Association of Ohio and Indiana. Trustees were elected, their successors to be chosen by the two Conventions; W. W. Curry became their agent; and Oxford was named as the location of the proposed college. But there was considerable dissatisfaction with the choice of Oxford. Sidney and Hamilton, Ohio, and Richmond and Liberty, Indiana, were all rival claimants. The Ohio Convention failed to elect trustees, and within a few months Mr. Curry resigned. A mass meeting was held at Hamilton in November, at which the decision as to location was reopened and left undecided. This meeting was attended by Revs. B. F. Miller, B. F. Foster, M. G. Lee from Indiana, also Mathias Fosher of Fincastle and J. O. Barrett of La-Porte. Lee and Barrett were chosen on a committee to solicit subscriptions. Fifty thousand dollars was to be raised, and the subscribers were then to elect trustees and choose a location. These very excellent ideals did not materialize.

The interest of Indiana Universalists was next turned to the Northwestern Conference of Universalists. This embraced the States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin. It was an educational and mis-

sionary movement. The first organization was effected in September, 1860, at which W. W. Curry was vice-president from Indiana. The Civil War interrupted its proposed activity.

The Conference, therefore, turned its attention to an Army Mission, formally established in May, 1864. H. F. Miller, Indiana superintendent, was assisted by a number of other men. The purpose of the mission was to carry out general ministerial labor in the camps, hospital and the soldiers' homes at Louisville, New Albany, Madison, Lexington, Nashville, etc.

After the close of the war the Conference met at Cincinnati in 1866. The total of pledges for Lombard had now reached \$85,000; at this session \$4,000 more was added. Meanwhile the women of the middle west had secured \$6,000 for missionary purposes. The Conference continued its work for a few years, and then surrendered its jurisdiction to the General Convention.

The success of the Lombard campaign kept alive the vision of a college in Indiana. And at last the way seemed opened by the legacy of Joshua Smithson of Vevay, who left a generous bequest for educational purposes. The report of his will to the Indiana Convention of 1867 resulted in the appointment of a committee on seminary. During the next twelve months this committee considered possible sites, giving special attention to Kokomo and Muncie, and finally reported in favor of the latter. This decision was accepted by the Convention and a constitution for the seminary was adopted. But the ideals of the people expanded, and, to clear the way for further bequests, the choice of Muncie was rescinded and the question of site reopened. In 1870, as a result of a conditional gift of \$20,000 from Mrs. Eliza Pollard of Logansport, the proposition for an academy enlarged into one for a college to be located in that city.

The building, designed for safety, comfort and usefulness, was ready for the opening of the school in January, 1872. Various courses, academic, philosophic, college preparatory, college, commercial and special, were offered. The work was of a grade corresponding to advanced high school and ele-

mentary college work of today. The tuition was from \$30 to \$36 a year, and students came from various parts of the middle west, and even from western New York.

Unfortunately, troubles immediately arose. The trustees had been unwise in expending so large a part of their fund for building and equipment. The student body was not so numerous as expected, as Universalists continued to send their children to "orthodox" schools. There were difficulties in maintaining discipline, and the faculty itself did not escape criticism. Finally it became difficult to get any kind of faculty at all, and this condition naturally caused a further decrease in the number of students.

Reports which gradually increased in pessimism were made each year to the Convention. In 1874 an attempt was made to collect \$22,000 in unpaid pledges. Mrs. Caroline Soule, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Crosley, J. B. Gilman and others were successively, but not successfully, sent out over the State for this purpose. An effort was made to secure co-operation from Universalists in neighboring States. As a result of the impatience of the creditors, lawsuits began to develop. A bond issue was authorized and partly floated to meet pressing obligations. George Rogers of LaFayette and J. N. Converse helped to meet a deficiency of \$4,000. Judge Henry Cravens of Pendleton was another who placed a large part of his personal wealth at the disposal of the college. But in 1878 the report came that creditors had obtained a judgment, that the college was closed, and that trustees were about to be financially crushed. The Convention voted sympathy and regret.

Thus ended the attempts of Indiana Universalists to establish a permanent educational institution within the borders of their State. In subsequent years they have contributed small amounts to Lombard. In 1909 there was a proposal to undertake a denominational school at Muncie, but this received no serious consideration. At the present time there is no great interest in educational matters.

SUBORDINATE ORGANIZATION

Resolutions in favor of Sunday schools indicate that, from the days of pioneer Universalism down to the present,

religious education has been fostered by the more vigorous churches and doubtless neglected by the weaker ones.

In 1869 the Convention discussed the proposition of securing a Sunday school missionary. This discussion was continued the next year and in 1871 at Dublin it led to the organization of a Sunday School Convention. The yearly sessions of this organization have been usually held in connection with the Convention. Occasionally the sessions have been held at a different time and place. In 1905 this organization was merged with the Church Convention and in 1910 it was reorganized.

Among those most prominent in its work during the last thirty years are Charles Styer of Indianapolis, C. T. Swain of Dublin, Cora Foster (Whitmeyer) of Roann, Orlando Moseley of Peru, and Melvin Beagle of Oaklandon and Waldron.

The Blue River Association voted in 1845 "that the sisters belonging to Universalist Societies throughout this Association be entitled to the same privileges in our councils as the male members." Equal suffrage for men and women, and equal opportunities to hold office and to enter the ministry seem always to have been the rule among Indiana Universalists.

The first woman mentioned in the minutes of the present convention was Miss Sallie Knapp of Terre Haute, who in 1868 was nominated to serve on the Education Committee. She was the daughter of Rev. E. M. Knapp.

The first woman's organization was a temporary affair formed in 1871 for the purpose of helping Smithson college. It was known as the Women's Smithson Association. Again in 1879 the Convention asked the women to organize and they did so. The record of their activities is not preserved.

The present women's organization, the Woman's Universalist Missionary Society of the State of Indiana, dates from 1900. Its work has been to foster the study of and work for missions among Universalist women. It has contributed to the various home and foreign fields of the denomination.

Its presidents have been Rev. Sara Stoner (1900-'02),

Mrs. Mary E. Case of Muncie ('03), Mrs. May Lewis of Mt. Carmel and Anderson ('04-'13), Miss Cordelia Britton of Anderson ('14-'16). The latter also served as secretary ('04-'13), Mrs. Kate K. Brownback of Pendleton was the first treasurer and continued to serve until 1912.

The organization of a Young People's Missionary Association was urged in 1884 and perfected in 1890 under the name of the Young People's Christian Union. Meetings have been held yearly in connection with the State Convention.

A Ministerial Association has been maintained intermittently for a number of years.

SOCIAL SERVICE

A large portion of the Convention minutes, especially in the early days, consist of resolutions upon public questions. Capital punishment has ever and frequently been condemned. Slavery and the return of fugitive slaves was opposed in 1854 and 1856. Education and Christian treatment of the Indians were demanded in 1875.

War has been denounced and peace held up as the ideal, except when the United States has been at war. The Convention voted its approval of the Civil and the Spanish Wars.

Temperance and prohibition have been favored in numerous resolutions. In 1873 one of these practically endorsed the Prohibition party.

Universalists were urged to vote for Christian men for office in 1854. Corrupt practices in civil government were condemned in 1875.

The first equal suffrage resolution is dated 1882 and has been followed by many others.

In 1852 Rev. John Allen was condemned for "his socialism and his dancing." Industrial justice and reform have been demanded in more recent years.

A more practical form of social service was attempted at Dublin in 1905 and 1906. A home was established under Universalist auspices, which was to develop the social life of the community. Today it would be called a community center. On account of local misunderstanding and criticism the attempt was abandoned.

The will of Delos H. Thompson of Waldron bequeathed his farm and an endowment to the convention for the purpose of establishing a Home for Aged Women. The attempt of certain heirs to break the will reduced the endowment and caused delay, but the Home was opened for guests in 1913, under the direction of Mrs. Melvin A. Beagle. Until the Home is enlarged the capacity will continue to be limited to seven or eight guests.

CONTACT WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS

The published histories of other denominations in Indiana make little reference to Universalism. Its adherents are often by implication classed as atheists and infidels. The more recent writers, however, treat them with greater consideration. In Levering's *Historic Indiana* (page 172) the first Lieutenant-Governor of Indiana (Christopher Harrison) is quoted as saying, "God is love. Love never lost anything. It is infinitely tender, and infinitely forgiving." This declaration of faith was made in a private conversation with an orthodox lady.

A very fair presentation of the situation is found on page 82 of *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana* by Dr. W. W. Sweet (Methodist) :

The Methodists had strenuous debates with the "Campbellites," the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, but all denominations united against the Universalists. In the forties there were several large debates held in the old court house at Martinsville between the Universalist leader of the West, Rev. Erasmus Manford, and James Scott, a Methodist preacher. Manford declared that all mankind would finally reach holiness and happiness, while Scott affirmed the endless punishment of the unrepentant wicked. At the close of the three day's debate Manford painted a hell for Scott and his brethren to look at, and then flung into it all the human race that orthodoxy excluded from Heaven. Scott retaliated by sending Judas to Heaven before his Lord, and by carrying all liars and lechers, seducers and murderers, to Abraham's bosom, "all bedeviled and unrepentant" as they were. Manford replied that Mr. Scott need not worry himself about heavenly society, for all would be purified by the offering of Christ.

A picture of a different situation is found in *The Chicago Synod and Its Antecedents* by Martin L. Wagner, a Lutheran historian (page 83 ff) :

This tide of revivalism in a few years began to ebb, and was followed by another and far different movement, namely Universalism. It proved a withering, blasting foe, and wormed itself into the churches like a deadly serpent. It was first preached in Indiana in 1825, and the sentiments were readily accepted. To the masses it was more acceptable than infidelity. It promised to man, even to the most profligate and ungodly, as well as to the pious and faithful, an eternity of bliss, while unbelief promised nothing beyond the grave. For years this doctrine was zealously preached and became quite popular. Not many Universalist congregations were organized, but Universalist sentiment obtained in the minds of many, even those who were members of orthodox churches. It was looked upon as the ideal faith. It acted as an insidious spiritual poison, as a blighting force upon the spiritual powers, rather than a vitalizing energy. Its advocates, while in many cases unable to convince their hearers of the correctness of its tenets, succeeded at least in planting the seeds of doubt in their hearts, and left them to grow and bring forth bitter and disappointing fruits. A paper entitled *The Star of the West*, devoted to the dissemination of Universalist church, was issued from Cincinnati, and assiduously circulated among all classes. It was widely read and its specious arguments appealed forcibly to the average reader. The wish in the unregenerate heart became father to this faith, and the arguments appeared to it unanswerable.

This periodical came into the hands of many Lutheran laymen through the instrumentality of Rev. E. S. Henkel, and it wrought havoc with their Lutheranism. Henkel encouraged them to read it, and study its arguments, and its insidious poison destroyed their living faith. A number of laymen, prominent in the local congregation, and well known in the Lutheran church throughout Indiana, in their days, openly accepted Universalism and defended its doctrines. St. John's Church, Floyd county, Indiana, one of the oldest and numerically the strongest Lutheran congregation in the State at that time, and the one at Salem, Washington county, the only city congregation in the synod, were destroyed by the blasting influence of this heresy. But saddest of all some of the Lutheran pastors aided and abetted in this work. Rev. E. S. Henkel was openly charged with Universalism, and he confessed that it was his private belief. He did not publicly preach it. When he became convinced of its correctness, he acted consistently and demitted the ministry, and engaged in secular business. In this he continued about two years, from 1849-51, when looking upon a severe bodily affliction which came upon him regularly, as a visitation of Providence for his apostacy, he renounced his heresy and resumed the ministry.

Rev. E. Rudisill also came under its baneful influence. We have no evidence that he ever publicly preached this doctrine, but like Henkel he also demitted the ministry and engaged in the practice of medicine. For several years he stood aloof from the church, and grew quite reckless. But returning home upon one occasion he announced to his wife

that he would resume the ministerial office, which he did. But the effect of the apostacy of these two prominent ministers in the synod, upon the churches was disastrous. Their sincerity in their return to the faith was always doubted, and their subsequent zeal could not atone for the evil they had wrought.

By the year 1850 Universalism had lost its charm for the Lutherans in Indiana, and the churches began gradually to recover from its baneful influence. While the churches of the synod of the west suffered from revivalism and intense emotionalism, those of the synod of Indiana were paralyzed and ravaged by Universalism.

The debate was a characteristic point of contact between different types of religious thought. These arguments were frequently carried on without malice or bitterness, and by many were considered the most fair and honest method of doctrinal teaching. Contacts of a different nature, looking toward union, federation, or co-operation with other denominations, have already been mentioned.

The following is a partial list of Universalist debates:

Approximate Date.	Place.	Universalist.	Opponent.	Denomination of Opponent.
1829	Indianapolis	J. Kidwell	E. M. Ray	Methodist.
1838-44	Burlington	Manford	Harper Hanna	-----
1838-44	Ft. Wayne	Manford	-----	Episcopalian.
1838-44	Lafayette	Manford	Smith	Methodist.
1838-44	Ladoga	Manford	Russell	Disciple.
1838-44	Dayton	Manford	Russell	Disciple.
1838-44	Independence	Manford	Campbell	Methodist.
1838-44	West Union	Manford	Dickerson	Presbyterian.
1838-44	Martinsville	Manford	Scott	Methodist.
1838-44	Greencastle	Manford	J. M. Mathes	Disciple.
1838-44	Covington	Manford	French	Baptist.
1838-44	Columbus	Manford	W. J. Wright	-----
1838-44	Franklin	Manford	A. L. Emmons	-----
1842	Rising Sun	E. M. Pingree	B. U. Watkins	Disciple.
1842	Madison	E. M. Pingree	John O'Kane	Disciple.
1844	Perrysville	Marble	Dickerson	Methodist.
1847	Milton	Manford	Benjamin Franklin	Disciple.
1854	Columbus	Curry	Priehard	-----
1857	New Albany	Curry	-----	Disciple.
1862	Petersburg	Abbot	J. M. Mathes	Disciple.
1862	Hartford City	Mitchell	Waker	Disciple.
1866	Knightsdown	Foster	Makin	Methodist.
1867	Indianapolis	Foster	J. H. Lozier	Methodist.
1870	Brazil	Curry	Wm. Holt	-----
1870	Union City	S. P. Carlton	W. D. Moore	Disciple.
1874	Galveston	Ballard	-----	-----
1875	Near Roachdale	Ballard	-----	-----
1876	Roann	Ballard	-----	-----
1884	Mechanicsburg	Ballard	W. J. Howe	-----
1890	Beech Grove	Ballard	W. H. Williams	-----
1898	Middleford	Ballard	-----	-----
1899	Kirkland	Ballard	-----	-----

UNIVERSALIST MINISTERS OF INDIANA

The following, probably incomplete, list contains the names of Universalist ministers who have lived in Indiana, together with the places where they have preached. These abbreviations are used, b for born, d for died, * for now known to be living, fr for from, lic for licensed, ord for ordained, fel for fellowshipped (usually from other denomination), dis for disfellowshipped:

- ABBOTT, THOMAS. Lived at Mt. Vernon intermittently, 1851 to 1883, etc. Also at Logansport where he published *The Harbinger*.
- ABELL, THOMAS P. Fr Ohio, Logansport 1881, Whitesville 1883, Muncie 1884, returns to Ohio 1886.
- ADAMS, A. A. Lived at Fortville 1882 and preached at Oaklandon, Pendleton, etc.
- *ADAMS, FRANK D. Fr Illinois 1909 to Indianapolis. Also preached at Oaklandon, Pendleton, and Anderson. To Washington (State) 1914.
- *ADAMS, HELEN F. lic 1909-12.
- ADKINSON T. fr Methodist. Rising Sun 1843 (or 1873).
- AIKIN, J. Stringtown 1856.
- *ALDEN, CHARLES A. lic 1913. Logansport. To Illinois.
- ALLEN, JOHN M. Rising Sun, Terre Haute, in the 40's.
- ANDREWS, L. M. ord 1879.
- ANDREWS, MRS. M. V. lic 1891, dis 1892.
- AUSTIN, J. J. b in "the east," Muncie 1873-4, d Cal. 1894.
- AUSTIN, W. C. Rogers Association.
- AVERILL, J. P. Mishawaka and northern Indiana 1846-50.
- BABCOCK, JUDAH. Fr New York. Dis (?) Perrysville. Organized Devon.
- BACON, W. S. Rising Sun 1885, Ireland, Boston.
- *BALLARD, TILLMAN E. Lic 1873, ord at Walton 1875, organized Mier 1875, Walton, Woodville, Brookston, West Lebanon, Fincastle, Indianapolis, Pleasant Valley, Roann, Crawfordsville. Also itinerant and publisher. Withdraws 1901 to Methodists.
- BANTA DANIEL H. Milroy 1856.
- BAXTER, F. W. Manchester 1856.
- *BECKETT, HENRY C. Lic and ord at Pendleton 1896. To Kentucky 1900, returns 1905. Galveston, Walton, Pleasant Valley, Castleton, Salem.
- BENNETT, B. B. Saluda 1855, Fairfield 1856, major 101st Indiana, retired and lived at Wabash.
- BIDDLECOME, DANIEL R. Ord in N. Y. 1833. Not a settled pastor, preached most of his life in Indiana and Ohio. Fincastle, Ireland, Walton, Boston, Richmond. Canvasser for colleges. Died Richmond 1885.
- BILLINGS, JAMES. Lafayette 1854-'56, Dayton.
- BLACKFORD, J. H. Roann.
- BLASDELL, J. N. Rogers Association.

- BLAYLOCK, RICHARD. A resident of Greenville, entered ministry 1836, Greenville 1841.
- *BRAINARD, CARRIE W. Fr Ohio, Rome City 1902-'06, to Illinois.
- BEENNEN, MARGARET A. From N. Y. Muncie 1897-'02. To N. Y.
- BROOKS, W. C. In Indiana intermittently 1847-'83. Lecturer and preacher. Fairfield, Everton, Ireland, Indianapolis, Muncie, Rising Sun, Terre Haute. State superintendent 1879-'81.
- BROWN, Q. R. Elkhart 1841.
- BROWN, HENRY. Resident of Dublin, lic 1881, ord 1888, d 1900. Pleasant Grove, Wilkenson, Boston, Saluda, Dublin.
- BRUCE, A. W. Madison 1843, Rising Sun, 1844, Pendleton 1847. To Ohio and east, returns to LaFayette 1867, d 1878.
- BULL, ALPHEUS. Resident of LaFayette, fel 1847. To San Francisco 1860, drowned 1890.
- BURT, JAMES G. B Conn. 1809, came west 1839, Terre Haute 1844, abolitionist, d 1844
- *BUSHNELL, CHARLES F. Lic 1894, ord at Muncie 1895. Collamer, Roann, Crawfordsville. To Penn.
- BYINGTON, M. N. Manchester 1847.
- *CALDWELL, JAMES W. Fr Missouri, Newcastle, Devon, Dublin, Pleasant Hill, Boston, 1906, to Florida 1910.
- CANIS, EDWARD N. Resident of Logansport, lic 1895.
- CARLTON, S. P. Rogers Association.
- CARNEY, J. F. Fr Illinois, Muncie 1893, Rogers Association 1900, Martinsville 1903, surrenders fellowship 1896.
- *CARPENTER, JOHN R. Fr Kansas, Logansport 1914, to Kansas 1916.
- CARTMEL, S. Cumberland 1844.
- CASE, ELIGA. Muncie 1863, Fairfield 1867, out of State 1872.
- CASTLETON, JAMES. 1847.
- CASTO, W. Lic by Upper Wabash Asso. 1842, Lockport 1844.
- CASWELL. 1842.
- CHAFFIN, J. W. Fel fr Methodists 1869. To Iowa.
- CHAPLIN, JOHN PORTER. B. N. Y. 1826 to Ohio 1833, Indiana 1835, lived here nearly all of life. Died Hometown 1879, burial at Pierceton.
- CHAPLIN, WILLIAM J. Brother of J. P. C. Ord 1849, worked for missionary society, Fort Wayne 1848, New Haven, Hometown 1850, Pierceton 1856, No. Manchester, Mier 1877, published the *Christian Pulpit* in Michigan City, Walcottsville 1883, died there 1885, burial Pierceton.
- CHENEY, FRANCES E. Resident of Richmond, ord at Muncie 1895, leaves State 1897, d 1901.
- CLARK, MARY T. b in England, educated an Episcopalian, became Baptist, to America 1851, Cincinnati. Came to Dublin and found herself a Universalist. Also interested in the Friends religion. Began to preach about 1880, Fairfield, Ireland, Richmond. Known as a missionary-at-large. Died 1891.
- CLARK, WILLIAM S. Fr. Mass. 1844, LaFayette, Logansport.
- CLEVELAND, JAMES H. b Ky, Lic 1861 Milan, private 83rd Indiana, d 1863.
- CONE, ORELLO. Professor at Buchtel College, Ohio. Fort Wayne 1885.

- COLLINS, ELIGA. A Methodist of Switzerland county. Preaches for Universalists 1848.
- *CONNOR, CHARLES C. Ord 1880, to Ohio 1884.
- *COOK, JOHN S. Fr Illinois 1906, State superintendent, to Mich 1908.
- *COUDEN, WILLIAM. Fr Ohio 1914, Indianapolis, to Washington, D. C., 1916.
- COUNTRYMAN, A. Terre Haute.
- CORWINE, J. D. H. In charge of Ky. Lib. Inst. at Crittenden 1857, Logansport 1861, became president Logan. Collegiate Institute, Fairfield, Rising Sun, Vevay 1865.
- COYLE, WILLIAM. Fel 1872.
- CRANE, C. Fairfield.
- CRABY, NATHANIEL. Roadn. 1885, South Bend 1868, Pleasant Lake 1872, Columbia City 1880, retires to Edgerton, O.
- CRAVENS, CHARLES. Indianapolis 1847, Rising Sun.
- CROSLEY, J. L. Fairfield 1866, agent for Smithson college 1875, Muncie 1877.
- CROSLEY, LOTTA D. Huntington 1879.
- *CROSLEY, MARION D. Fairfield 1863, Fort Wayne 1875, New Haven, Hunt-ertown, Muncie. State superintendent 1874 and 1907. Rogers Association.
- CRUM, GEORGE. b near Warren 1859, lic 1879, to Lombard college 1884, Logansport 1904 for nine years, also at Pleasant Valley and Oaklandon. D 1916.
- CUMMINGS, URIAH. Resident Perry county many years, at least 1856 to 1886. Rome, Derby, et al.
- CURRY, HIRAM. Fr Ohio, formerly Baptist, Dayton 1828, d 1832.
- *CURRY, WILLIAM W. Fairfield 1852, Danville 1856, New Albany 1857, Indianapolis 1860, Fincastle 1861, chaplin 53rd Indiana, Madison, Logansport 1866, Terre Haute 1872, Secretary of State 1872, superintendent of churches 1873, deputy marshal of Indiana 1879, Oklahoma 1879, Indianapolis 1881 to Washington, D. C., 1883.
- DAVIS, JOSIAH. Muncie 1861, d near Alamo 1862.
- DAVIS, RUDOLPH B. Resident of Edwards, lic 1895-97.
- DEAN, W. W. Resident of Louisville, fel fr Methodist 1840.
- DORSON, J. A. Fr N. Y., Muncie 1879, withdraws to Congregationalists 1880.
- DOLBY, D. H. Fel fr Baptists 1874, Vevay leaves State 1881.
- DRULEY, THADDEUS C. Fr Ohio 1882, Muncie 1884, leaves State.
- *DUCATE, JOHN S. Fel fr Methodist 1879, Wheatland 1881, fel renewed 1912.
- DUTTON, C. H. Fel 1872, leaves State 1873.
- EATON, T. C. Not a resident, Logansport, Indianapolis, Park county, all 1856-1859, d 1883.
- EDBRINGTON, W. L. Lic 1872. Celina and other points in Perry and Crawford counties.

- ELDRIDGE, JAMES W. b Ohio 1829, to Delphi, studied and practiced law in Winamac, Chicago, Valparaiso, Cincinnati, and in 1866 Logansport. Became Universalist and began to preach here. Lic 1870, ord 1871. Roann, Dayton, Walton. To Minneapolis 1875, d 1881.
- EMMETT, W. Y. Fairfield.
- EVANS, FRANK. b Boston 1838, in 21st Ohio, major 18th Ohio, lic 1870, ord 1872, Fairfield, Ireland, d 1879.
- *EVANS, F. WALDRON. fr Vermont 1907, Anderson and Pendleton, to Ohio 1908.
- FALL, J. S. b New Brunswick 1828, LaFayette 1874, Logansport, d 1890.
- *FARMER, WILLIAM W. Resident Anderson, lic 1916.
- FISHER, J. 1843.
- FISKE, R. President Smithson 1874.
- FLEMING, ANNA. b West Lebanon. d 1888.
- FOLLIS, SAMUEL. Indianapolis 1843.
- *FOSHER, JESSE B. b Fincastle, lic 1882, ord 1887, Roann, Mier, Pendleton, Anderson, Richmond, to Illinois 1899.
- FOSTER, BENJAMIN F. Resident Madison, ord 1842, Perrysville, Terre Haute, organized Indianapolis 1853, Logansport 1857, organized Muncie 1859, State secretary I. O. O. F. 1860 and for many years, State librarian, pastor Indianapolis 1861 and for many years, d 1897.
- FOSTER, JOSEPH G. Prairieton 1843, Fairbanks 1844.
- FREEMAN, JAMES. From Methodist, Greensburg 1856.
- FULLEN, SAMUEL. Lic upper Wabash Association 1842, Crawfordsville 1844.
- GAGE, GEORGE W. Fairfield 1860, Rising Sun.
- GARDNER, A. R. B N. Y. 1808, commenced preaching in Indiana 1834, to Ill. 1835, second Universalist minister in that State.
- GARDNER, C. W. Ord Rogers Association 1848.
- GAYLORD, N. M. Fel 1842, Rising Sun.
- GIBB, S. F. Fr Ohio 1869, Pierceton, Huntertown, returns to Ohio.
- GIBBS, W. L. Rogers Association.
- GIBSON, C. K. Fr Congregationalist of Mich. 1879, LaFayette 1882, North Vernon and Patriot 1882.
- GIBSON, S. G. (or S. J.?) Terre Haute 1856.
- GIFFORD, H. Fairfield 1841, Muncie 1860.
- GILMAN, J. B. B N. Y. 1822, to Mich 1854, chaplin in army, connected with Lombard and Smithson Colleges, and with Northwestern Conference, State superintendent in Indiana 1876, dies 1881.
- *GLEASON, W. W. Resident Mt. Carmel, lic and ord 1891, Muncie 1892, leaves State 1893.
- GORMAN, THOMAS. Logansport 1859.
- GRANDY, I. B. Mt. Carmel 1872, Aurora 1881, Logansport 1885, Oaklandon, LaFayette, Rising Sun, Dublin, Ireland, Brookston 1889. charges preferred 1890, suspended by Indiana Convention but reinstated by General Convention, Fairfield 1891, Whitesville 1895, West Lebanon 1899, Indianapolis 1902, d 1906.

- GROVES, HENRY. Resident of Rome as early as 1856 and balance of life, d 1899.
- *GUTHRIE, THOMAS SANDOR. B Ohio, preached there and Indiana most of life. Ord 1872, LaFayette 1872, Muncie and Devon 1874 for several years, Dayton 1886, Logansport 1894, Pleasant Valley 1901.
- GWALTNEY, S. Lic 1872, Rockport, Rome.
- *HAFFNER, J. EDWARD. Resident Muncie. lic 1903, ord 1904, Anderson, Pendleton, et al., withdraws 1909.
- HARRISON, T. J. Nebraska 1856.
- HARVEY, AYLMER O. Resident Klondyke, lic 1901-02.
- HASKELL, J. Fr Vermont, Eugene 1840.
- HATHAWAY, P. Ft. Wayne 1850, LaFayette 1851, Logansport 1856.
- HAYWOOD, HARRY L. Lic 1912, ord 1913, Richmond, to Iowa.
- HEATON, Dayton.
- HENLEY, J. W. Rogers Association 1878.
- *HEWIT, JOHN H. Resident Devon, lic 1885-90, 93-96.
- HEWSON, THOMAS. Resident Jefferson county, fel 1840, fr Methodists itinerant for Laughery Association 1843, Madison 1844.
- HEYWOOD, JOHN H. Jeffersonville 40 years.
- HIBBARD, S. S. Logansport 1871.
- HICKS, E. P. Vernon 1843.
- HICKS, F. E. Rising Sun.
- HICKS, JOSHUA. Fel 1843, Patriot.
- HILSTREN, CHARLES W. Lic and ord 1907-08. Milan, Saluda, Manchester, Dublin. To Ohio 1911, d 1914.
- HINDS, J. M. Fel fr Baptists at Middletown, Vigo county, 1884.
- *HOUGHTON, JAMES. Resident Collamer, lic 1892, ord 1894. Fincastle, Cunot, Huntertown, Cromwell, Collamer, Brookston, North Manchester. To Kansas 1911.
- HUDSON, JAMES. Resident of Collamer, lic 1895.
- JACOBS, ELMER D. Fr N. Y. 1876, to Mich. 1887.
- JACOBS, MARION WARREN. Resident Kokomo, fel fr Christian Congregation 1891, Whitesville, dis 1892.
- JEWELL, HENRY. Fr New England, Terre Haute 1865.
- JOHN, R. N. Ord 1874, Fairfield, Ireland, Dublin 1881, State superintendent 1882-91, Manchester, Mier, leaves State 1894.
- JOHNSON, B. Madison 1841.
- JOHNSON, J. L. Resident of Patriot, temporarily a Universalist.
- JOLLY. Fr Methodists.
- JONES, MRS. BELLE (colored). Resident Brazil, lic 1897.
- *JONES, LEON P. Fr Kansas, Richmond 1907, Rogers Association 1911, to Ontario 1916.
- *JONES, MARTHA G. Wife of Leon P., served as joint-pastor with him.
- JONES, W. M. Rogers Association.
- KALER, M. B. Ord 1841, Rogers Association.
- *KEIRN, GIDEON I. Fr N. Y. 1881, Ft. Wayne, to Ohio 1883, Muncie 1903, now in Japan.

- KELSO, ISAAC. Fel fr Methodists 1843, renounces Universalism 1846.
- KENDALL, PAUL. President Smithson college.
- KESSLER, J. J. P. Lic 1895.
- KIDDER. Cass county, 1855.
- KIDWELL, JONATHAN. B Ky. 1779, Methodist, then Christian, became Universalist 1804, Philomath, Terre Haute, began editorial work about 1825, publisher, author, religious liberal, d 1849.
- KNAPP, E. M. B. N. Y. 1809, fel 1843, Cambridge 1843, Terre Haute 1848, d 1851.
- *LAING, ALFRED H. Resident Pierceton, lic 1869, to Illinois.
- LATHE, F. T. Fr Ky. 1892, returned 1893, d 1897.
- LAURIE, A. G. Fel 1842.
- LE CLERC, PRUDY. Ord 1870, Fincastle, Aurora, Madison, Mt. Carmel, married Rev. C. L. Haskell 1878, d 1879.
- LEIGHTON, A. A. Andersonville 1866.
- LEMON. Fel 1844, Bono 1844, Bloomington 1847.
- *LEWELLEN, HENRY. Fr. Iowa 1894, Dublin, Ft. Wayne 1902.
- LEWELLEN, MRS. EMMA. Lic 1894-96.
- LEWIS, CALVIN. Derby and other points 1856-72.
- LINCK, W. B. Fairfield 1853-5.
- LINNELL, W. B. Muncie 1866.
- LINON, G. C. Putnamville 1848.
- *LINTON, MAURICE G. Resident Woodville, lic 1893, to Ohio, Fincastle, Cudot, Brookston 1908, to Illinois 1912.
- LONGLEY, ABNER H. B Ky. 1796, to Oxford, Ohio 1810, itinerant Christian, became Universalist thru Kidwell, Lebanon 1832, preached, county surveyor, several sessions in legislature, Indianapolis 1838, returns to Lebanon, to Kansas 1866, d 1879.
- LONGLEY, ELIAS. Son of above. Preaches 1848.
- LUSTER, THOMAS B. Resident of Whitesville, lic 1887, ord 1889, LaFayette 1889.
- MANFORD, ERASMUS. B Mass., to Cincinnati, first of many itinerant journeys thru Indiana 1837, LaFayette 1841, Terre Haute 1843, Indianapolis 1846, Cincinnati 1848, St. Louis 1850, Chicago 1864 till death. Published *Christian Teacher*, *Western Olive Branch*, *Golden Era*, and *Manford's Magazine*. During all this time he visited Indiana frequently.
- MANN, E. B. Early resident of Floyd county, Ohio Valley circuit from Leavenworth 1837, present at organization of Illinois Convention 1837.
- MARBLE, H. S. Portland and Perrysville 1840, ord Perrysville 1841.
- MARING, T. E. Lic 1873, Rockville, d 1874.
- *MASON, EDWARD G. Fr Ohio 1912. Muncie.
- MARTHING, JOHN. Mishawaka 1856.
- MCCLURE, GEORGE. Perrysville.
- MCCORD, J. W. Fr Kentucky, Fairfield 1894, leaves State 1897.
- MCCUNE, G. C. Knightstown 1841, Dublin.
- MCDONALD, EDNA. Fairfield 1897.

- McLEAN, J. P. Mt. Carmel 1886, Dublin.
- MERRELL, H. A. Aurora 1878, LaFayette 1880, Fairfield 1881, Ireland, d 1884.
- MERRIFIELD, JACOB. Ord 1856 by Elkhart Association, Mishawaka, New Haven, Hunteertown, et al.
- MILES, 1844.
- MILLER, H. F. Saluda 1860, Boston, Dublin, State missionary 1863, agent North Western Conference.
- MITCHELL, M. G. State missionary 1865, organized Ireland, Devon 1868, d 1878.
- MONROE. Ord 1845.
- MOORE, ELIHU. Union City 1873, d 1889.
- MOORE, W. Cumberland 1844.
- MORSE, GEO. W. Rogers Association.
- MUNSON, H. C. Educated at Canton, N. Y., by Missionary Society.
- OSMOND, I. T. Professor at Smithson, lic 1873.
- OYLER, S. P. Fel Upper Wabash Association 1844, Jefferson, Rising Sun, Vernon, became a lawyer at Franklin.
- *PATRICK, D. A. Lic 1894, ord 1896, resident of Brookston, Pleasant Valley, Galveston, Salem, Logansport, withdraws 1906.
- *PEARSON, JAMES H. Ord 1902, Muncie, leaves State 1903.
- *PETTY, CHARLES E. Fr Ohio, Logansport 1916, State superintendent.
- PINGREE, ENOCH M. B N. H., 1817, Jeffersonville 1847, d 1849.
- POPE, MATTHEW L. Fr Ky. 1891, originally a Baptist, Fincastle, Cunot, Pleasant Valley, Salem, Collamer, Boston, d 1908.
- PRICE, J. U. B N. Y., taught Urbana and there became Universalist, fel 1860, Terre Haute, sargent 14th Indiana, d 1862.
- QUACKENBUSH, N. R. Fr Mich. 1885, Madison, Rising Sun.
- RAYHOUSER, N. A. Resident Ft. Wayne, South Bend 1856, Hunteertown.
- RAYON, T. FRANCIS. Resident Indianapolis, lic 1895, soon withdraws.
- ROBERTS, H. Rising Sun.
- ROBEY, CURTIS. Fel 1832.
- *ROBINSON, ELMO A. Fr N. Y. 1914. Anderson, Pendleton.
- *ROBINSON, OLGA K. Lic 1915.
- ROBINSON, JOSIAS. Physician of Fillmore, lic 1881-3.
- ROSE, DANIEL. D 1871.
- *ROSS, EMORY P. Resident Manchester, lic 1893-6.
- *SAGE, NATHANIEL S. Fr Ohio, Logansport 1868, Walton, to Ohio 1869, returns Logansport 1874, to Illinois 1876.
- ST. JOHN, DANIEL. Resident Franklin county earlier than 1838, itinerant, often in civil office, d 1863.
- SAXTON, N. A. Fr Mich. Bluffton 1885, also Hunteertown, Collamer, et al. Leaves State 1889, d 1890.
- SHEPHERD, O. P. Resident Everton, lic 1894.
- SIMPLE. 1845.
- SIMPSON, J. M. Lic 1871, Coon's Creek.
- SLAUGHTER, W. W. Fr Ill., LaFayette 1898, Brookston, d 1901.

- SMITH, ISRAEL C. Fel 1859 Roger's Association, Center Square 1872, Ve-
vay 1881.
- SMITH, ROBERT. New Trenton 1840, Harrison 1841, itinerant, withdraws
to Christians 1842.
- *SNYDER, MRS. CATHERINE N. Resident Indianapolis, lic 1914.
- SOMERS, H. O. Fr Iowa, Logansport 1892, Indianapolis 1894, dis 1895.
- SPAULDING, W. Roger's Association.
- *SPEES, NOAH M. Resident Oaklandon, lic 1904-9.
- SPENCER, L. J. Bluffton 1883, to Missouri 1887.
- SPOONER. New Haven, Huntertown.
- STACY, G. Fel 1844, Bono.
- STEINMETZ. LaFayette.
- STEWART, G. H. (?) Fel 1872, Kendalville, Huntertown, withdraws 1873.
- STONEMETTS, T. O. Resident Cincinnati, Rome 1842.
- *STONER, SARAH L. B Richmond 1852, Fairfield 1897, Anderson 1899, to
Ohio.
- STONER, JAMES A. B Peru 1849, Pendleton 1899, to Ohio.
- STRICK, S. M. Fel 1870, Pendleton, leaves State 1872.
- STROUP, JAMES. D 1862.
- TABOR, M. WILLIAMS. Fr N. Y. 1888, charges preferred 1890, leaves State.
- TALCOTT, W. C. Michigan City 1844.
- TATE, DAVID. Early resident Perry county, Rome 1844, Tobinsport 1886,
23 children.
- *TAYLOR, HENRY B. Muncie 1909, to Mass. 1912.
- TIBBETTS, A. Indianapolis 1886.
- TRAUX, H. E. Physician of Logansport. formerly Methodist, lic 1895, La-
Fayette, dis 1896.
- TRAUX, MRS. H. E. Lic 1895, withdraws.
- TUCKER, WILLIAM. Bluffton 1880, Ireland, Roann.
- TURNER, DANIEL. Terre Haute 1845.
- UPSON, JOSIAH. Native of New England, Presbyterian, becomes Univer-
salist 1848.
- VATER, THOMAS J. Resident Indianapolis, contractor and mason, but
preached many years, withdraws 1886.
- VATER, T. J. Jr. Lic 1896-1900.
- VAUGHN, N. Perry and Crawford counties 1872, Cannelton 1883.
- VILOTT, JAMES. Laurel 1856.
- VINES, D. Resident Frankfort, lic 1842, Crawfordsville 1844, Rainesville
1856.
- *VOSSEMA, HENDRICK. Fr Maine, Logansport 1901, leaves 1903.
- WAIT, C. F. Fel 1843, Fairfield 1852.
- *WALTER, PEARL. Resident Peru, lic 1899-1904, married D. A. Patrick.
- WESTFALL, I. M. Resident Thorntown, Methodist, fel Upper Wabash Asso-
ciation 1844, ord 1845, Franklin, Martinsville, Logansport 1857, be-
came a physician 1880, d Minn. 1888.
- *WILGUS, ALBERT. Physician, lic 1874, ord 1888, leaves State 1904.
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM R. Resident Warrington, lic 1891.

WOOD, J. Patriot 1841.

WOODBURY, C. E. Indianapolis 1860.

WRIGHT, GEORGE. Resident Fillmore. Methodist minister and lawyer, lic 1879-81, writer.

WYLEY. Ord 1845, Hartsville.

YATES, F. M. Fr Ohio 1888, returns next year.

YEAGAN, H. G. Lic 1885-6.

CONCLUSION

Two opposing and pertinent questions confront the student. Why, after the expenditure of so much energy, is the Universalist Church so weak in Indiana? Why, with so many mistakes and failures, does it yet remain so strong?

There are several factors to account for the present weakness. Every truth may be abused; the acceptance of the negative elements of Universalism without a grasping of its affirmations produced "anti-hellians," who were often against every policy of denominational expansion and in favor of nothing. Universalists have usually emphasized the intellectual, rather than the emotional, element in religion; denominations which have done this have not flourished in Indiana. Church membership as an essential to future individual salvation was rejected; church membership as an opportunity to work for present social salvation was an ideal rarely visioned. Hence the most prominent Universalists were often not members of their own organization, and their children and grandchildren joined other churches. Add to these causes extreme individualism, occasional unwise leadership and lack of vision, a theology sometimes more liberal than the pocketbook, the general decline of the rural church, and the failure of the expectations of the pioneers is easily explained.

The reasons for the permanence of organized Universalism are more difficult to specify. But on the one hand there were and are the small but active minority of its adherents, who have combined the logical and emotional elements in such fashion as to obtain a positive religion, and who have become working church members, loyal in the use of time, money, and strength. On the other hand it is due to the presence, among the unchurched multitudes of the State, of those to whom neither Roman Catholicism nor orthodox

Protestantism appeals, and who yet desire to support some form of Christian teaching.

Today the Universalist Church of Indiana is comparatively small in number and insignificant in activity. In many communities its teachings are unknown. But in places where it still exists, or has existed until recent years, the religious situation has been influenced by it. And it is probably true that the theological trend of the entire State has had its course permanently altered by the "Church of the Beautiful Faith."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A few Universalist books and magazines were on the shelves of the Indiana State Library in the fall of 1915. Since that time, in response to a request in *The Universalist Leader*, many additions have been received and are now being catalogued. The author has also found valuable material at the public library of Cincinnati, at the University of Chicago, and in the private libraries of Rev. Sara L. Stoner and Rev. T. E. Ballard.

The following books are among those which have been consulted:

Modern History of Universalism, Thomas Whittemore, Boston, 1860.

Universalism in America, Richard Eddy, 2 vols., Boston 1886. (Contains valuable bibliography.)

Essay on *Before and After Winchester*, J. A. Stoner, in *The Winchester Centennial*, Boston, 1903.

A Series of Strictures, Jonathan Kidwell, Cincinnati, 1830.

Memoranda of the Experiences, Labors and Travels of a Universalist Preacher, George Rogers, Cincinnati, 1845.

Life and Writings of Rev. Enoch M. Pingree, Henry Jewell, Cincinnati, 1850.

Twenty-five Years in the West, Erasmus Manford, Chicago, 1875.

Life and Works of Rev. Thomas S. Guthrie, D. D., written by himself, Indianapolis, 1912.

An Oral Debate (at Milton), Erasmus Manford — Benjamin Franklin, Indianapolis, 1848.

Vision of Faith, I. D. Williamson, Madison, 1852.

The Golden Age to Come, J. J. Austin, Cincinnati, 1853.

Theological Discussion on Universalism and Endless Punishment, B. F. Foster — J. H. Lozier, Indianapolis, 1867.

The Destiny of Man, S. P. Carlton — W. D. Moore, Cincinnati, 1870.

The county histories listed in Bulletin of Indiana State Library, September, 1915.

Minutes of the Universalist Convention of Indiana, 1848 to date, one year missing.

Minutes of the Rogers Association; partial minutes of various other organizations.

Partial files of the following periodicals were consulted. More complete information about these and others may be found in volume 2 of Eddy's history.

Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate; The Star in the West, The Sentinel and Star, The Star and Covenant; Manford's Magazine; Western Universalist; Herald of Truth; The Philomath Encyclopedia; The Convention Reporter; Healing Leaves; The Universalist. The Universalist Leader; The Universalist Register.

It is desired to further augment the collection in the Indiana State Library. Those having material to donate are requested to write the author or the library.

Reviews and Notes

Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee. By CLIFTON R. HALL, Assistant Professor of History and Politics in Princeton University. Princeton Press, 1916, pp. iv 234, \$1.50.

THIS volume deals, as its title indicates, with the career of Andrew Johnson in Tennessee during the years 1862-1865. It contains a careful and detailed history of the civil and political life of that State during the Civil War. The history contained in the volume is of more than State and local interest, because it deals with the secession and restoration of a State that was essentially unionist in its antecedents and constituency, as well as with one of the most remarkable men produced in that era of bitter and strenuous strife. The unionism of Andrew Johnson during the Civil War made him President of the United States. He did not "go with his State" when Tennessee seceded. He acknowledged a higher allegiance and remained in the United States Senate to represent his State together with Parson Brownlow, Horace Maynard, T. A. R. Nelson and others. He stood up stoutly and put up a manly fight for the Union cause in East Tennessee. He spent a life of strenuous political conflict but his "eyes never beheld the man who inspired his heart with fear."

His fighting character and career, and especially his attachment to the Union under adverse circumstances led President Lincoln to name Johnson as military governor of Tennessee, during the second year of the war. His experience in that office forced him to deal with the problems of military control and the reconstruction of his State. This experience gave Johnson some preparation for the problems with which he afterwards had to deal as President. So much for the historical importance of the man and his work with which this volume deals.

Johnson's life had been spent in the Union section of Tennessee where the people voted five to one against a convention

to consider secession. After Sumter the "issue of coercion" brought a change and the Union men of East Tennessee were overcome by the irresistible tide for secession after John Bell and other Whig and Constitutional leaders had given way. However, in spite of pressure and the executive influence of Governor Harris, East Tennessee remained loyal to the Union, voting two to one against secession and a compact with the Confederacy. Johnson was one of "the little batch of disaffected traitors who hovered around his home" in Greenville, as the secession sheet, *The Memphis Appeal*, said.

This volume under review contains a good brief sketch of Johnson's political career, from his election as alderman of Greenville in 1828 to his election as governor of Tennessee and United States senator in 1853 and 1857. There is an excellent characterization of the man as a man of brilliant incisive mind, of insatiable ambition, but "breadth of view he never attained."

Johnson was a States rights Democrat who voted for Breckenridge in 1860 as the best way to save the Democratic party from disruption, in the hope that the party might be saved as an organ for saving the Union. Later he thought the Southern Democrats assumed the role of destroyer and he was ready to fight them to the bitter end. He held that the Union could not coerce a State, but also that the compact of Union was perpetual and that no State could be released from its obligations without the consent of all. The State consisted of its loyal citizens, one or many, and the United States should guarantee to each State a republican form of government. In becoming governor in 1862 Johnson announced his platform to be that of the famous Crittenden Resolution, to protect and defend the constitution and the law and to suppress insurrection. He sought to recall to the people the better days under the federal bond.

The volume contains a detailed and careful discussion of the defense of Nashville; of military and political reverses in 1863; of the early reorganization of the State; of the presidential campaign of 1864, and of the final rehabilitation of Tennessee. The political conflicts for the control of the State between the radicals and conservatives are described. In

these conflicts under Johnson's leadership the Union element of Tennessee succeeded in reorganizing the civil government of the State and in bringing it into the old relation to the national government. Confederate leaders were disfranchised by the oath of allegiance. The peace Democrats contested the State with the "unconditional Unionist" in 1864, and their leaders protested in Washington against the intolerant policy of Johnson's party in excluding by military interference so many of their opponents from participating in the voting. Johnson, while he was still military governor, supported Lincoln's policy of reconstruction. As the volume opens with a consideration of Johnson's character and public career, so it closes with further treatment of the personal side of this notable southern leader. He had to withstand vituperation and insult, but he himself was vituperative and insulting. Like begets like, and perhaps in no other period of American history did the coarse personal habits and disposition of a single man have so bad an effect on his country's public life as under the era of Andrew Johnson. Professor Hall's book is a valuable contribution to Civil War history.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1914. Vol. 1, pp. 504. Washington.

THIS ancient volume contains, besides the official proceedings of the society, fourteen historical papers. The last four deal with American history. Henry B. Learned has a fourteen-page article on Cabinet Meetings Under Polk; St. George L. Sioussat, a sixteen-page article on Tennessee and National Parties 1850, 1860; P. Orman Ray, a twenty-two-page article on the Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act; and Robert G. Cleland, a ten-page article on Asiatic Trade and the American Occupation of the Pacific Coast. Of these the ones by Professor Sioussat and Dr. Ray have interest for Indiana readers. Under the head "proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference of Historical Societies" is a paper by Dr. James A. Woodburn on Research in State History at State Universities. In this paper he discusses the field for such work, its value as material for seminary training in history and its general value to the State. The article was published in the March, 1915, number of this MAGAZINE.

The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan. Edited by WILLIAM STARR MYERS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History and Politics, Princeton University. Princeton University Press, 1917; pp. 97. \$1.00 net.

THIS little volume is a by-product of the author's work of the last four or five years on the biography of General McClellan. The writer of the *Diary* graduated from West Point in 1846, just in time to go to the front as a second lieutenant of engineers. He left school September 24, 1846, and the *Diary* ends abruptly after the Battle of Cerro Gordo, although the author continued on to the capture of Mexico and remained there for some time after the war closed. He landed in 1846 at Brazos and marched down the Mexican coast almost to Vera Cruz. The *Diary* in part seems to have been written from day to day and in part seems to have been composed some time, though never very long, after the events described happened. His observations about the volunteers and the general conduct of the war are about what one would expect from a young man just from the training school. A reader will be tempted to say he can see in the general's comments the beginning of the difficulty which prevented his success in the Civil War. A comparison of this with *Grant's Memoirs* will readily show the difference between the two men. The author has, by means of footnotes, made the *Diary* intelligible, so that aside from its historical value, the volume will furnish an evening's genuine pleasure to a red-blooded reader.

Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI, No. 1. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. Edited by HARLOW LINDLEY. Indianapolis, 1916. pp. 269. 50c.

THE Association held its tenth meeting at Indianapolis October 4 and 5, 1916. Nine papers were read besides the welcome address by Daniel W. Howe, president of the Indiana Historical Society, and the response by the president, Harlow Lindley. The papers were *Speculation in the Thirties*, by Prof. R. C. McGrane; *The New Purchase*, by Prof. James A. Woodburn; *A Lost Opportunity, Internal Improvements*, by

W. C. Ford; Kentucky's Contribution to Indiana, by Prof. James R. Robertson; Organizing a State, by Logan Esarey; Early Railroad Building in Indiana, by Ralph Blank (only a small part of this is printed); Civil War Politics in Indiana, by Charles Kettleborough; Personal Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine, by ex-Governor William A. McCorkle; and a Hoosier Domesday, by Prof. Frederick L. Paxton.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mrs. Benjamin D. Walcott, 1455 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, vice regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, the SURVEY has received the *Annual Report* of that association. This is a nation-wide organization to look after and improve Mt. Vernon. The purpose is to restore the grounds to the condition they were in about 1790 and maintain them as nearly in that condition as possible. There were last year 127,203 visitors to the grounds.

THE university library recently received from one of its alumni a copy of Prof. Richard Owen's farewell address to Indiana University. The title of the address is "Happiness and Home, Temporal and Eternal", and it was delivered at the college chapel May 11, 1879. An audience could hardly be held together to listen to such an address now, but nothing so clearly marks the difference between college life then and now, and between the college students then and now as these old addresses. The librarian is always very glad to receive such papers.

Biennial Report of the Secretary of State for the Term Ending September 30, 1916. By HOMER L. COOK, Secretary of State. Fort Wayne.

THE first section of this report deals with the financial business transacted by the department. The receipts for the two years total \$815,411.76. This money was collected from taxes on motor vehicles, dealers' licenses, chauffeurs' licenses, taxes on foreign and domestic corporations and the sale of *Supreme Court Reports*. The receipts are in the form of fees. There follow in the report lists of the State officers, their

terms, salaries, State departmental registers, members of boards and commissions and State employees generally. A historical register gives lists of the principal State officers since 1816; the different congressional apportionments since 1821 and the congressmen from each district; the electoral vote since 1820; counties, county seats and populations, governor's proclamations; judicial and county officers; abstract of the votes at the November election, 1916; and a list of the members of the General Assembly for 1916. The volume of 240 pages contains a vast amount of information concerning the official organization and work of the State government.

Fortieth Annual Report of the Department of Geology and Natural Resources of Indiana, 1915. By EDWARD BARRETT, State Geologist. Indianapolis.

AFTER a brief general introduction by the State geologist there follow a History of Indiana During the Glacial Period, by Harry W. Wood; Soil Surveys of Wells County, of Grant County, of White County, of Starke County, and of Fountain County; geological surveys of Dearborn County, of Jefferson County, and of Greene County; and a chapter on Oil and Gas. The department either alone or in coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture has made soil surveys of all but seventeen counties of the State. Each article is written by a specialist who acted as field assistant to the geologist, and is illustrated by a large scale map. The volume has 279 pages and a good index.

Report of the Proceedings of the Indiana Horticultural Society for the Year 1915. By M. W. RICHARDS, Secretary. pp. 504. Indianapolis.

THE society held its fifty-fifth annual meeting in Tomlinson Hall at Indianapolis, November 8-12, 1915. The report contains the proceedings of this meeting. The greatest event of the year for this society, and one of the events of State-wide interest each year is the apple show, of which a full account is given in the volume. However, the chief popular value of the volume is in the two score or more of papers prepared by ex-

pert fruit growers and treating of almost every phase of the subject. They make of the report a scientific treatise on Horticulture for Indiana. There were 65 exhibitors at the apple show; about 1,500 listed apple growers in the State (Names and addresses given in the Report); 132 nurseries; and upward of 400 members of the society.

Annual Report of the Indiana State Prison for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By EDWARD J. FOGARTY, Warden. pp. 50. Fort Wayne.

THE report is entirely statistical. The number of convicts October 1, 1915, was 1,332; the number at the close of the year, September 30, 1916, was 1,264, an average population of 1,302. The per capita cost for meals was about 12 cents per day, the annual per capita expense was \$136. There were received during the year 367, or one each day. Of these 209 were between the ages of 30 and 40 (most younger criminals go to the Reformatory); 168 were native Hoosiers, 46 from Kentucky, 17 from Illinois, 20 from Ohio and the others from the four corners of the world; 43 were Catholics, 37 Baptist, 33 Methodists, 23 Christians, with 9 other denominations represented. One-half or 190 belonged to no church; 50 were illiterate, 9 had high school education and 7 were college men. Tables show the numbers from each county, character of crime, mental condition, health records and number of inmates for each year since 1860, product of the binder twine factory, library, expense and a great many other items.

Annual Report of the Indiana Reformatory at Jeffersonville for the Year Ending September 15, 1915. By Dr. DAVID C. PEYTON, General Superintendent. Printed on the Reformatory Press. pp. 57.

THE Reformatory, under the direction of Dr. Peyton, has become an institution for the study of crime and the reform of criminals. Besides Dr. Peyton, such specialists as R. B. von Klein Smid, F. C. Paschal, and M. L. Beanblossom have been employed to make a scientific study of the inmates from a psychological and pathological standpoint. The superintendent has instituted farm work, military drill, a school sys-

tem, a library and vocational work of all kinds. There were committed during the year 623 prisoners; total number of inmates September 30, 1915, was 1,275. Tables are given showing nativity of prisoners, counties sent from, use of liquor and tobacco, character of crime and a great many other interesting facts. Besides the formal *Annual Report* there have been issued from the Reformatory Press a number of pamphlets of a scientific character setting forth the methods of study and conclusions reached in the research work.

Psychopathology and Crime, an address delivered by Dr. David C. Peyton at the meeting of the American Prison Association at Oakland, California, October 9, 1915. Several interesting cases of criminality in this State are described in this address.

Principles of Prison Reform, a paper read by Dr. David C. Peyton before the Economics Club of Indianapolis, December 8, 1915.

The Differential Diagnosis of Crime, an address by Dr. David C. Peyton before the American Prison Association at Baltimore November 13, 1912.

Material of Clinical Research in the Field of Criminology, a paper read to the American Prison Association at St. Paul, October, 1914.

An Address, by Dr. David C. Peyton on the occasion of the announcement of the Installation of a Psychological Laboratory for the Scientific Study of Criminals, Jeffersonville, 1912.

Crime as an Expression of Feeble-Mindedness, an address by Dr. D. C. Peyton to the Indiana State Medical Association at West Baden, September 25, 1913.

Mental Examination of Two Thousand Delinquent Boys and Young Men, by M. L. Beanblossom, 1916, gives the results of three and one-half years study in the Reformatory along the lines indicated. (pp. 23.)

Second Report, Department of Research, by Franklin G. Paschal, Director of Research, gives the results of the research work from August, 1912, to August, 1916. A series of tables exhibit the facts learned from the history of the prisoners and ascertained from the clinical investigations.

These pamphlets indicate the important work going on in this line at the Reformatory. At least all school, church, police, and court officials should read them.

Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of State Charities for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By AMOS W. BUTLER, Secretary. pp. 222. Fort Wayne.

THE Board of State Charities is composed of six members and the secretary, all residing in Indianapolis. The work of the board is largely supervisory, having in some degree supervision over nineteen State institutions, outdoor poor relief by township trustees, all charity dispensing organizations of a private nature, compulsory school attendance, county jails, poor houses, and licensing maternity hospitals, boarding houses for infants, boarding homes for infants, and placing agencies. The first part of the report gives a brief but very interesting and valuable history of the growth of State Charities. At the close of the year 1841 the State had one charitable institution with 134 inmates, at the close of 1916 it has nineteen, with 13,218 inmates at an annual cost, including local and county charities, of \$5,953,539.19. Of this expense, \$3,095,665 went to State institutions, \$856,609 to county poor houses, \$283,678 to local orphan homes, \$337,610 for county jails, \$44,485 for truant officers, and \$435,489 for outdoor poor relief. It is impossible in a brief notice to refer to all the data in this report. Parts of it are alarming. It is an inventory of the State's unusable citizens, the salvage corps working among the wreckage.

The board has issued a number of pamphlets indicating its efforts to solve the questions of poverty and defection and its attempts to save some of the unfortunates.

Bulletin No. 1 of the Indiana Society for Mental Hygiene is an announcement of the organization of the society, October 16-17, 1916, at Indianapolis, and a statement of its purposes. Ernest H. Lindley, of Bloomington is president.

Bulletin No. 2 contains the constitution of the society and "Childhood's Bill of Rights", by Virgil H. Lockwood.

Mothers with Dependent Families, a Report of the Committee of the Children's Bureau of Indiana, by T. F. Fitzgibbon, president.

Relief to Parents with Dependent Children, by the Board of Children's Guardians, by W. C. Duncan. These reports were made at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Children's Bureau of Indiana, held at Indianapolis, October 17, 1916. The titles of the papers indicate their nature.

A State Aged 100; Glimpses of Social Progress in Indiana During One Hundred Years, by Alexander Johnson, assisted by Laura Greeley (pp. 20). This is a history of charities in Indiana. The author was the first secretary of the Indiana Board of Charities and Miss Greeley has been chief clerk of the board for many years.

Prison Sunday, a pamphlet of 32 pages, is a brief resume of the results of the State Charities and the outlook for the future.

Seventieth Annual Report of the Indiana School for the Blind, September 30, 1916. By GEORGE S. WILSON, Superintendent. pp. 61. Fort Wayne.

THE enrollment in the School for the Blind at the end of the year was 122. This school costs about \$45,000 per year. There are seven teachers and a full primary and high school course including music and industrial departments. The school is purely educational. It has been in operation since 1847. Last year there were seven graduates.

Fiftieth Annual Report of the Indiana Boys' School at Plainfield, for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By GUY C. HANNA, Superintendent. Fort Wayne.

THIS school was established in 1867 as the House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders; in 1883 it was named Indiana Reform School for Boys, and in 1903, Indiana Boys' School. Its purpose is to reclaim and educate incorrigible boys. There are now enrolled 554 students. The plant consists of 528 acres of land and about 50 buildings. The expense for maintenance was \$111,590.

Tenth Annual Report of the Indiana Girls' School for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By Dr. KENOSHA SESSIONS, Superintendent. pp. 32. Fort Wayne.

THIS school is located eight miles west of Indiana on the Ben-Hur interurban and the Big Four railway. There are

seven teachers and 344 girls enrolled. The net cost of maintenance was \$78,656. Tables of statistics showing facts relative to the institution are given. It is a reformatory school with ample grounds and gardens for industrial training. Of the 2,626 girls admitted since the school opened 525, or one-fourth, have been from Marion county.

Annual Report of the Tuberculosis Hospital of Indiana for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By Dr. C. J. STEVENS, Superintendent. pp. 27. Indianapolis.

THIS hospital is located four miles east of Rockville on Sand Creek. The number of patients at the end of the year 1915 was 135, though 301 had been admitted during the year. The pamphlet is illustrated with a double-page view of the grounds and cottages. This institution was created by the General Assembly in 1907 and opened for patients April 1, 1911.

Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By Dr. SAMUEL E. SMITH, Superintendent. pp. 67. Fort Wayne.

THIS hospital is located at Easthaven, near Richmond. At the end of the year there were 891 inmates, though 1,025 had received treatment during the year. The maintenance expense for the year was \$191,785. Tables are given showing nativity, habits, occupations and mental conditions of the patients. Patients are received here from 21 counties.

Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Home for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By TEMPLE H. DUNN, Superintendent.

THIS is one of the most beautiful spots in the State. The grounds consist of 242 acres of land and 33 buildings. The 510 children together with teachers, governesses and officers compose a large family. The school is organized much as the other schools of the State, with all the various departments, library, agricultural grounds and industrial training. The children are the orphans of the Civil War and the care for

them is a small but beautiful tribute by the State to those who freely sacrificed themselves in a time of great necessity.

Fourth Annual Report of the State Fire Marshal for the Year Ending October 30, 1916. By W. E. LONGLEY, State Fire Marshal.

THE general purpose of this office is to prevent, as far as possible, the loss of property in the State by fire. The department has been in operation about four years. The department coöperates with the fire marshals in the cities in the investigation of fires and the dissemination of intelligence to prevent such occurrences. As a result of these investigations 41 arrests and 13 convictions for arson were had during the year. There were reported 6,018 fires with a total property loss of \$5,737,865. Tables showing character of buildings, cause of fire, value and location by towns and cities are given. The department is carrying on an extensive campaign of education along this line.

Second Annual Report of the Public Service Commission of Indiana for the Year Ending September 30, 1915. pp. 755.

THIS commission is made up of five commissioners, a secretary, a clerk, legal counsel, seven inspectors, thirteen engineers, four rate experts, six accountants, and twelve stenographers. The annual expense is about \$100,000. The commission has made 52 appraisals of public utilities and has audited the accounts of 22 utility companies; 4,921 miles of railroad track were inspected, and 5,372 miles of interurban. The larger part of the report consists of tables of statistics showing capitalization, value, surplus, dividends, bonds, stocks, and other data of the public utility corporations under the commission's supervision. The action of the commission is in the form of court procedure and the pamphlets containing the pleadings in individual cases contain much information of historic and popular interest.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1916. By ELIJAH GLADDEN, Secretary. pp. 217.

THE first few pages of this report are devoted to a financial statement of the board. The total expense of the work was

\$7,786.31, of which \$2,911.39 is for the upkeep of the reservation and the balance for the office at Indianapolis. The larger part of the report is taken up with a description of the reservation one mile north of Henryville in Clark county. This reservation of 2,000 acres was purchased by the State in 1903 and is used as an experimental ground for the problems of reforestation. Small tracts are planted to different kinds of native trees and carefully studied.

Twenty-eighth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year Ending July 31, 1916.

By CHARLES A. GREATHOUSE, Superintendent of Public Instruction. pp. 1040. Fort Wayne.

THE size of this report is due partly to the rapidly increasing activities of the department and partly to historical matter included in commemoration of the centennial year. The first 559 pages are historical, dealing first with the department then with the institutions of higher learning, with the history of the public schools by counties and last an account of the History Consultation service. There is not room here to say more concerning this part of the book than that it contains brief histories of the colleges of the State and of the schools of each county. Numerous engravings illustrate the advancement made in school architecture during the century. The second part of the volume contains the reports of the High School Inspector, of the Vocational Work, of the Consolidation of Rural Schools, of the State Teachers' Retirement Fund, of the Teachers' Licenses issued, of Accredited Schools, a list of persons holding Life State and Professional Licenses, and of the Distribution of the Funds. It is an interesting volume and contains a great amount of information both popular and professional.

Annual Report of Auditor of State for the Year Ending September 30, 1916. By DALE J. CRITTENBERGER, Auditor of State. pp. 1,860. (The auditor's report 100 years earlier consisted of two pages.) Fort Wayne.

THIS extensive volume is not paged consecutively but consists of six individual reports, paged and indexed separately. The first 52 pages are devoted to the office as a whole, containing the tables of receipts and disbursements of the State. The

total receipts for the year were \$13,154,310.27; expenses, \$12,046,637.13, leaving a balance of \$1,042,083.30. The Report of the Insurance Department occupies 428 pages; Building and Loan Department 419 pages; Bank Department 295 pages; Proceedings of the State Board of Tax Commissioners 547 pages; and the Biennial Report of Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners 119 pages. One of the most interesting tables is the Abstract of the Tax Duplicate for 1915, in the last report, giving value of lands, improvements, mortgages, and railroads for State and counties. The total real estate value is \$1,364,780,930; of railroads is \$219,496,631. Seven new banks and ten trust companies were organized during the year. There were 389 State banks, 201 private banks, 157 trust companies, 5 Savings Banks, 1 Mortgage Guarantee Company, with a capital stock of \$34,520,550 and over \$238,000,000 on deposit, and over \$203,000,000 loaned out. A list of banks by counties is given and a financial statement of each. A list of the insurance companies shows a capital stock of \$222,000,000 and resources of \$64,000,000.

Biennial Report of the Attorney-General for 1915, 1916. By EVAN B. STOTSENBURG, Attorney-General. pp. 1086. Fort Wayne.

THE first 32 pages contain a summary of the Attorney-General's work in the Circuit, Appellate and Supreme Courts. The remainder of the volume contains the official opinions of the Attorney-General given to the various State officials. These cover a field as wide as the combined activities of the State government. The opinions are gathered under headings referring to the department asking for the opinions, beginning with the governor and ending with the Legislative Visiting Committee. An index makes the material readily available.

Constitution Making in Indiana; A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes. By CHARLES KETTLEBOROUGH, Ph.D. In two volumes. Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Commission, 1916; pp. CCXL, 530, XV, 693. \$1.50.

THESE two volumes by Dr. Kettleborough, prepared under the direction of the new Indiana Historical Commission,

should be welcomed by historical students both within and without the State. The shelf space allotted to books relating to the history of Indiana in the libraries of the country has been very limited, because little has been required. The situation is improving, several worthy volumes having appeared in recent years to fill the void. Moreover, the legislature of 1915 was induced to create the Indiana Historical Commission. Fortunately, in addition to the placing of centennial duties on this commission, the act creating it provided a moderate sum to be used in gathering up and publishing some of the source material available in the State. At its recent session, the legislature was wise enough to continue the commission, and it is to be hoped that it will have a long lease of life and its work receive more generous support.

The volumes under review contain a large amount of material "designed to illustrate and interpret the constitutional growth and development of the State of Indiana from the beginnings of its institutional history to the present." So states the editor in his preface, and his object has been well and thoroughly accomplished. The scope of his undertaking may be understood from his statement that, "For the hundred years from 1816 to 1916, an attempt has been made to include every document of a constitutional character." Considering the great number of documents, long and short, unimportant and important, that have been presented, one would not venture to assert that the editor's attempt has not been successful without having made a thorough search for omitted matter.

The documentary and other materials furnished will prove valuable and interesting to all students of the history of constitution making by States. Because of the appearance of the volumes at a time when a constitutional convention has been provided for, they will be especially useful to those who are chosen to serve in the convention as delegates. In addition, it should be stated that any person interested in the general history of Indiana will find much of value in the source matter included in the work.

The editor has preceded the documentary material with an introduction of two hundred twenty-five pages. This historical narrative is based on newspaper sources in addition to the

constitutional matter which it precedes, and is in itself a valuable contribution. The appendix contains the returns by counties of the votes cast in a number of elections when constitutional matters were referred to the electorate. Each volume is supplied with a topical index. Neither the paper nor the binding used are first-class, but no doubt the Historical Commission will find it possible to improve future volumes in this respect. The reviewer is of the opinion that historical students and the public will agree with the Commission that Dr. Kettleborough's "volumes are of signal historical importance, and that they will prove to be of decided value to all who may be especially interested in the legislative and governmental experience of Indiana", and that "it is eminently desirable that such service to our history as the production of these volumes should be rendered to the State."

WILLIAM O. LYNCH.

Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers; A Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters and Diaries Prior to 1830. Selected and Edited by HARLOW LINDLEY. Indianapolis: The Indiana Historical Commission, 1916. 596 p. (\$1.50.)

THIS volume was prepared by Mr. Harlow Lindley of the Department of Indiana History and Archives and published by the Indiana Historical Commission under the provisions of the act of the Indiana General Assembly, approved March 8, 1915. The object of the volume as stated in the introduction is "to make available to the people of the State and others interested in Indiana history, material which could not be procured easily otherwise."

The date of the first selection is 1778. The last comes down to 1834. Thirty-four pages of material bear on the period prior to 1816. Two hundred one pages are devoted to the years 1816 to 1820. The remaining three hundred four pages deal with the period from 1820 to 1834. The editor states in the introduction that four of the contributions included have never before appeared in print. One might wish that more of this sort of material had been collected and published instead of such well known works as that of Flint which fills

twenty-five pages of the volume. But even in selecting from Flint such material as relates to Indiana and thus rendering it more available, Mr. Lindley deserves much credit. It should be a matter of gratification to students of Indiana history that at last something is being done along this line in our State.

The selections taken together present a vivid picture of early Indiana. Each is preceded by a brief introduction by the editor in which there is stated a few facts concerning the author and his work. The volume is well indexed.

CHARLES ROLL.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized December 11, 1830

"The objects of this society shall be the collection and preservation of all materials calculated to shed light on the natural, civil, and political history of Indiana."

This society was organized by the leading men of our State. The following were the first officers:

Benjamin Parke, president; Isaac Blackford, first vice-president; Jesse L. Holman, second vice-president; James Scott, third vice-president; John Farnham, corresponding secretary; Bethuel F. Morris, recording secretary; James Blake, George H. Dunn, Isaac Howk, James Whitcomb and John Law, executive committee.

In the early days its annual meetings were one of the great occasions of the winter at the State capital. Among its early members were eight governors, all the judges of the supreme and federal courts, most of the circuit judges, a majority of the U. S. senators and congressmen and other leading men of the State. The annual address was usually given by one of the great men of the nation.

The society has never had a building to house its collections nor adequate funds to publish its papers. Its membership fee has been one dollar per year until quite recently when it was raised to two. One dollar of this fee goes to the Indiana Magazine of History which is sent free to all members. A small donation is made annually by the State. It has never received but one gift or endowment. This was made by Hon. William H. English, its former president and one of the distinguished historians of the State.

The Society should have an income of \$5,000 per year. Indiana has at least 5,000 men and women who are interested in the State's history; and it is thought that if the matter were brought to their attention they would help in the work. The membership fee is not a gift. The Society sends its publications free to its members. These will cost on an average \$1 per year. It also sends the Indiana Magazine of History, of which it is a joint publisher, free. The price of the Magazine itself is the same as the entire membership fee.

For further information address

CHARLES E. COFFIN, Secretary,
Star Building, Indianapolis; or
INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY,
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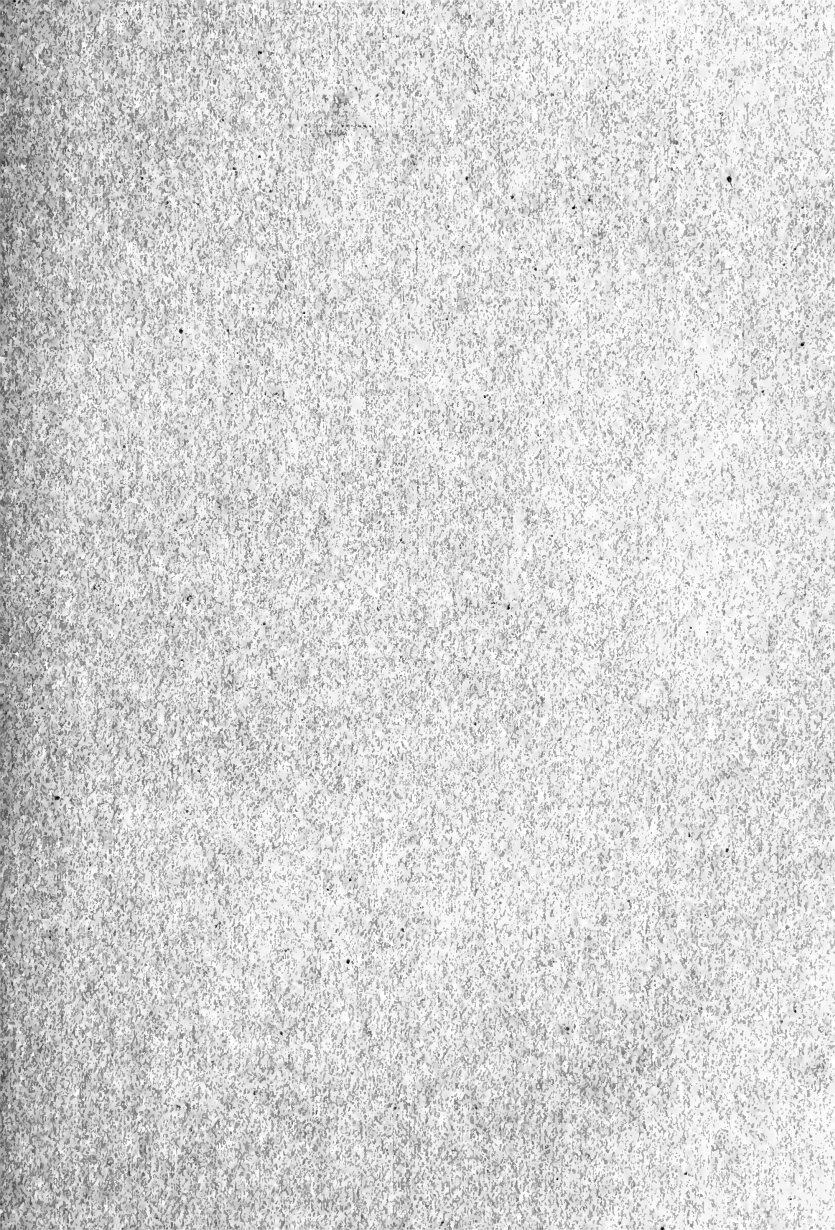
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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COOPERATION OF

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XIII

SEPTEMBER, 1917

No. 3

The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860

By CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, A. M., Decker, Ind.

THE FUSION MOVEMENT

ALTHO 1852 was a year for the election of a President not much interest was taken in the campaign in Indiana. The Democrats held their State convention at Indianapolis, February 24. They endorsed the compromise of 1850 and placed a ticket in the field, headed by Joseph A. Wright and A. P. Willard. The Free Soilers were strong in northern Indiana, but not a man of their political belief was placed upon the ticket. This indicated a split in the party.

The next State convention was that of the Whigs, held February 26, at Indianapolis, in which Nicholas McCarty of Indianapolis, and William Williams of Warsaw, were placed at the head of their ticket. A platform was adopted differing but little from that of the Democrats.

Abolitionists, Wilmot Proviso Democrats, Van Burenites, and Anti-Fugitive-Slave-Law Whigs made up the Free Soil convention which met in Indianapolis, May 17, 1852. A. L. Robinson, of Vanderburg, and J. P. Millikan, of Decatur, were their candidates. At this time the Free Soilers had come to the place where they were to accept the compromise measures except the clause relating to the return of fugitive slaves.¹

Thus it will be seen that there were no great issues en-

¹Dale Beeler, "The Election of 1852." *Indiana Magazine of History*, XI, 315.

volved in the campaign. When the smoke of battle had cleared away it was seen that the Democrats had won a fruitless victory. They had elected ten congressmen, while the Whigs had elected but one, S. W. Parker, of the Fifth district. The State legislature was Democratic, there being but thirty-four Whigs elected to the House and sixteen Whigs to the Senate. The entire State ticket was Democratic.

The election had some serious effects upon the political parties. While the Democrats had won and had succeeded in quieting dissention in their own party during the campaign, they were by no means harmonious after the election. The small vote of the Free Soil party shows that it had run its course and need no longer exist as an independent organization. The Whigs, who had supported their ticket not so much from belief in the principles of the party as from opposition to the Democrats, practically went out of existence. As the *New Albany Ledger* put it, the Whig party was annihilated and could never be rallied as a political party.² Thus there were many voters in Indiana whose views were such that there was no political party existing of which they could be a member. If some fundamental issue should arise upon which these men might agree a new party could be formed which might unite the elements opposed to the Democratic party. Such an issue did arise and it is the purpose of this paper to show how these men, differing widely in their views, united themselves into a great political organization, the Republican party of Indiana.

While there was no great political principle upon which the opponents of the Democratic party could unite there was a question which was causing men of all parties some thought. Indiana had come to the point where she felt that the temperance question would have to be fought out. It was seen that the temperance law of 1853 was not drastic enough and a prohibitory liquor law was demanded.³ The Maine Law

²*New Albany Daily Ledger*, November 16, 1852.

³The Temperance Law of 1853 forbade retailing in quantities less than one gallon, unless a majority of the legal voters endorsed such action by vote; it provided that the retailer must care for drunks until sober; and that any injury done person, property or means of support made the retailer or his sureties liable for damages.

"craze" had reached the West. Realizing the evils of drunkenness the advocates of temperance proposed to remedy matters by a legislative short cut.⁴ It was said that a Maine Law would diminish taxes by lessening crime, safeguard morals, close the grog shops, protect Indiana from the rum sellers and rum drinkers driven out of other States who would come to Indiana, and, most significant of all from a political viewpoint, it was seen that all Catholics, Protestants, Whigs, Democrats, natives, and foreigners could unite in a common cause.⁵

While all were to unite in a temperance movement the advocates of a Maine Law asserted that they proposed to get such a law through the existing political parties, if possible. A resolution was passed by a temperance convention at South Bend, August 5 and 6, 1852, by which it was resolved that "we will vote only for such legislators and executive officers, without regard to political party, as will create and sustain such a law."⁶ At the State Temperance convention held at Madison, September 28, 1853, it was resolved to attempt a Maine Law by endeavoring to elect members to the General Assembly independent of party considerations.⁷ Thus it appears that if the men back of the temperance movement had any idea of forming a new political party they were careful to keep it from the public.

The temperance movement was given a decided impetus by the decision of the Indiana Supreme Court stating that that portion of the temperance Act of 1853 submitting the question of "license or no license" to the vote of the people was unconstitutional.⁸ The decision made it legal for anyone to sell liquor in any quantity. Indiana was practically without any liquor law. At Mt. Sterling, November 26, 1853, the citizens of Switzerland and Ohio counties in a joint temperance convention resolved that they did not wish to form a distinct temperance party, but they would not vote for any man who would not pledge himself to a prohibitory law.⁹

⁴G. W. Julian, *Political Recollections*, 138.

⁵Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, November 8, 1852.

⁶*St. Joseph Valley Register*, August 19, 1852.

⁷Logansport *Journal*, October 8, 1853.

⁸Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, November 29, 1853.

⁹Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, December 9, 1853.

These men seemingly were not ready for a new political party. At Indianapolis a State temperance convention was held January 11, 1854, with probably 1,100 men in attendance. A State Central Temperance Committee was organized and it was recommended that each county hold a meeting on February 22.¹⁰ An address to the people of Indiana was prepared.¹¹ How shall the crime and misery caused by intemperance be most effectually banished from our state? License laws have proved of no avail. There is but one remedy left, prohibition. Two main objections will be urged against such a law; (1) existing prejudices and the alleged pecuniary interests of those engaged in the traffic; (2) the present organization of political parties. The address made it plain to the people that it was not the intention to legislate against the private use of liquor in the home but only against the manufacture and sale of liquor. In answer to the first objection it was urged that the money invested in the liquor traffic could be turned into more profitable channels. In answer to the second objection it was stated that it was not the intention to injure the existing political parties, but that it was the intention of the temperance men to support the party that was willing to make prohibition an issue. In accordance with the address a series of resolutions, stating that no liquor law would satisfy the temperance sentiment of Indiana unless it represented the principles of "seizure, confiscation, and destruction" of liquors kept for illegal sale, was adopted. It was resolved that, attached as they were to their political parties, they would not interfere with their present organization, but that they would not support a candidate for the legislature who would not pledge himself to the above principles.¹² Thus the convention put the temperance issue squarely before the people. It is worthy of note that at this time the convention proposed to secure what it desired through the existing political parties and not by the formation of a new political organization.

County conventions held at different places over the State

¹⁰*Logansport Journal*, February 11, 1854.

¹¹*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, January 13, 1854.

¹²*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, January 13, 1854.

adopted resolutions similar to those passed by the State convention. The convention at Logansport adopted the resolutions verbatim.¹³ The Rush county convention passed stronger resolutions than those above. It asked the old parties to bring out temperance men and agreed that, in case neither party would bring out temperance men, to run independent men.¹⁴ At Laporte men of all political parties met and passed resolutions similar to those above.¹⁵ The Montgomery county convention resolved that they would not stand by the "whiskey" plank of the Democratic platform and that they would lay aside all political preference and unite their efforts in furthering the great reform.¹⁶ It was decided to nominate temperance men for the General Assembly. The Marion county convention decided upon the same course.¹⁷

What was the attitude of the people of Indiana toward this movement? As early as January, 1854, the *State Journal* published an article stating that out of 110 newspapers in the State but ten were opposed to the movement.¹⁸ From this it may be seen that the press was in favor of some move for the betterment of conditions. Of course, among the people there was a division of sentiment in regard to the matter. Many felt that this question was of such a nature that it should not be dragged into politics. They argued that it was more of a moral reform than a political question.¹⁹ There were many voters wanting a more stringent temperance law who had so long been party men that it would have been very difficult for them to support an opposition candidate no matter how strong he was for temperance.²⁰ The Democratic politicians looked upon the movement with distrust. They felt that it was an attempt to revive the Whig party by giving it a live issue. The various temperance meetings held throughout the State were looked upon by the Democratic politicians as an indication that the Whigs intended to

¹³Logansport *Journal*, February 25, 1854.

¹⁴Rushville *Republican*, March 8, 1854.

¹⁵*Weekly State Journal*, June 3, 1854.

¹⁶*Weekly State Journal*, July 1, 1854.

¹⁷*Locomotive*, June 17, 1854.

¹⁸Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, January 24, 1854.

¹⁹*State Sentinel*, January 27, 1854.

²⁰Logansport *Pharos*, January 25, 1854.

use the temperance issue as a hobby on which to ride into power.²¹ As the *State Sentinel* put it;

"If Whiggery and Abolitionism can throw in the temperance question as an auxiliary to aid them in electing a Whig legislature, they will achieve a triumph by the aid of temperance Democrats, which their political principles can never command."²²

Hence the Democrats were warned that every Democrat who assisted in the movement was transferring himself, body and soul, to the Whig party. Friends of the movement answered this opposition by stating that although most of the voters favoring the movement were Whigs and that of the newspapers in Indiana favoring it nine-tenths were Whig, it was difficult to see how the Whig party would be benefited by abstracting so many of its members.²³ The Rush county temperance convention replied to this charge by a resolution stating that the enactment of a prohibitory liquor law was not a Whig scheme but the philanthropic demand of the people without respect to party.²⁴ The Democrats would have preferred that this question be taken out of politics and settled by a direct vote.²⁵

Before the Democratic State convention met in May, 1854, it was seen that the Democrats would oppose the passage of a Maine Law. The Montgomery county Democratic convention had already resolved against "seizure, confiscation and destruction."²⁶ Yet it was evident that temperance would be an issue in the coming election. Editor M. C. Garber, of the *Madison Courier*, said:

The contest next fall, we believe, will be upon the temperance issue, for or against a prohibitory liquor law. The people appear to have taken sides on this issue; the politicians do not know exactly what to do in the premises. The Whig politicians, having nothing to lose, are on the side of a prohibition law. The Democrats, under the leadership of the *State Sentinel* prefer to have the question submitted to the people before it is made a part of the Democratic creed. The temperance men stand with the balance of power in their hands.²⁷

²¹Logansport *Pharos*, January 25, 1854.

²²*State Sentinel*, March 14, 1854.

²³Logansport *Journal*, March 4, 1854.

²⁴Rushville *Republican*, March 8, 1854.

²⁵Logansport *Pharos*, February 22, 1854.

²⁶Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, May 9, 1854.

²⁷Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, April 18, 1854.

Thus it appeared that the people had decided that they would have an expression of their sentiments on this question at the coming election. Many of them made this the first issue and never swerved from it.²⁸

While the temperance movement was growing there was growing at the same time a great political sentiment against the further extension of slavery. By a series of political compromises the status of slavery in the territories had been settled. The crowning act of this settlement had been the Compromise of 1850, which was looked upon as a final disposition of the question of slavery in the territories. Although this act only applied to the Mexican Cession and had not specifically repealed the Compromise of 1820 it had affirmed a new principle which, if sound, superseded the principle of the Missouri Compromise and was bound to reopen the whole question even though this measure was looked upon as a "finality."²⁹

That this act was so considered was seen in one of the planks of the national Democratic platform of 1852, which reads as follows:

Resolved, that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or our of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.³⁰

The platform of the Democratic party in Indiana approved the compromise measures by stating that they should under no pretense be disturbed.³¹ The Whigs in their State platform made no direct reference to the slavery question, but the national Whig platform provided that the compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Act, should be looked upon as a final settlement of the slavery question.³² The Free Soilers stood for, "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." Thus it will be seen that the great majority of Indiana people looked upon the question as settled, although there was a small minority who hoped that in some way the

²⁸*State Sentinel*, October 31, 1854.

²⁹George W. Julian, *Political Reminiscences*, 136.

³⁰Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, 182.

³¹W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, 5.

³²Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, 185.

question would be reopened and settled by the prevention of the further extension of slavery.

Fortunately for the minority there happened in Indianapolis an incident which brought home to Indiana people the workings of the Fugitive Slave law. There appeared at Indianapolis Pleasant Ellington, who claimed as his slave John Freeman, a respected colored citizen of that city. Ellington had the proper papers showing that Freeman was an escaped slave. Under the terms of the Fugitive Slave law there was nothing to do but turn him over to Ellington, which would probably have been done had not public sentiment been so strong that the court decided to give Freeman nine weeks to prepare a defense. He succeeded in getting men to come from Georgia to testify that he was a free man. On the day of the trial Ellington disappeared. There being a large crowd present, the meeting was turned into a rousing anti-slavery meeting.³³ Such incidents as this served to stir up a bitter hostility toward the Fugitive Slave law and any further extension of slavery. At a meeting of the Free Soilers at Logansport in September, 1853, it was resolved that they would refuse to obey the inhuman demands of the Fugitive Slave law and that J. L. Robinson, United States marshal of Indiana, should be presented, by the chairman of the meeting, with a black leather collar marked "The Ellington watch-dog, to be let at \$3.00 per day."³⁴

While Indiana was interested in the slavery question from the viewpoint of the fugitive Slave law it was also interested in the question of the further extension of slavery into the territories. At this time interest was centered in Nebraska, which had asked for admission to the Union seven times in successive years, but had not been admitted. There was but one objection, the Missouri Compromise. Under the terms of this act Nebraska must come in free. It was now intimated that the Compromise of 1820 must be repealed before Nebraska could be admitted.³⁵ By the terms of the Douglas

³³*Logansport Journal*, July 30 and September 3, 1853; G. W. Julian, *Political Reminiscences*, 133.

³⁴*Logansport Journal*, September 10, 1853. Most people thought that Robinson had been too obliging to Ellington in this matter.

³⁵*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, December 26, 1853.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill the status of slavery in the territory formerly declared free by the Missouri Compromise was to be determined by the people of the two territories. What Douglas had in mind when he introduced the bill is now a hotly disputed question.³⁶ By some it was said that as long as the principle of popular sovereignty served the interests of the South it would be obeyed but that as soon as it failed to do so another "compromise" would be made whereby the interests of the South would be maintained.³⁷ By others it was said that it was a bid for the presidency.³⁸ Still another view was that of building up a sectional party which aimed at a dissolution of the Union.³⁹

Thus the question of the power of Congress over slavery in the territories was reopened. It had been the feeling of the northern Democrats that Congress had full power over slavery in the territories and that it could either legalize or forbid the institution.⁴⁰ Many Democrats held that Congress should not exercise its power in this respect but should let the people of the territories decide the question for themselves. The attitude of the Democrats of Indiana was well expressed by the *State Sentinel* when it said:

We do not believe that there is a Democrat within the State, who, if he were a citizen of Nebraska, or Kansas, would vote to incorporate slavery among its elements. But we view the question as one involving the constitutional right of a people to make their own laws and regulate their own domestic institutions.⁴¹

From this quotation it will be seen that the Democrats of Indiana preferred to think of the Kansas-Nebraska question more in the light of an abstract question of the constitution than a concrete question of the further extension of slavery.

The reopening of this question brought dismay to the politicians.⁴² They were farsighted enough to realize that

³⁶Frank Heywood Hodder, "Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1912.

³⁷Logansport *Journal*, January 24, 1854.

³⁸New Albany *Daily Ledger*, January 31, 1854.

³⁹New Albany *Daily Ledger*, May 26, 1854.

⁴⁰O. M. Dickenson, *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1913, p. 197.

⁴¹*State Sentinel*, September 8, 1854.

⁴²Logansport *Journal*, February 4, 1854.

breakers were dead ahead. To them the bill was injudicious, especially in the light of the finality propositions of the previous campaign. They feared a division of the party since the State platform of 1852 had approved the finality clause of the national Democratic platform.

When the North saw that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was directly opposed in principle to the former method of settling the question of slavery in the territories, political compromise in Congress, the Missouri Compromise became "sacred" and must be defended at all hazards. They forgot that they had objected to its principle in the Texan question and in the case of California. In these two cases the principle of the Missouri Compromise favored the extension of slavery, not its prevention.⁴³ Now that its repeal favored the extension of slavery they opposed its repeal. In defense of the bill the Democrats argued that the principle of non-intervention by Congress left to the people, who were better qualified to judge of their own interests than Congress, the decision of questions of local interest.⁴⁴ They held that this was the position that Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson had held.⁴⁵

Its opponents fought it because it expressly repealed the Missouri Compromise and gave slavery an opportunity to extend itself into territory once declared free "forever."⁴⁶ While the bill stated that it was not its purpose to legislate slavery into Kansas and Nebraska,⁴⁷ Indiana men had considerable difficulty in seeing why a slave holder should move there unless he felt that his property would be protected.⁴⁸ Again they could not reconcile the view of the southern Democrats who stated that it was a pro-slavery measure, with that of the northern democrats who held that it neither legislated slavery into nor out of the territories.⁴⁹ From the above statements it appeared that the question, as far as Indiana was concerned, was one concerning the extension of slavery rather than a question of the principles of government.

⁴³*State Sentinel*, February 2, 1854.

⁴⁴*State Sentinel*, February 15, 1854.

⁴⁵*State Sentinel*, March 8, 1854.

⁴⁶*Rushville Republican*, May 3, 1854.

⁴⁷See Kansas-Nebraska Act.

⁴⁸*Indianapolis Journal*, April 6, 1854.

⁴⁹*Weekly State Journal*, September 16, 1854.

While the people of the State were much aroused over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill there was one set of men who were especially concerned as to their course of action in regard to it. These men were Indiana's representatives in the national congress. Whatever action they took was sure to be criticized by the friends or the opponents of the bill. It was early known that Senators Jesse D. Bright and John Pettit were in favor of it. Bright owned a plantation in Kentucky and was known to be friendly toward the slave interests. Pettit was willing to support the measure although in 1849 he had written,

That Congress has the power to prohibit the introduction of slavery where it does not exist, must be clear to everyone who has investigated the subject, and is capable of reasoning.⁵⁰

Now he was favoring a bill which took the power from Congress. As a result it was predicted that his political head would roll in the dust at the first stroke of the political ax.⁵¹ Bright's time would expire in 1858, while Pettit's term would expire in 1855. Hence Pettit was more immediately concerned than Bright.

But the congressmen were more perplexed as to their course. Since public opinion determined their chances for re-election some of Indiana's congressmen were very anxious that their constituents should know their attitude toward the bill. James H. Lane, of the Fourth district, was opposed to the bill because it, by the Clayton amendment, prevented a foreigner from voting.⁵² Daniel Mace, of the Eighth district, in a letter to the *Lafayette Courier* stated that the bill was a violation of plighted faith; that such a bill would shut out his constituents of limited means from this territory or would bring them down to the social level of a slave if they went to Kansas or Nebraska; and that, since this issue did not enter into the previous election, he would gladly resign if his action did not suit his constituents.⁵³ Ebenezer M. Chamberlain, of the Tenth district, wrote to the *Morning Journal* that

⁵⁰*Logansport Journal*, March 11, 1854.

⁵¹*Rushville Republican*, March 8, 1854.

⁵²*State Sentinel*, March 24, 1854.

⁵³*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, February 11, 1854.

the Indiana delegation was solidly against the bill which he did not think was an administration measure; and that he was going to stand by the Missouri Compromise.⁵⁴ Andrew J. Harlan, of the Eleventh district, wrote:

A question, however, has arisen of a very important character and is now pending before Congress, which makes it necessary that I should confer with my constituency as to the proper course for me to pursue.

He went on to say that he could not reconcile the Kansas-Nebraska Bill with the national Democratic platform of 1852. Further on he said:

One great objection is the bringing of slave labor in competition with the free labor and industry of my own race. The degrading and debasing consequences that naturally grow up between free and slave labor is a strong reason for my opposition.

In conclusion he said:

I respectfully desire the Democracy of my district to express themselves frankly, and invite all of my constituents to the subject without regard to political proclivities.⁵⁵

These letters showed that the congressmen were facing a situation that had not been looked for in 1852, and that they were somewhat puzzled as to their votes.

Much interest was taken by the voters in the attitude of Indiana's congressmen toward the bill. The *Morning Journal* of March 15, 1854, published the following as the probable vote of the Indiana congressmen:

For—Smith Miller, First district; William H. English, Second district; Cyrus L. Dunham, Third district; Thomas A. Hendricks, Sixth district.

Against—J. H. Lane, Fourth district; Samuel W. Parker, Fifth district; Daniel Mace, Eighth district; E. M. Chamberlain, Tenth district; A. J. Harlan, Eleventh district.

Doubtful but inclined toward the bill—John G. Davis, Seventh district; Norman Eddy, Ninth district.

This indicated that four were for the bill, five against it, and two doubtful but friendly toward it.

When it was proposed to throw the Nebraska Bill into the Committee of the Whole House the Indiana delegation split,

⁵⁴Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, February 22, 1854.

⁵⁵Logansport *Journal*, March 18, 1854.

Chamberlain, Eddy, Harlan, Lane, Mace, and Parker voting yea and Davis, Dunham, English, Hendricks, and Miller voting nay.⁵⁶ The resolution passed by a vote of 110 to 95, with 29 not voting. It was looked upon as a death blow to the measure. John D. Defrees, editor of the *Morning Journal*, said:

It will never get out of the committee and the conspirators who advocated it will retire from political life just as fast as the people can reach them.⁵⁷

We now see that Defrees had sensed the feeling of the people of Indiana and the North since we know that the people did reach them in the following election.

Aiming to cause action upon the bill a resolution was passed with a view to its immediate passage. Miller, English, Dunham, Lane, Hendricks, Davis, and Eddy voted for it. Defrees prophesied that these seven men would find if they dared to come out for re-election that they would be defeated by the people of Indiana.⁵⁸ A few days later Chamberlain, Davis, Dunham, Eddy, English, Harlan, Lane, Mace, and Miller voted yes on a resolution to end debate on the bill with Parker voting no.⁵⁹

Following is the analysis of the final vote on the bill in the House of Representatives:

	For	Against
Democrats from slave States	58	2
Democrats from free States	43	43
Whigs from slave States	12	7
Whigs from free States	0	43
Free Soilers	0	5
	-----	-----
Total	113	100
Northern absentees	9	
Southern absentees	11	

Total	20	

Speaker Boyd, of Kentucky, did not vote. This table shows that one-half of the Democratic congressmen from the free

⁵⁶Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, April 25, 1854.

⁵⁷Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, March 24, 1854.

⁵⁸*Weekly State Journal*, May 20, 1854.

⁵⁹Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 23, 1854.

States voted against the bill and that the Whigs of the free States and the Free Soilers voted solidly against it.

Indiana congressmen voted as follows:⁶⁰

For—Miller, English, Dunham, Lane, Hendricks, Davis, Eddy.

Against—Parker, Mace, Harlan.

Not voting—Chamberlain, because of sickness in his family.⁶¹

While the vote was not entirely unexpected Indiana voters pondered over it. When the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise was first made Miller was the only Democrat known to favor the bill.⁶² On its passage but three Democrats of the State opposed it. What produced the change? It may be that the Democratic representatives were influenced by the attitude of Senator Bright, the Democrat political boss of Indiana. It may be that pressure brought to bear by the national administration wheeled some of these men into supporting the measure. Whatever may have been their reasons for their support of the measure it was soon evident that Indiana was thoroughly aroused by the passage of the act.

By the time for the meeting of the Democratic State convention on May 24, 1854, at Indianapolis, it was evident that there were two great questions to be acted upon, Temperance and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Democratic county conventions had taken a stand against the Maine Law and in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Before the day of the convention Oliver P. Morton went to Indianapolis to use his influence among the delegates against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. But Bright and his henchmen had the delegates so well under control that Morton could do nothing with them and was expelled from the convention. It seems to have been a foregone conclusion that Bright and his men would be able to force the convention to approve the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.⁶³ When the committee on resolutions reported, it was found that the resolutions approved the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, opposed the Clayton Amendment, opposed the Maine Law, opposed the formation of a political party built upon the temperance

⁶⁰*Weekly State Journal*, May 27, 1854.

⁶¹*Weekly State Journal*, June 3, 1854.

⁶²*Weekly State Journal*, June 17, 1854.

⁶³*Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, May 24, 1854.

question, and condemned the Know Nothings.⁶⁴ In looking over the platform it will be seen that the convention turned its back upon the platform of 1849 and that the platform was a distinct bid for support of foreigners and Catholics.⁶⁵

1. *Resolved*, That the Democrats of Indiana, fully approve of the principles of the act extending the laws of the United States over and organizing the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

2. *Resolved*, That we concur in the opinion that it is not properly within the jurisdiction of Congress to determine the provisions of the constitution of a state, further than to require that it be a republican form, but on the contrary, that the people do possess the right and power to adopt such form of government as they deem best suited to their views and wants; and that this right should be recognized as one of the fundamental principles of self-government.

3. *Resolved*, That this convention is distinctly opposed to that provision of the Nebraska and Kansas Bill, commonly known as the Clayton Amendment, which made a distinction between native born and foreign inhabitants, who may be residents of the territories, and feel gratified that the efforts of the Democracy have been successful in expunging that odious feature from the act.

4. *Resolved*, That intemperance is a great moral and social evil, for the restraint and correction of which legislative interposition is necessary and proper; but that we cannot approve of any plan for the eradication or correction of this evil that must necessarily result in the infliction of greater ones; and that we are therefore opposed to any law upon this subject that will authorize the searching for or seizure, confiscation and destruction of private property.

5. *Resolved*, That we regard all political organizations, based upon the single idea of temperance reform, as dangerous to the perpetuity of our republican form of government, by withdrawing the attention of the people from the great political principles upon which it is founded; and that we most earnestly appeal to our fellow Democrats, throughout the State, to adhere, in the selection of members of the legislature, to the practice of choosing such men as will make these great principles of Democratic policy, under the influence of which this country has been brought to its present elevated and prosperous condition, paramount to all other considerations.

6. *Resolved*, That we have full faith and confidence in the wisdom, patriotism and ability of Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, and that we fully approve of the principles laid down in his inaugural message, and his message to Congress, and that we most truly and cordially endorse the general policy of his administration, as carried out in conformity with the principles laid down in said message.

7. *Resolved*, That Judge Douglas of the U. S. Senate is entitled to, and receives our hearty thanks, for so ably advocating the principle of non-intervention, as contained in the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and that we cordially endorse the action of our senators and representatives in sustaining the same.

8. *Resolved*, That the Democracy of Indiana still adhering to the constitution of the confederacy openly and avowedly condemn any organization, secret or otherwise, that would aim to disrobe any citizen, native, or adopted, of his political, civil, or religious liberty.

When a large body of citizens feel that the most urgent need of the people cannot be secured through the existing

⁶⁴Logansport *Journal*, June 24, 1854.

⁶⁵W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, 9.

political parties it is time to organize a new party to accomplish the desired result. This was felt to be the condition in 1854 in Indiana. Out of what elements did the new party arise? It came from the elements of opposition to the Democratic party. We have seen the growth of the temperance movement and also the antagonism of the Anti-Nebraska men of Indiana toward the old party. Since opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska act was the most powerful factor in determining the new party we shall consider at this point the attitude of all who were not administration Democrats toward the stand of the Democratic party.

Although their party was practically disbanded at this time the Whigs were much aroused over this new move in the interests of slavery. They had much to say about the sacredness of the Missouri Compromise and demanded the restoration of the line of 36° 30'.⁶⁶ They believed in a protective tariff and internal improvements, were Federalistic in tendency, and were not Abolitionists, having considered the slavery question settled by the finality measures of 1850.⁶⁷ Early in 1854 it was wondered if the Whig leaders would attempt to revive their party through temperance and Anti-Nebraska sentiment.⁶⁸ This probably would have suited the Democratic leaders since it might have prevented a new party from forming.⁶⁹

Another element of opposition to the Democratic party was the Know Nothings, a secret political organization which was very hostile to the influence of the Papacy and to foreigners. They favored a twenty-one year naturalization law; held that none but native Americans should hold office; demanded stricter immigration laws and ample protection of all Protestant interests.⁷⁰ At this time the organization was headed by Godlove S. Orth (Whig), of Tippecanoe county, and J. H. Cravens (Abolitionist), of Ripley county.⁷¹ This party drew into its fold many thousands of Democrats who were not bold enough to openly abandon their party. Another effect was

⁶⁶Julian, *Political Recollections*, 136.

⁶⁷Julian, *North American Review*, CXXVI, 264.

⁶⁸Logansport *Pharos*, March 1, 1854.

⁶⁹Rushville *Republican*, June 7, 1854.

⁷⁰Rushville *Republican*, June 21, 1854.

⁷¹*State Sentinel*, September 19, 1854.

the tendency to draw attention from the real issue of the time toward the Papacy and Nativism.⁷² George W. Julian claimed that it was founded for this very purpose.⁷³ There was no possibility of the Know Nothings supporting the Democratic ticket in the coming campaign since the Democratic platform specifically condemned "any organization, secret or otherwise, that would aim to disrobe any citizen, native or adopted, of his political, civil, or religious liberty."

A third opposition party was the Free Soil party. As a national organization it had stood for legislative prohibition of slavery in the territories, immigration from Europe, and free trade.⁷⁴ It cannot be said that the Free Soilers were in favor of restoring the Missouri Compromise line because this would have meant the recognition of the principle of compromise which they opposed.

There was one more source of opposition to the Democratic party. This was the Abolitionist sentiment. Men holding this radical opinion were not numerous but were very outspoken in their views. At this time they were considered fanatics and disunionists.⁷⁵ The fact that some of them favored the Fusion movement caused many Democrats to hesitate about allying with a party which might be stigmatized as Abolitionist.

In summing up the political conditions in 1854 we may say that while there were many sources of dissatisfaction and opposition to the platform and principles of the Democratic party of Indiana there was no party in Indiana capable of uniting all the others into one great strong opposition party. Seeing this, the leaders of these elements were anxious to bring about a general coalition on the questions of the extension of slavery and temperance. Of these leaders four are worthy of notice. Henry S. Lane, of Montgomery county; John D. Defrees, the wisest, shrewdest politician of the State; Schuyler Colfax, brilliant speaker and editor of the *St. Joseph Register*; and Cyrus Allen, a politician who probably controlled Indiana south of the National Road, were strong for a

⁷²Morse, *Political Science Quarterly*, VII, 522.

⁷³Julian, *Political Recollections*, 141.

⁷⁴Julian, *North American Review*, CXXVI, 263.

⁷⁵Lew Wallace, *Autobiography* I. 240.

new party. The Kansas-Nebraska act gave them their opportunity to unite the "isms" into a new political party largely controlled by these men.⁷⁶ It is not the writer's intention to leave the impression with the reader that these men deliberately encouraged the temperance and Anti-Nebraska movements but it is his belief that they took advantage of these issues after they had arisen.

When the Democratic speakers began to prepare their campaign speeches they discovered that the Democratic party was on the defensive. Lew Wallace says that he had to meet the points of the opponents by "dodge, denial, deprecation, or begging the question."⁷⁷ The leading Democrats of the State had in 1848 expressed views that could not be reconciled with the Democratic principles of 1854. In discussing the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, Governor Whitcomb said:

Congress can, in my judgment, constitutionally prevent the introduction of slavery into these territories.

E. A. Hannegan:

I have no hesitation in saying that Congress does possess the power, under the Constitution, of prohibiting slavery in the territories of New Mexico and California, or in any other territory, whilst the common property of the confederacy.

John Law:

I should deem any prospective action of Congress on this subject, both legal and constitutional.

Robert Dale Owen:

Congress possesses the power to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories, throughout the term of their territorial existence.⁷⁸

Graham N. Fitch:

That Congress has the power to prohibit the introduction of slavery into our territories where it does not exist, must be clear to every one who has investigated the subject and is capable of reasoning.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, I, 231; *State Sentinel*, July 7, 1854, said that the leaders of the Whigs were working to affect a coalition with the Abolitionists.

⁷⁷Lew Wallace, *Autobiography*, I, 237.

⁷⁸Terre Haute *Daily Express*, August 5, 1856.

⁷⁹*Weekly State Journal*, September 9, 1854.

William J. Brown, Editor of *State Sentinel*:

I am a representative from a free State, and have always been opposed to the extension of slavery, and believe that the Federal government should be relieved from the responsibility of slavery, where they have the constitutional power to abolish it.⁸⁰

Not only did the speakers have such statements as those above to meet, but they were confronted with the State Democratic resolutions of January 8, 1849, which declared:

That the institution of slavery ought not to be introduced into any territory where it does not now exist.

That, inasmuch as California and New Mexico are in fact and in law free Territories, it is the duty of Congress to prevent the introduction of slavery within their limits.⁸¹

The fact of the matter was that the endorsement of the Kansas-Nebraska act by the Democratic State convention could not be harmonized with the stand taken by the leaders and the party in former years.

The two planks in the State Democratic platform which caused the most dissatisfaction were the endorsement of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the opposition to the Maine Law. Many were opposed to one or the other of these planks and possibly more were opposed to both of them.⁸² It seemed to many Democrats that the leaders of the party had come to the place where they wanted the voter to vote for a set of officers who were to settle the questions before the public in accordance with the views of the party leaders. These men, however, felt that "bossism" must go and that they must elect men who favored restoration of the Missouri Compromise, no more slave States, and real popular sovereignty.

"What say you, Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers, and everybody else who wants honesty and freedom, and don't want office?"⁸³

When the full effect of the Democratic State platform dawned upon the Indianians a serious question loomed up before them.

⁸⁰*Weekly State Journal*, October 7, 1854.

⁸¹*Weekly State Journal*, June 3, 1854.

⁸²*Rockport Planter* in *Weekly State Journal*, June 10, 1854.

⁸³"An old Jacksonian Democrat," in *Weekly State Journal*, April 17, 1854.

"Will the Democrats of the State swallow the dose prepared for them by the leaders at the Indianapolis convention"?⁸⁴

Undoubtedly sentiment was against the action of the State Democratic convention. The editor of the Logansport *Journal* wrote that the people knew that Democratic sentiment was violated by the convention which was controlled by Bright, Fitch, and "watch-dog" Robinson.⁸⁵ The editor of the Rushville *Republican* wrote that he had made a diligent canvass among his friends on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and that he neither saw nor heard of a single man in the county who was favorable to its repeal.⁸⁶ Would party discipline be able to keep the Democrats in the organization or not? Could a man who had been a Democrat up to 1849 now support the party? These were questions that had to be settled.

Not long after Douglas had introduced his Kansas-Nebraska Bill S. W. Ritchey, of Johnson county, wrote a letter to the *Morning Journal* in which he suggested that meetings be held in every county and every town of Indiana to express disapproval of the bill.

"The spirit of Righteousness, Freedom, and Temperance, is one spirit, and that of Wickedness, Slavery, and Drunkenness is the other".⁸⁷

Following this suggestion meetings were held at different places to discuss the "outrages." At Logansport, March 4, 1854, a meeting was held for the purpose of having a free and honest expression of opinion on the bill, but it so happened that the politicians warded off such an expression and succeeded in getting the meeting adjourned to meet on March 8, 1854, when a noisy meeting was held but no resolutions were passed.⁸⁸ An Anti-Nebraska meeting was held at Noblesville, in which members of all parties passed resolutions protesting against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and instructing Mr. Harlan to vote against any attempt to do so.⁸⁹ May 13, at West Union, the establishment of slavery in the

⁸⁴Rushville *Republican*, June 7, 1854.

⁸⁵Logansport *Journal*, June 3, 1854.

⁸⁶Rushville *Republican*, June 21, 1854.

⁸⁷Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, February 9, 1854.

⁸⁸Logansport *Journal*, March 11, 1854.

⁸⁹Indianapolis *Morning Journal*, May 20, 1854.

territories by Congress was protested and the politicians were censured for attempting to do so.⁹⁰ At the regular meeting of the Free Democratic Association of the State in May it was resolved that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was an insult to the American people; that a prohibitory law should be enacted; and that a State convention be held for the purpose of combining all the elements of opposition to the act.⁹⁰ (a) At Lafayette Representative Mace explained his vote on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and resolutions were passed repudiating the principles adopted by the State Democratic convention; demanding a restoration of the Missouri Compromise line; and calling for conventions, State, congressional, and county.⁹¹ At Indianapolis Mr. Mace addressed a large meeting of Anti-Nebraska Democrats with Jacob P. Chapman as chairman. Here it was resolved that during the administration of Monroe, Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Polk, and Taylor the Missouri Compromise was a "finality";

that when well established party creeds are violently departed from, and great moral questions placed at issue we will remain untrammled by party appliances or nominations, and sustain such men and measures as will best illustrate and carry out true principles; that the late Democratic Convention misrepresents a large majority of the voters of the State; and that county and congressional meetings be held in which free expression of opinion may be had on the measures necessary in this crisis.⁹²

June 9, at Greensburg, the Anti-Nebraska Democrats bolted the regular convention and resolved that the non-intervention and the temperance planks of the late State convention were put through by "demagogues, slaveholders, and whiskey politicians."⁹³ The call for Hendricks county invited every "true" Democrat who endorsed the Baltimore platform, opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and desired the suppression of the liquor traffic to meet at Danville, June 17. An address was issued to the public of which the following is an extract:

⁹⁰*Weekly State Journal*, May 20, 1854.

(a) *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 29, 1854.

⁹¹*Rushville Republican*, June 7, 1854.

⁹²*Weekly State Journal*, June 3, 1854.

⁹³*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 21, 1854.

Democrats, Arouse! Those who aspire to be our leaders have betrayed us at the late packed convention; leaving the oldest cherished principles of Democracy, for which we have so long and triumphantly battled, they have attempted to bind us to the slave driver of the South and the rum-seller of the North. Shall we submit to this gross imposition? Let the answer ring, never! never!⁹⁴

The first county convention was held at Madison, June 13, in which J. A. Hendricks and M. C. Garber, prominent Democrats, took part. It recommended a State Convention for July 13, 1854, and held that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was in direct opposition to the principles of the "Fathers of the Republic," and that it was in direct violation of the Democratic platform of 1852. This meeting was considered by the editor of the *Weekly State Journal* as the beginning of the "movement."⁹⁵

Since the "Old Line" Democrats had been asserting that the movement was an attempt on the part of the Whigs to revive their defunct party it was the policy of the Whig leaders to wait for some Anti-Nebraska Democrat to issue a call for a State mass meeting. This would tend to make the movement appear Democratic, not Whig.⁹⁶ Jacob P. Chapman, editor of the *Chanticleer*, and an independent Anti-Nebraska candidate for Congress from the Sixth district, has the honor of issuing the call in his paper, June 15. He announced that a meeting would be held in Indianapolis, July 13, to adopt such measures as may be deemed proper to meet the present crisis.⁹⁷ It is significant to note that the meeting was called for July 13, the anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, which devoted the Northwest Territory to freedom. Four days later appeared a call for a State convention signed by sixty-eight men of Floyd, Parke, Ripley, and Dearborn counties.⁹⁸ The men signing the call were mostly Democrats, seventeen Whigs, and two Free Soilers.⁹⁹

About the same time there appeared in the *Brookville American* the following:

⁹⁴*Logansport Journal*, June 24, 1854.

⁹⁵*Weekly State Journal*, June 17, 1854.

⁹⁶Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 73.

⁹⁷*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 16, 1854.

⁹⁸*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 19, 1854.

⁹⁹*Rushville Republican*, June 21, 1854.

That the freemen of Indiana must hold a convention to agree upon the measures to be adopted to resist the demands of slavery, is beyond question. We would suggest that it be held in Indianapolis on Thursday the 13th of July, the anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787.¹⁰⁰

Public sentiment was expressed in the meetings being held in various places. A county convention of Henry county, June 3, put a ticket in the field, called a congressional convention for July 6, at Cambridge City, approved the course of Parker, Harlan, and Mace, and demanded a prohibitory law.¹⁰¹ A call was sent out from the citizens of Wayne county, regardless of party names, to meet at Dublin, June 23, to effect an organization of the friends of free territory.¹⁰² The *Mississinewa Gazette* had a call signed by sixty Democrats for a meeting, to be held at Marion, June 24, of all Democrats opposed to the "infamous" Nebraska Bill.¹⁰³ At Noblesville, June 24, Democrats, Free Soilers, and Whigs decided not to support any man who was not openly against the Kansas-Nebraska act and urging all to attend the mass meeting at Indianapolis, July 13.¹⁰⁴ Sixty-five Democrats of Wabash county issued a call for a mass meeting for June 10

to express their sentiments, independent of party dictation and in such terms that wrong doers and endorsers of the infamy of the Nebraska Bill, may understand and fear * * * Let all come. The Democracy of Wabash county know, and fear no power that can make them countenance wrong, they work in no party traces, under the lash, and swallow no bitter pill compounded by political quacks.¹⁰⁵

At Lafayette, July 1, it was resolved to abandon former party ties and support only Anti-Nebraska men and that ministers should speak their sentiments from the pulpit regardless of political consequences.¹⁰⁶

From these calls and resolutions it appears that there was intense hostility to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; that this act was looked upon as one pushed through by the politicians and not demanded by the people; that a

¹⁰⁰*Rushville Republican*, June 21, 1854.

¹⁰¹*Weekly State Journal*, June 17, 1854.

¹⁰²*Weekly State Journal*, June 24, 1854.

¹⁰³*Weekly State Journal*, June 24, 1854.

¹⁰⁴*Weekly State Journal*, July 1, 1854.

¹⁰⁵*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 6, 1854.

¹⁰⁶*Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1854.

prohibitory law was demanded; that the State Democratic convention drafted a platform that suited the leaders but not the rank and file of the Democratic party; that this platform did not represent the true principles of the Democratic party; that Democrats seemed to be the leaders of the movement; and that men were ready to lay aside their old political affiliations and attempt to secure what they wanted through a new political organization.

One of the most widely read addresses on the Kansas-Nebraska Act was that issued by the members of Congress who had voted against the Nebraska Bill. This address gave a discussion of the slavery question from 1783 to the present time, showing the increasing demands of the South and asking if the North was willing to make a complete submission to their demands.¹⁰⁷

As the day of the State convention approached the interest grew more intense. The hoped for coalition seemed about to become a reality. Men came into Indianapolis in all kinds of conveyances from all directions. It was estimated that there were ten thousand present when the meeting opened. On the night before the meeting a preliminary meeting was held in Washington Hall with Jacob P. Chapman of Marion county as chairman. Chapman gave as his reason for being in opposition to his party the fact that he did not feel that it was the purpose of real democracy to extend slavery. Schuyler Colfax, S. S. Harding, Henry S. Lane, Judge J. W. Wright, and Reuben A. Riley also addressed the meeting.¹⁰⁸

Such a political gathering as the one J. P. Chapman faced when he called this one to order on the courthouse lawn had never been seen in the State of Indiana. Men of all politics were there, many of whom had for years been prominent in Democratic meetings but who now were ready to repudiate the present position of the Democratic party.¹⁰⁹ These men were tired of the dictation of Bright and his friends and were now ready to do their own thinking.¹¹⁰ Know Nothings, Free Soilers, and a few Abolitionists were on hand. Every element of

¹⁰⁷*Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1854.

¹⁰⁸*Weekly State Journal*, July 15, 1854.

¹⁰⁹*Logansport Journal*, July 22, 1854.

¹¹⁰*Rushville Republican*, July 19, 1854.

opposition to the Democratic party was present. The honor of being the president of the meeting fell to Thomas H. Smith of Ripley county who, after being introduced by M. C. Garber of Jefferson county, made an address the tenor of which was that the masses were ready to pursue their own ideas of right rather than obey the dictates of the party leaders. He took the ground that the majority of the Democrats were opposed to the present attitude of the party. He also appealed to the Ordinance of 1787 which devoted the Northwest Territory to freedom. Henry S. Lane, Rev. George B. Jocelyn, and H. L. Ellsworth also addressed the meeting. In the afternoon J. A. Hendricks, and ex-Governor Bebb of Ohio spoke. At the conclusion of Bebb's speech the committee on resolutions brought in their report, the first platform of the People's Party of Indiana.¹¹¹

They drafted a platform opposing the extension of slavery, demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, urging the passage of a "judicious, constitutional and efficient prohibitory law," and condemning the attacks that have been made by the Democrats upon the Protestant ministry.¹¹²

¹¹¹Logansport *Pharos*, July 19, 1854. Following is the committee on Resolutions: First district, A. L. Robinson, Abolitionist; Second district, T. H. Pucker, Whig; Third district, J. A. Hendricks, Democrat; Fourth district, Dr. E. B. Collins, Temperance; Fifth district, G. W. Julian, Abolitionist; Sixth district, W. J. Peaslee, Know Nothing; Seventh district, J. P. Yancey, Know Nothing; Eighth district, O. L. Clarke, Whig; Ninth district, W. J. Walker, Whig; Tenth district, T. J. Harris, Whig; Eleventh district, C. D. Murray, Whig.

¹¹²W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, 10.

Whereas, We the freemen of Indiana, without respect to party, and actuated by a common devotion to our republic and a common reverence for its founders, have assembled ourselves together in the commemoration of the passage of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, consecrating the N. W. Territory to freedom and *whereas*, the unanimous adoption of said Ordinance, by the representatives of all the States in the Union, at that date, clearly evinces that opposition to the extension of slavery, to the extent of constitutional power, was the fixed policy of our fathers; and, *whereas*, we regard the recent repeal of the 8th section of the Missouri Compromise, as a gross and wanton violation of the faith of the Union, plighted to a solemn compact, restricting the extension of slavery. Therefore, *Resolved*, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery; and further, that we utterly deprecate and repudiate the platform of principles adopted by the self-styled Democratic convention on the 24th day of May last, endorsing and approving the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity.

Resolved, That we will waive all former party predilections, and, in concert, by all lawful means seek to place every branch of the federal government in the hands of men who will assert the rights of freedom, restore the Missouri Compromise, and refuse, under all circumstances, to tolerate the extension of Slavery into territories secured to freedom by that compromise.

Resolved, That we regard intemperance as a great political, moral and

The first two planks of this platform were put in for the Free Soilers and the Anti-Nebraska Democrats. The third satisfied the temperance men, while the last was evidently a bid for the vote of the Protestant churches, especially the Methodist.

There was no Know Nothing plank in the platform probably due to the fact that since the organization was not well thought of it would not have been good policy for an opposition party to put in a Know Nothing plank. The temperance plank did not openly stand for "search, seizure, and destruction," being so worded, however, that it could be so interpreted. It seems as though the convention feared to declare for a "Maine Law" because many Anti-Nebraska men were opposed to a "Maine Law".¹¹³ Truly may it be said that this platform was a "fusion" affair.

George W. Julian made a minority report in favor of restricting, discouraging, and denationalizing slavery, so far as it could constitutionally be done; opposing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a link in the great effort to nationalize slavery and urging that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by "southern politicians and northern traitors" released the North from its duty of acquiescing in and obeying the Compromise of 1850.¹¹⁴ He also introduced a resolution stating that

we are in favor of a law that will effectually prohibit the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating drinks as a beverage.¹¹⁵

These resolutions were voted down, being looked upon as too radical.

When the nominating committee made its report it was social evil, a legitimate subject of legislation, and that we are in favor of the passage of a judicious, constitutional and efficient prohibitory law, with such penalties as shall effectually suppress the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

Resolved, That we utterly condemn the abusive attacks which have recently been made, from various quarters, on the Protestant ministry of the country. We cherish with gratitude, and pleasure, the memory of their patriotic zeal in the Revolutionary struggle, and we recognize in the ministry of the country the worthy sons of such illustrious sires.

¹¹³*State Sentinel*, July 22, 1854.

¹¹⁴*State Sentinel*, July 25, 1854.

¹¹⁵*State Sentinel*, July 22, 1854.

found that in accordance with the thought¹¹⁶ of the leaders of the fusion movement, three Democrats and two Whigs were put on the ticket.¹¹⁷

The *State Sentinel* introduced the Free Soil Maine Law ticket as follows:

E. B. Collins, Free Soil, Maine Law, Know Nothing.

H. E. Talbott, Maine Law, Know Nothing.

W. R. Nofsinger, Free Soil, Maine Law.

S. B. Gookins, Whig, Free Soil, Maine Law.

Caleb Mills, Whig, Free Soil, Maine Law.¹¹⁸

In such a movement it is always necessary to satisfy to some extent each of the combining elements. The Free Soilers were satisfied although they had no men upon the ticket. The Whigs got all they expected and surrendered no principle of their party. The temperance men were satisfied with the attitude of the platform toward the Maine Law. The Democrats were pleased because they felt that they were standing on the principles of the founders of their party and were no longer controlled by the Bright crowd.¹¹⁹ J. P. Chapman thought that the nomination of a State ticket was a mistake. He criticized the temperance plank in the platform as being too indefinite. According to his view he would have made the fight on the national representatives and on the members of the State legislature which was to choose a successor to Senator Pettit.¹²⁰

The day before the People's mass meeting of July 13, 1854, the *Sentinel* stated that it would be a meeting of Whigs, Free Soilers, Abolitionists, Native Americans, and Democrats who had been disappointed by not getting office. The editor said that it was really a Whig meeting supported by two great auxiliaries, Native Americanism and Abolition; that this meeting would contain more political curiosities than have ever been assembled for political purposes.¹²¹ On the 13th

¹¹⁶*Weekly State Journal*, July 15, 1854.

¹¹⁷*Weekly State Journal*, July 15, 1854. Secretary of State, E. B. Collins, Dearborn county, Democrat; Auditor, H. E. Talbott, Putnam county, Democrat; Treasurer, W. R. Nofsinger, Parke county, Democrat; Judge Superior Court, S. B. Gookins, Vigo county, Whig; Superintendent of Schools, Caleb Mills, Whig.

¹¹⁸*State Sentinel*, July 25, 1854.

¹¹⁹*Logansport Journal*, July 22, 1854.

¹²⁰Chapman's *Chanticleer*, July 20, 1854.

¹²¹*State Sentinel*, July 12, 1854.

of July the *Sentinel* declared that all the broken down hacks in politics who felt that they had been abused by the people had met to enliven the corpse of Whiggery with the breath of Abolitionism. "Nobody believes that the jarring elements of the so-called People's mass meeting can ultimately combine".¹²² According to the editor of the *Sentinel* the People's mass meeting was

composed of all the odds and ends of society, politics and religion. Abolitionism, Know-Nothingism, hypocrisy, and bad liquor formed such a compound of villainous smells as never offended nostril.¹²³

It was widely believed by the Democrats that the People's mass meeting had been planned at Washington by Giddings, Chase, Seward, and other Abolition leaders¹²⁴ and that the movement was an attempt, on the part of the Whig leaders, to transfer the Whigs to the Abolitionists.¹²⁵ As to its direct effect upon the Democratic party they could see but one, a split in their party.¹²⁶

Two days before the opening of the People's convention the Know Nothings met in council in the Masonic Hall at Indianapolis. Being a secret society the purpose of this meeting was not made public although it was thought that some move toward fusion would be made since there were so many disgruntled Democrats in the organization. In this secret conclave a ticket was nominated which was put before the People's convention and renominated July 13, 1854.¹²⁷ George W. Julian asserted that this was true as did David Turpie when he said:

The opposition was at that time called the People's party, but the nominations, the active organization and movements of the party, were all controlled by a clandestine association within its lines known as the Order of Native Americans, commonly called Know Nothings.¹²⁸

There seems to be no doubt that the Know Nothings took part in the People's convention and put their ticket through. This put the stigma of Know Nothingism upon the new party.

¹²²*State Sentinel*, July 13, 1854.

¹²³*State Sentinel*, October 26, 1854.

¹²⁴*New Albany Daily Ledger*, June 17, 1854.

¹²⁵*New Albany Daily Ledger*, June 17, 1854.

¹²⁶*State Sentinel*, July 26, 1854.

¹²⁷*State Sentinel*, July 27, 1854.

¹²⁸Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 153.

The *Democratic Pharos* described the mass meeting by saying that the ticket nominated by the Know Nothings the day before was named; that Abolitionism preponderated numerically; that the Know Nothings presided and ruled; that Whiggism applauded; and that Maine Lawism stood in the background faintly assenting.¹²⁹

The attitude of the Democrats toward the new party was well illustrated by the following incident. When it was seen that a monster crowd was coming to Indianapolis a committee was appointed to select a place for the meeting. These men approached Gordon Tanner, State librarian, and asked for the use of the Statehouse yard. Tanner replied after due deliberation, by a letter addressed "To the committee appointed by the Abolition-Freesoil-Mainelaw-NativeAmerican-Anti-Catholic-AntiNebraska party of Indiana".¹³⁰ During the campaign the "Old Line" Democrats stigmatized the Fusionists as Abolitionists, Maine Law Men, and Know Nothings, these terms being more or less odious to the citizens of the State.

When it was seen that a new party might be formed the *State Sentinel* stated that Temperance, Free Soil, Abolition, and Native Americanism would be the elements of the new party.¹³¹ It went on to say that the principal and important object of the convention which was to meet in Indianapolis was to nominate men opposed to the Nebraska Bill and in favor of the principles of the Free Soilers around which the party was to be built with the aid of the temperance men.¹³²

The *Greensburg Press* (Whig) said:

We are in favor of a new party—the People's party, and our motto, "Search, seizure, confiscation and destruction" to all political hucksters and soulless doughfaces.¹³³

J. L. Robinson at Rushville characterized the Fusion party as one gotten up to remodel the old Whig party by adopting new principles.¹³⁴

George W. Julian characterized it as a "mere political com-

¹²⁹*Logansport Democratic Pharos*, July 19, 1854.

¹³⁰*Weekly State Journal*, July 15, 1854.

¹³¹*State Sentinel*, February 22, 1854.

¹³²*State Sentinel*, February 23, 1854.

¹³³*State Sentinel*, March 23, 1854.

¹³⁴*Rushville Republican*, Aug. 30, 1854.

ination" in which the members were hopelessly divided on every question except slavery. He also said that anyone would have been laughed at who thought that this was to be a permanent organization since it was not thought possible to harmonize the differences of the individual members.¹³⁵ He also said that the party subordinated every principle to its desire for political success.¹³⁶

Members of the new party in speaking of the People's party explained its origin by saying that men of all parties and of no party had laid aside political bias and entered the campaign to preserve one of the great fundamental principles of the founders of the government.¹³⁷ From this it appears that the members of the new party were anxious to have it understood that they were acting from principle and that the Democratic party had left them rather than that they had left the party.

The two leading questions that confronted the voter were the extension of slavery and the liquor question. The Democrats maintained that they were not a pro-slavery party but that they believed in the principle of permitting each citizen who lives in a territory to say whether or not slavery shall exist there when statehood is reached. It was their contention that this view was thoroughly democratic and that, by its adoption, the people would determine the conditions under which they should live. In regard to the Nebraska act they stoutly maintained that climatic and geographical conditions had already determined that slavery could not exist in Kansas and Nebraska. As to temperance it was asserted that they deplored the evils of intemperance but were unalterably opposed to the principle of "search, seizure, confiscation, and destruction" of the Maine Law since such a law was clearly unconstitutional, impracticable, and not supported by the teachings of the Bible.¹³⁸

The People's party was hostile to any law which would give the South an opportunity to extend slavery. Although the Kansas-Nebraska act specifically stated that it was not its pur-

¹³⁵Julian, *North American Review*, CXXVI, 266.

¹³⁶Julian, *American Historical Review*, IV, 313.

¹³⁷Logansport *Journal*, Sept. 9, 1854.

¹³⁸*Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 20, 1854.

pose to legislate slavery into Kansas and Nebraska yet it gave the slaveholder an opportunity to vote for the extension of his system and for this reason was bitterly opposed by the members of the People's party. The stand of these men on temperance was for prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. They did not propose to prevent the use of liquor in the home as long as it was not sold there.¹³⁹ From this discussion it will be seen that the two parties were diametrically opposed on the issues before the voters of Indiana.

As is usually the case when a man has the stamina to leave his former political associates and become a member of a new party, the Anti-Nebraska Democrats were looked upon as renegades and traitors and were often read out of the party. This fate befell W. J. Peaslee of Shelby county, James Ritchey of Johnson county, J. P. Chapman and Lucien Barbour of Marion county at the hands of the Democratic convention of the Sixth congressional district. The resolutions which placed these men without the Democratic party were designated by Editor Defrees as the "Bull of Ex-communication".¹⁴⁰

The interest in the campaign seemed to center in the congressional elections and in the selection of State legislators. Since Senator Pettit's term would expire in 1855 the next legislature would select his successor. Pettit was anxious to succeed himself in spite of the fact that his utterances on the power of Congress over slavery in the territories were in flat contradiction to each other. In order to secure his election it was necessary to have a Democratic majority in each House of the State legislature. Hence he stumped the State.

In the First district Smith Miller was renominated by the Democrats. Against him was nominated Samuel Hall by the People's convention. In the Second district W. H. English was opposed by Thomas C. Slaughter, a Know Nothing. In the Third district Colonel J. A. Hendricks came out for the Fusion nomination but retired in favor of George G. Dunn. Cyrus L. Dunham was again nominated by the Democratic convention. Since all three of these districts were in the southern part of Indiana and were strongly Democratic the party leaders felt safe in running men who had voted for the

¹³⁹Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, Oct. 11, 1854.

¹⁴⁰*Weekly State Journal*, August 12, 1854.

Kansas-Nebraska act as Miller, English, and Dunham had done.

James H. Lane of the Fourth district, who had at first opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill but had voted for it, decided on account of ill health to retire. His opponents claimed that he had seen defeat staring him in the face and that this was the real reason for his decision.¹⁴¹ W. S. Holman was put up by the Democrats to succeed Lane. The People's candidate was William Cumback, a Know Nothing, who had been a delegate to the Democratic State convention and had been read out of the party because he would not endorse its platform. In the Fifth district S. W. Parker refused to run again saying that he had had all the public life that he cared for. David P. Holloway, a former Whig, was the nominee. In the Sixth district Jacob P. Chapman announced his candidacy as an independent candidate but after the formation of the People's party in July withdrew in favor of whomever might be nominated.¹⁴² Lucian Barbour, who was accused of being a Know Nothing, was the Fusion candidate,¹⁴³ while Thomas A. Hendricks, who had voted for the "Nebraska iniquity" was chosen by the Democrats. In the Seventh district John G. Davis was renominated by the Democratic convention, his opponent being Harvey D. Scott, a Know Nothing. In the Eighth District Daniel Mace, who had voted against the "Nebraska Swindle", was chosen as the nominee of the People's party. The "Old Line Democracy" ran James Davis. In the Ninth district Schuyler Colfax, a Know Nothing, ran against Norman Eddy, a supporter of the Kansas-Nebraska act. In the Tenth district Samuel Brenton was pitted against E. M. Chamberlain who now "acquiesced". In the Eleventh district since the Free Soilers held the balance of power the People's party had to put up John U. Pettit, a Van Buren Free Soiler.¹⁴⁴ His opponent was James R. Slack. A. J. Harlan, who had voted against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill but now "acquiesced", lost the support of the Anti-Nebraska men and was not renominated.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹*Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1854.

¹⁴²*Weekly State Journal*, June 10, 1854; August 12, 1854.

¹⁴³*State Sentinel*, August 4, 1854.

¹⁴⁴*Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 2, 1854.

¹⁴⁵*State Sentinel*, July 7, 1854.

Since the temperance and slavery questions were more or less of moral questions the Methodists of Indiana took a very active part in the campaign. In the conferences it was resolved to work for a prohibitory law and to support no man who would not pledge himself to vote for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise.¹⁴⁶

During the agitation which swept over the country after the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill a petition, signed by 3000 New England clergymen, protesting against the bill as a great moral wrong, as a breach of faith and as a measure dangerous to the peace and the safety of the Union was presented to Douglas.¹⁴⁷ This angered Douglas and caused him to denounce bitterly the signers of the petition. These preachers were much abused by the Democrats on the ground that preachers ought to preach, and not mix in politics.¹⁴⁸ It was suggested that it would be interesting to know how many of these men had been accused or convicted of crimes against the divine, the moral, or the statutory code; how many of them had been in prison; how many had run away with other men's wives; how many had been guilty of seduction; and how many were addicted to the drink habit.¹⁴⁹ John L. Robinson stumped the State denouncing these men as Know Nothings. Because of the activity of the Protestant ministers in behalf of the People's party Robinson called them "itinerant vagabonds".¹⁵⁰ At New Albany in explaining this expression Robinson said that he meant only those Methodist lecturers who wandered from courthouse to courthouse denouncing all who did not agree with them.¹⁵¹ He showed his appreciation of temperance lecturers by calling them "vagabond lecturers."¹⁵² Democratic papers seriously objected to the part taken by the Protestant ministers in the campaign.

When the Democrats realized that they had a serious fight on hand and that their prospects for success were not encouraging they appealed to their former enemies, the Whigs, to

¹⁴⁶*State Sentinel*, July 30, 1854; August 24, 1854.

¹⁴⁷*New Albany Daily Ledger*, March 30, 1854.

¹⁴⁸*New Albany Daily Ledger*, March 30, 1854.

¹⁴⁹*New Albany Daily Ledger*, April 1, 1854.

¹⁵⁰*Rushville Republican*, May 30, 1854.

¹⁵¹*New Albany Daily Ledger*, June 22, 1854.

¹⁵²*Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, June 21, 1854.

unite with them in defeating the Abolitionists. It was argued that Webster and Clay, if living, would not be found in the new party and that there were no questions at issue between national Whigs, who had represented the principles of non-intervention, and the Democratic party.¹⁵³ Young Whigs were advised to consider well the effect that affiliating with the People's party, a party which could never survive, would have upon their future political prospects.¹⁵⁴

During the campaign the Know Nothings under the leadership of Godlove S. Orth of Lafayette undoubtedly played a considerable part. While the principles of the organization were said to be opposition to foreigners and to Catholicism the Democrats thought that the organization was a society which had been organized for the purpose of destroying the Democratic party.¹⁵⁵ They maintained that it was composed of every kind of opponents of the Democratic party¹⁵⁶ and that its influence was pernicious since it controlled every election which came off.¹⁵⁷ The Democrats were very hostile to the Know Nothings.

What did the election mean to Indiana? A few days before the election the *Sentinel* came out with a stirring appeal to the members of the Democratic party when it said;

Democrats, you are battling for your country, for the Constitution, for the holy and blessed Union which our fathers made, for Popular Sovereignty and Popular Rights, for Civil and Religious Liberty, for the glorious cause of National Democracy, the prayers and benedictions of patriotism and downtrodden humanity are being poured forth for your success. On! Freemen! On to Victory!¹⁵⁸

When the campaign had closed and the vote was counted the People's party had elected the State ticket by about thirteen thousand.¹⁵⁹ The next State legislature was to have a Senate of 26 Democrats and 24 Fusionists and the House of Representatives was to have 43 Democrats and 57 Fusionists.¹⁶⁰ On join ballot the Fusionists would have a majority

¹⁵³*State Sentinel*, Sept. 21, 1854.

¹⁵⁴*State Sentinel*, June 3, 1854.

¹⁵⁵*State Sentinel*, Sept. 19, 1854.

¹⁵⁶*State Sentinel*, Sept. 21, 1854.

¹⁵⁷*Rushville Republican*, Oct. 18, 1854.

¹⁵⁸*State Sentinel*, Democratic Platform, Oct. 7, 1854.

¹⁵⁹*State Sentinel*, Oct. 26, 1854.

¹⁶⁰*State Sentinel*, Oct. 26, 1854.

of 12. In the national House of Representatives Miller and English were Democrats while Dunn, Cumbback, Holloway, Barbour, Scott, Mace, Colfax, Brenton, and Pettit were Fusionists.¹⁶¹

The Democrats attributed their defeat (1) to the Anti-Nebraska "Humbug" which took thousands of Democrats away from the party; (2) to the Democratic attitude on temperance. In the eyes of the Democrats the temperance issue was brought out by the Fusion politicians solely for the purpose of gaining the support of temperance Democrats, by thousands of whom it was made the first issue.¹⁶² (3) to the Know Nothings who were largely disgruntled Democrats.¹⁶³

The Fusionists attributed their success (1) to the desire of the people to teach their representatives that the people's will on the questions before the public was to be obeyed;¹⁶⁴ (2) to the fact that the people of Indiana were tired of the corruption of the Democratic party;¹⁶⁵ (3) to the feeling of many Democrats that the State Democratic convention was "packed" and that its platform did not represent the will of the Democratic party;¹⁶⁶ (4) to the slavery and temperance planks of the State Democratic platform. In commenting upon the election Editor M. C. Garber, of the *Madison Courier*, stated that the Know Nothings had but little to do with the defeat of the Democrats since the Know Nothings were the weakest element in the election.¹⁶⁷

In general the Democrats looked upon their defeat with the feeling that

Democracy was defeated, not by a political association sustained by definite principles, but by a mere combination of factions, leagued for the first time with no particular object, each preserving its own crude idea of right, and all submitting to the co-operation of each other, with the hope that something might grow up upon which all could cling, and around which each could rally and form a permanent party.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹*Daily Journal*, Jan. 4, 1855.

¹⁶²*State Sentinel*, Oct. 31, 1854.

¹⁶³*State Sentinel*, Oct. 14, 1854.

¹⁶⁴*Logansport Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854.

¹⁶⁵*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854.

¹⁶⁶*Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 7, 1854.

¹⁶⁷*Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 7, 1854.

¹⁶⁸*Rockport Democrat*, Oct. 17, 1855.

Of the new party which had been formed Berry R. Sulgrove, editor of the Indianapolis *Journal*, wrote:

It is evident to everyone that there has silently arisen, and is now forming all over the country, a great Republican party. It has thrown aside the shackles and the prejudices, that, engendered year after year, have so long held men trammelled by old party names merely. It arises from considerations higher and more important than party ties. It comes from the reason and sober judgment of the people.

Its advent is witnessed on the one hand by rejoicing. Those who look to the purity and permanence of our institutions, hail it as the harbinger of good. But on the other side its coming is seen with terror and dismay. That class of men among us who live only by political huckstering, who feed on official pay, who can see no means of personal maintenance for themselves out of office, who have neither the industry nor will to earn their daily bread by common means, who know that the people who make this new party, the Republicans of the country, will weigh them in the balance and will "find them wanting", these fear and dread and curse this new organization. No denunciation of it is too broad, no curse of it too deep, no epithet too revolting for them to apply to it. Fusion, mongrel, renegade, traitor, abolitionist, and others without number, are the terms they see proper to use, when designating it. It and its men receive no courtesy at their hands, and they stop not at the lowest depths of reviling. High officers of the government, men for whom many of us voted, men whom we placed in power and in office, now use that power and place to give force to their efforts to throw obloquy upon us. In this free government we may not be freemen, we are not allowed the right to think and vote with freedom and as we please, unless we vote money into their pockets, and power and office into their hands. We must be what they call Democrats or we must be covered with revilings.

All this under the name of Democracy, as they pretend. Day after day and week after week these men, senators, governors, congressmen, mail agents, postmasters, office holders of every class, peregrinate from county to county, to mislead and deceive the people. * * * They outrage right and justice and morality and freedom, but claim immunity and exaltation, because they belong to the party. The party, they say, must be sustained, even though liberty perish.¹⁶⁹

One of the most noticeable facts about the election was the activity of the young men in behalf of the People's party. It was estimated that nine-tenths of all the native-born young men of Indianapolis voted for the People's ticket. The Fusionists rejoiced at this as it indicated strength and stability for the new party.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1854.

¹⁷⁰*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854.

In discussing the composition of the new party Editor Gregg, of the *New Albany Tribune* gave the following estimate:¹⁷¹

Whigs -----	80,000
Democrats -----	10,000
Free Soilers -----	8,000
	<hr/>
Fusion -----	98,000

If this estimate be true it is evident that the Whigs formed the main portion of the People's party.

November 1, 1854, was set as the day upon which the people of Indianapolis should celebrate the glorious victory over the "Old Line Democracy" at Indianapolis. A large good natured crowd assembled that day with Thomas Smith of Ripley county, as chairman of the meeting. H. S. Lane, S. W. Parker, O. P. Morton, Mr. Galloway of Ohio, Reuben A. Riley, and Godlove S. Orth were the speakers. These men expressed the desire of perpetuating the People's party and also the desire of all to forget the past political affiliations and further the movement. Freedom, temperance, and pure elections should be the watchwords of the new party.¹⁷² During the afternoon it was resolved that the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of 1787, and the resolutions of the 13th of July were long enough and broad enough for the whole American people to stand upon.¹⁷³ This was a wise move since the members of the People's party differed so much in their views that any new resolution would have probably tended to divide rather than unite the members of the new party.

FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

When the State legislature assembled in January, 1855, both Democrats and Fusionists had hopes of electing one of their party to the United States Senate as a successor to Senator John Pettit. Realizing that the majority of 12 was too much to overcome, the Democrats put off the election until

¹⁷¹*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854.

¹⁷²*Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 4, 1854.

¹⁷³*Logansport Journal*, Nov. 18, 1854.

February 22, 1855.¹ The Democratic Senate chose Isaac Blackford for the United States Senate. The House refused to choose Blackford but invited the Senate into a joint convention for the purpose of selecting a United States senator. The Senate declined and the session closed without any man being selected. A Democratic senate, which believed in popular sovereignty, had refused to obey the will of the people.²

Since the Supreme Court of Indiana had decided that the liquor law of 1853 was unconstitutional it fell upon the State legislature of 1855 to draft a new law. A bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 29 to 18 and sent to the House where it was passed by a vote of 55 to 43. In the Senate seven Democrats voted for the bill.³ This act prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage and was very much like the Maine Law.⁴

The People's party again assembled July 13, 1855, for the purpose of further organizing their party.⁵ By this time it had become apparent that the slavery issue was the big question although temperance and anti-catholicism were still prominent.⁶ Fully as many were present as at the mass meeting of July 13, 1854. Not only was the attendance large but the best of harmony was prevalent.⁷ Charles H. Test, Morton, Lane, Colfax, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts were the main speakers.⁸ A platform was adopted reaffirming the first three planks of the platform of 1854, condemning the Kansas policy of the national administration, asking for a fair trial of the prohibitory liquor law, and demanding that the franchise be limited to native or naturalized citizens of the United States.⁹ In discussing these resolutions Editor M. C. Garber said, "All that the Republican party asks now was contended for by the Democratic party in 1849."

The Know Nothings held their State council July 11-12, 1855, at Indianapolis, probably expecting to control the

¹*Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 24, 1854.

²*Rushville Republican*, March 14, 1855.

³*State Sentinel*, Feb. 10, 1855.

⁴*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 9, 1855.

⁵*Logansport Journal*, June 30, 1855.

⁶Russel M. Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 24.

⁷*Rushville Republican*, July 18, 1855.

⁸*Logansport Journal*, July 21, 1855.

⁹*Logansport Journal*, July 21, 1855.

Fusion meeting of July 13. The Council demanded the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, strongly endorsed the prohibitory liquor law of Indiana, and declared that the State constitution should be so amended as to permit only citizens of the United States to vote.¹⁰ A comparison of the resolutions of both conventions shows that there was but little difference between the views of the two parties. In fact the Republicans openly said that there was no reason why the Know Nothings should not become Republicans and that they longed to see the day when Republicans and Know Nothings stood on a truly American platform.¹¹

A test of the liquor law was made by Beebe, an Indianapolis liquor seller. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of Indiana where it was decided that the law was constitutional in prohibiting the sale but not the manufacture of liquor.¹² As a result of this decision a convention was called to meet February 22, 1856, at Indianapolis to consider what should be done to further the cause of temperance in Indiana.¹³ John W. Dawson of Allen county, John D. Defrees and A. L. Robinson were prominent members of the convention which resolved that the friends of temperance should be requested not to support any candidate who was against a prohibitory law and recommending that the friends of temperance organize in every portion of the State.¹⁴ Democrats did not have a very kindly feeling toward this convention owing to the tendency of the members of the Democratic party to look upon the temperance movement as a mere "tender to the Fusion movement". They thought that the Know Nothings would rule this convention as they had done in the People's convention of 1854.¹⁵

Feeling that the combination of "ungodly, unholy, and contemptible "isms" might have been defeated in 1854 if the Democrats had held their convention earlier, the "Old Liners" met at Indianapolis January 8, 1856, in a State convention for the purpose of making a platform, nominating a State

¹⁰Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 14, 1855.

¹¹Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 11, 1855.

¹²Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, January, 1856.

¹³Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Jan. 24, 1856.

¹⁴Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 23, 1856.

¹⁵*State Sentinel*, Feb. 9, 1856.

ticket, and organizing for the coming campaign.¹⁶ The convention was well attended and was as harmonious as most political conventions are.¹⁷ A. P. Willard of New Albany was the choice for governor with John C. Walker of Laporte county for lieutenant-governor. The resolutions committee reported a platform approving the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, condemning the Know Nothings, opposing the principle of the last prohibitory law of Indiana, approving the continuance of the present naturalization laws, favoring Jesse D. Bright for President, and upholding the Monroe Doctrine.¹⁸ This platform made the Kansas-Nebraska act and a prohibitory law the main issues of the coming contest.

That the Democrats proposed to win was seen in the action of the State Central Committee in asking Mr. Walker to resign because of ineligibility, there being some question as to his age qualifications.¹⁹ The real reason for the change was the desire of the State Central Committee to strengthen the ticket by putting on it an Old Line Whig, Abram A. Hammond of Vigo county.²⁰

It was unfortunate for the Democrats that the attitude of the party toward the slavery question had not been the same at all times. The national Democratic convention of May, 1848, by a vote of 216 to 36, had refused to pass a resolution making "non-intervention by Congress" the true doctrine of the party.²¹ The Indiana delegation in the convention voted as a unit against the resolution.²² We have already noted the State Democratic resolutions of January, 1849, as stating that Congress had the right to and ought to prevent the spread of slavery to the territories. In justice to the Democrats it should be said that the resolutions of 1849 did not express the position of the mass of the party but these resolutions were the work of the party leaders who did so as a matter of "expediency".²³

The Methodist church of Indiana was hostile to the Demo-

¹⁶Rockport *Democrat*, Nov. 3, 1855.

¹⁷*State Sentinel*, Jan. 16, 1856.

¹⁸*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 9, 1856.

¹⁹*State Sentinel*, April 19, 1856.

²⁰*Logansport Journal*, April 26, 1856.

²¹*Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, July 16, 1856.

²²*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 29, 1856.

²³*Logansport Democratic Pharos*, July 2, 1856.

cratic party because of its stand on the slavery question. At the Northern Indiana Conference in September, 1853, a stand was made against slavery by resolving that it was the duty of the Church to seek by all peaceable as well as reasonable means the removal of slavery from the entire country.²⁴ At the Greensburg Quarterly Conference in August, 1854, it was resolved not to support any man for Congress who would not pledge himself to restore the Missouri Compromise line and that the extension of slavery over free territory would be a disgrace to our government.²⁵ At the General Conference of May, 1856, a decided stand was taken against slavery by resolving that slave-holders must emancipate their slaves or lose membership in the Methodist church.²⁶

Another element of opposition to the extension of slavery was the German population of the State. Most of those who had come before 1848 were Democrats while those who had come over because of the Revolution of 1848 believed in freedom.²⁷ In 1856 there were probably 60,000 Germans here.²⁸ They were located in Adams, Allen, Decatur, Dubois, Elkhart, Floyd, Knox, Laporte, Marion, Posey, Tippecanoe, Vanderburg, Vigo, Warrick, and Wayne counties. Those who had come because of the Revolution of 1848 had a sort of a sentimental fervor for liberty. Since they and their fathers had suffered under the political tyranny of their own land they had the feeling that the territories of this Union ought to be dedicated to freedom in order that they might become a refuge for their brethren yet in Germany.²⁹ Hence they were hostile to the Kansas-Nebraska act because it seemed to be a pro-slavery measure and also, because of the Clayton amendment, aliens could not vote or hold office in these territories.³⁰ It was estimated that twenty thousand political pamphlets in German were scattered over Indiana during the first four months of 1856.³¹ The Democrats appealed to them not to support the People's ticket because it was being supported by

²⁴Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, Oct. 8, 1853.

²⁵*Weekly State Journal*, Aug., 26 1854.

²⁶*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 29, 1856.

²⁷*State Sentinel*, April 20, 1860.

²⁸Census of 1860, page 130, gives 66,705 in 1860.

²⁹Chapman's *Chanticleer*, March 9, 1854.

³⁰*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, March 10, 1854.

³¹*State Sentinel*, April 30, 1856.

the Know Nothings who were the enemies of foreigners.³² The Fusionists met the argument of the Democrats by showing the Germans that slavery was the enemy of free labor and that the only way the German could protect himself against slavery was by voting against its extension.³³ So important was the vote of the Germans that the *Detroit Free Press* said that it was the German vote which won for the Republican party.³⁴

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act people began to move into Kansas. By 1860 this territory had a population of 107,204, most of whom had come from the Old Northwest.³⁵ At this time there were living in Kansas 9,945 people who were born in Indiana.³⁶ So prominent were Indiana men in Kansan affairs that 34 out of 80 members of the State legislature were from the Hoosier State.³⁷

In spite of the efforts of the northern men the territorial legislature had passed some severe pro-slavery laws. Assisting runaway slaves was made punishable by death and all were forbidden to say, write, print, or introduce any printed book denying the right to hold slaves in Kansas. Violation of this law was punishable by two years of hard labor in prison.³⁸ The election law of August 16, 1855, permitted every white male citizen of the United States over twenty-one years of age to vote if he presented a receipt showing that he had paid one dollar poll tax.³⁹ This act seems to have been passed for the special purpose of permitting men from the border States to vote in Kansan elections.

After the opening of the territory Missourians and Arkansans moved over into it. They hoped that Kansas would adopt the institutions of Missouri and proposed to help her to do so.⁴⁰ Their purpose was well shown in the Westport, Missouri, resolutions which declared that they wanted to take their property into Kansas peaceably but that, having heard

³²*State Sentinel*, July 26, 1856.

³³*Indianapolis Morning Journal*, July 3, 1856.

³⁴*State Sentinel*, April 20, 1860.

³⁵W. O. Lynch, *Indiana Magazine of History*, XI, number 1.

³⁶Census of 1860, page 166.

³⁷*New Albany Weekly Ledger*, May 21, 1856.

³⁸*Terre Haute Daily Express*, Sept. 4, 1856.

³⁹*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 17, 1855.

⁴⁰*Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 17, 1854.

that organized bands were being sent into Kansas, they wished to notify them that they would be met with the "last argument".⁴¹ This clearly indicated that the citizens of Missouri intended to secure Kansas as a slave State. Not only did the people of Missouri pass resolutions such as these but they kept up a continued agitation for the avowed purpose of preventing anyone going into Kansas who was unfriendly to slavery.⁴²

Indiana newspapers printed much telegraph news from Kansas and also published many letters from former Indians urging their friends to move to Kansas. These writers usually stated that unless northerners came to the rescue Kansas would become a slave territory.⁴³ Not only did they write back to Indiana for help but James H. Lane, who had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska act and had gone to Kansas to live, came back to Indiana to reveal the true condition of affairs there.⁴⁴ What Kansas wanted was well shown by the following prayer of Rev. E. B. Foster, of Lawrence, Kansas, when he prayed:

"O, Lord: we pray thee that the freemen of the North, East, and West, may squat in Kansas, and drive out the border ruffians. This is one thing we ask for Christ's sake. Amen!"⁴⁵

Hearing that the border ruffians were contemplating an invasion of Kansas and feeling that they were unable to meet it, James H. Lane, chairman of the executive committee of Kansas territory, and Governor-elect Robinson wrote a letter to Gov. Joseph A. Wright of Indiana asking him to take some steps to prevent the threatened invasion. Governor Wright answered that it was the policy of Indiana to let the people of the territory settle these questions as best they could. This answer did not please the anti-slavery men of the State who felt that something ought to be done to protect the anti-slavery men of Kansas against the slavery men of Missouri who were there only to control the elections.⁴⁶

⁴¹*Weekly State Journal*, June 24, 1854.

⁴²*Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 28, 1856.

⁴³*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 17, 1856.

⁴⁴*Logansport Journal*, May 31, 1856.

⁴⁵*Rockport Weekly Democrat*, July 26, 1856.

⁴⁶*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 16, 1856.

The attitude of the President toward Kansas was clearly expressed in his message of January 24, 1856, in which he declared the acts of the territorial legislature legal and urged the enacting of a law that would enable Kansas to form a State constitution when it had sufficient population.⁴⁷ This message indicated that the administration was going to help make Kansas a slave State.

As a result of the appeals from Kansas for assistance and the attitude of the national administration toward Kansas many meetings were held in Indiana at which money was raised to send to Kansas.⁴⁸ At a meeting on January 5, 1856, at Indianapolis a memorial to Congress was drawn urging that such legislation be enacted as would enable Kansas to secure the government to the bona fide residents or that Congress take charge of the territory.⁴⁹ At a second meeting held in Indianapolis in February, 1856, a committee of three was appointed to receive money which was to be sent to Kansas or used in buying Sharpe's rifles. Copies of these resolutions were sent to Indiana's congressmen and also to President Pierce.⁵⁰

The Kansan situation seemed serious to the "Free Democrats" whose executive committee of the State association of the free democracy issued a call for all anti-slavery persons to meet in Indianapolis February 21, 1856, for the purpose of uniting all opponents of the slavery propagandism of the "Old Liners" and present national administration. It was thought that the friends of freedom should council before the proposed People's convention in May.⁵¹ A. L. Robinson, of Evansville, was made chairman of the meeting. It was decided to meet in the People's convention of May 1, 1856, not as Free Democrats but as a part of the people, desiring the reform of great abuses and the return to the policies of the Fathers of the Republic.⁵² Acting upon Henry Ward Beecher's famous sentence, "Sharpe's rifles are better than Bibles",⁵³ Judge J. W. Wright of Logansport introduced a

⁴⁷Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 353.

⁴⁸*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 21, 1856.

⁴⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 10, 1856.

⁵⁰*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 25, 1856.

⁵¹*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 31, 1856.

⁵²*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 22, 1856.

⁵³*State Sentinel*, June 11, 1856.

resolution for a committee of seven men "to raise money, purchase arms, and equip men to go immediately to Kansas."⁵⁴ These seven men were Dr. Ritchey of Johnson county, Ovid S. W. Butler of Marion county, Judge Wright, A. C. Stevenson of Putnam county, Calvin Fletcher of Marion county, Henry S. Lane of Montgomery county, and James H. Lane of Ripley county. It was further resolved that the people of the different counties raise money to be placed at the disposal of this committee of seven.⁵⁵

In the *State Journal* was published a letter from Judge J. W. Wright from which the following extracts are taken:

If a contest with arms comes off in Kansas hundreds of Hoosiers will be there, and money can be furnished to any amount, and after it is over every aider and abettor to the ruffians in Indiana, will be shipped South and delivered over to their masters.

Persons wishing to emigrate to Kansas as actual settlers and desirous of procuring Sharpe's rifles can be supplied in a few days by addressing me at Logansport, or at the Bates House in Indianapolis.

The decree has gone forth that Kansas has to be free.⁵⁶

With the people of the State intensely interested in the situation in Kansas a more systematic campaign was planned by the leaders of the new party. As early as December 18, 1855, the Fusion editors met at Indianapolis with Milton Gregg of the *New Albany Tribune*, a Know Nothing, as president. Here it was decided to endorse the People's platform of 1854 as containing all that was necessary on the issues before the people of the State. Significant among its recommendations were those advocating a mass meeting of the people in May and urging that each county organize itself thoroughly for the coming campaign.⁵⁷ In carrying out this last recommendation the Fusion newspapers began to urge the organization of the counties by the selection of county, township, and district committees which were to keep in touch with the State Central Committee.⁵⁸ These committees were to send out the best speakers obtainable and were urged to see that genuinely Republican delegates were chosen for

⁵⁴Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, March 19, 1856.

⁵⁵Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 22, 1856.

⁵⁶*Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 28, 1856.

⁵⁷Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, December 19, 1855.

⁵⁸*Weekly State Journal*, February 21, 1856.

the State convention and that they came to Indianapolis for the convention.⁵⁹ Republican clubs and people's clubs were formed representing the principle of no interference with slavery by Congress where it already exists and no slavery in the territories.⁶⁰

Following the suggestions of the editors, the State Central Committee issued a call for a mass convention of the People's party of the State of Indiana at Indianapolis on the first day of May, 1856. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the unconstitutional efforts of the government to extend slavery into territory once made free by that compromise, the evident intention of the government to nationalize slavery, threats of disunion, and the condition of the State due to intemperance and heavy taxation required the careful consideration of the people in a mass convention.⁶¹ Of this call the *Sentinel* said that it was "the most impudent and unblushing tissue of distorted facts that has ever been presented to the people of the State; abounding with all manner of misrepresentation".⁶² It was further asserted that this call was in harmony with the Fusion program which approved of the State temperance convention of February 22, 1856, favored the reorganization of the Know Nothing Councils, and provided for a People's mass meeting.⁶³

Owing to the early date of the State convention not many county meetings were held before May 1, 1856. On March 6, the Madison county Republicans resolved to organize by county and townships and to meet April 19 to draft a platform.⁶⁴ At this meeting it was resolved that slavery should not be interfered with where it already existed but that the Republicans were opposed to its further extension.⁶⁵ On March 8 the Jefferson county Republicans resolved to resist by all constitutional means the extension of slavery into the territories.⁶⁶ On April 26 the Republicans of Marion county resolved that they would resist the introduction of slavery

⁵⁹*Weekly State Journal*, April 24, 1856.

⁶⁰*Weekly State Journal*, April 3, 1856.

⁶¹*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 31, 1856.

⁶²*State Sentinel*, Jan. 26, 1856.

⁶³*State Sentinel*, Jan. 28, 1856.

⁶⁴*Weekly State Journal*, March 20, 1856.

⁶⁵*Weekly State Journal*, May 1, 1856.

⁶⁶*Weekly State Journal*, March 13, 1856.

into the territories in accordance with the State Democratic doctrine of 1849 and that Kansas should be admitted immediately as a free State.⁶⁷

Much interest was taken in the choice of a man to head the State ticket. O. P. Morton, H. S. Lane, S. W. Parker, Daniel Mace, Schuyler Colfax, D. D. Pratt of Cass county, O. H. Smith of Marion county, and Judge Otto of Floyd county were mentioned.⁶⁸ Morton refused to become a candidate thinking that some other man could better serve the interests of the people in that office.⁶⁹

On the first day of May, 1856, a crowd, estimated at from 30,000 to 55,000 people, assembled from all parts of the State.⁷⁰ H. S. Lane was selected as president.⁷¹ Lane expressed his views by saying that the first great issue to be settled was that of the extension of slavery, that the admission of Kansas had to be settled, that President Pierce was ready to put down free men in Kansas who were fighting for free speech, free press, and free institutions. Lane showed that opposition to the extension of slavery did not mean Abolition. He eulogized the temperance law of 1854 and urged that no foreigner be permitted to vote until naturalized. Of this speech the *Sentinel* of May 2, 1856, remarked that Lane said the object of the convention was to unite all the factions of the Fusionists into a party whose leading principle was opposition to the further extension of slavery.

John A. Matson of Putnam county nominated Oliver P. Morton for Governor. The sentiment of the convention was for Morton as was shown by the fact that he was nominated by acclamation. In the afternoon Morton addressed the convention advocating the immediate admission of Kansas

⁶⁷*Weekly State Journal*, May 1, 1856.

⁶⁸*Logansport Journal*, Feb. 2, 1856; *Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 21, 1856.

⁶⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 31, 1856.

⁷⁰*Logansport Journal*, July 19, 1856.

⁷¹*Weekly State Journal*, May 8, 1856. The vice-presidents were: First district, J. T. Embree, Gibson county; Second district, Milton Gregg, Floyd county; Third district, J. V. Buskirk, Monroe county; Fourth district, George P. Buell, Dearborn county; Fifth district, Miles Murphy, Henry county; Sixth district, J. Ritchey, Johnson county; Seventh district, Levi Sidwell, Parke county; Eighth district, H. L. Ellsworth, Tippecanoe county; Ninth district, J. W. Wright, Cass county; Tenth district, T. R. Dickenson, Dekalb county; Eleventh district, Isaac Vandevanter, Grant county. The Secretaries were: John R. Cravens, Jefferson county; B. R. Sulgrove, Marion county; W. M. French, Clark county; William Millikan, Laporte county.

as a free State and denying the right of any foreigner to vote before naturalization. His position on the slavery question was opposition to the further extension but no interference with it where it was already established.

There was some confusion when Mr. R. M. Hudson of Vigo county objected to the appointment of delegates to the national Republican convention of June 17, 1856. He claimed that delegates should not be appointed since this was not a Republican convention. Hudson, who was a Know Nothing, felt that the Fusionists did not dare to act against the wishes of the Know Nothings since they were strong in southwestern Indiana.⁷² David Kilgore, who was an older Know Nothing than Hudson, said that they had better send delegates to the Philadelphia convention on June 17, 1856, in order that candidates might be chosen for whom all could vote. In his view Americanism could wait while the Kansas question could not.⁷³ A compromise was arranged whereby six delegates from the State at large and three from each congressional district were selected. H. S. Lane, John D. Defrees, William M. Dunn, Judge Wright, Godlove S. Orth, and Charles H. Test were chosen to go to Philadelphia as representatives to the "People's" national convention of June 17, 1856.⁷⁴

After the selection of these delegates James H. Lane was called for and responded by a vivid description of the real conditions as they were in Kansas. He maintained that the interference of the Missourians in Kansan affairs was the root of the trouble there. He closed his speech with a recital of the brutal treatment of the free State men by the border ruffians.

⁷²Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, May 14, 1856.

⁷³New Albany *Daily Ledger*, May 6, 1856.

⁷⁴Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 25. The delegates from the congressional districts were: First district, Willard Carpenter, Vanderburg; Andrew Lewis, Warrick; William M. Morrison, Warrick. Second district, (To be decided in Convention). Third district, J. J. Cummings, Jackson; William Sharp, Jennings; M. C. Garber, Jefferson. Fourth district, George P. Buell, Dearborn; J. H. Farquhar, Franklin; Thomas Smith, Ripley. Fifth district, Jacob B. Julian, Wayne; M. L. Bundy, Henry; B. F. Claypool, Fayette. Sixth district, J. S. Harvey, Marion; James Ritchey, Johnson; Joseph S. Miller, Hendricks. Seventh district, George K. Steele, Parke; Daniel Sigler, Putnam; B. A. Allison, Owen. Eighth district, James Nelson, Montgomery; R. C. Gregory, Tippecanoe; William Bowers, Boone. Ninth district, D. G. Rose, Miami; D. R. Bearrs, Miami; T. H. Binghurst, Cass. Tenth district, J. C. Power, Kosciusko; John Mitchell, Noble; Samuel Hanna, Allen. Eleventh district, J. D. Connor, Wabash; C. D. Murray, Howard; Isaac Vandevanter, Grant.

At the conclusion of Lane's speech the Committee on Resolutions brought in the following report:

The people of Indiana consisting of all who are opposed to the policy of the present federal administration, assembled in convention at the capital of the State, now submit to the people the following platform of principles:

Resolved, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery; and that we utterly repudiate the platform of principles adopted by the self-styled Democratic convention of this State endorsing and approving the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity.

Resolved, That we will resist by all proper means the admission of any slave state into this Union formed out of the territories secured to freedom by the Missouri Compromise, or otherwise.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the naturalization laws of Congress with the five years' probation, and that the right of suffrage should accompany and not precede naturalization.

Resolved, That we believe the General Assembly of the State have the power to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and that we are in favor of a constitutional law which will effectually suppress the evils of intemperance.

In considering the platform it will be noted that the People's party was an opposition party and that it opposed the extension of slavery. It went a little further than the platform of 1854, which declared against the admission of any more slave States out of territory made free by the Missouri Compromise by adding "or otherwise".⁷⁵ The plank on "Naturalization" was made to satisfy both the Germans and the Know Nothings. The Germans had declared that they would not support the Republicans unless the party went on record as being opposed to any change in the naturalization laws.⁷⁶ The Know Nothing element was opposed to the provision in the State constitution giving the foreigner the right to vote after one year's residence in the United States, six months in Indiana, and the making of his declaration of intention. The plank on intemperance was similar to that of 1854. In commenting upon this plank the *Rockport Weekly Democrat* of May 31, 1856, said:

⁷⁵New Albany *Weekly Tribune*, May 9, 1856.

⁷⁶*Weekly State Journal*, May 8, 1856.

"We know of no set of men outside of the Know Nothing, nigger worshipping editors of the Republican party and their gang of rot gut suckers, who need the protecting arm of a prohibitory law, to save them from drunkards' graves."

Later it designated the People's party as the "Woolly-headed Abolition, proscriptive Know Nothing, prohibitory Maine-Law party".⁷⁷

Near the close of the convention the following ticket was nominated:

Governor, O. P. Morton, Wayne county; Lieutenant Governor, Conrad Baker, Vanderburg county; Secretary of State, John W. Dawson (Know Nothing), Allen county; Treasurer of State, William R. Nofsinger, Parke county; Auditor of State, E. W. H. Ellis, Marion county; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John L. Smith,⁷⁸ Boone county; Attorney General, James H. Cravens, Ripley county; Reporter of Supreme Court, John A. Stein, Tippecanoe county; Clerk of Supreme Court, John A. Beal, Miami county.

The opponents of the People's party criticized the ticket by saying that Morton was a Know Nothing. Morton denied the charge. Editor Gregg of the *New Albany Tribune* said that Morton was a member of the order in 1854 and emphasizes his statement by asserting that he was in a position to know.⁷⁹ It was further asserted that the Fusion ticket was made up of men who suited the temperance element.⁸⁰

It will be noted that the new party again went into the campaign as the People's party. Lane, Morton and other leaders of the party were in favor of assuming the name Republican but the Know Nothings, many Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and some of the "Old Line Whigs" were not yet ready to take on that name.⁸¹ This led George W. Julian to say that in his own State the name Republican was repudiated. He characterized the People's party as a "combination of weaknesses instead of a union of forces".⁸² During the campaign Julian came out in opposition to the People's party. He wrote:

⁷⁷Rockport *Weekly Democrat*, July 26, 1856.

⁷⁸Smith declined and Charles L. Barnes of New Albany was chosen.

⁷⁹New Albany *Tribune*, May 27, 1856. Gregg was a Know Nothing.

⁸⁰Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, Sept. 3, 1856.

⁸¹Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 24.

⁸²Julian, *Political Recollections*, 155.

The Know Nothings of this State, by assuming the name of People's party, have had things considerably their own in Indiana for sometime past.

The proceedings of the convention, generally, must have been disgusting to any looker-on having the anti-slavery cause at heart.

With one exception I cannot find of the entire batch of candidates, electors, and delegates, a single man who can be said to be an anti-slavery man.

What is the present duty of men who can support neither of the two pro-slavery tickets in the field? I answer let them do everything in their power, by honorable means, to overwhelm the ticket of the People's party with an inglorious defeat.⁸³

From these quotations it will be noted that the platform did not suit the radicals like Julian.

Not only was the State interested in State politics but there was much interest in national politics due to the fact that the questions before the people were national rather than local. While many of the States had State organizations which were opposed to the administration's policy there was no national organization of these State parties. To effect such an organization a call was issued in the name of the Republican State chairman of nine States, including Indiana, for an informal convention at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856. This convention was to draft plans for the organization of a permanent Republican party and provide for a convention which should nominate candidates for president and vice-president.⁸⁴ George W. Julian, chairman of the Committee on Organization, reported a plan of organization, providing for a national executive committee of one from each State, a national convention to meet June 17, 1856, and recommended the appointment of State and county committees and the formation of clubs in every town and township throughout the land.⁸⁵ William Grose was designated as the member from Indiana of the National Executive Committee.

This National Executive Committee met in Washington on March 27, 1856, and after the committee had spent two days in wording it so as not to offend anyone a call was issued asking all who opposed

the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the policy of the administration, the extension of slavery into the territories, the admission of Kansas as a free

⁸³*Terre Haute Daily Express*, June 3, 1856.

⁸⁴Frances Curtis, *The Republican Party*, I, 250.

⁸⁵*Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 22, 1856.

State, and the restoration of the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson

to send three delegates from each congressional district and six at large to the national convention at Philadelphia on June 17, 1856.⁸⁶

Indiana sent a full delegation to this convention of which H. S. Lane was chosen president. His speech of acceptance amazed the easterners, who did not know that Indiana possessed a man of such oratorical ability. A platform was adopted denying the authority of Congress or any territorial legislature to legalize slavery in any territory, declaring that it was the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery; and declaring that Kansas should be immediately admitted.⁸⁷ It is worthy of note that nothing was said about the Missouri Compromise. J. C. Fremont of California and William L. Dayton of New Jersey were nominated for president and vice-president.⁸⁸

Of this platform George W. Julian said:

I think I can stand on it, and without doing much violence to its language, preach the whole anti-slavery gospel. The restoration of the Missouri Compromise line is finally gathered among the defunct political humbugs of the day.⁸⁹

W. L. Garrison said:

As between the three rival parties, the sympathy of every genuine friend of freedom must be with the Republican party, in spite of its lamentable shortcomings.⁹⁰

Such utterances as these gave the Democrats the chance to designate the Republican party as an Abolitionist and disunionist party.

John D. Defrees, chairman of the State Central Committee, issued a call for all people regardless of all past political differences who were opposed to the extension of

⁸⁶*Weekly State Journal*, April 10, 1856.

⁸⁷*Weekly State Journal*, June 26, 1856.

⁸⁸Indiana voted 21 for McLean to 18 for Fremont on first ballot but solidly for Fremont on second ballot.

⁸⁹*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, July 8, 1856.

⁹⁰*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1856.

slavery to territory made free by a sacred compromise, to meet July 15, 1856, at Indianapolis, to ratify the nominations to be made at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June.⁹¹ Evidently Defrees thought that the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line was to be the great issue in the contest. Much enthusiasm was displayed at this meeting, which was addressed by H. S. Lane, Mr. Elliot, of Kansas; Mr. Ludvig, of Baltimore; Conrad Baker, P. A. Hackleman, S. S. Harding, and Mr. Marsh, of Ohio.⁹² Little was done here besides ratifying the nominations of Fremont and Dayton.

By the latter part of 1855 it was seen that the Know Nothings were losing their power. The fact that their organization was a secret one and the odium attached by the public to the name Know Nothing was putting their lodges out of existence.⁹³ Although decreasing rapidly they were a factor in the campaign, it being estimated that there were 50,000 Know Nothings in Indiana at the opening of the campaign.⁹⁴ If the Know Nothings decided to run a State ticket, the defeat of the Republican party was certain. If they fused with the Republicans the Know Nothing party as an organization would disappear. This was the problem confronting the leaders of these two parties.

The slavery question was dividing the Know Nothings into two sections, an anti-slavery section and a pro-slavery section, which struggled for the control of the Know Nothing National Council at Philadelphia, on June 5, 1855. For more than a week the conflict over slavery continued, it being resolved that congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories or abolish it in the District of Columbia and that the existing laws should be maintained. This platform definitely put the party on record as favoring the South on this question. In company with the northern division of the party, Indiana's delegates, Schuyler Colfax, Will Cumback, Godlove S. Orth, J. L. Harvey, F. D. Allen, J. R. M. Bryant, and Thomas C. Slaughter withdrew from the convention.⁹⁵ Those who supported the "bolters" would

⁹¹*Weekly State Journal*, June 12, 1856.

⁹²*Weekly State Journal*, July 17, 1856.

⁹³*Rockport Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1855.

⁹⁴Carl Fremont Brand, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana*, 115.

⁹⁵*State Sentinel*, June 21, 1856.

probably drift into the Republican party because of their opposition to the extension of slavery.

The same kind of a struggle occurred in the Know Nothing National Council at Philadelphia on February 18, 1856. Here a platform was made which approved the enforcement of existing laws until repealed or declared null and void.⁹⁶ This seemed to be an acquiescence in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. On the 22nd of February the Council resolved itself into a nominating convention. A resolution was offered that

this Convention has no authority to prescribe a platform of principles, and we will nominate no candidates for president and vice-president who are not in favor of interdicting the introduction of slavery north of 36° 30'.

This motion was tabled: 141 yeas to 59 nays. As the balloting was about to commence delegates from seven States seceded. Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew Jackson Donaldson, of Tennessee, were nominated by the remaining delegates.⁹⁷ Indiana's delegates, Sheets, Phelps, and Sol Meredith did not secede. These seceding States went into a North American convention the latter part of June and nominated J. C. Fremont and W. F. Johnson, of Pennsylvania.⁹⁸ Johnson declined in favor of Dayton, making the Republican and North American tickets the same.⁹⁹

Would the Americans take part in the People's convention of May 1, 1856? Milton Gregg, of the *New Albany Tribune*, stated that the American party was a stronger Anti-Nebraska party than the Republicans.¹⁰⁰ William Sheets, president of the executive committee of the American party, issued a call to members of the organization urging the members of the American party to co-operate with any party to end the misrule of the present administration and to restore the Missouri Compromise line. The executive committee called upon the members of the American party to send a full delegation to the People's convention on

⁹⁶*Weekly State Journal*, March 6, 1856.

⁹⁷*Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 28, 1856.

⁹⁸*Weekly State Journal*, June 26, 1856.

⁹⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 11, 1856.

¹⁰⁰*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, March 18, 1856.

May 1, 1856.¹⁰¹ This call disappointed the Republicans, many of whom desired the participation of the Know Nothings in this convention as individuals, but not as members of the American party.¹⁰²

The State convention of the American party met in Indianapolis on July 16, 1856. The big question to be decided was whether or not the party should run an independent electoral ticket. R. W. Thompson was made chairman of the meeting. Amid much confusion it was decided that it was inexpedient to put out a State or congressional ticket, to support Fillmore and Donaldson, and to pledge themselves to prevent the success of the Democratic party since it had surrendered itself to the extension of slavery. A resolution supporting the People's State ticket was voted down. Mr. Hudson and Mr. French of Clark county thought that it was the duty of the Americans to support the People's State ticket since they had taken part in the People's State convention. Both these men said that unless the convention supported the People's State ticket that they would desert Fillmore for Fremont. The *Journal* seemed to think that the result of this meeting would be a loss of one-half of the strength of the American party in Indiana.¹⁰³

This division of opinion in the convention was foreshadowed by the attitude of the State papers toward the Fillmore movement. Many papers which had endorsed Fillmore before the nomination refused to support him. Three weeks after the nomination of Fillmore there were but few straight out Fillmore papers in the State. The *Paoli Constitutional*, the *Washington Telegraph*, the *Rising Sun Visitor*, the *Evansville Journal*, the *Vincennes Gazette*, and a few others were still supporting the American ticket.¹⁰⁴ On June 9, 1856, the *Sentinel* said that every Know Nothing paper in Indiana but one was supporting the Republican State ticket. The *Corydon Argus* went over to Fremont on the slavery issue.¹⁰⁵ The *Rockford Herald* argued that the

¹⁰¹*Weekly State Journal*, April 3, 1856.

¹⁰²*Weekly State Journal*, April 10, 1856.

¹⁰³*Weekly State Journal*, July 24, 1856; *Terre Haute Daily Express*, July 22, 1856.

¹⁰⁴*Weekly State Journal*, March 13, 1856.

¹⁰⁵*Weekly State Journal*, July 10, 1856.

American vote in Indiana would decide between Fremont and Buchanan, and that it was the duty of the Americans to support Fremont.¹⁰⁶ The Vincennes *Gazette* had the following lines:

Is it politic to divide upon Fillmore and Fremont while the Old Liners unite upon Buchanan, and by our division, carry the State for their ticket? Is there any reason or sense in such a course? Every one will answer that there is not. Therefore it is the supremest folly and weakness in the American party doggedly and determinedly to adhere to their favorite candidate.¹⁰⁷

The Terre Haute *Daily Express* turned to Fremont because Fillmore had not stated his views on the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line and the further extension of slavery into the territories.¹⁰⁸ From these statements it is evident that many members of the American party were not satisfied with Fillmore because of his silence on the great question of the day, the extension of slavery.

There was great interest in the campaign. The large masses attending the political meetings gave evidence that political excitement was very high.¹⁰⁹ O. P. Morton, H. S. Lane, Caleb B. Smith, of Ohio; William Grose, Conrad Baker, S. W. Parker, W. J. Peaslee, Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky; Godlove S. Orth, H. W. Ellsworth, George W. Julian, Will Cumback, J. A. Hendricks, David Kilgore, Daniel Mace, H. E. Talbot, Reuben A. Riley, and Lucian Barbour were some of the prominent Republican speakers. Among the Democratic speakers were Joseph A. Wright, A. P. Willard, Jesse B. Bright, J. L. Robinson, T. A. Hendricks, D. W. Voorhees, David Turpie, G. N. Fitch, C. L. Dunham, William H. English, and Joseph E. McDonald. The Republican speakers dwelt much upon "Free Press, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free States and Fremont." The Democratic speakers represented the Republican party as championing "Free Niggers, Free Dirt, Free Fight, Free Whiskey, Fremont, and Freedom."¹¹⁰ Fremont was charged with being a Catholic in spite of the fact that he had been nominated for President by the North Americans.¹¹¹ Statements of many of

¹⁰⁶*Weekly State Journal*, July 10, 1856.

¹⁰⁷*Terre Haute Daily Express*, Aug. 1, 1856.

¹⁰⁸*Terre Haute Daily Express*, Oct. 10, 1856.

¹⁰⁹*Indianapolis Locomotive*, July 19, 1856.

¹¹⁰*Democratic Herald*, March 29, 1860.

¹¹¹*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, Sept. 3, 1856.

the leading Southerners to the effect that disunion would follow the election of Fremont were widely circulated in Indiana.¹¹²

The greatest Republican meeting of this campaign was that held at Tippecanoe Battle Ground, October 1, and 2. In spite of the cold and the snow the *Journal* estimates that there were 80,000 followers of freedom present. Daniel Mace was made president. Cassius M. Clay, Morton, Julian, H. S. Lane, Fred Hauserick, J. H. Hull, and C. D. Murray were the speakers. Banners and streamers bearing mottoes representing the principles of the Republican party were seen in abundance. The two days' session ended with a grand display of fireworks.¹¹³

The State election occurred October 14, 1856. Morton was defeated by Willard by 5,842 votes.¹¹⁴ The State legislature was as follows:

Senators holding over, Democrats, 12; Republican, 13. Senators elected, Democratic, 11; Republican, 14. Total, Democratic, 23; Republican, 27. House of Representatives, Democratic, 63; Republican, 35; American, 2.¹¹⁵

In the national election which occurred November 4, 1856, Buchanan received 118,672 votes, Fremont 94,376, and Fillmore 22,386.¹¹⁶ Buchanan got 1910 votes more than Fremont and Fillmore together. The following was the result of the congressional election:

	<i>Majority</i>
First district, James Lockhart (Dem.)-----	4770
Second district, W. H. English (Dem.)-----	2650
Third district, James Hughes (Dem.)-----	1516
Fourth district, James B. Foley (Dem.)-----	1453
Fifth district, David Kilgore (Rep.)-----	3949
Sixth district, James M. Gregg (Dem.)-----	947
Seventh district, J. G. Davis (Dem.)-----	1608
Eighth district, James Wilson (Rep.)-----	230
Ninth district, Schuyler Colfax (Rep.)-----	1036
Tenth district, S. V. Brenton (Rep.)-----	710
Eleventh district, J. U. Pettit (Rep.)-----	792 ¹¹⁷

¹¹²*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 2, 1856; *Terre Haute Daily Express*, Aug. 7, 1856; *Logansport Journal*, Aug. 23, 1856.

¹¹³*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 9, 1856.

¹¹⁴*Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 4, 1856.

¹¹⁵*Terre Haute Daily Express*, Nov. 17, 1856.

¹¹⁶*Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 27, 1856.

¹¹⁷*Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 13, 1856.

A comparison of this election with that of 1854 shows that the Democrats had gained four congressmen from the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Districts. This gave the Democrats six congressmen to the Republican's five. It will be noted that the Democratic congressmen were from the southern part of Indiana, while the Republicans were elected from the northern part and the Fifth District.

What caused the defeat of the People's party? The *Terre Haute Express* charged the Fillmore men with voting for the Democratic ticket.¹¹⁸ The *Journal* accused the Americans of supporting the Democratic ticket,¹¹⁹ charged 8,000 illegal Democratic votes,¹²⁰ and accused the foreigners of staying at home for fear that the success of the Republicans would mean a prohibitory law. George W. Julian gave two reasons for the defeat, the refusal of the Know Nothings to unite with the People's party and the inability of the Republicans to rally the Whigs.¹²¹ The Americans denied the charge of supporting the Democratic ticket. The *New Albany Weekly Tribune* asserted that nineteen-twentieths of the Fillmore men voted for Morton. It further stated that a comparison of the 46 counties in northern Indiana with the vote of 1854 gave a Republican loss of 7,000 votes. In these counties there were not more than 500 Americans.¹²² Later the editor stated that the cause of the defeat was the advancement of the leaders of the Republican party from the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line to an attack on the institution of slavery.¹²³ Editor Garber, of the *Madison Courier*, gave as the cause of the defeat the inefficiency of the leaders and the attempt to coalesce with the Americans.¹²⁴

The charge of the Republicans that the Americans defeated Morton does not seem to be borne out by a comparison of the votes cast in October and November. Willard got 691 votes less than Buchanan, while Morton got 17,763

¹¹⁸*Terre Haute Daily Express*, Oct. 18, 1856.

¹¹⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 30, 1856.

¹²⁰*Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 27, 1860.

¹²¹Julian, *Political Recollections*, 155.

¹²²*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, Oct. 22, 1856.

¹²³*New Albany Weekly Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1858.

¹²⁴*Madison Courier*, Jan. 27, 1858.

votes more than Fremont. This would seem to indicate that Morton must have gotten the support of the greater portion of the Fillmore men. In twenty counties of southern Indiana, where the American vote was appreciable, Willard got 25,770, Buchanan, 26,521; Morton, 18,431; Fillmore, 12,471, and Fremont, 6,516 votes.¹²⁵ The joint vote of Fremont and Fillmore is 18,987, being 556 more than Morton got.

What did the election decide? The issue was the extension of slavery. On the face of the returns Indiana had decided that slavery should be extended into the free territories; that the people of this State decided against free speech, free press, free labor, and free territory; that the struggle for Kansas should continue; that Indiana was ready to submit to the demand of the South; that the constitution carried slavery into the territories.¹²⁶

¹²⁵*Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 20, 1856.

¹²⁶*Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 6, 1856.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

The Pioneer Aristocracy*

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IN the last twenty years we have again taken up the question of universal education; we are just beginning again the agitation to nationalize our industries; we are as undecided now as we were in 1860 concerning government ownership of public utilities; we have made little real progress with the labor question; the tariff is off and on again like Finnigan's train; a State wide prohibition law was enacted in Indiana sixty years ago and we are now again painfully working up to that point; we are a little nearer universal suffrage than we were in 1860; the military system of the State is exactly where it was in 1860, that is, there is none; a general reform in agriculture is now getting under way, but one-half of the State is now farmed much as it was in 1860. In all the essentials of fundamental progress we are very near where we laid down our tools in 1860. There is far more wealth now but it is not so evenly distributed; the laboring classes are in no better political or economic situation than they were in 1860; the farmers are living faster than in 1860, but hardly better; while the increase of absentee landlordism raises a more serious agrarian problem than had arisen in 1860.

We are at the end of the Civil War Regime. The period has been noted for its great industrial development. Its characteristic men are the so-called captains of industry. In the game of commercial aggrandizement they have shown the greatest skill and have been rewarded with enormous fortunes. But now public opinion has passed upon and condemned them in the means they used. Rebates, watered stock, blue sky companies, legislative corruption, interlocking directorates have become immoral and unsocial. The captains have been caught in the toils of their own expertness and the whole system which they represent is tottering

*The word "aristocracy" is used in its proper sense, meaning the most skillful, the most capable, the most highly educated, the best.

to ruin, and the captains themselves have been sent to the rear in disgrace.

These are the industrial aristocrats. They superseded what for lack of a better name I have called The Pioneer Aristocrats. Every period in history has soon or late brought forth a group of leaders in its dominant activity, sometimes political, sometimes clerical, sometimes industrial, sometimes social and sometimes agricultural. They are the experts with the knowledge and tools of that period. The pioneer aristocrats were the experts in developing farms under the conditions then prevailing. They were just as truly in possession of a body of organized knowledge and expert skill as any other aristocracy of which we have a record. They were the leaders, and in a way represented the best in pioneer society. It seems inevitable that an aristocracy must lose sympathy for the masses.

There are distinct problems and conditions the meeting and solving of which constitute pioneering. The conditions are a new stock of people in a new country. Social distinction and organizations formed in older communities, social cleavage which gradually takes place in older societies, family kinship and other ties which come to separate people into clans or groups, all of these are lacking in any large degree in a pioneer state. There is a large predominance of the young aggressive, radical element. Such in general are the folks. The frontier, their home, is also a land of untried resources, of untried possibilities. New crops must be raised, new seed times and new harvests are found necessary. New diseases requiring new remedies are met. In the midst of these new conditions certain problems must be solved. Houses must be built out of whatever material is readiest at hand, logs, stone, sod or brick. Farms must be opened up in the forest, on the prairie or on the arid plain; or perhaps mines must be opened. Whatever the most available resource of the country is, it must be utilized. A special body of skill and knowledge must be developed. This may involve the handling of a new metal, the discovery of a new farm crop, or the modification of an old one. Finally the staple products of the new country must be introduced to

the world and means of transportation and communication established. Of course, while this work is going on social institutions will be organized. The church and state will partake of the pioneering spirit. These in the abstract are the pioneer problems. The men and women who tear themselves away from established society, confront these conditions and attack these problems are called pioneers. The word itself, referring back to "peons" who founded the early Spanish settlements in America, has no trace of its original signification.

The pioneers of the Ohio valley were Scotch, Irish, German, English and French in origin. They themselves, in 1850, were little conscious of these different origins. Henry Clay paid the following brief tribute to these immigrants in a speech in 1832:

The honest, patient, and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself on some of our fat lands, fills a capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits which his diligence has gathered around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophical Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. But, of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was originally part and parcel of this continent, and that by some extraordinary convulsion of nature it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, it was placed in the vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterizes the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home.

They had been pioneering during two or three generations before reaching the Ohio valley. Each and all were refugees and certainly no one of them harbored any love for his native country. Unjust laws, governmental restrictions and persecutions were the reason for their emigration. A natural result of this was that each bore little patriotic regard for any government. They thus easily accepted the Jeffersonian statement that government is a necessary evil.

They looked with suspicion on a power from which nothing good had in their estimation ever emanated. Not until they, themselves, had made their own state and local governments in the valley did they begin to show any affection for government.

Likewise in the church they were all dissenters, the French Huguenots, the German Moravians and Dunkards, the Irish Catholics, the Scotch Covenanters, the English Methodists and the German and English Quakers. In their first American homes in western Pennsylvania, in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, in the uplands of Carolina and Georgia, they sustained only the loosest connection with the colonial churches and governments. When they crossed the mountains during and after the Revolution these feeble attachments were snapped asunder. It was not until they had reconstituted their church organizations in the Ohio valley that they developed any filial love for their churches. It is hardly necessary to observe that these new political and religious institutions were organized in harmony with pioneer life.

For a century classical systems of education struggled for a footing among the pioneers but without any noticeable result. Colleges, seminaries and academies sprang up here and there in early Indiana, but they were exotic. The spirit of pioneer life never lived within their classic atmosphere. There were expressions in plenty of the appreciation of education by the pioneers, but no system attracted their earnest support because none ever cherished their ideals or attempted to teach their science, philosophy or skill. There were schools among the pioneers but none of them in the sense in which the present industrial schools cater to our industrial civilization. For this reason the pioneer aristocracy never supported the schools as it supported its own religious and political institutions.

The central system around which the others were organized was the art of reducing the wilderness to homesteads. Their ideal was the manorial homestead of England and Germany about 1700, the time when their refugee ancestors began leaving those countries. This has been the most important occupation in America during the last three cen-

turies. The art became highly developed after about 1740, when the first real American pioneer settlements were formed in western Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah valley and the Carolina and Georgia uplands, and reached its culmination in the Ohio valley about 1860.

Two radically different types of men and women attacked the problem. In Pennsylvania and the northern part of the Shenandoah were the refugee Germans called, until recently, the Pennsylvania Dutch, from southern and western Germany. In their German homes they had been peasants. For centuries it had been necessary for them to cultivate their little fields with the greatest care and skill and practice the most rigid economy in order to make a living and pay the heavy demands of the German landlords. Every foot of land was made to yield its greatest return. They produced little for the market and every need of the household had to be anticipated during the year in the growing crop. They accordingly developed a nice balance in their crops. There were sheep for clothing; cows for milk, butter and cheese; horses only enough for the work, with a preference for oxen, on account of their value for beef and hides after they were too old for profitable work; hogs for meat; geese or ducks for feather beds; chickens for eggs and table use; garden vegetables for the table; cabbage for sauerkraut; potatoes for winter use; apples for cider, apple butter, eating and drying; corn for feeding and for making whiskey; wheat for bread. They took extreme care of their farming implements, cleaned their fields of rocks and stumps, and built capacious barns for housing their stock and crops. All this knowledge and skill they had brought with them from the Rhine hills. They stuck close to their work, plodding, prosaic, practical. Their old homesteads along the Susquehanna, with their red brick houses, hillside barns and productive fields, bear ample evidence of their skill as farmers.

The exact counterpart and supplement of these were the English, Irish and Scotch peasants who settled in the Carolina uplands and in the Shenandoah. A glance at the map will show the close geographical relation of all these settlements which by 1750 were merged together. The long She-

nandoah valley, the "Great Valley" of Virginia as it was called then, furnishes an easy and open connection between the other two. Just as the Wallachian, Moravian, Palatine and other German peasants had the same general characteristics and all passed as Pennsylvania Dutch, so the Virginia and Carolina backwoodsmen possessed common characteristics and became known as Scotch-Irish or the "poor whites" in contrast with the wealthier slave owners and the slaves. The common thing in farming in England, Ireland and Scotland, as these peasants had known them, was stockraising. Especially was this true in Scotland and England, where they pastured their herds on the moors, mountains, and fenslands. Nothing more natural than that when they saw the grassy glades of their new country they at once became stock raisers and cattlemen, marketing their beeves at Charleston and Philadelphia. They acquired large bodies of land, let their stock stand out during the winter, feeding on cane and tuft grass, built large wooden houses, met many household needs with money from sales of cattle, and spent their leisure time roaming the woods, hunting or arguing politics and religion at the taverns or cross roads. They developed an intense, robust, independent individualism, rough and boisterous, artistic and imaginative. As politicians and preachers they were a tremendous success, as farmers and business men they were failures. The tumble down buildings and worn out lands of Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee are witnesses to their unthrifty farming. The Pennsylvania Dutch were the reverse. They soon lost their peasant piety, took little interest in politics but their granaries were the storehouses of the Revolution.

A century intervened, a long, hard century, full of the struggle with the wilderness, bloody Indian wars and the harsh discipline of the frontier, their "sojourn in the wilderness." The best class of Hoosier farmers of southern Indiana were the highest types of pioneer character. They fulfilled the definition in politics, religion, language, education and skill in farming. In politics they were Jacksonian Democrats, loud and boastful; in religion they were old-fashioned Baptists and shouting Methodists with a fair sprinkle of Dunkards, Quakers and Presbyterians, all pa-

trons of the campmeeting, that most agonizing form of punishment for sinners ever known in the valley. In language they excelled in the picturesque lingua of the Ohio valley, which for that reason has become known as the Hoosier dialect. They were strong for education, a smattering of the three R's, provided it stopped safely short of "book larnin,'" for they had a growing suspicion that literary culture and craftiness went hand in hand and would usually be found in company with some more objectionable form of moral obliquity.

In clearing a farm and making it a place for decent, comfortable living, not primarily a money-making instrument as is now the idea, they beat the whole universal world, to use an anglicised form of their own idiom. Their Buckeye neighbors were better statesmen, more cunning at a bargain; the Bluegrass mansions were places of affluence and culture as compared to their double, hewed log, or red brick houses; while the big prairie farms of Illinois were rapidly outstripping theirs in the size of their crops; but for all these they were still unsurpassed in those qualities that constituted the typical pioneers of the Ohio valley. The army of 200,000 young men who marched off to the service of their country during the Civil War and the other army of 200,000 young women who took their places on the farm are strong argument for the validity of the home life and the institutions provided by the pioneer Hoosier farmers of 1850 and justify a closer study; for, as mentioned above, when the war broke out these men were just emerged from the pioneer stage and had undertaken the solution of many of the political problems now confronting us.

Our aristocrats have the reputation of having been men of great physical strength and activity. Their daily life was conducive to bodily vigor. No better physical training could be prescribed today than to swing the ax or maul in the forest ten hours a day for months at a time. In this respect southern Indiana was full of Lincolns before the Civil War. Such men could help at twenty logrollings on as many successive days and not require a vacation afterward. Most young men could leap an eight rail fence and at gatherings it was not extraordinary to find a half dozen men each of

whom could jump a bar held level with the top of his head. An ordinary deer hunt would in the course of the day take them on a thirty mile tramp through deep snow. Harvesters would swing the scythe or cradle "from sun to sun" with only brief rests for dinner and lunch. Yet between "busy seasons" there were considerable periods of leisure. From the middle of August to the middle of October little work was done and again from Christmas till April work was easy. Usually a man who weighed 160 in August would weigh 200 in March.

But there is another side to this picture. In almost every household there was some old "hippo," broken either in body or spirit or usually both. Ague perhaps had robbed him of the vitality necessary to compete in the hard struggle. He could name a dozen diseases working on him. From his ailments he had constructed a science. His corns and his rheumatism warned him of approaching changes in the weather. The pale red setting sun foretold a disastrous plague, most probably smallpox or "yaller" fever. The crackle of the burning backlog announced an approaching snowstorm. The thick corn shuck, the low-hung hornets' nest, the busy woodpeckers and squirrels were sure signs of a hard winter. In the art of forecasting he was the successor of the seers, soothsayers and astrologers, last and least harmful of all the parasitic train. Science has usurped his throne though traces of his reign still linger. By his shrewd observations, his persistent guessings and artful "I told you so's" he gained a vast influence over the unscientific community.

Hippo was also a medical man. His specialty was "bit-ters." On fine days he would potter around the premises gathering roots, leaves and bark and concocting his nostrums. At other times he ventured as far as the store or to some neighboring crone where he compared theories, observations and experiences in the interest of his compound science of prophecy and pharmacology. So complete was his sway in this field that few homes could be found without its jug of bit-ters and so persistent has been that influence that few of us today are able to defend ourselves against the patent medicine fakers who cater to our inherited weakness.

Our aristocrats also had traditions. One hundred years of struggle in the wilderness with nature and the Indians had furnished many dramatic scenes and incidents. Their fathers and grandfathers had fought with General Lewis at Point Pleasant, with George Rogers Clark at Vincennes, with Wayne at Fallen Timbers, and with Harrison at Tippecanoe, to say nothing of the countless Indian raids from the conquest of old Duquesne, to that of Blackhawk, Boone, Wetzell, Kenton, Poe, and the warriors of Clark and Harrison were their heroes. Some future Scott will find these traditions as fascinating as were those of the Scottish border. No finer things are in the memories of many Hoosiers than these old tales as told by some pioneer who lingered twenty years beyond his allotted time apparently with no other purpose than to communicate his story to the next generation.

The volume of technical knowledge and skill acquired by the pioneer farmer far exceeds what is ordinarily supposed. Where there was no extraordinary rush, land was not cleared immediately. The intended field was laid off and timber selected for fencing. The fence was a square rail worm, built usually nine rails high. Each rail was ten feet long and about four inches square. The fence would thus be eighty inches high; if a pasture fence, it was staked and ridged or simply locked. The first choice of timber for the rails was walnut and poplar, though oak would be used rather than haul the rails a great distance, say a quarter of a mile. Usually the rails could be made so near the line of the fence that hauling, with oxen and sled, was not necessary. The rails were usually made in the winter while the sap was down because the timber split better then and the rails lasted longer. In making the rails an ax, an iron wedge or two, a maul, and at least two gluts, or wooden wedges, were necessary. The maul was made of second growth hickory, if possible a hickory without any red. The sapling, five or six inches through, was cut below the first roots and a maul about one foot long left. The handle was then dressed down to the proper size, the maul rounded off and the finished article set in the chimney corner to season a half year or so. The gluts were made of dogwood saplings three inches through, each glut being from twelve to sixteen inches long, dressed

down very carefully to a point. If not properly tapered the glut would bounce, utterly ruining the rail splitter's temper. The iron wedge was made with the same proportions and precision by the blacksmith. Thus armed the pioneer rail-maker went forth, as much a skilled mechanic as any cabinet maker. After the rails were laid up there was always danger of some descendant of Rip Van Winkle firing the woods.

After the fence was completed the underbrush was cut and piled and the trees and saplings deadened. This latter process required both knowledge and skill again; for some trees, as the hickory and willow, needed only to be barked; the oak, poplar and beech needed only to be sapped; while such as the gum and sycamore had to be cut deep into the red. Most trees when girdled or deadened immediately died, but if a willow were peeled in the spring there were usually some thousands of volunteer willows in its neighborhood a year later, while a gum or sassafras deadened out of season was a calamity. Trees deadened when the sap was up became sap rotten in two years, at which time if the clearing were fired many of the trees would burn down and then burn up. The remaining trees could be cut, rolled and burned easily. Most of the small stumps were likewise rotten and if the flock of sheep had been busy nearly all the sprouts were dead.

The field was thus ready for the plow. The most approved way of the first breaking was with a stout jumping shovel and two yokes of heavy, steady oxen. There was a certain amount of pleasure in watching such a plow tear through the rotten roots, but the completest torture this side of eternity was plowing with a jumping shovel in a rooty new-ground with a team of spirited horses. The plow, excepting the iron shovel and the cutter, was produced on the farm, as were also the ox yokes, and the oxen.

The same expert knowledge coupled with the same practical skill was necessary in all the various lines of farming activity. There was no refrigerator, but a house was built over a spring and places prepared so that the milk crocks and the butter bowl could get the benefit of the cool water. There was no cold storage, but the potatoes, apples and cabbage were holed up in the ground beyond the reach of frost

and a cellar provided for other articles of constant use during the winter.

Our Hoosier aristocracy had long ago lost all distinctions between Dutch and Irish but they had retained the Dutch characteristic of all-round farming and had acquired some new tastes which required an even wider range of production. In the barnyard were horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, ducks, geese, and chickens. The heavy draft horses that formerly drew the old Conestoga gave way to a lighter, quicker breed from Virginia and Kentucky, while at least two yokes of heavy oxen were kept for the heavy hauling around the farm. There must be at least a half dozen milk cows, for country butter, and hot corn bread disappeared in enormous quantities at breakfast in the presence of eight or ten husky young Hoosiers and two or three hired hands. At dinner or supper a quart of sweet milk was a modest allowance for each person, with perhaps an extra pint for the six and eight year olds, while a jug of cold buttermilk, fresh from the springhouse, was an ever present comfort when the hot harvesters came up to the shade to blow after marching across a ten-acre field. There must be two or three fat, yearling steers to tide over the period from October to Christmas, when the pork season was closed. A considerable amount of beef must be on hands also at butchering time to mix with the pork to make the proper quality of sausage. Last, there must be enough milk to make a dozen or so cheeses the size of a half bushel, for there might be a scarcity of butter sometime during the winter.

Our farmer also kept a weather eye on his porkers. There must be at least fifteen good two-hundred pounders ready for the hog-killing, which happened along about Christmas. There was no special rush, for, in any emergency like quarterly meeting or a political rally, a couple of sheep or a shote or a yearling steer could be killed. But the porkers must bear the brunt of the burden. They were ready for fattening when two years old, until which time they followed the law of the range, root hog or die. Their master never failed, however, at weaning time to clip off the tip of an ear, cut a notch in it, bore a hole through it or make some other mark as an indication of his affection and ownership. After one month's feed-

ing on corn the fifteen or twenty chief porcine actors at the hog-killing festival, one of the big events in pioneer life, were ready for their debut. It would take a small volume to give all the details of the hog killing, pork-curing process—the killing, the sticking, the scalding, the hanging, rendering lard, making head cheese, sausage, salting the meat in tubs, smoking and finally preparing the hickory hams for the summer season. So skillful were they and so tasty was the finished product that even today some of the choicest products of modern packing houses are labeled country sausage or country-cured hams.

Space will not permit further descriptions of farm life activities, but we must take one hasty glance at the house work, that busiest and most characteristic part of the farm life. The woman's sphere in pioneer life was large and indispensable. Outside the house she, together with the children, looked after the sheep, caring for the lambs in the early spring, shearing the sheep, washing, picking, carding, spinning, reeling, winding, knitting, weaving and making the cloth into coverlets, blankets and clothing. In a large family, and all were large, this was an endless task, lasting from early morn till late bedtime every day in the year except Sundays. Very few persons now living have the knowledge and skill to do this routine work which every pioneer girl learned as a matter of course.

The geese, most perverse of animals, were under the complete jurisdiction of the women. It required a flock of two or three dozen to furnish the huge featherbeds and pillows that were such an attractive feature of the farm home. Besides this every child when married off was presented with a featherbed and four pillows. And many a baked goose found its way to the dinner table of our aristocrat. Enough chickens, say one hundred, had to be raised to furnish eggs for the cooking, and the women used eggs freely in making coffee, corn bread, cakes and especially for a breakfast fry in the early spring. It was the social law that chicken should form the *piece de resistance* at all church festivals and the preacher's predilection for fried chicken was known of all women.

While the men looked after the cattle in general, the milk cows came under the special charge of the women; milking,

straining, churning and dressing the butter was more than a mere pastime.

In the dining room and kitchen the wife was more than queen, she was sole monarch and together with her daughters was the whole working force. Providing for the table required a foresight beyond our conception at present. The grocery store was no assistance to her. She had to plan a year ahead. The men assisted with the work to a small degree, but the family mother furnished all information and gave the general directions. The father looked after the meat and bread, but beyond that his knowledge and skill were limited. Canning was not practiced but there was no end of preserves, apple, peach, quince, crab apple, water melon, and citron; jams, marmalade, jellies of all varieties, maple syrup and sorghum, dried fruits, green fruits stored in cellar, spice brush, sassafras, balsam, sage, alder blossoms, buckeyes, catnip, pennyroyal, ditna and scores of other things to be gathered, prepared and laid away, some to be used in cooking, others as medicines, others as charms, as flavors for soups, meats, or cake. It was a whole science in itself. The remembrance of such a home makes many of our old grandfathers, still lingering with us, long for the good old times in a way we cannot appreciate and which we therefore attribute to dotage.

The skill of the pioneers was not all expended on the endless routine of work. The social life was quite as distinctive as the farm work. Here again a valid distinction can be drawn between the Hoosier and his neighbor. Society in the upper circles of the Blue Grass aristocracy was not different from that among the southern planters. Ohio society was affected largely by the New England settlers. In Indiana before the war one found almost a perfect mixture of the pioneering races.

The farmers were essentially religious. Neither dancing, gambling, duelling, drunkenness, nor debauchery of any kind was countenanced by the best class, although of course all existed. The various church days such as Quarterly Meeting, Association, Yearly Meeting, Synod and above all the Camp Meeting were celebrated each in its way. The spelling match, literary, joint debate between preachers or politicians of op-

posite beliefs, the stump speaking, the barbecue, weddings, infares, charivaris, huskings, apple parings, shooting matches, horse races were the commoner forms of strictly social gatherings. Not one of the above has been outlawed or discounted in the half century since they were so largely in vogue.

Having pictured in a brief way the pioneer life let us analyze it. In the first place it was an open society to all who had the merit to belong. If the man and his wife had the ability to build up a home of this description they were by that token welcomed into the social neighborhood provided their morality was up to a tolerable standard. Democrats, Whigs, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Universalists mingled in good fellowship. In fact, they admired the one who could lay on the cudgels with force in a political or sectarian controversy. Pedigree, politics, religion, or even wealth availed little without morality, open door hospitality and the means of good living. Education was not necessary, though a man was expected to be able to read his Bible, his county newspaper (usually borrowed) and understand preachers and stump speakers. This latter was not always a very severe test. In other words this aristocracy was very democratic.

Again, all this abundant activity was for the home. Could one of these old pioneers come back to us now we may imagine with what surprise he would ask us how we became bondsmen of this unsparing master we call the market. We raise our chickens for the market, our butter is prepared for the market, our corn, our cattle, our hogs, our apples, all, everything are prepared for this all-consuming monster. Even worse, our schools are preparing our children for the market and to the market they go and the farms are following. In the pioneer days the hickory hams were prepared for the table; the last loving touch was given to the jelly and the marmalade that it might grace and flavor a Sunday dinner when the folks were all at home. The feather beds mounted step-ladder high so that the children might find none better in any hotel in the city. Everything lured to the home and conspired to keep one there. The four fireplaces in the old log house did not so much add to the market price as to the comfort of the folks. From 1800 to 1860 the pioneers built up a

great home civilization. The cities were mean and dirty in comparison. From 1860 to the present the emphasis has gone to the city until it bids fair to rob the country of every attractive feature.

Another striking contrast between that society and ours of today is in its organization. The individual was emphasized then, the community now. If there was superiority in the house or farm it was due to the man or woman or both who owned it. The pioneer aristocrat could say of everything about him, "these are mine," and of most of them, "I made them." Beginning with the State government he could say of every institution with which he came in contact, "this is part of my handiwork. There is no office here but what I can fill." Coming down to his farm, he made practically all the furniture from the fence rails to the sideboard. Except for a little iron on his plow and wagon, and the wheels of his wagon and carriage he was the sole author of his line of farming implements. He, at his home, might sit down to a sumptuous feast with the preacher, the judge and the colonel all present and listen to their words of praise and their eloquent deeds of praise, conscious that every article on the table from the mutton roast to the jelly cake came from the farm which he owned and operated. As a result of this a strong individualism prevailed. Each farm was an economic unit, all but independent. There was great satisfaction to the farmer in this condition and a satisfied, prosperous farming class is a fair basis for a good society.

Not being organized on a money-making basis our pioneer society gave much more opportunity for leisurely reflection than we have at present. These were the days when the neighbors, in Platonic style, gathered at the country store and discussed all possible questions. There was time for checkers and horse shoes, for hard cider and long green.

There was predestination and original sin to be discussed, as well as the signs for a cold or open winter. There was the latest cure for rheumatism, the latest concoction of bitters struggling for recognition in good society.

These same folks who stood speechless in the presence of the grandeur of nature planted their cucumbers when the sign was in the arm so they would grow long; planted their

potatoes in the dark of the moon so they would not all grow to tops; knew that if the new moon lay on its back the month would be dry; carried buckeyes in their pockets to keep off rheumatism; carried the left front foot of a rabbit killed in a graveyard in the dark of the moon for good luck; butchered their hogs in the dark of the moon lest when the pork was fried it all go to grease; believed that if a child were born when the sign was in the stomach he would be hearty; if the sign was in the head he would be wise; if it clung to a pencil when first presented to it it was destined to a noble professional career. All nature was full of personal significance, full of signs and potents to their superstitious minds. But this characteristic must not be passed over too lightly. Many of these signs and sayings were based on long and careful observations. Their weather prognostications took the place of the present weather bureau reports and at least were quite as accurate. Most of the prudential sayings which Franklin printed in his almanac and which have since passed for proverbs were the folk lore of the thrifty German peasants, the Pennsylvania Dutch. A large majority of their small superstitions had kernels of wisdom concealed in the cores. There were special days for special deeds, many of them determined by the phases of the moon or the zodiacal sign.

The whole pioneer atmosphere was charged with a mysterious element somewhat akin to religion and somewhat akin to superstition. They were not a scientific people. Their civilization was built on experience, carefully treasured up and most curiously translated. There were no sufficient means for determining the facts and their so-called reasoning without the facts led to no valid conclusions.

In central Indiana there located a physician, a graduate of Yale, energetic and skillful. He kept two fine, fleet, black horses. His skill so far surpassed that of the neighboring herb doctors that it became mysterious. Members of the family almost held their breath as the silent mysterious physician entered the house, ungloved his hand, passed it over the hot face of the patient, felt the pulse, issued out the tiniest bit of magical powder and was gone. Some saw him sweep by in the moonlight without sound or motion, others heard the click of his horse's hoofs but saw nothing as he passed by in

the night on the wings of the storm, riding his black charger, always going as if pursued. He was a wizard. There was no doubt.

From a personal standpoint their philosophy was broadly humanitarian. Individuals might differ in endowments or wealth, but each bore the impress of the Deity and thus was entitled to respect. This conception had far-reaching consequences. It made slavery impossible, prevented any deep class distinctions, made public schools possible, and laid a broad foundation for Jacksonian Democracy. In social life it made the difference between Emerson and Lincoln, between the man who fastens his eye on a distant goal and crushes on through the wreck and ruin of hopes and lives to its consummation, and the man who shapes his life to afford the greatest pleasure to himself and neighbors without much regard to the fulfillment of his own self-appointed destiny.

Politically, their philosophy was most curious and their conduct contradictory. Long and bitter experience had made them distrustful of government either in the church or the state. Unlike the Puritans and Cavaliers and all other civilized peoples of their time, they conceded no divinity to laws or courts. If the law measured up to their sense of justice they enforced it, if the court meted out substantial justice they obeyed it. If the law was otherwise it remained a dead letter, if the court failed they called in Judge Lynch and the halter strap. Not swift to transcend the law, but certain if the provocation continued. In contradiction, they gave their full strength to America in the Revolution, not so much because they loved America as that they hated England. They fought the military part of the war of 1812 largely in gratification of their enmity toward England and the Indians, and finally they saved the United States in the Civil War not because they hated the South, but because they loved the Union. A strange and happy transformation in the attitude toward the government has come about since our folks engaged in the Whiskey Rebellion, wrote the Kentucky Resolutions, intrigued with Spain and encouraged Burr. Each recognized within himself great political capacity, such that he would willingly undertake to hold any office he could get, from postmaster to congressman. This confidence was inspired by the fact that

he and his neighbors had organized the government both state and local. All the institutions around him were his own handiwork, the product of his mind and hand. He wanted all the education he could get for himself and children, but he paid his taxes grudgingly.

Economically he liked to picture himself self-sufficient and wholly independent. His ideal was a farm which furnished him all the necessaries of life. He opposed the state or United States bank because the bank was too powerful. He could not meet it on the level. He preferred a canal to a railroad because on the canal he could launch his own boat and come and go independently of any other power. On a railroad he would have to accommodate his needs to another man's pleasure. He was in his glory floating down the Mississippi with a flatboat load of produce, dickering with the plantation owners on the coast. Even thus abroad he maintained the natural simplicity of his life, not avaricious, not a close bargainer but reveling in his freedom to buy or sell as he pleased. He made a spectacle as he ambled along the levee or in the fashionable streets of New Orleans or even Cincinnati, with his pants legs hooked over the inside ear of his boots. He was such a robust animal himself he couldn't help but pity the whole world except his own neighbors in Indiana.

Such in brief was the old society in Indiana. It demanded of its political and clerical servants obedience and we might profit by the same practice. It developed a capable, all-round, independent citizenship with some good qualities and some bad. It developed a type of rural home life which it made attractive. Finally, it laid a heavy emphasis on individual worth and integrity, an emphasis we seem to need at present.

The Underground Railroad in Monroe County

By HENRY LESTER SMITH, Ph.D., Bloomington, Ind.

AS has been the case in too many questions of historical interest, particularly those having only a local bearing, so in the case of the Underground Railroad in Monroe county, no record has been preserved from which an account could be written. This question has been neglected, until now there are very few people living who have any first hand information to give.

The source of the material for this paper, therefore, has been largely the statements of people who remember the stories told by those who were actually engaged in aiding runaway slaves to escape to Canada. An attempt has been made to check any errors that may have slipped in through a lapse of memory by comparing the statements of several different individuals concerning each particular bit of information. Particularly was this method used in connection with the story of "Tony," about whom more will be stated later in the paper. Documents, newspaper clippings, and letters bearing on the subject of the Underground Railroad I was unable to find. About a dozen people were consulted who remember something about specific instances of aid offered to runaways, but I was able to find only three people who had actually taken part in the escape of slaves. These persons were W. C. Smith, who was rather intimately connected with several cases, T. N. Faris, who helped escort to safety the last runaway that passed through this section, and Thomas Kilpatrick, who was one of several into whose custody was placed a negro that was escaping by way of a Monon train.

Generally speaking, the people of Monroe county were rather luke-warm in regard to escaping slaves. They weren't actively engaged one way or the other. The small group of people that was actively engaged in aiding fugitives came originally from South Carolina. Some of them were influenced to

move from South Carolina largely because of the slavery question. In fact, the church with which they were connected, the Reformed Presbyterian church, was undergoing a rupture, one of the factors of which was the question of holding slaves. The break in the church came in 1833. Those who remained in the church were staunch Abolitionists and many of them who had not already left South Carolina before that time left then. Many, however, had noticed the drift of things, and had moved before the break came. Monroe county, Indiana, was one of the stopping places. Several of these people entered land in Monroe county, as early as 1816. From that time on they continued to arrive until a few years before the Civil War. When the split in the church came in 1833 there were in Monroe county members of both factions. Two churches resulted from the rupture. Among the people here, though the slavery question was not a paramount issue in the break-up, practically all were agreed on the slavery question, so they continued to work together in the interests of Abolition.

The main motive actuating the majority of those who aided escaping slaves in this community then was a religious motive. That accounts for the persistency with which they carried on their work and for the risks they ran in performing what they considered their duty.

Among those in the vicinity of Bloomington who took the most active part in aiding escaping slaves were Thomas Smith, James Clark, Rev. J. B. Faris, John Blair, Samuel Gordon, Samuel Curry, William Curry, Robert Ewing, John Russell, D. S. Irvin, W. C. Smith, T. N. Faris, Austin Seward, and John Hite, while they didn't take an active part, were nevertheless in sympathy with the people who were doing the work, and thus encouraged and supported the cause. The greatest activity of all of these men was between the dates of 1845 and 1860. Many of them were active only a few years before 1860. Thomas Smith and James Clark were leaders in the movement from the very beginning.

The leading "slave catchers," as they were called, who were active in this community were William and Jess Kersaw and Cornelius Mershon through the entire period, and Isaac and James Adkins during the latter part of the period.

The first station immediately south of the Bloomington station was at Walnut Ridge, a few miles this side of Salem, Indiana. There were some Reformed Presbyterians at that place who were interested in aiding slaves to escape. Rev. J. J. McClurkin, who was pastor there for a while, was active in the cause. Isaiah Reed, a member of the congregation there, came to Bloomington several times with negroes. A great many people in that community harbored and fed the negroes while they stopped there for a rest, and for hiding. Farther south still, at Washington, Davies county, lived William Hawkins, colored, a son-in-law of Knolly Baker, a barber in Bloomington. Hawkins, being acquainted as he was with the people of Bloomington who would help the negroes, gave the negroes directions and assistance on their journey north toward Bloomington. In the early days of the Underground Railroad the first station north of Bloomington was at Mooresville, a Quaker settlement. A little later on some Reformed Presbyterians moved near Morgantown and after that Morgantown became an intermediate station between Bloomington and Mooresville. At Morgantown James Kelso and John Cathcart took charge of the negroes. Mr. Cathcart usually harbored them until an opportunity could be found to take them to Mooresville. Mr. Kelso took the negroes from Morgantown to Mooresville. He sometimes even came to Bloomington to help negroes through to Morgantown. Generally, however, the Bloomington people looked after that part of the work.

The negroes usually made their escapes during the summer time or the fall, because they could get their food easily, being able to live on fruits and thus avoid stopping at houses where they might be detected and captured. Occasionally, however, they came through in the winter time. The case of Joel Bee is the most striking example of this kind, and for that reason the story is given as complete as I have been able to work it out.

Joel Bee had made his way north as far as Salem and after passing that town, which was always considered a dangerous one for negroes, he found himself at the break of day in a corn field. It was a little cold and he longed to go to a farm house, but considered such action too dangerous and

decided to hide in a corn shock. Later in the morning men came out and began shucking corn. Nearer and nearer they approached him so that it was impossible for him to shift his position, to walk about and get warm. He sat quiet so long that his feet were frozen. More than that, he barely escaped being discovered. The huskers were gradually approaching the shock he was in. About noon they began on the one next to him. Before they finished it, however, Joel was delighted to hear the dinner bell ring and to see the men leave their work for dinner. During the noon hour he escaped to a nearby woods where he stayed until night. At dark he began his painful journey north, crippling along on frozen feet. He finally made his way to Samuel Gordon's, three miles south of town, the first stopping place near Bloomington, for practically all runaways. As was customary, because of the fact that Mr. Gordon's house was rather public, being on the road, he took Joel the same night of his arrival to Thomas Smith's, two miles southeast of Bloomington. Here Joel Bee stayed for several weeks until his feet were cured. Dr. Joseph Mc-Pheeters, Thomas Smith's doctor, doctored the negro and kept quiet the fact that he was being harbored there. During the stay of the negro, J. C. Smith, who was at that time attending Indiana University, taught him to read and write. Later on, after he reached Canada, he wrote back here telling about how he was getting along. He also wrote to some friend in the South directing how his wife and child might find their way north. Some time later they came through bearing the letter with them. The letter was written so that it could not be understood except by some one who had known the writer. The mother and child stayed with Thomas Smith until they could be conveniently sent on. They were brought here from Washington by Hawkins, the colored man who had friends in the South and had married a Bloomington woman through whom he became acquainted with the people here who would aid slaves to escape.

Adkins watched closely for Joel Bee when he went through here but he failed to find him. Joel Bee stayed here longer than the most of the slaves although on one occasion when it was for some reason or other difficult to find the time or means to take them on their way, two stayed at Robert

Ewing's two or three weeks, and helped him harvest. They were frightened most of the time because on their way up here one of them had, in a quarrel, hacked a man with a corn knife and they thought the man's friends might be after him. The best record for time that was ever made was made by a negro named Britton, who was just three days on the road between his Kentucky home and Canada.

The following are a few experiences that have been related to me. They throw some additional light on the situation. Rev. James Faris, who took a very active part in the Underground Railroad business in Monroe county, was initiated into the work in South Carolina in a way that would have discouraged most men from continuing it. While a young man teaching school in South Carolina, he witnessed an auction. One slave that was to be sold learned that Mr. Faris had some money and begged so hard that finally Mr. Faris agreed to purchase him and take him to Philadelphia, where Mr. Faris was to enter the seminary and where the negro was to work and pay him back.

The trade was made. The following is a copy of the terms of the sale:

HOPEWELL, S. C., Nov. 29, 1819.

Sold to Mr. James Faris my negro man Isaac, for six hundred dollars, and I do hereby warrant and defend the property of the said negro man Isaac to the said James Faris his heirs and assigns forever.

(Signed) A. PICKENS

(Seal)

I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Faris for the privilege of making this copy from the original, which he has in his possession. The negro proved to be a rascal and ran away shortly after reaching Philadelphia. Later on Mr. Faris had a family by the name of Crassen willed to him, by a man in South Carolina, who wanted to free them, but could not because of the South Carolina law. Mr. Faris brought this family of five or six to Indiana and freed them here. For several years after they were freed, Mr. Faris held himself responsible for them and looked after their welfare.

Through Mr. James Blair I was able to gather some of the experiences his father, John Blair, had in connection with the Underground Railroad. Mr. John Blair was particularly interested in this work for a few years just previous to the

Civil War. On one occasion Kersaws had a colored woman and child just below the depot somewhere. The Abolitionists did not know just how to get them away, so they arranged for Mr. Blair, whose Abolition tendencies were not at the time known to Kersaws, to go to Kersaw's and ask for some money that one of them owned him. Kersaw told him that he could pay it the next day, that a man was coming up on the morning train from Louisville to claim a colored woman and child that he was holding in custody, and that as soon as he got his reward, he would gladly settle. The next morning Mr. Blair was at the station and was taken in by Kersaw to help watch the woman and child. Kersaws felt safe because they thought they realized that Mr. Blair was financially interested. During the wait a fight began which was not a rare occasion at that time. Kersaws left their charge with Mr. Blair and went to see the fight. In the meantime Mr. Blair succeeded in letting the mother and child escape into the hands of some of the Abolitionists that were in waiting and when Kersaws returned Mr. Blair upbraided them for leaving the whole task to him, claiming that he had had too much to do. "You've played smash," he complained. "I had too much to watch and they got away." At another time Mr. Blair was passing Aunty Myrears' residence on the site of the present electric light plant. Aunty Myrears' was the place in town that negroes were run in for safety. She saw Mr. Blair passing, and according to previous understanding sent a negro to follow him. The negro was so anxious that he kept gaining ground and getting too close for Mr. Blair's comfort. Walk as fast as he could, however, he could not keep in the lead and was finally overtaken by the time he reached the present site of the Monon Stock Yards. By that time the negro could contain himself no longer and cried out, "Massy, Massy, how far is it to Canada?" Mr. Blair directed him to the Robinson farm where John Russell met him and later took him to Ewing's.

W. C. Smith, who, of all persons yet living, had the closest connection with the work of the Underground Railroad, related a great many experiences that he had personally. Among them was the following:

On one occasion a negro came through by himself and

got to Thomas Smith's. Isaac Adkins had heard of his arrival but had been unable to locate him. He set his forces to watching in the hope that they might get a glimpse of him. In the meantime, Adkins went to Louisville presumably to find someone to claim him. He failed to come back that night, so Thomas Smith became a little uneasy and sent his son, W. C. Smith, down there the next day to watch. He got as far as New Albany and located Adkins and his crowd there, so he stayed around until he learned that they were not coming to Bloomington until the next train. Someone of the Adkins crowd was drinking and noticing Will Smith he remarked for his benefit that they would get that nigger or kill someone trying. Mr. Smith concluded that he would be at least as safe with a weapon as without one, so he crossed the street and bought a Colt revolver. That quieted things down in a little bit. Coming up on the train things came near breaking out again. The Adkins proposed a vote on the presidential candidates. Will Smith, to avoid trouble, voted for Filmore. Only one voted for Fremont. They were about to put this one off the train, but because of the conductor's remark that just one would not amount to much, and also because Will Smith voted unexpectedly for Filmore to avoid their trap they quieted down. The rest of the trip to Bloomington was made without excitement. Thomas Smith met the train at the depot and later succeeded in transferring the negro to Robert Ewing's. No one ever suspected Robert Ewing of harboring slaves. The Adkins crowd stayed around several days before giving up the hunt, but they failed to find their negro.

It was customary at that time to put advertisements in the papers in regard to runaway slaves. Sometimes the advertisements would be accompanied with the picture of "the nigger" running away, and the reward that would follow his capture. Frequently this advertising was done by large posters which were scattered through the country. The reward was paid as soon as the negro was delivered to Louisville. The statement was made to me by two individuals that in at least a few instances when the negro proved not to be the right one he was sold anyway to pay for the expense of his capture.

Among the white families with which runaway negroes usually stayed in this community were those of Thomas

Smith, Robert Ewing, and John Blair (and Mrs. Myrears, colored). They did not often stop at Sammy Gordon's or the Faris' as they lived directly on the road.

THE STORY OF TONY

Toney was a negro who escaped from his master in Kentucky and undirected made his way to Monroe county where he was caught by the Kersaws one Saturday night. James Clark, an elder in the Presbyterian church, found out about the capture the following morning on his way to church, and sent word by Tommy Moore to Thomas Smith, who lived two miles in the country southeast of town. Mr. Smith came to town and together with Mr. Clark secured a writ authorizing them to take Tony from the Kersaws. At that time the Kersaws lived on the east side of the square where the Wiles Drug Store is at present located. Their place of business was in the marble work shop on the site where the old Presbyterian church used to stand. The trial for the possession of Tony took place before Judge David McDonald. The negro was free; after which he went into the Kersaw house to get his bundle of clothes, and while there he was persuaded by the Kersaws that Mr. Smith and Mr. Clark were trying to get possession of him, not for the purpose of trying to get him through to Canada, but for the purpose of taking him back to the South. The Kersaws promised him that if he would stay with them they would take him through to Canada. Mr. Smith and Mr. Clark failed to get possession of Tony, as the Kersaws would allow no one to come around their house. In the meantime the judge had disappeared and could not be found. Some students, originally from the South, had by this time joined the Kersaws, and had threatened to shoot anyone who made an attempt to enter the Kersaw house. One of the students was from Alabama and his father was a slave holder in that State. Finally the feeling got so high that a group of the students decided to attack Mr. Smith and Mr. Clark, but were persuaded from their purpose by Austin Seward, who told them that these men stood too high in the community

to be shot down without involving a great many people in the shooting affray. Mr. Smith and Mr. Clark finally went home leaving the negro in the possession of the Kersaws.

Early Monday morning the Kersaws started with Tony towards Louisville. Tony noticed the direction in which they were going and began to feel that he had been duped. He racked his brain to remember what Sammy Gordon had told him just after the trial before he went to the Kersaws for his bundle of clothing. Mr. Gordon had felt that there was some danger that the Kersaws might fool the negro and had consequently instructed Tony that if ever he got into trouble again and wanted protection to come to the Gordon home. He described the place, a one story log cabin with a two story brick at the end of it, a few miles south of Bloomington. The negro was told to snap the large gate latch and Mr. Gordon would understand the signal and would come out and take him in. The negro remembered this house since he had passed by it when he first came to Bloomington.

The Kersaws proceeded southward with Tony until they finally came to the residence of Mr. Fleener, the father of Nick Fleener, a few miles north of Salem. By that time the negro was tired since he was unused to riding, and with weariness as an excuse he went to bed early. During the night Tony heard Mr. Fleener urging the Kersaws to tie him. They argued, however, that they could take Tony anywhere and that he had all the confidence in the world in them and they would rather not arouse his suspicions. Tony immediately planned to escape, but he did not wish to make the attempt without his clothes, so he decided to wait until morning. The next morning he watched his chance and while his captors were not looking he slipped into a nearby cornfield and made his way into the woods where he stayed until night. At nightfall he started north again and two or three nights later made his way back to the Gordon's. The Kersaws finally tracked him to Gordon's but before they discovered that he had been there some of them reconnoitered about Thomas Smith's place east of town. That very fact warned Mr. Smith that Tony had escaped and immediately guards were stationed to be on the lookout for him to protect him. Mr. Gordon brought Tony to Mr. Smith's the same night that he reached the Gordon farm,

and Mr. Gordon was back home before daylight the following morning. Tony was kept at the home of Mr. Smith for over a week. W. C. Smith, Thomas Smith's son, was not let into the secret, but he noticed the following day that his father and his uncle, Mr. Curry, as they were putting up hay would frequently go back to the rear part of the loft, so he decided to see what was back there and discovered Tony.

For several days the Kersaws stayed about the place on the pretext of gathering blackberries. They had guards on all the roads and vowed that Tony would never escape. In the meantime Mr. Kelso, from Mooresville, had been notified and arrangements were made whereby Mr. Smith was to deliver Tony to him at a point north of town as agreed upon through correspondence. The time for delivering Tony came to hand. The ways of escape were guarded. Finally two wagons were loaded, one a covered wagon with the ends closed, which was driven by Mr. Curry, the other Mr. Smith drove, which was an open wagon filled with sacks of grain. Tony was in this wagon under the sacks. Mr. Smith and Mr. Curry started towards town. Mr. Smith drove his team up to the square and began to mingle with the people, and especially with those whose curiosity had been aroused by the covered wagon. Mr. Curry had intentionally looked a little guilty and driven somewhat nervously through the town and out east towards Unionville and Morgantown. After he got a short distance from Bloomington some of the pickets reported that he was whipping up his horses and before long he was followed by a crowd of Kersaw sympathizers. He was finally overtaken but nothing was found in the wagon. In the meantime Mr. Smith unhitched his horses from where they had been and started north. As it was in the dry season and there were no mills here the farmers had to take their grain away; and in view of the fact that the suspicion was directed towards the Curry wagon, no one suspected the negro's being in the wagon driven by Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith proceeded unmolested, delivered Tony to Mr. Kelso at the designated point, and proceeded to the mill. No one ever discovered how the negro escaped. Some even decided that he had never returned to Bloomington, and consequently was not at the Smith residence when it was being watched.

Reviews and Notes

Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860, A Study in Industrial History, By ROLLA MILTON TRYON, Assistant Professor of the Teaching of History, University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1917; pp. xii, 413. Price \$2.00 net.

DR. TRYON might have called his volume the barometer of progress. In general household manufactures in the United States rose among the thriftier classes of our population, indicating by their rise with fair accuracy the place and rate of progress. Likewise, in their decline they indicate with equal accuracy the growing wealth and culture. The phenomenon is not different from the taking on and casting off of a new fashion, or the coming and going of a new farm implement. At one time it is a badge of progress, at another it is the opposite. Household manufactures also, as Dr. Tryon points out, characterized certain racial groups, the Puritans, Dutch, Germans and Scotch being leaders. Certain economic conditions also had much to do with the prevalence of household manufactures. Small farms, large families, and remoteness from markets, one or all, were accompanying conditions.

Such is the theme of the book. The author has done his work thoroughly, basing his brief comment on a vast amount of data. He has necessarily used a great many terms, common in the old days, but long since passed out of everyday use, just as have the things themselves. A glossary, such as one finds in an edition of Burns or Chaucer, would not be amiss.

The story is a modest, homely one and in these times of war will not be read as widely as it merits. What lessons the story has for us is problematical. Whether a partial return to these old customs or a further discarding is preferable are questions of discussion at present. It is a question of emphasizing the old-fashioned, all-round type of individuality, or the narrow expert; it is a contest between the home and community units. Whatever the result of these the volume of Dr. Tryon will help to clarify the issues. It will also be found valuable in manual training work in schools where emphasis is laid on the historical development of industry.

Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan, A Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula During the Territorial Period, 1805-1837. By GEORGE NEWMAN FULLER, Ph.D., Lansing; 1916, pp lxxii+ 630.

DR. FULLER has divided his subject into ten chapters, as follows: Physical Conditions, General Influences, the Eastern Shore, the First Inland Counties, St. Joseph Valley and Chicago Road, Kalamazoo and Valley and Territorial Road, the Saginaw Country, the Grand River Region, Source and Character of Population, and Conclusion. The text is fully illustrated by maps and amply fortified with references. The wide interest in the history of Old Detroit gives the volume more than a local importance. From 1700 to 1815 Detroit was the French and English capital of all the western country. As such it belongs to the whole northern Mississippi valley. Also in Governor Lewis Cass the author has a character well-known nationally for almost half a century. Detroit, after the opening up of the country to settlement, was the center of immigration and commerce. Highways from it led west to Chicago and south into Indiana, making it the commercial center for the pioneer trade just as it had been for a century of the Indian trade. The author has confined himself, as the title indicates, to the civil side of history. The Indian, French and English wars that frequently devastated the lower peninsula are not mentioned. Of special interest is the chapter on the source and character of the population. "The Irish were the leading foreign element, with the English and the Germans close rivals. Scotch and Canadians were few. New York led in the native population, with New England close." Foreigners made up 27 per cent, New Yorkers 37 per cent, New Englanders 21 per cent, others 8 per cent. These conclusions are based on a single typical county, Washenaw, directly west of Detroit. The volume is well-written, the author has taken advantage of all available material and has produced a book that will supplement and supersede the other histories such as those of Campbell, Cooley, Farmer, Lanman and Sheldon.

THE *Minnesota History Bulletin* for February, 1917, has an article and some documents on the Genesis of the Republican party in Minnesota; also a contribution to the "Rune Stone" literature, by Charles C. Wilson.

THE *Bulletin* for May has an article on the Monroe Doctrine and the War, by Carl Becker; one on Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work, by Franklin F. Holbrook. This last paper was read at the Chicago meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 26-28, 1917. Mr. Holbrook is making a county survey of Minnesota for the Minnesota State Historical Society.

THE *Nineteenth Biennial Report of the Minnesota Historical Society* covers the years 1915 and 1916. The activity of the Society for the two years was centered around the construction of its magnificent new archive building. The society has 509 members.

THE *Indiana Medical Journal*, March, 1917, has an article by G. C. Graves, on Biblical Medicine; in the April number is an editorial on Shakespeare as Doctor. In the same number is a letter by Dr. John S. Bobbs, written from Washington, July 22, 1861, to Governor Morton, commenting on the Battle of Bull Run.

THE *Sixth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission* shows remarkable historical activity in that State. Few if any States are making more progress in the collection and publication of their local history than North Carolina.

Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina for 1916 besides the record of its activities for the year has a paper on the Marion Family, dealing largely with its genealogy. Another timely article in the same number is the Influence of Religious Persecution on Huguenot Colonization, by Alexander R. Lawton. The society has a large membership, 566, located in all parts of the world.

Wisconsin Historical Publications, Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting, besides the annual official rec-

ords, has three historical papers of especial interest to Indiana readers. The first is a paper by Arthur L. Conger on President Lincoln as a War Statesman; the second by Joseph B. Thoburn, on the career of Nathaniel Pryor, a native of Kentucky or Virginia and one of the explorers of the country west of the Mississippi; the third, by William C. Cochran, on The Dream of a Northwest Confederacy. The last paper contains a considerable amount of local Indiana history, based almost entirely on Foulke's *Life of Morton*.

Smith College Studies in History, April, 1917, deals with the Development of the Power of the State Executive, by Margaret C. Alexander. This study is based on New York State but applies very well to any of the States.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July, 1917, has two articles of special significance for Indiana. John E. Briggs writes on the Enlistment of Iowa Troops During the Civil War; and Ruth A. Gallaher writes on the Military Indian Frontier, 1830-1835. The latter paper was read at the recent meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Chicago.

THE *Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1917, has two articles that should appeal to Indiana readers: one by Rev. Charles L. Sonvay, C. M., on Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis (1827); the other by Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, L.L.D., on Catholic Pioneers of the Oregon country.

THE *Journal of Negro History* for July, 1917, contains a twenty-page article, by Dr. H. N. Sherwood, of LaCrosse, Wisconsin, entitled the Formation of the American Colonization Society. The paper was read at the last meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Chicago. Dr. Sherwood has done considerable work along this line. In Volume II, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, is another article by him. The article is written from original records gathered from all parts of the world.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* for 1917 contains six historical papers, all of wide interest; Missouri's Centennial, by W. B. Stevens; Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade, by F. F.

Stephens; *Missourians Abroad*, by Ivan L. Epperson; *A State Flower for Missouri*, by Marie L. Goodman; *Adair County Historical Society*, by E. M. Violette; and *How Missouri Counties, Towns and Streams Were Named*, by David W. Eaton.

THE *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for June, 1917, has a considerable number of documents relating to the San Domingo Refugees who fled to Philadelphia during the uprisings at the close of the eighteenth century. These are edited by Jane Campbell. There is also a continuation of Father Peter Helbron's Register of Baptisms at Greensbury, Pennsylvania, 1812-1827.

THE *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1917, has three historical articles: *The Doukhobars in Canada*, by Elna Thorsteinson; *Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865*, by James R. Robertson; and *Historical Activities in the Old Northwest*, by Arthur C. Cole.

THE *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* made its initial appearance on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, 1917. It is a welcome addition, doubly welcome if it will make known to history all the wealth of the old Cabildo's papers. Most of the first number is taken up with the Western Boundary question. A great many documents on this and other subjects are given.

THE *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly*, July, 1917, contains the Indiana University Commencement address by Lucius B. Swift. The title is *America's Debt to England*. This is a timely and scholarly address. Besides this President William Lowe Bryan discusses the Function of the University; Dr. James A. Woodburn describes a Commencement in War Time; and Dr. S. B. Harding contributes an article on Lafayette and Our Debt to France.

History of the Civil War Military Pensions, 1861-1865, by John William Oliver. This is a doctoral thesis submitted to the history faculty of the University of Wisconsin and is printed as *Bulletin 844* of that university.

Mr. Oliver divides his subject into four chapters; the first is called the Civil War Decade, in which he outlines the

six pension laws enacted before congress adjourned in 1870. Chapter II deals with the Codification of 1873 and attempted reforms of the Pension system. Chapter III deals with the Arrears of Pensions Act 1879. Chapter IV is entitled Pensions and Politics. It seems that on the whole Mr. Oliver has taken too dark a view of the period. It was a period of poor public service, but the administration of the Pension Bureau was not worse than that of several others. Few bills passed congress in those days except they were backed by lobbies. Compared with the railroad lobby of that time the pension lobby was microscopic in size. The author has done well in citing many caustic remarks and editorials concerning the pension system, but he owed it to his subject to state boldly the underlying justice of pensions and especially of the Arrears Act of 1879.

New Constitution Text Book and Manual of Ready Reference, Prepared and published by the Citizens League of Indiana; paper; 165 pages, price 25c.

This pamphlet has all kinds of information, intended to be valuable to delegates to the lately deceased State Constitutional Convention. The Citizens League of Indiana was organized at Fort Wayne, August 1, 1914, to carry on an agitation for a constitutional convention. It has conducted a three year campaign by means of publications and speeches.

JUDGE ROSCOE KIPER is the author of a fitting little Patriot's Creed, which has been issued for private circulation.

THE "Centennial Ode of Dubois County," written by George R. Wilson, was printed in the *Huntingburg Independent*, July 28, 1917. The poem celebrates the first settlers of the locality.

STATE PUBLICATIONS

Fifth Annual Report of the Department of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices of Indiana, 1915-1916. GILBERT HENDREN, State Examiner.

THIS volume is not recommended for light summer reading, but for voters and taxpayers in general and public officers particularly it is the best the State puts out. The work of

this office, popularly known as the State Board of Accounts, falls under three heads. First, expert accountants audit the books of all agents in the State who expend public money; from the country squire to the governor. Detailed reports are given of each office examined, and if any crookedness or mistake is found suit is instituted, if necessary, to correct it. Second, there is carried on a publicity work by which all officers are kept informed not only of the laws governing their office, the prices of commodities to be purchased, but of approved uniform systems of bookkeeping. Third, a general propaganda for a higher grade of public service with less graft. This latter business, graft in the civil offices of the state, is rapidly disappearing. The department has published a number of pamphlets in the last two years for circulation among officers and citizens. The following are noticed:

Special Report of State Examiner, 1914, by GILBERT HENDREN. This is a brief description of the working of the office, the character of the deputies, scope and progress of the work. There were examined 6,522 offices; 1,650 public officials were made to restore public money. The department employs about forty field examiners.

Indiana Statutes Relating to Township Trustees: 171 pages, 1915. Gilbert Hendren.

Price List Guide to Trustees, pp. 61. Trustees paying more for supplies than the prices there listed were required to make good the difference. A revision of this was issued in 1916.

The Township Ditch Law, an address by George M. Crane, before the Township Trustees Association, December 9, 1915, 12 pages.

Analysis of the Appropriation Ordinance or County Budget, also the Compensation of County Officers, 1916, pp. 27. This is an official guide for county auditors and treasurers. A similar pamphlet entitled *Budget Classifications* was issued by Gilbert Hendren, September 1, 1916. This was an officers' manual defining terms used in standard accounting.

A pamphlet of 54 pages dated 1915 gives a list of officers to be investigated and the order of examination in each office. This is entitled *Uniform System of Examination*, prepared by the State Board of Accounts.

The last publication of the Department is a *Report of School House Ventilating and Heating and Rules on Public Building Contracts*, GILBERT H. HENDREN, 1917, pp. 33 and 8. This report was prepared by C. B. Veal, School of Mechanical Engineering, Purdue. It is a description and appraisal of the various systems with definitions of standard terms.

Biennial Report of the commissioner of Fisheries and Game of Indiana, for the Fiscal Years 1914, 1915; E. C. SHIREMAN, Commissioner; paper, pp. 100, illustrated.

THIS contains a report of the work done during the period. The principal activities have been in connection with Fish Hatcheries, Wild Bird Protection, Game Protection and Farm Fish Ponds. In connection with the last are several illustrations.

Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Indiana School for Feeble Minded Youth, for the year ending September 30, 1916. DR. GEORGE S. BLISS, superintendent, pp. 76.

THIS school is located near Fort Wayne. The attendance was 1,305, with 1,374 enrolled; an average of 15 from each county. The cost of maintenance was about \$140 per capita. This is conducted as a school with a farm and garden attached. The inmates make their own shoes, clothing and mattresses. A great deal of the time is spent in play.

Sixteenth Biennial Report Bureau of Statistics for 1915 and 1916. THOMAS W. BROLLEY, Chief of Bureau; cloth, pp. 881.

IT is almost useless to try to describe a volume of statistics. The first 46 pages are devoted to Licensed Employment Agencies. Then come Social Statistics, under subheads of Population, Citizenship, Marriage and Divorce, Coroner's

Inquests, Liquor Licenses, Option Elections, Congressional Enumeration, Registration and Election and Court Business. The third section from pages 240 to 562 is occupied with economic statistics. The fourth with Agricultural and the last two hundred pages are taken up by Reports from the County Agents appointed to assist in teaching agriculture and help farmers generally.

WHY THE UNITED STATES IS AT WAR

PRIZES TO INDIANA TEACHERS

STATE CONTEST.

The sum of \$300 has been placed at the disposal of the National Board for Historical Service, to be expended in prizes to the public school teachers of the State of Indiana for the best essays on the subject: **WHY THE UNITED STATES IS AT WAR.** It is intended that the treatment should be primarily historical in character, bringing out those facts of recent or remote history which seem to have a bearing on the question.

It is proposed to offer the prizes as follows:

Group A. For Teachers in Public High Schools.	Group B. For Teachers in Public Elementary Schools.
A FIRST prize of -----\$75	A FIRST prize of -----\$75
A SECOND prize of -----\$30	A SECOND prize of -----\$25
A THIRD prize of -----\$20	FIVE THIRD prizes of each, \$10
A FOURTH prize of -----\$15	
A FIFTH prize of -----\$10	

Essays submitted in competition for these prizes should observe the following conditions:

1. Typing is not required but essays must be legibly written on sheets securely fastened together, on one side of the sheet only.
2. Essays must not exceed three thousand words in length.
3. It is understood that many competitors will not have access to large libraries. In making the award, therefore, stress will be laid on the thorough and intelligent use of such material as may be found in a school or town library of moderate size or may readily be secured from various sources at little or no expense. Periodicals such as the New York Times CURRENT HISTORY OF THE WAR, LITERARY DIGEST, and REVIEW OF REVIEWS furnish useful surveys of current events and extracts from a considerable number of documents. THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE (McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia), especially the number for June, 1917, contains a number of good short articles and reading lists on the war. Several pamphlets, including the President's messages and other documents, may be had free on application to THE NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York, has printed official documents of the various governments issued in connection with the war and these may be had free on application. Some documents may also be secured from individual Congressmen.
4. In making the award in each group, the committee will give the preference to essays in which the subject is so treated as to be intelligible and interesting to pupils in the class of schools in which the writer is teaching.
5. Elaborate bibliographies and footnotes are not expected but each paper should be accompanied by a brief list of books, periodicals, and documents actually consulted. For the less obvious and familiar facts, brief references to the authorities should be made in footnotes.
6. All essays should be addressed to Waldo G. Leland, Secretary, National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Essays should NOT be signed, but each essay should be accompanied by a slip containing the name, address, and teaching position of the writer. The names of writers will not be communicated to the committees of award until after their awards have been made.
7. Essays must be received in Washington NOT LATER than 6 P. M. on Tuesday, January 1, 1918. The prizes will be awarded as soon thereafter as practicable.



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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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Published Quarterly

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, \$2.00 PER YEAR

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

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Single Number, 50 Cents.

Address all communications to the MANAGING EDITOR, BLOOMINGTON, IND.

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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XIII

DECEMBER, 1917

No. 4

Lincoln in Indiana

By J. EDWARD MURR

INDIANA UNCLE AND COUSINS

"When I send a man to buy a horse for me I expect him to tell me his points, and not the number of hairs in his tail."

The removal of Josiah Lincoln, uncle of the President, to Indiana was some four years prior to the admission of the State into the Union. It appears that he, like many others who lived in slave territory, hearing of the fine prospects in the "Indian country to the north," joined the tide of emigrants coming up from the south, and with no particular objective in view journeyed out into this wilderness, not knowing whither he went save that, in common with substantially all of the pioneers, he did not stop until the great oak forests in the hills were reached, where there was abundant, ever-flowing springs of clear water.

The location chosen was in Harrison county, where, at the little town of Corydon, was then located the seat of government of the territory, which four years after his arrival became the capital of the State. The land which he selected was originally covered with a heavy growth of timber, was well watered and doubtless was considered a good location by the pioneer; but it is now largely barren and comparatively valueless.

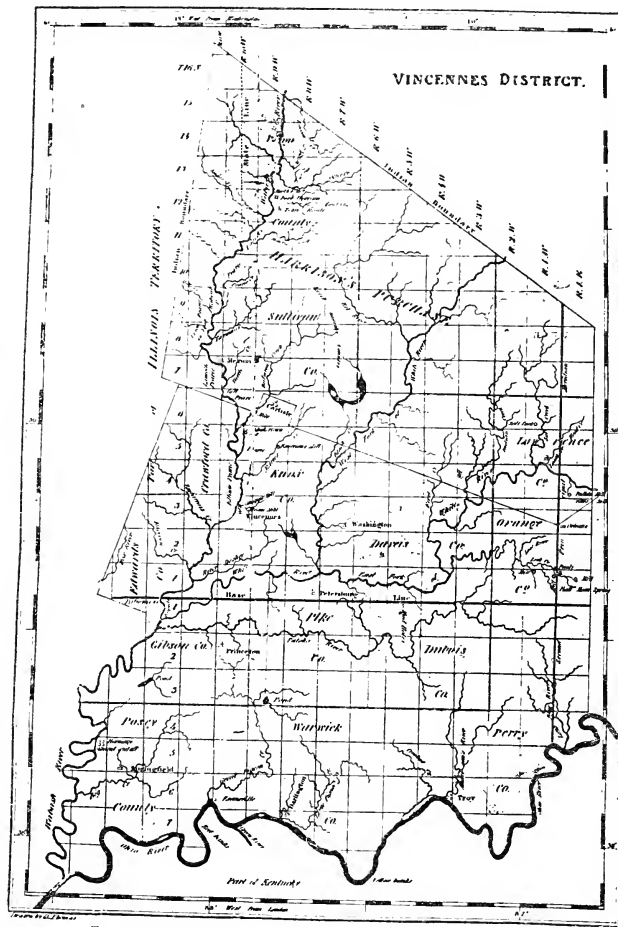
Thomas Lincoln, the father of the President and younger brother of Josiah, came on a visit to this section of the State

a short while prior to his own removal from Kentucky to Spencer county, Indiana. The inhabitants of the territory at the time of Thomas Lincoln's visit were looking forward to its early admission into the Union. It was while visiting his brother that Thomas Lincoln decided to seek a home in the wilderness of Indiana, making choice of a place a few miles farther west.

Comparatively little is known of Josiah Lincoln. However, what is remembered possesses at least some value as setting forth certain family traits. In personal appearance he somewhat resembled his brother Thomas, being rather rugged, compactly built, of dark complexion—as were all of his descendants. Moreover, he had a broad, hearty laugh and was given to story telling. The writer personally knew the older descendants of Josiah Lincoln, as well as those of the generation following.

All of the Lincolns in Indiana during the campaign of 1860 were Democrats and voted for Judge Douglas for President in preference to their illustrious kinsman, with the single exception of Benjamin. He was early influenced politically and otherwise by his mother's relatives, who were Republicans, and this accounts for the support given to his relative rather than any ties of consanguinity or mere family loyalty. Moreover, the larger portion of the younger Lincolns have ever been and are now Democrats. Only one of this branch of the family became a Civil war soldier, and he, Warden Lincoln, having volunteered and been mustered into the ranks under the excitement of the times, found occasion later, as claimed by some of his relatives, to express regret at having enlisted, but he made a good soldier, serving as a private. He had the misfortune of being taken prisoner and for a time was in Libby prison, but being later placed on Belle Isle, was exchanged and reached home. Doubtless, had it been known by those in authority at the prison that he was a cousin of the Abolitionist in the White House, he would not have been granted his freedom.

Mordecai and Joseph, brothers of Warden, were drafted. Mordecai, not desirous of personally serving, sent a substitute, while Joseph, entertaining the same attitude in the



matter, and not being possessed of sufficient means to obtain a substitute, took French leave, so his relatives assert, of Indiana and succeeded in eluding the authorities by repairing to the State of Illinois until after the close of hostilities. The political attitude of these Lincolns toward their kinsman in the White House, and their criticism of the conduct of the war by the administration, were in keeping with the attitude of many of their neighbors in southern Indiana, and indeed of many throughout the entire North.

Southern Indiana and southern Illinois, both having been very largely peopled from the South, it was not strange that there was a large element whose sympathies were favorable to the Southern Confederacy. But there were large numbers in both States, many of them friends and supporters of Judge Douglas, who were intensely loyal to the Union.

Illinois, however, was more fortunate than was Indiana in one very important particular, in that General John A. Logan, a Democrat up to the fall of Fort Sumter and for some time thereafter, resided in that section of the State, and being loyal to the flag wielded a salutary influence over his followers.

The southern portion of Indiana did not possess a leader of the prominence of Logan to turn the tide in favor of the Union in this crisis. There is small wonder that the Knights of the Golden Circle and kindred disloyal organizations flourished. But notwithstanding this, the majority of the soldiers who went out from first to last during the great war from southern Indiana were Democrats.

The writer's father was a Douglas Democrat, casting his vote for the "Little Giant" in preference to the "Railsplitter," and never manifested at any time any partiality for Lincoln. While he saw no military service, being an invalid, three of his brothers served the Union.

Practically all of the numerous descendants of Josiah Lincoln were and are rather short of stature, maintaining to the latest generation those characteristics manifested in their progenitor and which may be said to be distinctively Lincoln traits.

They almost uniformly have coarse black hair, dark eyes.

and somewhat given to humor which in certain instances has been quite marked. For the most part they have been small farmers, the exception being that two of them for a time, like their cousin Abraham, attempted to keep a general store, and it was attended with about as much success as was his venture—"it winked out." One of the younger generation, Joseph, the son of Mordecai, is an auctioneer, and he especially possesses some degree of wit and humor.

This branch of the President's family have always been regarded by their neighbors as good citizens, possessing splendid neighborly qualities. All of them have been, and are poor, yet honesty has ever characterized them. They have always had the reputation of being peaceful and inoffensive, possessing in substantially every instance a high sense of honor; and if any liberties were attempted with this, or intentional provocation in any form given, it was met with a challenge to a personal encounter. The absence of personal fear or cowardice is very marked among them and in certain ones there was a venturesome spirit. The writer well recalls hearing "Mord" Lincoln say: "My rule for fording Big Blue when she's on a tear is: watch for the hosses' ears and as long as I c'n see 'em I'm all right."

While none of the Indiana Lincolns possessed unusual physical strength or marked mental ability, yet they were generally hardy and rugged, and occasionally there was one who in the common schools gave evidence of possessing more than ordinary ability. However, their schooling has been confined to the grades in substantially every case.

They have maintained certain family names, such as Mordecai, Joseph, Thomas and Benjamin, but there has never been an Abraham among them, and it is highly probable that there never will be. It should be stated, however, that one son of Warden, who served in the Union army during the Civil war, is called "Abe," not by the family, but by his school-mates and others merely as a nickname.

During the Civil war when there were those in this section of the State accustomed to indulge in caustic criticism of the administration at Washington in conducting the war and of Mr. Lincoln in particular, calling him "the Black Abolitionist,"

etc., none of his Indiana relatives resented this, and while they did not agree with their kinsman in the White House politically, they refrained from indulging in the use of severe and clearly objectionable personal remarks themselves. Yet they were pleased rather than not when others pointed out mistakes of the administration.

After the close of the war they assumed an attitude of silence to the rising fame of the President, neither manifesting pleasure nor indicating any displeasure, and this attitude has been kept up to the present time; so much so, in fact, that in almost every instance when approached and engaged in conversation concerning the Great Emancipator they assume a listening attitude, apparently proud of the great fame of their kinsman Abraham, but loath to say anything themselves. The writer does not recall ever hearing an Indiana Lincoln indulge in any language that could by any possible construction be construed to mean a boast of his relationship to the President.

It may be said, therefore, that the attitude of this branch of the Lincolns toward the President is that they are proud of the fact that their kinsman became illustrious and made for himself a great name, but they are in every case quite content to look upon this in common with the millions, not desirous at all of receiving any notoriety by reason of their kinship to him. This rather exceptional disposition is not due to any petty jealousy, certainly not attributable to ignorance or any remnant of ante-bellum political prejudice, but is rather due to a distinctive family trait so remarkable as to be true of all of them; that is, they possess a mingled modesty and honesty which forbids undue personal exaltation or any disposition whatever to reap where they have not sown.

The political predilections of the Indiana Lincolns is not a thing to be regarded as at all strange or such as to occasion wonder, since the earlier members of the family, including Thomas, the father of the President, and even the President himself, were all Democrats in politics originally. Before his leaving Indiana for Illinois Abraham was a pronounced Jacksonian Democrat, priding himself in this, and John Hanks is the authority for saying that he offered to whip a man in Illinois soon after their arrival in that State who was speaking

rather disparagingly of Jackson. So pronounced was Lincoln's attitude during the Adams and Jackson campaign that some of the old pioneer friends recalled a couplet or two of a song that "Abe" and Dennis Hanks were in the habit of singing:

"Let auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind,
And Jackson be our President
And Adams left behind."

The manner of life of the older members of the Indiana Lincolns, their personal appearance, their contentment and indeed joy amid struggles with poverty, bear a marked similarity to that of Thomas, the father of the President, so that it may be said that their life was lived on a somewhat similar plane to his. Although the location of the President's boyhood home in Spencer county is but a few miles from where Josiah Lincoln settled and where may still be found many of his descendants, yet none of these has ever visited this section, and not one of them was present on the occasion of the unveiling of the Nancy Hanks Lincoln monument in the year 1902. Likewise, none of these Indiana relatives has ever made a pilgrimage to Springfield to see the grave of the President, or gone to the nation's capitol.

If there is discerned in the President's paternal relatives a reticence somewhat exceptional, as well as a disposition to avoid any accusation of desiring to take advantage of or in any way profit by the good fortune of a kinsman, it certainly stands out in bold contrast to the behavior of all of his maternal relatives, the Hankses, who straightway importuned Mr. Lincoln to befriend them on his accession to the presidency, a thing, however, which he failed to do. The Indiana branch of the President's family never so much as wrote him a letter or in any other way attempted to communicate with him for any assistance looking to the liberation of Warden Lincoln from a southern prison, where he was known to be undergoing all of the usual discomforts of prison life, perhaps suffering some indignities by reason of his name and blood.

In seeking to account for Mr. Lincoln's greatness it is therefore not at all necessary to resort to certain doubt-

ful expedients or envelop his fame in mystery, as some have been disposed to do. Such persons have gone to the extreme of lightly esteeming both his maternal and paternal ancestry, and have attributed his uncommon endowment to the example and influence of his stepmother, Mrs. Sally Bush Lincoln. Others, by reason of the obscure origin of his mother, Nancy Hanks, have supposed that his greatness is traceable to this source, and yet still others, going on the theory that it was necessary to have a great ancestry in order to account for such a remarkable man as was Mr. Lincoln, eagerly sought to trace some connection with the noted Lincoln family of the East, and when it became apparent that they were of common origin this was seized upon and became all that in their estimation had hitherto been found wanting.

The proper attitude concerning the matter, it seems, would be that Mr. Lincoln was indebted equally to both the Lincolns and the Hankses for certain well-known traits of his character, but since the Lincoln traits unquestionably predominated in him and his connection with the Massachusetts Lincolns has been established, the historian is relieved from the temptation of overshadowing his life with certain elements of mystery. For no matter what currents swept into his blood, and whatever in his character may be attributable to these, the fact remains that the President possessed those well-marked family characteristics, both physical and mental, so peculiar to the Lincolns.

LINCOLN'S POVERTY

A friend came to him to borrow a "biled" shirt. "I have only two," said Lincoln; "the one I have just taken off and the one I have on. Which will you take?"

The elder Abraham Lincoln, father of Thomas, appears to have been a man of passing wealth for that day. On his reaching Kentucky from Virginia in the year 1780, he entered on large tracts of land, and was apparently destined to prosper; but subjected as the pioneers were to the depredations of marauding Indians, he fell a victim to these vindictive and merciless foes in the year 1788. The story of the manner of his death and some of the attendant circumstances have often been related by biographers of his grandson.

This story was one of the legacies of pioneer days bequeathed to his sons by Josiah Lincoln. This and other stories, they allege, were often related by him about the fire-side on winter evenings, describing somewhat in detail this particularly tragic scene. He told of the father being shot and killed from ambush by the bloodthirsty savages while he was laboring in a clearing a short distance from the house, accompanied by his three sons, Mordecai, himself, and Thomas, the father of the President. When the shot was fired and the father fell, both Mord and Josiah immediately fled, Mord going to the house to secure a gun. Taking deliberate aim at an ornament on the breast of an Indian brave, who, with uplifted tomahawk, was in the act of dispatching his baby brother Thomas, he fired, killing him instantly. Josiah having left his brother Mord to the protection of the two sisters and his mother, ran for neighborly aid, which he straightway procured, and on their return all the Indians had departed, save a wounded one, who had crawled into the top of a fallen tree. No quarter was shown to this unfortunate, and while the circumstance produced in Mord such ungovernable hatred for the redskins as to cause him to slay them on the least provocation, or no provocation at all, ever afterward, yet it does not appear that it so affected either Thomas or Josiah.

Although the elder Lincoln possessed large tracts of land, yet the old law of primogeniture caused his entire estate to pass into the hands of his eldest son, Mord, who, it appears, did not in any way aid his brothers. He managed so poorly as to possess but little more than either Josiah or Thomas on the occasion of his removal from Kentucky, which date is not certain, but is known to have been after approaching old age.

At the time of the father's death in the year 1788, Thomas, the fourth child and youngest son, was ten years of age. Thus left fatherless at the same age that his illustrious son was bereft of a mother, he led a somewhat checkered career. He became more or less a wanderer, for we catch glimpses of him visiting and laboring as a "hired man" for his uncle Jacob on a tributary of the Holston river in Tennessee; then in Breckenridge county, Kentucky, where at one time he whipped

a noted bully in "just three minutes," coming out of the encounter without a scratch. In 1803, at the age of twenty-five, he purchased a farm, and in the year 1806 he was in Hardin county, learning the carpenter's trade with Joseph Hanks. His vagrant and wandering career had given him a plentiful supply of anecdotes and yarns, which it is said he could tell very cleverly, and which was perhaps one of the best, if not the only, trait ever certainly bequeathed by him to his son Abraham.

The father of the President has been described by numerous writers as being in person comparatively short and stout, standing five feet, ten inches in his shoes. His hair was dark and coarse, complexion brown, his face round and full, his eyes gray, and his nose large and prominent. He weighed at different times from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and ninety-six pounds. He was so "tight and compact" that Dennis Hanks declared, "he never could find the points of separation between his ribs, though he felt for them often." He was a little stoop-shouldered, and walked with a slow, halting step. He was sinewy and brave, but his habitually peaceable disposition once fairly overborne, he became a tremendous man in a rough-and-tumble fight.

At the time of his marriage to Nancy Hanks, June 12th, 1806, Thomas Lincoln could neither read nor write, an accomplishment that his wife possessed, thereby causing her to be esteemed and looked upon with more or less wonder by the illiterate pioneers. This circumstance, by way of contrast with her husband's deficiency in this and certain other things, unfortunately caused many of her son's biographers, in attempting to eulogize the wife and mother, to esteem lightly whatever of excellence Thomas Lincoln possessed.

It has been the fashion of many of these biographers of President Lincoln to speak disparagingly of his father, and no word in any caricature of his supposed shortcomings has been used more often than that of "shiftless." They have accused him of improvidence; made the occasion of his learning the carpenter's trade a mere pretext; and refused to allow that he was anything more than a pretender with tools after actually learning the trade and doing more or less work. They

have found fault with his lack of ambition. They charge him with inability to pay for a farm of some two hundred acres which he purchased at the age of twenty-five years, three years prior to his marriage. They have professed to see in his three removals in Kentucky, his going from that State to Indiana, thence to Illinois, and two or three changes of location in that State, nothing but evidence of a confirmed nomadic wanderer. These and many similar accusations against him have been made from the first biography of his son to the last.

When the governor of a certain State on one occasion expostulated with his aged mother for granting certain indulgencies to his little son, she straightway admonished him by saying: "When you, sir, shall have reared as good and great a son as I have, then you may come to me with your theories and they shall receive due and proper consideration, but not before." So in like manner, when these ruthless, not to say heartless, critics of Thomas Lincoln, the father of the President, shall take into consideration the fact that while he did have certain defects of character, even to the point of being actually shiftless, yet be it said to his everlasting credit that no man since the world began has ever been father of such a son.

It is submitted that for a boy fatherless at ten, "kicked and cuffed about from pillar to post", with no money nor influential friends, with absolutely no school advantages—certainly not having the chance that his son had, and yet accomplishing certain things—he deserves some credit at least. He appears to have been steady enough and sufficiently settled in life not only to learn a trade, but to become the owner of a farm at twenty-five, which fact alone indicates at least that he had some native ability and force of character. It is related that he possessed the best kit of carpenter's tools in his county. He was regarded as a man possessed of sufficient ability to warrant the civil authorities in appointing him road surveyor or supervisor, which, while a position of no great moment, meant something in the way of leadership and responsibility. When all these facts are taken into consideration it must be said that Thomas Lincoln was a man of some

ability, and certainly not deserving the treatment that he has received at the hands of the biographers of his son.

Some time during the late summer of the year 1816 Thomas Lincoln built a raft on Rolling Fork of Salt river, on which he loaded most of his effects, consisting of a tool chest, a number of barrels of whiskey, and such other things as he possessed, save a few lighter and more needful household articles which his family would make use of in his absence. He proceeded to make a journey down Salt river to the Ohio and thence to Indiana, where he had decided to seek his fortunes in an effort to better his condition.

That the elder Lincoln was of a restless and roving disposition is beyond dispute, and his repeated removals "to better his condition" to some extent justify the many charges of his biographers of his being a mere wanderer and squatter. In spite of the apparent justness of these accusations, most of these proposed ventures promised well, and certainly in some one or two instances there was abundant excuse for the venture made. We have the best of authority—his illustrious son—for believing that he was actuated by good and sufficient motives for his removal from Kentucky to Indiana; and it appears that no better reasons were ever offered by any pioneer for a change of location than those in favor of Lincoln's removal from Indiana to Illinois in 1830. President Lincoln, in discussing the reasons for their leaving the State of Kentucky, said that it was "partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles in Kentucky." It should be remembered also that for some seven generations the family had been pioneers in as many States or counties, and Thomas Lincoln was but manifesting the same disposition that appears to have possessed his forbears.

Being a carpenter, it is to be presumed that the elder Lincoln had no difficulty in constructing a craft that under ordinary circumstances would prove seaworthy. It is believed that in view of the fact that he had made at least two flat-boat trips down the Mississippi river to New Orleans, he was a fairly good waterman. On this trip soon after entering the Ohio from the mouth of Salt river his boat or raft capsized, causing the loss of the larger part of his cargo. We are told,

however, that he succeeded in righting the raft, fishing up some of the whisky and tools, and contenting himself as best he could with the loss of the remainder, he continued his journey, finally docking at Thompson's, now called Gage's Landing, a short distance below the town of Troy, Indiana. His reason for choosing Spencer county rather than settling near his brother Josiah in Harrison county was largely due to the fact that he was dependent upon the river for conveyance of his effects to a new location, and having "run the river" he had some knowledge of this region where he eventually located.

After making his lonely journey and effecting a safe landing at Thompson's, he placed his cargo under the care of a settler by the name of Posey. Since this man preferred the river front to the interior, and could make use of the boat, it was sold to him, and the pioneer "struck out on foot" in the wilderness in search of a new home. After going inland some fifteen miles he met with a man by the name of Carter, with whom he had more or less acquaintance. (Lincoln City is in Carter township.) This circumstance seems to have largely determined his choice of the location which he made in the "midst of the bush". There were seven families residing in this region when Thomas Lincoln made choice of his future home.

The site chosen by Thomas Lincoln was admirable from every standpoint save one, and that defect outweighed all of the splendid advantages it otherwise possessed. It did not have a never-failing spring; in fact, there was not at that time any water on it. Later, as Dennis Hanks stated, "Tom Lincoln riddled his land like a honey comb for water, but did not succeed in finding it."

Although Lincoln proceeded to take possession of the quarter section of land in true pioneer fashion by cutting and piling brush at the corners, he became in fact a squatter until the month of October, 1817, when he journeyed to Vincennes and formally entered the land, although the patent was not issued until June, 1827.

The site chosen for his "camp" was on a rather high knoll sloping in every direction. In ten days after landing his craft

at Posey's he announced that his "half faced camp" was ready for occupancy, having in that time cut the poles or logs and notched them, doubtless being assisted by Carter and others. Crossing the Ohio, he walked back to the old home in Kentucky—a distance of about one hundred miles—and securing the friendly aid of his brother-in-law, who supplied him with two horses, he took his little family, consisting of his wife, his daughter Sarah, aged nine, and son Abraham, aged seven, and "packed through to Posey's".

The town of Troy was at this time a place of some importance; indeed, of all those towns in the southern and western portion of the State, it was second only to Vincennes in size. In the year prior to the coming of the Lincolns a settler by the name of Hoskins had been employed to blaze a trail from Troy to the village of Darlington, the county-seat town to the west, in order that "the mail carrier might not get lost". This blazed trail passed through the region where Gentryville was a little later laid out, and it was over this trail, a "bridle path", that Thomas Lincoln moved his family and household effects to his new home. A wagon had in some manner been procured for this purpose, although such vehicles were not at all common, for the first wagon brought to this part of the State was by one John Small, a Kentuckian, in the year 1814.

After encountering considerable difficulty on account of felling trees and the removal of logs, making their comparatively short journey of fifteen miles a very tedious and trying one, they at length reached the half-faced camp. The time of the arrival of the new "settlers" was during the last half of the summer of 1816. At any rate, it appears that sufficient time was left after their arrival to enable them to cultivate "a few vegetables and a little corn."

The new home to which Thomas Lincoln took his little family was a singular one indeed. As has been indicated, it was made of small sapling logs or poles and had but three sides closed, the fourth being left open, where a bonfire or log heap was kept burning during cold weather, and not only served to ward off the wintry blasts, but afforded the only means they had for cooking. The little, one-room, pole cabin was fourteen feet square, without windows, ceiling or floor.

and of course there was no necessity for a door. The household and kitchen furniture was only such in name. Aside from a small amount of bedding, a Dutch oven, skillet and some tinware, there was at first nothing with which to furnish the home. A rude bedstead was constructed in one corner, and in another corner a pile of leaves gathered from the surrounding forest constituted the couch of the future President.

The woods surrounding the cabin furnished an abundant harvest of wild grapes, crab apples (Johnny Applesed had unfortunately never reached this section), service (sarvis), black and strawberries were quite plentiful.

The writer recalls hearing his grandmother (who came from the South a short while after the coming of the Lincolns) tell of the abundance of wild strawberries in this region. They drove through acres of these berries, and so luxuriant were the vines and so plentiful the harvest that the limbs and even portions of the body of a white horse were discolored, as if the animal had waded in blood. There were nuts of various sorts to be had in the forest, such as hickory, pecan, hazel, and the white and black walnut. Moreover, the virgin forest was a hunter's paradise, there being bears, deer and choice wild fowls, such as turkeys, geese and ducks. In addition to these, there were the smaller game birds and animals. Any undue amount of pity and sympathy bestowed on pioneers dwelling in such a land of plenty is wasted. While not perhaps flowing with milk and honey, yet in so far as the mere matter of supplying the larder was concerned it could scarcely have been more highly favored. There is small wonder that Dennis Hanks was moved to exclaim in his old age, when recalling these years spent in Indiana: "I enjoyed myself then more than I ever have since."

The first winter spent in Indiana was, so far as bodily comfort was concerned, the most trying time in the life of the future President, as he lived quite on the level, if not below, that of thousands of slaves whom he afterward liberated. With one side of their little cabin open to the elements and the rebellious smoke again and again sweeping into the camp, it furnished not only a striking contrast to the later life of the President, but so far surpassing anything in history as to leave little chance for a parallel.

The elder Lincoln has been censured from first to last for his failure to provide better accommodations not only during the first year of his Indiana life, but is charged with continued improvidence and neglect, being called lazy by many of the biographers of his son. It must be remembered in speaking of Thomas Lincoln's poverty that while he was poor indeed, yet poverty was quite the rule of all the pioneers of this early period. Though it can not be claimed that he was especially "work brittle" and ambitious enough to go out and seek labor, yet he never avoided work offered. He seems to have rested upon that passage of Scripture which says to let every day provide for itself. Nevertheless, the writer failed to find among his pioneer neighbors any charge that Thomas Lincoln, and his son Abraham in particular, were "lazy". On the contrary, it was asserted that while the elder Lincoln lacked initiative, taking life quite easy, he was content if perchance crops were abundant and labor to be had. When the morose and gloomy made doleful prophecies as to a hard winter and failure of crops, he was buoyant in spirit, optimistic, laughing and even joking with his neighbors concerning their fears. Although not regarded as a hard-working man for himself, he made a "good hand for others" and was at work almost continually.

So much has been said concerning the poverty of Lincoln's youth that it is proposed here to examine the evidence from an angle hitherto not taken. One of the boyhood friends of Lincoln, Wesley Hall, some two years younger than the President, related a number of incidents concerning this period, and one in particular bearing upon his poverty.

Wesley Hall's father was a Kentuckian who had moved to Indiana, settling some four miles from the Lincoln cabin, but reaching this section some time after the coming of the Lincolns. The elder Hall was regarded as quite prosperous for one in those days. Furnishing some justification for this claim, he operated a tanyard, in addition to owning and cultivating a large farm, making shipments of leather by way of the river to southern markets. This necessitated at certain times the employment of a number of men, and he frequently employed both the elder Lincoln, as well as his son Abraham.

On one occasion during the early winter Wesley Hall was sent to mill beyond Gentryville, a short distance from the Lincoln cabin, but since the Halls lived to the east some four miles it was more than a five miles' journey. According to the pioneer custom, no favors were shown youth or age in certain things, and the rule especially obtained in the matter of going to mill, for each one had to "take his turn." Such was the law.

Young Hall found upon his arrival on this occasion that a number of men and boys had preceded him, and by the time his turn came the entire day had almost passed. During the last half of the afternoon a severe snow storm had set in, and by the time the miller carried out his "grist" and assisted him to mount preparatory to making the homeward journey some inches of snow had fallen. This alarmed the pioneer lad, lest some mishap should befall him and he should lose his way through the forest, become a prey to wild animals, or succumb to the cold. More especially was he so impressed since nightfall was fast approaching and the snow was driving furiously in his face. On reaching the turn in the road leading up to the Lincoln cabin he decided to go there for the night. Riding up in front of the silent, snow-mantled house, he halloed in true pioneer fashion a time or two: "Hel-lo! Hel-lo!" Just here it will be proper to permit Mr. Hall to tell the remainder of his story:

Bye and bye I heard the door begin to creak on its wooden hinges, and then through the storm I saw old Tom a shadin' his eyes with his hand a tryin' to see who I wuz. And purty soon, satisfyng himself that it wuz me, he leaned back and laughed a big broad laugh, and then a startin' out to where I wuz he says, says he: "Is that you Wesley? You get down from thar and come in out of the weather." So I commenct to git ready to slide off my sack and by the time I got ready to light, old Tom wuz there and helped me down. Then a turnin' around lookin' towards the cabin, he calls out a time or two, big and loud: "Abe! O. Abe! Abe!" And he aint more'n called till I seen Abe a comin' through the door, and when he asked what wuz wanted, and seein' who I wuz at the same time, old Tom says: "Come out here and git Wesley's grist while I put his hoss in the stable. Wesley's mighty nigh froze I reckon." Then he laughed again. Well, I wuz cold I c'n tell you fer I hadn't had anything to eat ceptin' parched corn since mornin'. Well, as I say, old Tom told Abe to come and get my sack, and I noticed as Abe come out to

where I wuz he hadn't but one shoe on, and thinks I to myself, what's up with Abe fer I saw Abe wuz a walkin' on the ball of his heel so's to hold his big toe up which wuz all tied up, and by this time I reckon there wuz mighty nigh six inches of snow on the ground. Yit Abe's foot wuz so big and long it didn't make no difference if the snow wuz that deep. Abe hadn't any trouble about a keepin' his sore toe above the snow line. When I asked him what wuz the matter with his foot he told me he'd split his big toe open with an ax out in the clearin' that day. Well, Abe then wuz as big and stout as he ever wuz, and so he jest reached over and took that sack of meal with one hand and layin' it across his arm, him and me went into the house while old Tom put the hoss in the pole stable.

I set down in front of the fireplace and commenet to thaw out, and in a little bit old Tom come in, and a settin' down by me a slappin' his hands together and then a rubbin' em so, like he allus' done, he says, says he: "Wesley, you got purty cold I reckon, did you?" And when I commenet to say I did, Mrs. Lincoln come in and she says, after we'd passed the time of day, she says, says she: "Wesley, I reckon you're hungry." And I told her I wuz; and then I told her about the parched corn. And she says: "We haint got no meal to bake bread. We're out just now, but a pointin' to the big bank of embers that I'd already noticed in the fireplace and of course knowd what it meant, she says, says she, "we've got some potatoes in thar a bakin' and we'll git a bite fer you purty soon." At that I spoke up and I says, says I: "Mrs. Lincoln, jist help yerself out of my sack thar." And so she done as I told her.

Well, old Tom and Abe and me went on a talkin' and purty soon I heard a funny grindin' noise back of me, and I looked around to see what it wuz, and it wuz Mrs. Lincoln a hollerin' out a big turnip.

Just at this point in Mr. Hall's narrative he paused and asked the writer if he could guess what Mrs. Lincoln was "hollerin' out that turnip fer". When some two or three attempts had been made to solve this mystery and all proved to be clearly wrong, to the evident amusement of the old gentleman, he resumed his narrative by saying:

She was makin' a grease lamp. Course I'd seen a many one. She hollered it out and cut a small groove in it on the lip, and after she'd filled it with hog's lard and laid a wick in the notch, and lit it, she handed it to me, and a butcher knife to Abe, and she says: "Boys, go and get me some bacon." So me and Abe went out to a little pole smoke house and I held up the light while Abe cut a half moon out of a side of bacon. So Mrs. Lincoln went on with gittin' supper, and bye and bye she says: "Supper's ready." So when we set down to it we had corn

cakes, baked potatoes and friend bacon. After the supper dishes was washed up old Tom, a slappin' his hands together and a rubbin' em like I say, he says, says he: "Now, Abe, bring out your book and read fer us." Old Tom couldn't read himself, but he wuz proud that Abe could, and many a time he'd brag about how smart Abe wuz to the folks around about. Well, Abe reached up on a shelf where he kept his books and then a stirrin' up the fire on the hearth with some dry stuff he had piled in one corner by the jamb, he commenced to read.

When the writer asked as to whether the narrator remembered what book it was that Abe read from, he straightway replied:

Oh, yes! It wuz the life of Ben Franklin. He read to us till bed time, and that night Abe and me slept together up in the loft. We got up there through a scuttle hole in one corner of the ceilin', and to git up to it we had to climb up a peg ladder made by boring holes in the logs and insertin' wooden pins. I remember the bedstid which of course I saw many a time. It wuz a mighty sorry affair; still it answered the purpose. A hole wuz bored in the north wall and a rail-like piece wuz sloped off to fit this. The same thing wuz done on the west wall, and these two rails wuz brought together and fastened in the same way to an upright post out in the floor and then acrost these wuz laid split boards or whipped plank, or some thin slats rived out, and on these wuz a gunny sack filled with leaves gathered from the woods. On this Abe and me slept covered with bear skins.

Lincoln's bedfellow on this snowy winter night lived to see him in the White House.

LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD ASSOCIATES

"Gold is good in its place, but loving, brave patriotic men are better than gold. For my part I have striven, and will strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom."

In the thousands of pamphlets and more extended notices of the life of Abraham Lincoln there is, for the most part, comparatively little said concerning the adolescent or formative period in his career. Because of the universal interest in Mr. Lincoln's life, any contribution bearing upon any phase of his career should be of interest and not wholly without value. Nevertheless, it is true that there has been but meager notice of his youth, since those who have undertaken this

task possessed but little data, and thus in consequence the conviction inevitably forced itself upon all that there was but little that transpired during Mr. Lincoln's youth particularly prophetic of the years that followed. In many instances, therefore, the formative period in Mr. Lincoln's life has been, in consequence of the meagerness of knowledge and reliable data, dismissed as being commonplace. Professing to see nothing exceptional during these formative years, his biographers in many instances have passed on to the days of his early manhood, and sought to call attention to what they regard the real beginnings of his remarkable career. In doing so, in their unwarranted haste to pass to the scenes of his public career, they do not fail to quote the well-known lines of the poet which Mr. Lincoln was accustomed to apply to himself: "My life was but the short and simple annals of the poor," as if this would prove a sufficient refutation of any charge of meager notice of the years prior to the day of his appearing on the prairies of Illinois. To put it in another way, the Lincoln admirers have been made to believe that he was a Hoosier prodigal who came to himself about the time, or soon after, reaching the State of Illinois; and at this time, or subsequent to it, there were certain super-added things affixed to his character that made for honesty, truthfulness, and fixity of purpose.

The fact of Mr. Lincoln's honesty, which was so prominent in his later life, is not doubted for a moment, but since substantially all the recorded instances of this trait of his character found their setting in some event in later life, there is a belief that this trait was not particularly noted in his early career, or if so, it was not sufficiently prominent to call forth especial attention; whereas, all of his early associates interviewed by the writer stated that this was quite marked, and so much so as to cause them to remember him by it.

The writer is convinced, by reason of some years' residence among the early associates of the great war President, that the boy Lincoln was father of the man. We are indebted to the many biographers of Mr. Lincoln for so many things, and to some of these in particular, it would be something approaching sacrilege, for one now at this late day, to even

appear to take any liberties with any long established beliefs concerning our martyred President. Happily this does not appear to be necessary. But however well meant the efforts were on the part of these numerous historians touching Mr. Lincoln's early career, unfortunately they have succeeded in focusing the gaze of the world either upon the spot in the State of Kentucky that gave him birth, or upon the prairies of Illinois where he took his rise to fame, and where his ashes now rest. Those years in his life which he spent in Indiana—from seven to twenty-one—which ordinarily make a period in the life of most men of momentous importance, have been more or less neglected. To undertake at this late day the task of correcting the perspective of the Lincoln admirers by focusing the attention upon his youth is an exceedingly difficult one, and ordinarily would prove discouraging, but since it is believed that sufficient data is at hand to substantiate the claim, the task has been undertaken with a view at least of supplementing the work of recognized authorities in this field, as well as rendering tardy justice to Lincoln's youth.

It is to be regretted that some of the earlier biographers of Mr. Lincoln did not make a greater effort to collect information touching his youth, since the field was at that time white unto harvest; particularly soon after the death of the President, at which time some two or three biographers came to visit the scenes of Mr. Lincoln's boyhood and young manhood in Spencer county, Indiana. Some of the more recent writers met with experiences well calculated to discourage further effort in this field, since they possessed erroneous notions of Hoosier manners and customs. In consequence of this handicap some very amusing, not to say ludicrous, things transpired during attempted interviews with certain ones of Lincoln's old associates. Many of the historians in speaking of the citizens now residing in the region where Gentryville is located, regarded them as quite below the average; characterizing them as "listless", "poor", "free and easy", "devoid of ambition", and reference has been made to the "antiquated business methods", "dog-fennel streets" and with many other such statements they seem to pay a tribute to the wisdom and foresight of the Lincolns in having the good sense to leave

that region, since the country and its inhabitants at the present time do not meet with their approbation.

That there is apparent justification for such a characterization of both the inhabitants of that section today, as well as the region itself, is quite true, and perhaps this would more especially appear so to strangers, although it may be permissible to suggest that these allegations are particularly in bad taste relative to the country itself, since they were made by those who happen to reside in that section of the United States where abandoned farms are the rule, whereas there are few abandoned farms in Spencer county, Indiana. Appearances are often woefully deceptive, and it is believed that a better knowledge of Hoosier manners and customs, particularly among the pioneers, would in itself serve a splendid corrective in certain things.

It may be true that Gentryville and Lincoln City are "dog-fennel towns", yet there are several hundreds like them in Indiana. Gentryville is much the same place that it was during the boyhood of Lincoln. One may still see the Saturday group of loungers seated on dry goods boxes, whittling and chewing favorite brands of tobacco, and "swapping yarns", from which point of vantage they gaze betimes down the little streets to the barren knolls in the distance. The scene is common and to be met with not only in this section of the State of Indiana, but in certain portions of Kentucky and Illinois. Such scenes are not particularly inspiring, and are not calculated to impress a visiting stranger with the belief that from such an environment there would come forth any youth who could by any possibility rise to fame; yet, nevertheless, just such places have produced, and may yet be destined to produce, some of our most eminent men. Some two or three incidents and circumstances are here related that occurred within the Lincoln zone, all of them of comparatively recent date and coming under the personal observation of the writer.

A man with long gray locks, somewhat loose and disheveled, was seated in the witness chair in the circuit court. It was during the month of January, and the weather was cold. He wore a pair of "eastern" boots whose heels had a predilection for rolling over and upward as if in sport of one

another. His "foxed" trousers were baggy and tattered, and whether the bottoms were too badly worn for service or whether it was merely a habit of the owner, no matter; in any case they were crowded down into the boot tops. A faded brown hand-me-down overcoat, held to its moorings by a bit of binder-twine looped through the torn buttonhole and about the button, served to keep out the cold, this being the only outer garment worn over a shirt not too immaculate. On his knees rested a somewhat dilapidated hickory-straw hat, with the preponderance of evidence in favor of its having done service for at least two summers and certainly until far into mid-winter.

An attorney (now holding a government position of national importance) from a distance, with evident preconceived notions concerning the old gentleman, was cross-examining the witness.

"Mr. Witness, can you read and write?"

"No, sir."

"You spoke of the payment of taxes" (resting his eyes for a moment upon the boots). "Do you own property?"

"Well, yes, sir."

"Now then, just state to the jury what your holdings consist of, whether real estate, etc., etc."

"Well," began the witness, looking down as if greatly embarrassed, "well, I own a leetle land in this county and some in the county a-jinen."

"You own a little land, you say, in this and the adjoining county?" (Another glance at the boots, which on taking its leave swept past the straw hat and then fixed itself steadfastly upon the apparently disconcerted face of the witness.)

"Now, sir, just tell the jury about how much land you own."

"Well," still looking down, "well, sir, I've got a leetle the rise of three thousand acres here in this county, and some time back I got hold of a leetle jag of money, and not havin' any place jest then to put it, I bought a few hundred acres over in tother county. Besides what leetle land I own, and a few hundred head of cattle, horses and sheep, I've off and on ever now and then been loanin' a leetle money an' ginerally took

mortgages on land, so I've got plasters you might say, mountin' to nigh on to right about \$30,000 or better, and I've got government"—

"That will do, Mr. Witness, that will do."

The witness here referred to was about the same age as Lincoln and lived but a few miles from Gentryville. The writer was present on the occasion referred to, and remembers the chagrin and crestfallen air depicted upon the countenance of the imported attorney, and furthermore he recalls the apologetic remarks subsequently made by the attorney, he being more especially induced to do this on learning that the witness was not only a fine type of old fashioned honesty and truthfulness, but was the wealthiest man in the county.

The old gentleman was not a miser nor yet miserly. He merely continued the habits and customs of the pioneer days. His dress as above described, which is not in the least exaggerated, was subject to a marked change on Sunday; that is to say, the soiled linen was replaced by a garment destined to do duty until the next Sabbath. With slight variation in the matter of dress—on the whole somewhat better—but in all other points essentially the same, the foregoing description would be that of the father of a man born in this region during the Civil war, who today occupies a chair in one of the great universities of our country.

A case was being tried in the Federal court. A number of witnesses were subpoenaed, among them being an elderly man with a snow-white crescent encircling his chin. His shoes, originally black, were now brown. He wore no such conventional apparel as a collar or necktie, and his clothing otherwise was not at all pretentious. He had spent most of his life in the school room, and was quite generally addressed by all classes of citizens in this Lincoln country as "Professor," and being well known to the officer of the court he very naturally in calling the witness thus addressed him. An attorney, thinking to make capital out of this circumstance, especially since he noted the character of his dress, began his examination of the witness by requesting to know why he was called "professor."

"I do not know, sir, why I am thus so regarded and so addressed, for I make no claim whatever to that honorable title. It is true that I have been a teacher for some time, in fact nearly all my life; but I do not suppose that I am at all entitled to such consideration."

The attorney, not yet satisfied, pursued the matter further.

"Well, professor, you are a graduate of course, and can doubtless read Latin." (not at all supposing that the witness was a graduate nor possessing such knowledge as the question implied.)

"Yes, sir," replied the professor, "Yes, sir, I am a graduate of our State University, and in obedience to your desire to know whether I possess ability sufficient to enable me to read Latin I should say that in addition to my mother tongue I speak French and German rather fluently, Spanish only indifferently well, but I read Hebrew, Latin, Sanscrit and Greek quite well. Indeed, I have even been told by those who have manifested a decided partiality for me that I could have been a linguist had I taken up this study, say at your time of life, but I attribute this great claim of my friends to some little acts of kindness which I have rendered them from time to time through a somewhat lengthened life, rather than to any real excellence that I may possess."

It was within a half dozen miles of Gentryville that a stranger was impertinent enough to ask an old Hoosier who had an extraordinarily large-sized nose: "How does it happen that you have such a big nose?"

"I kept it out of other people's business, sir, and let it get its growth."

As an aid to credulity and at the same time serving in part at least as a fair excuse for the treatment here offered, it may be stated that the writer was born among and reared with later generations of the Lincolns.

It does not appear to be generally known that all three sons of the elder Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President, eventually emigrated to Indiana. The first to come was Josiah, the second son, who settled on Big Blue river, in Harrison county, Indiana. This was in the year 1812. To

this wilderness home came Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, on a visit, and in part at least his removal from Kentucky to Indiana a little later, in the year 1816, was due to the persuasions of his brother, Josiah. His reasons for leaving Kentucky are given elsewhere in this narrative, but on deciding to leave Kentucky he was induced by his brother to try his fortunes in the new State north of the Ohio river.

The writer's forbears came up from the South to this section of Indiana, also settling in Harrison county, and were neighbors to Josiah Lincoln. Thus the writer grew to manhood with the descendants of the uncle of the President.

Later the writer resided for some years in that region where the future President spent his childhood and boyhood, and attained his majority. Here he personally knew a number of Mr. Lincoln's boyhood and girlhood friends and associates. Repeated interviews were obtained with these pioneers, some of whom up to that time had never so much as been interviewed by a newspaper reporter, much less by any of the biographers of Mr. Lincoln. It may be said, however, that this latter statement, apparently incredible, is to some extent accounted for by reason of the fact that these in particular had removed from the Spencer county home to other points in the State, and in one or two instances to other States.

Some of these boyhood friends of Lincoln here referred to were parishioners of the writer or were members of his congregation, and in a few instances he officiated at their funerals and the funerals of members of their families.

It is believed that much confirmatory information was obtained from quite a number of the older citizens, who, while being mere children during the residence of the Lincolns in Spencer county, yet being children of the neighbors of the Lincolns and accustomed to hear the fireside discussions concerning the great President, especially after his rise to fame, what they related was in certain instances quite as valuable and trustworthy, and perhaps in an instance or two even more so, than was that offered by some who spoke from personal knowledge.

With no well-defined purpose of ever making any use of

the data obtained, beyond personal gratification, having been reared a Democrat in the belief that Douglas was transcendently great as compared to Lincoln, and having had a gradual political "conversion" my interest in Lincoln grew accordingly. Much time was thus pleasantly spent in interviewing those who either personally knew Lincoln as a boy, or those who were mere children during his stay in Indiana, or those who were born about the time of his leaving the State in the year 1830.

Considerable care has been exercised to distinguish between matter of fact truth and mere tradition. Of this latter there was considerable and occasionally there was an intermingling of fact and tradition. The traditions in every case came but little short of well established facts, and some of these were quite as interesting and suggestive as any statement based upon personal knowledge.

The mooted question as to the President's maternal ancestry was altogether in favor of the position taken by almost all of his earlier biographers, particularly by Herndon. With no desire whatever of attempting to reopen a discussion that appears to be closed, a statement or two is made. In every case when Lincoln's pioneer neighbors were asked as to the obscure origin of Nancy Hanks, the reply was invariably the same—that she was the daughter of Lucy Hanks, and a Virginian.

On one occasion after the writer had delivered a lecture on Lincoln in the region where the President had lived as a boy, and having some of Lincoln's old friends in the audience, he was approached by a rather elderly lady who requested an interview on the following day. This was gladly granted. After some questions as to what "the books said concerning the origin of Nancy Hanks," the following statement was made:

I am the daughter of a woman who was about the same age as Lincoln and lived neighbors to the Lincolns both in Kentucky and in Indiana. My grandmother and Nancy Hanks were girl friends, and my grandmother often told me that she was present at the birth of President Lincoln. I've heard both my mother and grandmother tell many incidents concerning Nancy Hanks and the Lincolns and Abraham in particular. As to Nancy Hanks' origin I've heard my grandmother say again

and again that Lincoln's mother was a fine lady and wasn't to be blamed for some things; that she was the daughter of Lucy Hanks and some unknown man in Virginia. My mother said that was what the older people told her, and no one ever said anything to the contrary.

Inquiry was made as to the reliability of the testimony offered, and it not only appeared abundantly trustworthy, but was corroborated by the statement of others. In no case among the pioneers was there a disposition to accept any other story relative to the origin of Lincoln's mother. That Mr. Lincoln himself held to this belief concerning his mother is certainly true. Herndon, *Life of Lincoln* states:

Beyond the fact that he (Lincoln) was born on the 12th day of February, 1809, in Hardin county, Kentucky. Mr. Lincoln usually had but little to say of himself, the lives of his parents, or the history of the family before their removal to Indiana. If he mentioned the subject at all it was with great reluctance and significant reserve. There was something about his origin he never cared to dwell upon.

Herndon further asserts that on one occasion while he and Lincoln were driving across the prairie in a buggy the statement was made to Herndon by Lincoln that his mother, Nancy Hanks, was the daughter of Lucy Hanks and a well-bred but obscure Virginia planter or farmer. He argued that from this last source came his power of analysis, his logic, his mental activity, his ambition and all the qualities that distinguished him from the other members and descendants of the Hanks family.

A biography of Lincoln was prepared by Mr. Scripps for campaign purposes. Lincoln was asked to submit data for this, which he rather reluctantly did. In a letter to Herndon after Lincoln's death Scripps stated:

He (Lincoln) communicated some facts to me concerning his ancestry which he did not wish to have published then, and which I have never spoken of or alluded to before.

What these facts were we of course do not know, but presumably they must have had to do with this obscurity. Dennis Hanks, a son of Nancy Hanks, aunt of the mother of Lincoln, was ever insistent that the mother of President Lincoln was named Sparrow instead of Hanks. Certain it is

that both she and Dennis Hanks were for a time in the home of the Sparrows, who, after the marriage of Nancy to Thomas Lincoln and her removal to Indiana, also removed to that State, taking the irrepressible Dennis with them. It was these Sparrows who occupied the half-faced camp abandoned by the Lincolns, and when seized with milk-sick were removed to the Lincoln cabin and both died there. Their deaths took place at the same time as that of Lincoln's mother.

It is passing strange that these pioneers should all be of one mind concerning the obscure origin of Nancy Hanks if there was no foundation for such belief.

However reliable may be the statements of discoveries made by Mrs. Hitchcock, a descendant of the Hanks family, relative to the origin of the President's mother, there never was, and is not now, just ground for any accusation against these pioneer neighbors of the Lincolns for entertaining and freely expressing the belief, since it was indisputably credited by her illustrious son, and by the elder Hankses and others whose testimony is a matter of record.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOOSIER PIONEERS.

"Quarrel not at all. Yield larger things to which you can show no more than equal right; and yield lesser ones though clearly your own. Better give your path to a dog than be bitten by him in contending for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite."

A proper understanding of the manners and customs of the pioneers of Lincoln's youth and young manhood is essential to appreciate some qualities of his mind and peculiarities of belief and practice which appeared when later he was associated with the learned and skillfully trained statesman and politicians, who were for the most part reared under an altogether different environment. The pioneer was more or less given to superstitious beliefs and committed to the trustworthiness of tokens and dreams. While this characterized substantially all classes during the formative period of our country, yet these strange and weird beliefs in particular

found a congenial abiding place in the minds of the pioneers who came from the South and settled in this wilderness. Indeed, the belief in the efficacy of tokens and dreams, and the faithfulness and almost religious zeal with which signs have been observed have ever characterized the frontier line.

These strange beliefs inevitably begot still stranger customs. This was especially true of the people in and about Gentryville. If in this section there may yet be found some of those strange beliefs still lingering among those of that earlier period, it need not be regarded as strange, since in other centuries the will of the Almighty was determined by the presence or absence of dew upon a sheep's pelt, and kingdoms were lost or won by the casting of lots. It may well be doubted whether there is not yet clinging to most of us, like barnacles upon a ship's hull, some of the age-long beliefs of our fathers. While we are living with the light beating full upon our faces, yet there is discerned in some an indication that these fireside memories and nursery teachings of that dim and distant past so possess us as to lead to the conclusion that it would not at all be difficult to revert to the practices and beliefs of other years. Bishop Matthew Simpson, one of the greatest forensic orators of his time, and an educator of national prominence, himself a pioneer and a great friend and confidential adviser of Lincoln, ever felt a strange and unaccountable pleasure and delight on seeing the new moon over his left shoulder. A certain United States senator from Lincoln's boyhood state on more than one occasion in the midst of political campaigns refused to ride in a carriage drawn by black horses.

Abraham Lincoln was so indoctrinated with many of these beliefs during his youth that they clung to him until the day of his death. He always believed in the trustworthiness of dreams, one of which in particular was viewed as a good omen, because he dreamed it prior to the victories of Antietam, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, the naval battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac, as well as just before the surrender at Appomattox. This dream and others he with a strange simplicity related to cabinets, and doubtless in the very simplicity of his belief failed to realize that these gen-

tlemen viewed such as exceptional, if not indicating a decided weakness.

Advantage is taken of the opportunity here of calling attention to a fact not especially enlarged upon by any, yet which is patent and known to all; that is, we do not take liberties with Lincoln as we do with many other great men. We laugh with him, but we do not suffer any criticism of him without registering a vigorous protest. This is not even true of Washington.

To the pioneer in Lincoln's day the carrying of an edged tool, such as a hoe or ax, through the house was an omen of bad luck, foretelling a death in the family during the year. The breaking of a mirror was also another sign of death within that period. The plaintive howling of a dog meant that the morrow would tell of a death somewhere. The crossing of the hunter's path by a dog meant bad luck in the chase unless the hunter locked his little fingers until the dog was out of sight; or, what was regarded as better still, if he returned to the point of starting and began his journey anew, all ill fortune occasioned by the bad start would not be reckoned against him. The writer has frequently witnessed these circumstances.

Friday was a day in the calendar to be avoided in instituting any new departure; that is to say, beginning anything new such as plowing, sowing or reaping in the fields, or the making of a garment, unless the labor could be completed during the day. A bird alighting on the window or coming into the house was a sure sign of sorrow. All planting, sowing, fencing and preparation for the same was to be governed by certain signs of the moon. Plants, such as potatoes, maturing beneath the surface of the soil must be planted in the dark of the moon. And in like manner tomatoes and beans must be planted in the light of the moon.

Clapboards on the roofs of buildings would cup and curl if the sign was not right. The fence would settle and sink or creel if there was a failure to consult the almanac for the proper sign. They believed in witches of various sorts, quite as much as they of New England ever did. Although there was no disposition to burn them, they were feared and

guarded against. They especially believed that some evil-disposed old witch could work evil upon a child.

The writer has a distinct child's recollection of being caught up from his innocent play into the arms of a frightened lady and hurriedly carried away to a point of supposed safety from a reputed old witch who it was presumed was working her spell over him preparatory to actually bewitching him. It is not believed that this old witch in reality succeeded in her efforts at this time or at any subsequent period, but the writer frankly confesses that while he escaped all of the influences and beliefs so generally prevalent in his youth, nevertheless he finds more satisfaction and contentedness than do some if there is never a hoe or an ax carried through his house. Truly the beliefs of our grandmothers live after them.

Although there was no physician nearer than thirty miles to the Lincoln home, yet this settlement had a "Doctor" of a doubtful sort, one "Cy" (Josiah) Crawford, for whom Lincoln and his sister Sarah often labored as "hired man and girl." "Cy," or "Old Blue Nose" Crawford as Lincoln later named him, was what was usually spoken of as a "yarb and root" doctor. As a diagnostician he doubtless did not excel, but it was small matter since his prescriptions were few and generally harmless, even if sometimes unpleasant to take. If there was evidence of inflammation, "a counter-irritant was slapped on," and generally "a heroic old fashioned Baptist foot washing," was urged just before the hour of retiring. Blue mass pills were used on the least provocation, although if these were not to be had a substitute was suggested. The writer recalls one instance when "shoemaker's wax" was in an emergency made into plaster and the patient lived to praise his saviour, if not his remedy in his effort to remove the same. Crawford, in lieu of there not being even a traveling dentist, was an extractor of teeth. Heroic methods were used for a time, but his services being so much in demand he obtained a "twister" pair of forceps, and thereafter the surgery was more scientifically performed. A conversation with some who sat under his "prying, twisting and gouging" revealed the fact that laughing gas would have been more than welcomed.

Since bleeding was quite generally practiced in that day by reputable physicians, Crawford, always abreast with the times, obtained a lancet and thus added this accomplishment to his practice. Generally speaking, every settlement had a man or woman who could stop bleeding in cases where a vein or artery had been severed, without resorting to the barbarous practice of ligating or cauterizing. This was done by pronouncing certain cabalistic words. The secret of possessing such power was on no account to be conveyed to another unless under proper direction and orderly procedure. A man was forbidden, on penalty of losing his skill, to convey to his brother the secret, but he might with perfect safety admit a woman into the secret, and she in turn could with equal safety initiate a man. At the perilous risk of losing forever whatever cunning and skill the writer may possess in this regard, he dares here to put it to a test by indiscriminately publishing the secret. It will be at once apparent that this conveyance is only possible to ladies. The remedy is simplicity itself, and consists in thrice repeating the sixth verse of the sixteenth chapter of the Prophecy of Ezekiel.

Faith doctors were implicitly believed in. Long journeys were made to them, their charms invoked and their skill put to a test. In substantially every case these men behaved something after the manner that Captain Naaman supposed the prophet Elisha would have done in his case. They refused to make any charge for services rendered, but if exceedingly provoked by some who were the beneficiaries of their healing powers, they suffered them, on taking their departure, to leave a token of their appreciation as a thank offering.

There was a commendable reciprocity of neighborliness prevailing among the pioneers. Much of their work was shared in common, particularly such as raisings, huskings and rollings. Associated with these labors by the men, which may not inappropriately be styled field sports, the women of the entire neighborhood assembled to prepare the sumptuous feasts consisting of venison, turkey, pigeon potpie, hominy and corn-dodger.

Spinning contests were indulged in and the hand-made loom was much in vogue, and if there chanced to be the fin-

ishing of a blanket or coverlet, or in some instances a quilt, all the young ladies—and some not so young—would surround this, holding on with both hands, while some one from the crowd of men who were interested onlookers would throw puss, the now thoroughly frightened house cat, into the bagging center. Well might there be manifest interest, for who could tell which way a cat might jump under such circumstances and thus indicate the next bride?

Play parties and dancing (hoe-downs) were much in favor, and the mere announcement of a neighborhood wedding meant an invitation for all to attend who cared to do so. Spelling matches were held every Friday night during the school term, and schoolhouse debates invariably attracted large crowds. Old time school exhibitions, where dialogues were recited and "pieces" declaimed, were frequent. Sometimes these were weeks in preparation and the program so lengthy as to last half the night. Religious services prior to 1820 were conducted in private homes, usually by some chance itinerant preacher. Lincoln never saw a church until he was eleven years of age, and he helped in its erection.

The dress of the pioneer would appear quite as strange to us as some of the modern fashions would have been to him. No woolens were worn in and about Gentryville until the year 1824. Buckskin breeches, sewed with whang, thus making an ornamental fringe, a loose-fitting blouse, and a coonskin cap with the tail hanging down was the usual garb of the men. This was Lincoln's dress during his entire Indiana residence, save that he managed in some manner to get possession of a white shirt a short while before his removal to Illinois.

In all of these farm and community labors, social gatherings, exhibitions and religious worship Lincoln was a familiar figure. He particularly enjoyed the schoolhouse debates and exhibitions. The *Kentucky Preceptor* furnished the major portion of the declamations, as well as subjects or themes for debate. Some of these latter which were debated by young Lincoln and others were: "*Resolved*, That fire is more destructive than water." "Who has the greater right to complain, the negro or the Indian?" Such themes were very gravely discussed not only by the younger generation, but by the older

men as well. It is said that young Lincoln in these debates was calm, logical and clear. He, however, often became quite humorous, causing great laughter by his peculiar antics and original remarks, but his aim appeared to be to cause his side to win. At such times two captains stood forth in the presence of the assembled crowd in obedience to the demand of the society and proceeded to "choose up." A stick some three feet in length, often a walking cane, was tossed into the air by one of the captains, the other captain catching it in one hand, and the first in turn grasping it. They placed their hands alternately in position until one became the possessor of the stick. This was repeated three times, the two best out of three deciding first choice of a debater or the side of the argument—depending upon the original agreement. After the house had been divided, the "jury" was selected by the president, usually from three to five members. Sometimes ladies were privileged to sit as judges. It will be seen that Lincoln's method in debate was such as to win "the jury."

One of his old friends, Nathaniel Griggsby, usually called "Natty", although Lincoln called him "Nat", said that when Lincoln appeared in company

the boys would gather and cluster around him to hear him talk. He was figurative in his speeches, talks and conversations. He argued much from analogy, and explained things, hard for us to understand, by stories, maxims, tales and figures. He would point out his lessons or ideas by some story that was plain and near to us in order that we might instantly see the force and bearing of what he said.

Young Lincoln was a great mimic, entertaining and amusing crowds quite as much in this manner as in any other. The humor of any situation or a mirthful and ludicrous turn seemed to criss-cross with smiles his face, which even at that time his associates alleged was "shrivelled and wrinkled". His smiles and laughter spread in humorous confusion over his countenance long before the vehicle of speech had presented the object or subject of his humor to his auditors.

In his reading he devoured anything and everything that came in his way, never stopping to inquire what it was so long as it furnished his active mind something on which to labor. In like manner the subjects of his mimicry were as varied as occasion might offer, ranging from peculiarities in gait or

speech of a neighbor or passing stranger to the pulpit efforts of the backwoods, hard-shell Baptist preacher. He was much in the habit of repeating the Sunday sermon to the men and boys in the field on Monday. If perchance he made a rare find, and his Monday audience appeared to appreciate his efforts, he repaired to the Gentryville store at night after the days' labor was done, and there repeated it, embellishing, revising and enlarging as occasion seemed to warrant.

The Little Pigeon Baptist meeting house was erected in the year 1820. The elder Lincoln was the boss carpenter, superintending its erection, and, while Abraham was but eleven years of age at this time, it is said that he assisted in felling the trees out of which the building material was obtained. This church was a story and a half high, and, while its proportions were not great,—being twenty-six by thirty feet,—for that period it made a rather pretentious house of worship. It had two windows, each twenty by thirty-six inches, and was heated in extreme weather by means of two old-fashioned fireplaces, there being two mud and stick chimneys, one at either end of the building.

The church was more or less regularly served by pastors duly called, but there were long intervals when the little congregation was largely dependent upon "local" ministers or some chance ministerial visitor. The regular ministry, while more or less helpful, was in the main but little beyond the major portion of their parishioners intellectually. Since most of them were illiterate, and some of them painfully so and much given to certain pulpit mannerisms, they afforded the critical student of human nature, young Lincoln, a fine field for the free play of his powers of mimicry, and his mirth-provoking efforts at preaching were such as indelibly to fix these in the memory of his boyhood associates many years afterward.

Matilda Johnson, his step-sister, said "he was an indefatigable preacher". It was his usual custom when his father and mother went to church and he and other members of the family remained at home to take down the Bible, read a verse, give out a hymn, and after this had been rendered he proceeded to "preach" a sermon. On one occasion when in the

midst of a sermon-lecture in the grove near the cabin, John Johnson, his step-brother, and others who had doubtless heard the Sunday morning sermon out in the fields during the week, came up with a land terrapin which they had picked up in their morning rambles along the creek, and desiring to witness the quick but clumsy movement of the creature, placed a coal of fire on its back. Young Lincoln remonstrated, but in the midst of the fun occasioned by the frantic efforts of the fire-bearing creature to escape its tormentors Johnson picked it up and hurled it against a tree, breaking its shell. As it lay quivering and dying the preacher quickly adapted himself to his audience and began an exhortation on "Cruelty to Animals", saying among other things that "an ant's life is just as sweet to it as our lives are to us."

Young Lincoln was in the habit of delivering the Sunday sermon to his stepmother when for any cause she was not privileged to attend worship. The entire family would sit and listen to Lincoln, who would not only repeat the sermon, but the text, and in almost every way reproduce the morning effort, even to the amen. Mrs. Lincoln greatly enjoyed these reports and professed to think that she derived more benefit from Abe's sermonizing than she did from the minister himself.

The Lincoln home was the stopping place for the ministers. This furnished such an opportunity for Lincoln to argue that he invariably availed himself of it. On one occasion he had "cornered" an illiterate preacher on some point in the story of Jonah, and in the midst of his confusion Lincoln suddenly asked him who was the father of Zebedee's children. The pastor confessed that he did not know. This Zebedee witticism was one of Lincoln's earliest attempts, although the first recorded humorous effort was when going to mill and witnessing the slow grinding of the old horse mill, he remarked that "his hound pup could eat all the meal it would grind in a day and then bawl for his supper."

It was in the pulpit of this Little Pigeon Baptist meeting house, Mr. Herndon states, that young Lincoln witnessed an amusing incident which befell one of these transient preachers, an incident that Lincoln in later years frequently related, and is as follows:

The meeting house was located in the woods a mile and a half from our home and some distance from any other residence. Regular services were held only once each month. The preacher on this occasion was an old-time Baptist, and was dressed in coarse linen pantaloons and shirt of the same material. The trousers were manufactured after the old fashioned style, with baggy legs and flaps in front, commonly spoken of as "barn doors", which were made to attach to the frame without the aid of suspenders. A single button held his shirt in position, and that was at the collar. He arose in the pulpit and in a loud voice announced his text: "I am the Christ whom I shall represent today." About this time a little blue lizard ran up underneath his roomy pantaloons, and the old preacher not wishing to interrupt the steady flow of his sermon slapped away on his legs, expecting to arrest the intruder, but his efforts were unavailing and the little fellow kept ascending higher and higher. Continuing the sermon the preacher slyly loosened the button which held the waistband of his pantaloons, and with a kick off came the easy fitting garment. Meanwhile Mr. Lizard had passed the equatorial line and was exploring the part of the preacher's anatomy which lay underneath the back of his shirt. Things by this time were growing interesting, but the sermon kept grinding on. The next movement on the part of the preacher was for the collar button, and with one sweep of his arm off came the tow linen shirt. The congregation sat for an instant as if dazed. At length one old sister in the rear of the room rose up and glancing at the excited object in the pulpit shouted at the top of her voice: "If you represent Christ, then I am done with the Bible."

On another occasion a traveling minister happened in the settlement one Sunday morning and was invited to preach. It appears that his pulpit mannerisms, gestures and platform eccentricities were quite out of the ordinary. He had the habit among other things of rolling his eyes not unlike the old-time colored preacher, and when he warmed up to his theme he pounded the Bible and the hymn book mercilessly, accompanied by certain pauses that might have been eloquent but for the fact that the speaker's zeal got the better of his judgment, for just at this juncture he introduced sundry groans and windy suspirations which no doubt he supposed would greatly aid in fastening the word as a nail in a sure place. In addition to the foregoing the preacher possessed an unfortunate physical defect, perhaps acquired, which was so characteristic of not a few public speakers. He had a mingled sybillant sonorous nazal twang which he pitched into that peculiar key in rendering his sing-song address.

Lincoln was present on this occasion, as were many others

of his age, and some of these boyhood friends of Lincoln, among whom was Nat Griggsby, related that young Lincoln again and again repeated this sermon to the farm hands and the group of loungers at the Gentryville store, and so faithful was the presentation not only in words, but in pulpit mannerisms—the rolling of the eyes, pounding of the Bible, and the nazal twang—that it was the judgment of those who heard Lincoln's effort, as well as the original presentation, that it was impossible to tell wherein the one differed from the other.

It will become at once apparent from some of the foregoing incidents that there never was any justification for the position taken by some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers in assuming, as they did, that he was inclined to make sport of the church or religion as such. The attitude assumed by some of his biographers was not only based upon this habit of Lincoln in repeating the Sunday sermon, but upon some poetic effusions composed "in Bible language", usually after the manner and style of the ancient Chronicles, wherein he caricatured "Sister Gibson and Brother Gibson", members of the Little Pigeon church, who had been derelict in duty and in consequence had been called upon to undergo the ordeal of a church trial. After diligent inquiry touching Mr. Lincoln's religious convictions, nothing whatever was found indicating any tendency toward infidelity or atheism; certainly no semblance of a disposition to criticise or lightly esteem the church or religion. This position of his earlier biographers, who were themselves personally so inclined, is absolutely without any foundation.

When it is recalled that young Lincoln's habit of mimicry and his subjects and objects of caricature were promiscuous, there is small wonder that these crude efforts in the pulpit were seized upon by him as quite the best for the exercise of his powers, since this field was more inviting than any other that presented itself and he very naturally availed himself of it.

Being naturally more or less a comedian, and adapting himself to his audiences, he gave way to buffoonery indiscriminately, making selection of anything especially appealing

to him. He not only mimicked the noisy traveling preacher who was much given to polemic discussion, but was also in the habit of repeating any public address heard, whether on the stump or before the bar. If the address appealed to him as being eloquent or possessing any excellence in any other way, he brought into play his exceptional powers of memory, repeating such portions with evident attempt at seriousness, noting their effect, taking this opportunity to "hear his voice", of which his associates maintained that he was especially vain. Not that his vanity led him to suppose that his voice was musical or fitted for public address beyond others, but his consuming ambition to become a public speaker gave free play to his fancy, and in such boyish efforts he flattered himself into the belief that he was preparing against the day when he could and would take the stump in real earnest.

He early manifested a desire to indulge himself in public address. If the school exhibitions may be taken into account, his age was about eleven years when he began on his own account. This disposition grew upon him through the years, until by the time he had reached seventeen he was continually "on the stump". His stepmother stated that after a few efforts before boys of his age he at length ventured to try his powers before larger groups. He particularly made choice "of the hands in the fields" until, as she put it, "it soon became an amusing sight to see and hear him make these speeches." She further confessed that her "husband was forced to break it up with a strong hand", since it kept the men from their work.

There appear to be few such characters as Shakespeare, Burns and Lincoln who, if left to dwell apart and follow the plow or make use of the ax and maul, deprived of the privilege of a university or college, develop those great faculties which nature has so abundantly endowed them with, and happily reach their destined goal by a route, if circuitous and accompanied by exacting and patient toil, is nevertheless apparently best suited to them.

Perhaps if Lincoln had been privileged to enjoy the curriculum of a great university, we would doubtless have had a master mind so skilled and trained as to have enabled him

to occupy a commanding and enviable place in history, but it may well be doubted whether or not the very discipline imposed by such a course of training would not have marred or altogether lost to the world some of those rare qualities of mind and heart which were so prominent in him and which above all else distinguishes him from most great men of his time.

Since Lincoln was destined to rise by the sheer force of his own personality and imperious will, and to develop the great qualities of mind in this almost unbelievable manner, it was his good fortune to spend those years of strange preparations among a simple-minded, yet honest and patriotic folk, hedged in by a wilderness but freed thereby from those conventional restraints and hindrances that older and more settled communities usually impose. At the same time he was removed from the blighting effects of vice which, had he been subjected it, might have prevented the maturing of a character, embodying all of the essential basic elements of the plain people. Lincoln did not, as some have supposed, live the cabin life in the White House so much as he lived the White House life in the cabin.

Any attempt to analyze his character or in any measure seek to account for the sustained, universal interest in him by substantially all classes of people, as well as youth, and claimed by all political faiths, leads to the fact that in him was embodied all of the essential and vital elements of manhood, as well as the willingness and sincerity of purpose to give executive expression to the wishes of the people. There is discerned in this universal admiration of Lincoln not only an unconscious expression of resentment of such encroachment, but an indication of an instinctive desire to throw off all mere artificialities of life. We recognize that in him dwelt the fullness of the simplicities of life to the extent that he became the apotheosis of the plain people.

Leonard Sweet, a political friend and associate of the great President, stated that Lincoln in speaking of his Indiana life always spoke of it as the story of a happy childhood. There was nothing sad or pinched about it, and no allusion to want in any part of it. His own description of his youth

was that of a happy, joyous boyhood. It was told with mirth, illustrated by pointed anecdotes, and often interrupted by his jocund laugh.

If the Civil war crisis in our national life necessarily demanded a leader who was the embodiment of all that the people themselves stood for or desired, then Providence anticipated this by making choice of a youth without a distinguished name, reared him in the seclusion of the wilderness, just as He has almost all of His great leaders and when he appeared he so far met the high expectations of the Almighty and received the gratitude and applause of mankind that Major John Hay, his private secretary, voices the sentiment of many when he said:

"Abraham Lincoln was the greatest character that has appeared in the history of the world since Jesus Christ."

(To be continued)

The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860

By CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, A.M., Decker, Ind.

(Concluded)

THE LECOMPTON STRUGGLE

After the election, interest in Indiana was directed toward the meeting of the next General Assembly. Should the Republicans follow the example set by the Democrats in 1855 by refusing to go into a joint election? It happened that the State constitution does not lay down definitely the mode of electing a United States senator. If the Republican senators should refuse to go into a joint election there was no way of forcing them to do so. Holding this question in mind, a Republican Editorial Convention was convened in Indianapolis, January 6, 1857. The American editors were invited to meet in the convention but they were asked to come as Republicans.¹ At this meeting it was resolved that since the "Old Line" Senate of 1855 had refused to go into the election of a United States senator the opposition in the present legislature should refuse to go into any election except by separate Houses.²

The next day, January 7, 1857, the State Republican convention met at Indianapolis as a delegate convention for the purpose of effecting a more permanent and efficient organization of the Republican party.³ O. P. Morton, the chairman, said that the Republican creed was plain, being not to assail

¹ *Weekly State Journal*, December 25, 1856.

² *Weekly State Journal*, January 8, 1857.

³ *Weekly State Journal*, December 11, 1856; *Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, December 17, 1856.

slavery where it already existed but to meet it when it goes forth in conquest.⁴ H. S. Lane spoke of the course pursued by the Democrats in the General Assembly of 1855 and hoped that the Republicans would postpone the election of a United States senator. He told the delegates to go home and proclaim it from the housetops. The committee on resolutions reported that the Republicans of Indiana were ready to stand upon the Philadelphia platform of 1856 and that, following the Democratic precedent of 1855, the Republicans should not enter into a joint convention for the election of a United States senator, but should elect only by separate Houses. Thus the policy of the Republican party on the election of a United States senator was definitely laid down.⁵

The Republican senators felt that they should prevent an election. Knowing that the seats of Messrs. Bobbs of Marion county, Rice of Rush county, and Cooper of Fountain county might be contested, giving the Democrats a majority in the State senate if these men were ousted, the Republicans met and organized the State senate before Lieutenant Governor Willard arrived. When Willard came he said that he had intended to admit Bobbs and Rice. The senate was now regularly organized and Mr. Cooper was voted in.⁶ On the second of February, 1857, at two o'clock P. M. Lieutenant-Governor Hammond announced that the time had come to go to the hall of the house in accordance with a resolution of January 12. No motion of adjournment was made. Out went the Democrats, but not the Republicans.⁷ Here Graham W. Fitch was nominated to serve until March 4, 1861—23 Democratic senators and 60 Democratic representatives voting for him. The two Fillmore Republicans voted for G. C. Dunn. Jesse D. Bright was elected to serve until March 4, 1863. The Republicans claimed that these elections were not legal, since the joint convention did not have a quorum of each House present and since each House had not resolved to go into a joint convention.⁸

The Democrats did not attempt to justify the election of

⁴ *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, February 5, 1857.

⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, February 12, 1857.

Fitch and Bright as constitutionally done. Editor Hicks of the Rockport *Democrat* said that the Know Nothings stole into power in 1854 while the people were asleep and, therefore, did not represent the will of the people and that the action of the Democratic senate in 1855 represented the will of the people, while in 1856 the Democrats had an overwhelming majority in a fair election and were entitled to the two senators.⁹ The New Albany *Weekly Ledger* said that it was unnecessary to attempt to conceal the fact that the election was irregular and not in accordance with general precedent, but justified the action on the ground that it was not just to deprive Indiana of representation in the United States senate.¹⁰

While the Democratic senators were voting for Bright and Fitch in the "sham" convention of February 2, 1857, the Republican senators were expelling Mr. LeRoy Woods of Clark county for holding two offices.¹¹ This angered the Democrats, who declared Woods must be seated or they would block legislation.¹² As a result the Revenue, Appraisement, and Temperance bills were not passed.

The State was now in an awkward position. Governor Willard was urged to call a special session of the legislature, but refused, alleging that a deadlock would occur over the Miller-Shyrock case from Fulton county. Mr. Shyrock now proposed that both should "resign and allow a new election" and to remain away from the proposed extra session.¹³ This took away the excuse of Governor Willard for not calling a special session, but he stood firm and refused to call it.

Both parties blamed the other for "blocking legislation". The Democrats claimed that "an accidental" control of the State senate gave the Republicans the opportunity to "block the wheels of State government" in order to embarrass the Democratic State administration.¹⁴ Even if the Democratic senators were wrong in supporting Woods and Miller the

⁹ Rockport *Weekly Democrat*, January 31, 1857.

¹⁰ New Albany *Weekly Ledger*, February 11, 1857. Bright and Fitch were seated in the United States Senate.

¹¹ *Weekly State Journal*, February 5, 1856. Woods had been appointed moral instructor at the prison at \$500 per year.

¹² *Weekly State Journal*, March 5, 1857.

¹³ *Weekly State Journal*, April 30, 1857.

¹⁴ *State Sentinel*, October 16, 1857.

party felt that it was the duty of the Republican senate to pass the necessary bills.¹⁵

As a result of the failure to pass the appropriation bill the hospital for the insane and the institution for the blind were closed.¹⁶ Governor Willard was accused of saying that "the closing of the asylums would be a good move, since it would drive the Republicans to instruct their senators to give way to the Democrats".¹⁷ These institutions remained closed until October, when Governor Willard ordered them reopened.¹⁸ The reopening of the State institutions raised the question as to the legality of using State money for this purpose when none had been appropriated by the State legislature.¹⁹

The Americans met in their State convention, February 17, 1857, at the Statehouse in Indianapolis. Not many were present. After speeches by R. W. Thompson, of Terre Haute, and Milton Gregg the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform opposing all interference with the institutions of any State, opposing the extension of slavery beyond its present limits, favoring national internal improvements, urging a protective tariff, and favoring the amendment of the constitution of Indiana limiting the right of suffrage to native and naturalized citizens of the United States.²⁰ An examination of this platform shows that there was not much difference between the views of the Americans and those of the Republicans. The *Sentinel* stated that the natural affinity of the Americans was with the Republicans and that through their secret organizations the Know Nothings controlled the Republican party.²¹

The only other political meeting of any importance during the year was held October 5, 1857, at the Statehouse for the nomination of two supreme court judges to take the places of Judges Samuel B. Gookins and William Z. Stuart, who had resigned. A call was sent out for the Republicans to meet

¹⁵ *State Sentinel*, April 16, 1860.

¹⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, April 9, 1857; April 23, 1857.

¹⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, April 16, 1857.

¹⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, September 24, 1857.

¹⁹ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, October 6, 1858.

²⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, February 19, 1857.

²¹ *State Sentinel*, Aug. 13, 1857.

for that purpose. This was the first call in which the word "Republicans" was used and which was signed by the Republican State Central Committee.²² Horace P. Biddle of Cass county and Elias S. Terry of Parke county were nominated by the convention. A series of resolutions was passed reaffirming the Philadelphia platform of 1856, denouncing the Democrats for not assisting in passing necessary legislation at the last State legislature, and favoring paper currency redeemable in gold coin.²³

Before the opening of the campaign of 1858 it was seen that the question of the admission of Kansas was going to be the leading issue. In the prospectus of the *State Journal* was a statement on the political outlook of the day which was prophetic:

The year 1858 will see the great battle of freedom on the floor of congress, and on the plains of Kansas, when it will be decided whether a ruthless minority of southern slave-holders shall force a diabolical constitution on the free people of Kansas, without even submitting it for their ratification; it will see a great division in the Democratic party north on the question of the admission of Kansas with the above constitution.²⁴

The pro-slavery Lecompton convention had framed a constitution which was to be voted on "with slavery" or "without slavery". The constitution was not to be voted on. This produced a split in the Democratic party in Indiana. Some thought that the Lecompton constitution was not in harmony with the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, while others thought that Kansas should be admitted and then the people of Kansas could change their constitution to suit themselves.²⁵ It was the belief of this latter class of Democrats that this would be the best way of getting the Kansas affair out of politics. They were very anxious to have the question settled, since it was evident that the Republicans were intending to make Kansas the main issue.

The New Albany *Daily Ledger* could not see how the action of the convention in refusing to submit the constitution to the people could be defended. The slavery question alone was

²² *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 24, 1857.

²³ *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 8, 1857.

²⁴ *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 7, 1858.

²⁵ *State Sentinel*, Dec. 17, 1857.

to be voted upon. A small minority was ruling a majority in such a way as to defeat the will of the majority.²⁶

The *Sentinel* changed front on the Lecompton constitution. December 3, 1857, it published an article denouncing the Lecompton convention as a breach of faith and an unmanly attempt to force a constitution upon a people to whom fair dealing had been pledged. On the 16th of December, 1857, it published an article stating that the conservative, law-abiding, and loyal citizens would sustain the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. The *Sentinel* was anxious to have the question settled by Congress, hoping that the people would forget about it.²⁷

R. S. Hicks, editor of the Rockport *Democrat*, charged the Democratic politicians with violation of the will of the people of Kansas and the principles of Democracy.²⁸

Among the anti-Lecompton newspapers of Indiana were the Indianapolis *National Democrat*, The New Albany *Ledger*, The Terre Haute *Journal*, The Spencer *Guard*, The Decatur *Democrat*, The South Bend *Forum*, The La Porte *Times*, The Goshen *Democrat*, The Logansport *Pharos*, The Corydon *Democrat*, The Washington *Democrat* (Salem), The Cannelton *Reporter*, The Rockport *Democrat*, The Newburgh *Democrat*, The Princeton *Clarion*, The Sullivan *Democrat*, The Indianapolis *Volksblatt*, The Greenfield *Democrat*, The Lawrenceburg *Register*, The Crawfordsville *Review*, The Columbus *Democrat*, The Brownstown *Democrat*, The Greensburg *Democrat*, The Anderson *Standard*, The Shelbyville *Volunteer*, The Franklin *Jeffersonian*, The Brookville *Democrat*, The Bedford *Democrat*, The Fort Wayne *Jeffersonian* and The Albion *Democrat*. These papers constituted three-fourths of the Democratic papers of Indiana.²⁹ They were following the lead of Douglas, who was opposing the policy of the administration in recommending the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, as being contrary to the wishes of the people of Kansas and to the principle of Popular Sovereignty.³⁰

Jesse D. Bright astounded the Democrats of Indiana by

²⁶ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Dec. 2, 1857.

²⁷ *State Sentinel*, April 9, 1858.

²⁸ *Rockport Democrat*, April 24, 1858.

²⁹ *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, April 28, 1858.

³⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, April 1, 1858.

declaring that he had never doubted that congress had the power to legislate for the territories.³¹ This sounded strange to Democrats in view of the principle of Democracy in 1856, non-intervention. On March 20, 1858, in the Senate he said, "So strong is my conviction of the viciousness of submitting to a direct vote of the people the propriety of the enactment of or rejection of laws, that for one I am prepared to extend the same objection to the submission of the entire constitution to the same tribunal."³² Bright had gone back on one of the great principles of the Democratic party—the right of the people of any State to vote upon their own constitution.

Representative David Kilgore of the Fifth district in the House of Representatives said:

Where slavery exists by legal sanction, let it alone. But, sir, where slavery does not exist, where territories are free, where there is no law creating the institution, I say, what that eminent leader (Henry Clay) said among his last declarations: "I never can and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote, to spread slavery over territory where it does not already exist!" The Republican party which is here opposing the admission of Kansas under this constitution, is in favor of giving the land of this territory, in limited quantities, to the poor man South and the poor man North, instead of giving it to overgrown corporations, etc.³³

Although Representative William E. English of the Second district had said in a speech in the House of Representatives on March 9, 1858, that the Lecompton constitution did not embody the will of the people of Kansas,³⁴ he introduced a bill providing that if Kansas would come in under the Lecompton constitution she was to get five per cent of the proceeds of the sale of 2,000,000 acres of public land within the State and that if the people voted against the Lecompton constitution Kansas should not be admitted until it had a population sufficient to entitle it to one representative.³⁵ In discussing this bill George W. Julian said, "It was a proposition of gigantic bribery, after bluster and bullying had been exhausted."³⁶ Aquilla Jones of Laporte county wrote a letter to the *Rockport Democrat* in which he said that he could not support the English bill since it did not settle the Kansan

³¹ Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, April 21, 1858.

³² *State Sentinel*, July 31, 1860.

³³ *Weekly State Journal*, April 22, 1858.

³⁴ *Rockport Democrat*, July 3, 1858.

³⁵ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, May 5, 1858.

³⁶ Julian, *Political Recollections*, p. 162.

question and was an attempt to force the Lecompton constitution upon an unwilling people.³⁷

Congress passed the English bill as amended by Senator James S. Green of Missouri. Of this action the *Journal* said, "Lecompton will prove a deadly poison to the party that has swallowed it. It is slavery's last triumph."³⁸ Kansas voted against English's proposition by about 12,000.³⁹ Representative English said that he never thought that Kansas would accept the Lecompton constitution.⁴⁰

One of the difficulties of the northern Democrats was to meet the statements made by the southerners on the Lecompton question. While the northern Democratic newspapers were maintaining that it was not the purpose of the administration to force slavery into Kansas the southern papers were printing views which were contrary to those set forth by the northern Democratic papers. On August 4, 1858, the *Mobile Register* said:

If Kansas was not to come in under the Lecompton Constitution as a Slave State, the South was to be compensated by keeping her out as a free State for an indefinite number of years.⁴¹

The *Charleston Mercury* said:

The postponement of the admission of Kansas into the Union until she obtains the population which a member of Congress represents, was to allow the South another chance to win the territory.⁴²

Representative Sharter of Alabama said:

By the bill the North has been compelled to consent that 33,000 people be admitted into the Union as a State with a pro-slavery constitution, while they cannot be admitted as an anti-slavery State until they number 93,000 souls.

Representative Bryce of South Carolina said:

Kansas has voted upon the land proposition, and refuses to accept the terms offered, and therefore remains out of the Union. This conclusively establishes the fact that Kansas is ultra anti-slavery. This being the case, the best thing for her is to stay out of the Union. Her coming in would only give an accession of strength to our enemies. If she should stay out forever, all the better.⁴³

³⁷ *Rockport Democrat*, June 26, 1858.

³⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, May 6, 1858.

³⁹ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

⁴⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

⁴¹ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

⁴² *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

⁴³ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

In fact, the South had advanced from the principle of non-intervention as expressed in the Cincinnati platform to that of attempting to force legalized slavery upon the people of a new State by the action of congress.⁴⁴

The great question which each Democratic county convention faced was that of the Lecompton question. Indiana Democrats were divided on this question, with most of them favoring the principles set forth in the Cincinnati platform, approving the Dred Scott decision, and the election of Bright and Fitch, and favoring the right of any territory to determine its own domestic institutions without interference from congress.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ O. M. Dickerson, *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1913-14, p. 199.

⁴⁵ The Hancock Democratic convention affirmed the Cincinnati platform, *Sentinel*, July 16, 1857.

Floyd and Whitley county Democratic conventions approved the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, September 9, 1857.

Jasper county approved the Cincinnati platform, Buchanan's administration, and the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, Oct. 7, 1857.

Monroe county approved the Cincinnati platform, Willard's administration, the election of Bright and Fitch, and the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1857.

Rush county approved the Cincinnati platform, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the election of Bright and Fitch; *Sentinel*, Oct. 23, 1857.

Owen county favored the Cincinnati platform and letting Kansas settle her own troubles; *Sentinel*, Dec. 12, 1857.

Decatur county deplored the split between Bright and Wright; *Sentinel*, Dec. 8, 1857.

Tippecanoe county approved the Kansas-Nebraska act, the Dred Scott decision, and the early admission of Kansas; *Sentinel*, Dec. 16, 1857.

Adams county favored the Cincinnati platform, the administration of Buchanan, an independent treasury system, and the election of Bright and Fitch; *Sentinel*, Dec. 17, 1857.

The reports of the following conventions are taken from the *New Albany Daily Ledger* of Jan. 2, 1858:

La Porte county: The people of a territory have the right to form their own institutions subject only to the constitution of the United States.

Wells county: Approved the stand of Douglas on the Lecompton affair.

Vanderburg county: That the course of the Lecompton convention in refusing to submit the whole constitution to the will of the people is contrary to the true meaning of popular sovereignty.

Spencer county: Favored submitting the Lecompton constitution to the people of Kansas.

Howard county: That we look upon the course of the late constitutional convention of Kansas as violating the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Franklin county: That we are in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state.

Jennings county: That we are in favor of the people of Kansas determining their own institutions.

Fayette county: We recommend that congress confirm no constitution for Kansas or any other territory that conflicts with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

In this divided state the Democracy of Indiana realized that it was unfortunate that the Democratic State convention was to be held on January 8, 1858, at Indianapolis, since there did not seem to be much possibility of harmonizing the Douglas and administration Democrats. It was thought that an effort would be made by the followers of Bright and Fitch to force the convention to endorse the Lecompton constitution as a basis for the admission of Kansas into the Union.⁴⁶ The opponents of Bright and Fitch urged the party to remember where the doctrine of expediency advocated by the leaders in 1849 had placed the Democratic party and reminded them that it would be foolish to make such a mistake again.

The convention was a bitter struggle between the Bright men and the Douglas men, in which the Douglas people were unsuccessful. They sustained their first defeat when A. P. Willard was made chairman by defeating W. S. Holman of Dearborn county. The second defeat came when Joseph W. Chapman of Jefferson county moved that parliamentary rules govern the convention. This gave Willard the power to appoint the committees. The nominating committee reported the renomination of the old officers except Superintendent W. C. Larrabee, in whose place Samuel L. Rugg of Allen county was nominated.⁴⁷ While Senator Bright was addressing the convention the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform endorsing the Cincinnati platform, the Dred Scott decision, Bright and Fitch as United States senators, condemning the Republican State senators for their course in refusing to pass the necessary appropriation bills, and endorsing the administration of James Buchanan. When the Douglas men realized that the platform as reported did not endorse Douglas pandemonium broke loose. Lew Wallace arose, intending to introduce a Douglas resolution, but after fifteen minutes of yelling the meeting was adjourned by Chairman Willard.

As soon as the convention adjourned and the noise had abated somewhat, John C. Walker of La Porte county took the chair. Ryan of Marion county read a resolution endorsing popular sovereignty as set forth by Stephen A. Douglas. It

⁴⁶ Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 6, 1858.

⁴⁷ Samuel E. Perkins, A. J. Davidson, James M. Hanna, and James L. Worden were nominated for the supreme court.

was the sentiment of this meeting that unless the majority were willing to give the minority a chance to express their views they would organize another convention.

At the evening session a letter from Aquilla Jones, in which he gave his reason for refusing to accept the nomination as treasurer of State, was read. Jones said:

But, gentlemen, with regret I must say, that I cannot conscientiously accept the honor you have offered me, upon the platform you have this day adopted. I am impelled to this conclusion, not so much by anything you assert in your resolutions as by the fact that in my humble judgment some of the favorite measures and at least one vital principle of the Democratic party have either been omitted, or asserted in such a manner as to be susceptible of an equivocal construction.⁴⁸

After the reading of this letter Nathaniel Cunningham of Vigo county was nominated for State treasurer.⁴⁹

Of this meeting the *New Albany Ledger*, January 12, 1858, said, "It would not be the truth to say that the proceedings of the convention were conducted in harmony and good feeling." The *Logansport Democratic Pharos* characterized the meeting as one in which Lecompton was upheld by the well-drilled satellites of Senator Bright, as a contest in which it was decided that the servant should instruct the Democracy which had placed him in power, and as an insult to the citizens of Indiana that Bright should leave Washington and come to Indianapolis to secure the abandonment of a principle which was endorsed by nine-tenths of the Democrats of Indiana.⁵⁰

That the Douglas men were not satisfied with their treatment by the convention of January 8, 1858, was seen when a call for a Democratic mass meeting to be held February 22, 1858, at Indianapolis was issued. This address stated that although sixty Democratic county conventions had passed resolutions on banking and an independent treasury system, the platform touched on neither subject; that the local interests of the State were forgotten in the intensity of the excitement over the slavery issue; that different interpretations of the platform have arisen, one section viewing it as opposing

⁴⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 21, 1858; *Rockport Democrat*, June 26, 1858.

⁴⁹ *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1858.

⁵⁰ *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 13, 1858.

the Lecompton constitution, while the other thinks that it does not apply to Kansas at all. The address put the question of Kansas squarely before the Democrats when it said:

Are we in favor of contributing to force the Lecompton constitution with slavery upon the people of Kansas against their will? If we do we shall be beaten. * * * We ask our brethren not to risk defeat by deserting that principle, which has led us to victory in the past, and the abandonment of which would doom us to defeat in the future.⁵¹

On the appointed day a larger crowd than had attended the Democratic State convention of January 8, 1858, assembled at Indianapolis. W. M. McCarty of Marion county was made chairman. Here a platform was made which stated that by the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska act Kansas had a right to vote on her own constitution, opposed the retrocession of the Wabash and Erie canal, favored an independent State treasury system, favored gold and silver only for money, endorsed Douglas, read the *Sentinel* out of the Democratic party, and recommended that a mass convention of the Democracy of the Northwest be held at Chicago or some other suitable place.⁵²

These resolutions put the Democratic party upon the Cincinnati platform. The resolution calling for a national convention at Chicago was very significant. It meant that the Democratic party would, if this were carried out, reorganize itself by refusing to surrender any further to the demands of the South. It would have been a revolution in the party politics of the country.⁵³ The *Sentinel* spoke of the members of this convention as "bolters".⁵⁴ The Evansville *Enquirer* said that the mongrel convention was "an assemblage of sore-headed malcontents who have been fed by the Democratic party so long that they think themselves the exclusive rulers of the party, and Mr. Buchanan, having failed to appoint them to some fat office, has given great offence, whereupon they turn 'People' and call a convention of the people".⁵⁵ John L.

⁵¹ *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 28, 1858; *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 27, 1858; *New York Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁵² *Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 25, 1858; *Democratic Pharos*, March 3, 1858.

⁵³ *New York Times*, March 1, 1858.

⁵⁴ *State Sentinel*, March 4, 1858.

⁵⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, March 25, 1858.

Robinson spoke of the Douglas men as follows: "I say let them go, and may God pardon their poor, contemptible, pusillanimous souls".⁵⁶

What was the condition of the Republican party at the opening of the campaign of 1858? Horace Greely, in an editorial on this subject, said:

The Republican party is still numerous and strong, but it has no platform or distinct creed. In its origin it was the growth of a sudden emergency. It took its shape and principles from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the rape attempted by slavery upon Kansas. These were temporary issues and have nearly disappeared from the political field. The great mass of the Republicans have abandoned the doctrine of congressional control of the territories, and have adopted the principle of *Popular Sovereignty*. Upon other questions there is no agreement among them. In regard to slavery the great body of the Republicans tend toward conservatism.⁵⁷

In Indiana the Republicans were divided on the question of the issues for the campaign. Men of the Defrees type wanted one great, live issue—Shall slavery be extended beyond the limits of the States where it now exists? This class of Republicans wanted no other issue than this.⁵⁸ The other class of Republicans proposed dwelling more on State issues than on any national issue. They took the stand that they stood a better chance of carrying the election on local issues.⁵⁹ In the eyes of the Democrats the Republicans had but one great principle—opposition to the Democratic party. "In intense hatred of Democracy they live, move, and have their being".⁶⁰

A close study of the call for a mass convention to be held March 4, 1858, causes one to feel that the Republicans were more of an opposition party than party with definite principles. This call invited all, regardless of past political affiliations, who opposed the Lecompton policy of the present administration to participate in the mass meeting for the purpose of forming a State ticket in opposition to that nominated by the packed convention of January 8, 1858.⁶¹ It was not an

⁵⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 4, 1858.

⁵⁷ *New York Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1857.

⁵⁸ *State Sentinel*, Feb. 18, 1858.

⁵⁹ *State Sentinel*, Aug. 19, 1857.

⁶⁰ *State Sentinel*, Oct. 16, 1857, from *Terre Haute Express*.

⁶¹ *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 21, 1858.

official act of the Republican State Central Committee, but was signed by twenty-one Republicans who had been called together by John Defrees, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.⁶² It did not suit M. C. Garber, who said that the wind would be taken out of the Kansas policy in the call when the administration backed down.⁶³ In 1857 Garber had said that he wanted an out and out Republican convention or none at all. He had had enough Talbotts, Collins, Dawsons, R. W. Thompsons, and Greggs.⁶⁴ Lew Wallace wrote that the call revealed the plan of the Republicans to come out on a popular sovereignty platform.⁶⁵ From the call it was evident that the Republicans were going to make Kansas the issue. In order to get the fullest use of this issue the *Boone County Ledger* wanted the State Republican convention put off until July or August in the hope that the acts of the national administration in dealing with Kansas would be such as could be used against the Democratic party in Indiana.⁶⁶

The Republican county conventions made the "Lecompton Fraud" the great issue. Their resolutions denied that they favored negro equality, opposed the Dred Scott decisions, favored the Philadelphia platform, denounced the doctrine that the constitution carried slavery into the territories,

⁶²The State Central Committee was composed of the following members: Indianapolis—Defrees, J. S. Harvey, David McGuire, James Blake, Berry Sulgrove. First district, Thomas F. DeBruler; Second district, John Ferguson; Third district, John R. Cravens; Fourth district, John H. Farquahr; Fifth district, Miles Murphy; Sixth district, James Ritchey; Seventh district, George K. Steele; Eighth district, O. S. Clark; Ninth district, D. G. Rose; Tenth district, T. G. Harris; Eleventh district, James A. Stretch.

⁶³*State Sentinel*, Jan. 15, 1858.

⁶⁴*Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, April 21, 1857.

⁶⁵*New Albany Weekly Ledger*, Jan. 27, 1858.

⁶⁶*Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 10, 1857.

The Marion county Republican convention of Feb. 13, 1858, passed resolutions opposing the further extensions of slavery, denouncing the Lecompton constitution, denying the right of Bright and Fitch to seats in the United States Senate, denouncing the Dred Scott decision, opposing the assumption of the Wabash and Erie canal, demanding a homestead bill, and denying that the Republicans favor the political and social equality for negroes.

The Hamilton county convention approved of the Philadelphia platform, opposed the spread of slavery, demanded that Kansas vote upon her own institutions, opposed the election of Bright and Fitch to the United States Senate, and opposed the assumption of the Wabash and Erie bonds.

Clinton, Carroll, Rush, Tippecanoe, Vigo, Marshall, Morgan, Randolph, Hancock, Delaware, Monroe, Johnson, St. Joseph, Montgomery and Henry county Republicans held conventions and passed resolutions similar to the above.

avored a Homestead law and denounced the admission of Bright and Fitch to the United States senate.

The Republicans met March 4, 1858, in their State convention, which was characterized by the *New Albany Weekly Ledger* of March 10, 1858, as "Black Republican all over". Oliver P. Morton was made chairman of the meeting. In his remarks to the convention he urged the members to act in harmony, saying that it was idle to expect to please everybody. He pointed out that it was the duty of every member of the convention to support the ticket. He then showed that the pro-slavery people had taken every foot of territory from the North and had gotten control of the supreme court of the United States.⁶⁷

George W. Julian followed Morton. He urged the convention to make the Philadelphia platform the creed of the Indiana Republicans. He further censured the State Central Committee for not sending more Republican speakers into southern Indiana in 1856. According to Julian, this was the cause of the defeat of the Republicans in 1856.

Mr. Theodore Hielscher of Indianapolis was the next to speak. He represented that there were 40,000 Germans in Indiana, of which not 500 would support the Lecompton constitution. Mr. Hielscher wanted it said of the Republican party that it was a "free white laborer" party.

C. D. Murray followed Mr. Hielscher. He thought that the adoption of the substance of the Philadelphia platform was sufficient, favoring making the Dred Scott decision the great issue. While he was speaking the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform in the name of the Republicans of Indiana embodying most of the resolutions passed by the Republican county conventions.⁶⁸ Owing to the two views held by the members of the convention the Resolutions Com-

⁶⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, March 11, 1858.

⁶⁸ W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, p. 16.

1. That our national government ought to be so administered as to promote harmony between the different sections of our country, secure the affections of all the people of the United States, and command the respect of the nations of the earth.

2. That the people of a territory when they come to form a constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State have the right to adopt such a constitution, being Republican in form, as may be acceptable to themselves, and that no State ought to be received into the Union before the consti-

mittee had a difficult task in trying to draft a platform that would suit those desiring a verbal reaffirmation of the Philadelphia platform and those desiring to make Kansas the leading issue.⁶⁹

George W. Julian attacked the platform as being the work of the managers of the convention rather than an honest expression of the views of the members of the Republican party. He argued for a direct reaffirmation of the Philadelphia platform.⁷⁰ Morton answered him by saying that the platform was sufficient if it declared the substance of the Philadelphia platform. Morton thought that since the men who made the Philadelphia platform had made it to suit the

tution thereof has been fully and fairly submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection and received the approval of the majority of its legal voters.

3. That the attempt now being so persistently made by the present administration to impose upon Kansas the Leecompton constitution, notoriously obnoxious to the great majority of her citizens and with no other object than to force upon them institutions against which they have repeatedly and most earnestly protested, is a gross outrage upon the rights of the people of the territory, and calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of the country.

4. That freedom is national and slavery sectional, and that we do most earnestly protest against and denounce the dangerous and alarming doctrine first promulgated by the disunionists and nullifiers of the South, that the constitution of the United States of itself carries slavery into, and protects it in, all the territories of the United States and this doctrine and all its supporters, maintainers and defenders, whether in or out of authority, we here pledge ourselves to resist and oppose, as enemies to the peace and welfare of the country.

5. That we re-affirm the doctrine, that congress has the constitutional power to exclude slavery from the national territories, notwithstanding the extra judicial opinion of the supreme court of the United States to the contrary.

6. That we disclaim any right to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, but we oppose now, as heretofore, its extension into any of the territories, and will use all proper and constitutional means to prevent such extension.

7. That we do not struggle for a mere party triumph, but for the right and good of our whole country, and that we honor those political opponents who have had the manliness to place themselves in opposition to the administration in its assault upon the fundamental principles of American liberty.

8. That Jesse D. Bright and Graham N. Fitch are not of right the representatives of this State in the senate of the United States, and ought to be immediately ousted therefrom.

9. That we will always resist the scheme of selfish and unscrupulous persons, high in power, having for its object the re-transfer of the Wabash and Erie canal from bondholders to the State.

10. That we are in favor of granting to actual settlers on the public lands a homestead of at least 160 acres.

⁶⁹ *Miami County Sentinel*, March 18, 1858.

⁷⁰ July 4, 1857, at Raysville, Julian had characterized the People's party as "conceived in mere policy and lust for office, and managed by unbelieving politicians, and that cowardice was stamped upon its features." W. D. Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 61-2.

case the Republicans of Indiana had the right to do the same.⁷¹

The nominating committee reported the following ticket:

For Supreme Judges—First district, Horace P. Biddle of Cass; Second district, A. W. Hendricks of Jefferson; Third district, Simon Yandes of Marion; Fourth district, William D. Griswold of Vigo; Attorney General, W. T. Otto of Floyd; Treasurer, John H. Harper of St. Joseph; Auditor, Albert Lange of Vigo; Secretary of State, W. A. Peele of Randolph; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John Young of Marion.

In considering the Republican platform it might be said that any Douglas Democrat could subscribe to the first three planks and that any Free Soiler could support the next three planks. There were no Temperance nor Know Nothing planks. Although this was a State election no expression of State policy was found in the platform except on the question of the Wabash and Erie bonds, upon which both parties were agreed.⁷²

The *Miami County Sentinel* of March 18, 1858, criticized the platform by saying that it did not say that congress ought to exclude slavery from the territories, as did the Philadelphia platform. It favored homesteads of not less than 160 acres to actual settlers on the public lands. It was the thought of the party that this would be a good means of combatting the further spread of slavery, which depended on large plantations for extension. This plank also appealed to the Germans, who were much interested in getting land for homes. Julian criticized the platform severely by saying that the Republicans not only surrendered the policy of congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories and adopted the principle of popular sovereignty, but made opposition to the Lecompton constitution the sole issue in the campaign.⁷³

The ticket was straight Republican. All the men nominated were former Whigs, with Judge Otto as perhaps the ablest man on the ticket.⁷⁴ Lange, who had been nominated in order that the Germans would be satisfied, had been elected by the Democrats in 1854 as auditor of Vigo county. Young, an Irish Protestant, was probably put on the ticket to catch

⁷¹ Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, March 8, 1858.

⁷² *State Sentinel*, March 5, 1858.

⁷³ Julian, *Political Recollections*, 167.

⁷⁴ New Albany *Weekly Ledger*, March 10, 1858.

the foreign vote.⁷⁵ M. C. Garber said that since so few of the Republicans were Catholics there was no need of representing them on the ticket.⁷⁶

Next to be considered is the attitude of the Republican party toward slavery. Republicans looked upon slavery as a moral, social, and economic evil, an injustice to the slaves, a curse to any community supporting it, and contrary to the dictates of civilization and Christianity. Since there seemed to be no clause of the Federal constitution which gave the national government the right to interfere with slavery in the States, the party did not propose to do anything with it as it existed within the States. But believing that the Federal constitution gave congress the exclusive control of the United States territories, the Republicans proposed to prevent the establishment of the institution of slavery in any territories. When ready for Statehood the people of any territory had a right to frame their constitution to suit themselves.⁷⁷ In answering the attacks of the Democrats that the Republicans had swung over to popular sovereignty, Editor Defrees said that when the Republicans proclaimed popular sovereignty they took no new position and abandoned no former principle, but were standing on a principle that they had asserted "from time immemorial".⁷⁸ There is no doubt that the Republicans in congress resisted the acceptance of the Lecompton constitution by congress as being contrary to the principle of popular sovereignty. Defrees said: "The Republicans contended then as now that slavery had no right in a territory till the people, through their lawful representatives, established it".⁷⁹ This does not differ much from Douglas' Freeport doctrine.

The Indiana State legislature in the special session of 1858 endorsed the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Lew Wallace introduced a resolution on the election of United States senators, part of which read as follows:

Resolved, That we recognize and insist upon the right of the people of any territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their

⁷⁵ *State Sentinel*, March 25, 1858.

⁷⁶ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, April 5, 1858.

⁷⁷ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, June 2, 1858.

⁷⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, April 22, 1858.

⁷⁹ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 9, 1858.

own way, subject only to the general constitution; and that, as incidental to that great right we recognize and insist upon their further right through their Legislature, to pass and establish laws and regulations relative to their property as they shall deem proper, without interference by Congress.⁸⁰

Senator Walter March of Delaware county offered an amendment denouncing Representatives Hughes, Foley, English, Niblack, and Gregg for not supporting the doctrines of popular sovereignty, and further resolving:

That the people of any territory when they form a constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State absolutely and inherently possess the right to make it in their own way upon the subject of slavery, as well as upon all other subjects uninfluenced by any outside interference whatsoever subject only to the constitution of the United States; that this right is not now and never has been called in question by the people of the United States or by any respectable number thereof.⁸¹

The March bill as amended by the House, December 15, 1858, was passed by the Senate, December 16, 1858, by a vote of 27 to 22.⁸² George W. Julian asserted that the State legislature endorsed the Douglas dogma and that the better class of Republican papers urged the abandonment of the Republican creed.⁸³ The *New York Times* stated that the State legislature had endorsed the doctrine of popular sovereignty as set forth by Douglas and had taken up the Freeport doctrine.⁸⁴

Being an off-year in the election there was not as much interest in this election as there had been in that of 1856. Who would be elected to congress seemed to be of greatest importance to the voters. The determining factor in the Democratic nominations for congress was the attitude of the nominees toward the Lecompton policy of President Buchanan. Every Republican congressman elected in 1856 was renominated in 1858. Below are the opposing candidates:

First district, William Niblack, Dem.; Alvin P. Hovey, Ind. Dem.

Second district, John M. Wilson, Ind. Dem.; W. H. English, Dem.

⁸⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 2, 1858.

⁸¹ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 9, 1858.

⁸² *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 23, 1858.

⁸³ Julian, *Political Recollections*, 167.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1856.

Third district, George W. Carr, Ind. Dem.; W. M. Dunn, Rep.; James Hughes, Dem.

Fourth district, P. A. Hackleman, Rep.; W. S. Holman, Dem.

Fifth district, David Kilgore, Rep.; Lafe Develin, Dem.

Sixth district, A. G. Porter, Rep.; Martin M. Ray, Dem.

Seventh district, John G. Davis, Ind.; Henry Scerist, Dem.

Eighth district, James Wilson, Rep.; J. W. Blake, Dem.

Ninth district, Schuyler Colfax, Rep.; J. C. Walker, Dem.

Tenth district, Charles Case, Rep.; John W. Dawson, Dem.

Eleventh district, John C. Pettit, Rep.; John R. Coffroth, Dem.

In the First district the Republicans did not nominate a candidate, but supported Hovey, who had announced himself as standing on the Cincinnati platform and as being opposed to the Lecompton policy of President Buchanan. Hovey could not support a party which was in favor of the English-Green bill, by which 36,000 inhabitants could make Kansas a slave State, while it took 93,000 to make her free.⁵⁵ Since there was no possible chance for a Republican to be elected from this district, every Republican had to decide this question—Is a thorough Lecompton man and a blind follower of the pro-slavery policy of the President preferable to an anti-Lecompton Democrat?⁵⁶

In the Second district the Republicans did not nominate a candidate, but supported John M. Wilson in a hopeless race against English.⁵⁷

In the Third district the Democrats ran James Hughes, who had said, "If every stump in Kansas were a negro, every tree upon her soil a slave-driver, and every twig upon the tree a lash to scourge a negro to his daily toil, I would vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution". The Anti-Lecompton Democrats withdrew from the Democratic convention and then nominated George W. Carr.⁵⁸ That this was looked upon as the cause of the defeat of Hughes was shown by a resolution passed by the Monroe county Democratic convention of 1860, stating that those men who caused the defeat of the Democratic candidate for congress from the

⁵⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, June 10, 1858; July 29, 1858; *Rockport Democrat*, June 12, 1858.

⁵⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, July 29, 1858.

⁵⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

⁵⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1858; June 17, 1858.

Third district by bringing out George W. Carr in 1858 deserved the condemnation of all good Democrats.⁸⁹ William McKee Dunn was the candidate of the Republicans.⁹⁰ Every vote cast for Carr was looked upon by the Democrats as a vote for Dunn.⁹¹

In the Fourth district the Republicans ran P. A. Hackleman. Will Cumback withdrew, feeling that Hackleman would run a better race against W. S. Holman, an "acquiescer", who believed that Kansas should be given a fair chance to settle the question. Holman was forced upon the regular Democrats by the Douglas men.⁹²

In the Sixth district Albert G. Porter was nominated by the Republicans over John D. Defrees, the man who had labored ever since the party was organized for its success⁹³ and who had done more than any other man to organize it. Martin M. Ray, a Know Nothing in 1854, was nominated by the Democrats, who were afraid to draft a platform because of the Anti-Lecompton sentiment.⁹⁴

In the Seventh district the Republicans supported John G. Davis, the independent Anti-Lecompton candidate. Davis was defeated in the Democratic convention by Secrest, an "acquiescer".⁹⁵ The failure of the Republicans to run a candidate seriously diminished the chances of Secrest, since the district was strongly Anti-Lecompton. The *Journal* charged that the Democrats were offering \$1000 and expenses of any Republican who would come out against Davis.⁹⁶

In the Tenth district John W. Dawson, editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*, and candidate for secretary of State on the Fusion ticket in 1856, was nominated by the Democrats. Dawson was read out of the Republican party at the district convention of August 12, 1858.⁹⁷

The Democrats rejoiced at the return of Daniel Mace to

⁸⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 8, 1860.

⁹⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, June 17, 1858.

⁹¹ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, July 13, 1858.

⁹² *New York Times*, July 26, 1858; *Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1858; *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Aug. 5, 1858.

⁹³ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 5, 1858.

⁹⁴ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 5, 1858.

⁹⁵ *Weekly State Journal*, July 1, 1858; July 15, 1858.

⁹⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 12, 1858.

⁹⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

his "old love". Mace wrote to the *Wabash Intelligencer* in 1854 that his future course would be an active, hearty cooperation with the Anti-Nebraska, anti-slavery extension organization. "I make no terms with traitors."⁹⁸ Mace now said that he came back to his old party since he had left it solely on the Kansas question, which was now settled by the English bill.⁹⁹ The editor of the *Journal* wrote that if Mace had not been so anxious to lead the movement for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska act that he had introduced a bill for this purpose a year before it could possibly be passed he might possibly have remained a Republican.¹⁰⁰

The Know Nothings played no part as an organized political party in this campaign. They did not hold a State convention and left each Know Nothing to vote as he thought best in this election. The cry of Know Nothingism, which in former years had kept many out of the Republican ranks, no longer had that effect.¹⁰¹ The Know Nothing party was dead.

The Republicans made much over the Lecompton issue during the early part of the campaign. After the election in August in Kansas under the English-Green bill, Lecompton could no longer be used as the issue.¹⁰² Then the division in this State was between the supporters and opponents of the administration.¹⁰³ The Republican party in Indiana was now a purely opposition party. The campaign was a struggle between the Republicans and Anti-Lecompton Democrats on the one side and the Old Line Democrats led by English, Niblack, Foley, Hughes, Gregg, Fitch, and Bright on the other side,¹⁰⁴ who maintained that the Republicans sought to dissolve the Union and that they were a sectional party seeking to give the North the advantage over the South.¹⁰⁵

It was not until September that the people of the State

⁹⁸ *Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, July 26, 1854.

⁹⁹ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Aug. 24, 1858.

¹⁰⁰ *Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 7, 1858.

¹⁰¹ *Weekly State Journal*, July 22, 1858.

¹⁰² *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Sept. 1, 1858: "Lecompton was undoubtedly a God-send to the Republicans. They nursed it, gloated over it, rejoiced at it, fondled it, and it was no doubt a great trial to them to be compelled to abandon it now, before they have been able to reap any substantial benefits from it."

¹⁰³ *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1858.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Times*, July 26, 1858.

¹⁰⁵ *Logansport Journal*, Dec. 20, 1858.

showed a great deal of interest in this campaign. By that time speakers were going into each county and township and campaign literature was being widely circulated. The people were aroused and much ill-feeling was displayed.¹⁰⁶

The Democratic State ticket was elected by majorities ranging from 1500 to 2900.¹⁰⁷ Dunn, Kilgore, Porter, Wilson Colfax, Case, and Pettit were the Republican congressmen elected. J. G. Davis was elected in the Seventh district and Niblack, English, and Holman in the First, Second and Fourth districts. The opposition had eight congressmen, while the Democrats had three, a loss of three since 1856.¹⁰⁸ An opposition State legislature was elected, there being 25 Republicans, 3 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and 22 Democrats in the Senate; and 52 Republicans, 4 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and 44 Democrats in the House.¹⁰⁹

The success of the Democratic State ticket was due to the fact that many Democrats voted for their State ticket, but voted for Republican congressmen because of their Anti-Lecompton views.¹¹⁰ The Germans in the large cities and in many counties supported the Republican candidates.¹¹¹ Many of the Know Nothings in southern Indiana must have voted for the Republican candidates also.¹¹²

THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

As the time for the special meeting of the State legislature drew nearer interest in the election of the two United States senators increased. The Republicans firmly believed that Bright and Fitch had no legal right to their seats and that they should be ousted from the United States Senate. H. S. Lane and William M. McCarty, an Anti-Lecompton Democrat, were elected to the United States Senate by a concurrent resolution.¹ Lane and McCarty went to Wash-

¹⁰⁶ *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 9, 1858.

¹⁰⁷ *Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 4, 1858.

¹⁰⁸ *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1858.

¹⁰⁹ *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1858.

¹¹⁰ *Logansport Journal*, Oct. 23, 1858.

¹¹¹ *Democratic Pharos*, April 6, 1859.

¹¹² *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 19, 1858.

¹ *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 16, 1858.

ington and filed their credentials with the senate, which finally decided the case in favor of Bright and Fitch. When the vote was cast Senator Douglas voted against Bright and Fitch, who now looked upon Douglas as a personal enemy. This was a cause of the split among the Democrats of Indiana in the next election.

One of the most difficult things that the Republicans had to meet in their canvassing was the utterances, writings, and acts of the radical members of their party. While it was not claimed by the Democrats that the Republicans approved of and were responsible for the John Brown raid, they looked upon it as the result of the irrepressible conflict.² They knew that the "sinews of war" had come from many of the prominent members of the Republican party.³ It was claimed by some of the Democratic newspapers that the whole affair was a Republican conspiracy. This charge was dropped when it was discovered that Captain Cook, second in command under Brown, was a brother-in-law of Governor Willard, who was now charged with being an accomplice in the affair.⁴ The Democrats were further embarrassed by the fact that Willard, McDonald, and Vorhees went to Charleston, Virginia, to assist in the defense of Captain Cook.⁵ It was now said that Willard had gone to Charleston to promise to throw the support of the Indiana Democrats to Governor Wise in his candidacy for the presidency at the Charleston convention if Governor Wise would pardon Cook.⁶

The Harper's Ferry outrage was considered by Democrats to be the result of such books as Helper's *Impending Crisis*, which was widely circulated in Indiana and had been endorsed by Representatives Colfax, Kilgore, Wilson, and Case.⁷ They argued that the real issue in the coming election was to be found in the teachings of this book and in the speeches of Lovejoy, Seward, and Sumner.⁸ This charge seemed to be borne out by the resolutions passed by the Republicans at

² State Sentinel, Oct. 24, 1859.

³ Democratic Pharos, Nov. 2, 1859.

⁴ Madison Dollar Weekly Courier, Nov. 2, 1859.

⁵ Logansport Journal, Nov. 5, 1859.

⁶ Logansport Journal, Nov. 19, 1859.

⁷ Goshen Democrat, Dec. 28, 1859.

⁸ State Sentinel, Dec. 28, 1859.

Dublin, Wayne county, recommending Helper's *Impending Crisis* as an efficient helper in the overthrow of American slavery.⁹ The real attitude of the Republicans of Indiana toward this book was expressed by H. S. Lane at Greencastle, when he condemned Helper's *Impending Crisis* as conducive to civil war.¹⁰

In their county conventions the Democrats came out strongly for the Cincinnati platform, for Popular Sovereignty, opposing the purchase of the Wabash and Erie bonds, denouncing the Harper's Ferry outrage, and favoring Douglas for President.¹¹ These resolutions indicated that the Democrats of this State thought that their party should stand for non-intervention by congress with slavery in State and territory, or in the District of Columbia.

⁹ *State Sentinel*, Jan. 31, 1860.

¹⁰ *State Sentinel*, Feb. 28, 1860.

¹¹ *State Sentinel*, July 15, 1859.

The Decatur county Democratic resolutions approved non-intervention and popular sovereignty; *Sentinel*, Aug. 6, 1859.

Jennings county Democrats approved the Cincinnati platform, upheld the Fugitive Slave law and opposed the Massachusetts restriction on the right of foreigners to vote two years after naturalization. *Sentinel*, Aug. 8, 1859.

The St. Joseph Democratic convention resolved that the Cincinnati platform was Democratic doctrine, that the people of a territory should regulate their own affairs, and that the Republican party was sectional. *Sentinel*, Aug. 17, 1859.

The Porter county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform and popular sovereignty in its fullest sense. *Sentinel*, Aug. 20, 1859.

The Cass county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform, opposed the purchase of the Wabash and Erie bonds, and favored an independent treasury. *Sentinel*, Aug. 22, 1859.

The Morgan county Democratic convention favored the Cincinnati platform and equal rights to all citizens, regardless of nativity. *Sentinel*, Aug. 24, 1859.

The Vigo county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform and opposed congressional intervention. *Sentinel*, Sept. 10, 1859.

The Fountain county Democratic convention endorsed the Cincinnati platform and denounced the "higher law." *Sentinel*, Nov. 7, 1859.

The Ripley county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform, the Dred Scott decision, and denounced the Harper's Ferry outrage. *Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 1859.

The Wayne county Democratic convention resolved that the late treasonable and insurrectionary movement at Harper's Ferry was the natural result of the teachings of the leaders of the Republican party, and that it illustrated what might be expected from the practical carrying out of the doctrines of that party.

An examination of the reports of the Democratic county conventions as given by the *Sentinel* of 1859 showed that the delegates to the State Democratic convention of 1860 from Perry, Wabash, Parke, Owen, Franklin, Vigo, Brown, Ohio, Bartholomew, Sullivan, Jefferson, Boone, Cass, Hendricks, Wells, Miami, Hamilton, Vermillion, Putnam, and Elkhart counties were instructed to support Douglas for the presidency. This list does not include all the counties instructing their delegates to support him.

Undoubtedly Douglas was the choice of Indiana Democrats for the presidency. R. S. Hicks, editor of the *Rockport Democrat*, said that two-thirds of the counties of the State had instructed their delegates to vote for Douglas men for the Charleston convention.¹² At the same time it was known that Douglas was obnoxious to many of the Democratic State politicians, who would probably oppose the selection of Douglas delegates to the Charleston convention.¹³ It was felt by Democrats that if the will of the people were carried out in the State convention by endorsing the views of Douglas that many voters who had gone over to the People's party on the Lecompton issue would support the Democratic nominees in the coming election.¹⁴ Should the will of the politicians, under the leadership of Senator Bright, or should the will of the people be carried out in the convention, was the question to be decided by the Democracy of Indiana in their State convention.

The Douglas Democrats feared the Bright men would control the convention. They did not like the decision of the Democratic State Central Committee that the convention was to be a delegate convention. It was thought that a packed convention might be the result unless some means were discovered of preventing the selection of Bright men as delegates to the State convention.¹⁵ This fear increased when it became known that Senator Bright was coming to Indiana to attend the convention.¹⁶

When the convention assembled at Indianapolis on January 11, 1860, it was soon evident that there was to be a struggle between the administration men and the Douglas men for its control. Robert Lowry of Elkhart, a Douglas man, was chosen permanent chairman over Judge Samuel Perkins of Marion county, by a vote of 189½ to 174½. This showed that the Douglas men were in a small majority. This majority was increased by the admission of Douglas delegates from Hancock, Jackson, Jennings, Laporte, Lawrence, Randolph, and Spencer counties. But the big fight came on the resolution

¹² *Rockport Democrat*, Dec. 24, 1859.

¹³ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Dec. 8, 1859.

¹⁴ *Democratic Pharos*, Sept. 7, 1859.

¹⁵ *New York Tribune*, July 2, 1859.

¹⁶ *State Sentinel*, Jan. 10, 1860.

to instruct the delegates to the Charleston convention for Douglas. During the stormy scene that followed John L. Robinson announced that he could not support Douglas. The resolution was passed by a vote of 265 to 129—Tipton county refusing to vote. The report of the committee designating the twenty-six electors to the Charleston convention was accepted. The following State ticket was nominated:

Governor—Thomas A. Hendricks, Shelby Co.
Lieutenant Governor—David Turpie, White Co.
Secretary of State—William Schlater, Wayne Co.
Treasurer—Nathaniel Cunningham, Vigo Co.
Auditor—Joseph Ristine, Fountain Co.
Attorney General—Oscar B. Hord, Decatur Co.
Superintendent of Public Instruction—Samuel Rugg, Allen Co.
Clerk of Supreme Court—Cornelius O'Brien, Dearborn Co.
Reporter of Supreme Court—M. C. Kerr, Floyd Co.

The Resolutions Committee reported a platform endorsing the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the peaceful acquisition of Cuba, denouncing the action of the Massachusetts legislature in regard to foreigners, wishing success to Buchanan's administration, instructing the delegates to the Charleston convention to vote for Douglas, condemning the outrage at Harper's Ferry, accepting the decisions of the supreme court on the true meaning of the constitution, asserting the unquestionable right of "the people of a territory, like those of a State, to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits", and opposing the transfer of the Wabash and Erie canal to the State.¹⁷

A study of these resolutions convinces one that the committee on resolutions was trying to please both factions. As a result the platform declares for the acceptance of the decisions of the supreme court and also the right of the people in a territory to determine the status of slavery there. The Dred Scott decision made these two planks diametrically opposed to each other.¹⁸ Upon this platform, with this ticket, and with a party that was composed of two factions, the campaign that was to determine the fate of the nation began.¹⁹

¹⁷ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Jan. 12-13, 1860.

¹⁸ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Jan. 16, 1860.

¹⁹ *Democratic Pharos*, Nov. 16, 1859.

The great question in the minds of the voters of the North as the time for holding the national convention drew nearer was, Who can be elected? This was of vital importance to the voters of Indiana, since there was sure to be a strenuous contest in this State. Although the great battles of the campaign were to be fought in the Northern States, a portion of the southern newspapers were demanding that these States should not be granted a vote in the Charleston convention. These editors did not seem to realize that the heaviest fighting would be in the northern States and that a candidate should be chosen who had the best chance of carrying these doubtful States.²⁰ Not only was this demand made, but the South demanded that the Democrats leave the principle of non-intervention and adopt the doctrine that the national congress must protect slavery in the territories. The Democratic senators held a caucus at Washington, with Senator Bright as chairman, and adopted the Davis resolutions as the creed of the Democratic party.²¹ It seemed to Indiana Democrats that the administration and the South were desirous of formulating the platform and choosing the candidate for the presidency. This was calling upon the Democrats of the North to acknowledge that the party had stood upon erroneous ground in 1856. There were probably twenty or thirty thousand Democrats in Indiana who would refuse to do so.²² This sentiment was that of the Indiana delegates to the Charleston convention, who voted fifty-seven times solidly for Douglas.²³ This did not please Senator Bright, of whom it was reported that he would stump Indiana, county by county, against Douglas, if he should be nominated.²⁴ After the nomination of Douglas and Johnson at Baltimore nearly all the prominent politicians of Indiana—most of whom had been opposed to Douglas—went over to the Douglas ranks.²⁵ Indiana Democrats were no longer willing to yield to the demands of the South. A mass-meeting was held at Indianapolis on July 18, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations

²⁰ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Nov. 29, 1859.

²¹ *Democratic Pharos*, Feb. 29, 1860.

²² *Rockport Democrat*, April 14, 1860.

²³ *Rockport Democrat*, May 19, 1860.

²⁴ *Rockport Democrat*, May 12, 1860.

²⁵ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 1, 1860.

of Douglas and Johnson. The *Sentinel* estimated the attendance at two thousand, and states that on all sides was heard the expression that it was the duty of the party to support Douglas.²⁶ According to the Breckinridge Democrats, the only effect of the meeting was to turn one of the Douglas marshals, Charles Coulon, and a great many Germans from Douglas to Lincoln as the stronger of the two free-soil leaders.²⁷

What should be the attitude of the Republicans of Indiana toward the extension of slavery? Should Indiana support free labor or slave labor? Republicans urged that all who were opposed to the stand of the Democratic party on this question should unite in opposition to it.²⁸ While Republicans agreed that the party should oppose the further extension of slavery they were somewhat divided on the question of congressional or popular sovereignty. Many Republicans did not want the party to declare for either, since the adoption of one of these methods would leave the party with but one mode of doing the work. These men thought that the party should use any legal means for accomplishing its purpose.²⁹ On this question the Shelbyville *Banner* said, "We favor any legitimate way of excluding slavery from the territories." *Howard County Tribune*, "If congress is beyond our reach we would accept an intervention by popular sovereignty." *Terre Haute Express*, "While the Republicans were willing to let the people of a territory regulate their domestic institutions, yet they never abandoned the conviction that congress would exclude slavery from the territories."³⁰

It is not to be inferred from the above discussion that the Republicans no longer believed in the prohibition of slavery in the national territories by act of congress. If the Republican party should succeed it was understood that congress would declare that slavery should no longer exist in the national territories.³¹ If the supreme court of the United States should declare the act abolishing slavery in the territories

²⁶ *State Sentinel*, July 19, 1860.

²⁷ *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

²⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 13, 1859.

²⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 16, 1859.

³⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 8, 1859.

³¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 2, 1860.

unconstitutional, then the Republicans would use popular sovereignty in accomplishing their end. As the *New York Times* put it, popular sovereignty would settle the question, regardless of whatever party won, since the people of the territory were the ones who should decide the status of slavery there.³²

While union of all the elements of opposition to the Democratic party was desirable, it was thought that it would be impossible for the anti-slavery men to unite cordially with the Americans, who wished to ignore the slavery question.³³ The Americans were willing to enter the Republican State convention on the following terms:

1. That the convention be an opposition convention in which Republicans, Americans, and Whigs should participate, fully, fairly, and freely.
2. That no extreme anti-slavery man should be nominated for office.
3. That a national platform be adopted.
4. That the delegates to the national convention be instructed to vote for Bates, Bell, or Corwin for President.³⁴

These demands were so extreme that the Republicans were opposed to calling such a State convention. It did not seem possible to unite the Americans with the Republicans on such terms as those stated above. Many Republicans were earnestly bent on forming a specific Republican party, even though it cost the party the victory at the polls.³⁵ Prominent among this class of Republicans were the editors of the *Fort Wayne Republican* and the *Madison Courier*. These men favored a straight Republican convention and no other kind.³⁶ The Republican State Central Committee evidently wanted the opponents of the Democrats to enter into the State convention as individuals and not as members of political parties. The call is as follows:

The people of Indiana who are opposed to the policy of the present administration of the general government, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the territories of the United States, to the reopening of the African slave trade; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the constitution recently

³² *New York Times*, March 13, 1860.

³³ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Aug. 17, 1859.

³⁴ Brand, *The Know Nothings in Indiana*.

³⁵ *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1859.

³⁶ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Dec. 14, 1859.

adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States, and of defending the soil of every State from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of the sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in the national government, even at the expense of its existence; who are opposed to the present profligate and reckless administration of the State government of Indiana and its disregard of the laws of its management of the pecuniary affairs of the State, and who are in favor of restoring the State government to a system of strict economy and subordination to the laws of the State; who are in favor of the passage of laws against the embezzlement of the people's money by the State officers, and who are in favor of an honest administration of State affairs, are requested to meet in their respective counties on a day to be agreed upon by them and elect delegates to attend the mass State convention, to be held at Indianapolis, on the 22nd of February, 1860, to appoint candidates for State officers and to appoint delegates to attend the national convention, to be held at Chicago on the 13th of June next, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.³⁷

M. C. GARBER, *Chairman*.

It will be observed that the word Republican was not used in this call. This was done in deference to the wishes of the Americans.³⁸ It seemed broad enough to embrace every op-

³⁷ Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 28. The State Executive Committee was as follows:

First district, M. C. Garber, chairman; James Mason, Knox county; James C. Veatch, Spencer county; Conrad Baker, Vanderburg county.

Second district, John W. Ray, Clark County Walter Q. Gresham, Harrison county; Alfred Hayes, Scott county.

Third district, John R. Cravens, Jefferson county; Isaac Rector, Lawrence county; Simeon Stansifer, Bartholomew county.

Fourth district, David G. Rabb, Ohio county; Abram Hendricks, Decatur county; Pleasant A. Hackleman, Rush county.

Fifth district, Nelson Tinsler, Fayette county; John C. Lyle, Wayne county; Thomas M. Brown, Randolph county.

Sixth district, Benjamin Harrison, Marion county; Joseph Miller, Hendricks county; A. I. Griggs, Morgan county.

Seventh district, Thomas H. Nelson, Vigo county; D. C. Donohue, Putnam county; George K. Steele, Parke county.

Eighth district, Dr. Larabee, Montgomery county; Godlove O. Behm, Tippecanoe county; George Wagoner, Warren county.

Ninth district, A. L. Osborn, LaPorte county; D. D. Pratt, Cass county; Mark L. DeMotte, Porter county.

Tenth district, Thomas G. Harris, Elkhart county; William Mitchell, Noble county; John W. Dawson, Allen county.

Eleventh district, D. James Brattam, Huntington county; James A. Stretch, Grant county; T. C. Phillips, Hancock county.

³⁸ New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Jan. 24, 1860.

ponent of the national and State administrations without sacrificing the principles of the Republican party. In commenting upon this call, M. C. Garber, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, said that the State Central Committee did not ask a coalition of political parties; that it was the design of the committee to obliterate, as far as possible, distinctions among the opponents of the so-called Democracy; and that it was the intention of the committee to support any candidate who got a majority of the votes of the convention upon his own merits, but never as a representative of another political party.³⁹ In short, this convention was to be a Republican meeting and nothing else.

In their county conventions the Republicans asserted their desire of preserving the Union, denounced the doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery into the territories, stated that the Dred Scott decision and the Douglas theory of popular sovereignty were in conflict, denounced the John Brown raid, favored a homestead law, asserted that congress had the right to prohibit the extension of slavery, and expressed the intention of not interfering with slavery in the States where it already existed.⁴⁰ These conventions were well attended and much interest was displayed.

³⁹ New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Feb. 3, 1860.

⁴⁰ The Dearborn county convention met Dec. 25, 1859, and resolved:

That we recognize the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, and here deny that S. A. Douglas has any patent on its discovery. But that the principle is as old as our government, and that the Republican party now, as ever, is ready to stand and abide by it. Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Jan. 19, 1860.

The Jasper county convention of January 25, 1860, resolved that the constitution does not carry slavery into the territories and that the Dred Scott decision and the theory of Popular Sovereignty were in conflict. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 4, 1860.

The Fountain county convention denounced the Democratic theory of slavery, favored a homestead law, and denounced the Democratic leaders as disunionists, secessionists, filibusters, and nullifiers. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 6, 1860.

The Marion county convention resolved that the Union must be preserved, that Congress has power to and should prevent the extension of slavery into the territories, that a homestead law was necessary, and that the Massachusetts act denying suffrage to United States naturalized citizens was unjust. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 6, 1860.

The Tippecanoe county convention was for preserving the Union, giving naturalized citizens full rights, giving each settler 160 acres of public land, and denounced the John Brown raid. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 8, 1860.

The Lake county convention resolved to oppose by all lawful and honorable means the extension of slavery into any of the territories of the United States now free. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 11, 1860.

The Greene county convention favored the principles of Washington and Jef-

The Republicans realized that this contest would be one of real strength. Hoping to preserve the Union and to bring the administration of the national and State governments back to their former integrity, they were strengthening and perfecting their party organization for the coming campaign. It was essential for success that a strong man be placed at the head of the State ticket. "What will he do for the party in the coming election?" was asked concerning candidates for nomination for the State offices.⁴¹ For Governor H. S. Lane, Oliver P. Morton, and Judge William T. Otto were mentioned. It was urged by the opposition in the southern part of the State that if the Republicans wanted to win they should nominate Judge Otto or some other man who was acceptable to the Know Nothings.⁴² Lane seemed to be the choice of the Republicans as expressed in their county conventions.⁴³ Feeling that Lane could better unite the elements of opposition, it was arranged that he should be put on the ticket for governor and Morton for lieutenant-governor. After the

person and condemned the Harper's Ferry outrage on the ground that the slave States had a right to their slaves. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 14, 1860.

The Ohio county convention invited all opposition voters to attend the State convention. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 14, 1860.

The Vanderburg county convention resolved that slavery should be let alone in the slave States, that the Fugitive Slave law, while law, should be enforced, and that the people of a territory had the right to form a State with or without slavery. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 15, 1860.

The Huntington county convention resolved that every attempt to force slavery upon a people should be resisted by all legal and constitutional means. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 17, 1860.

The Scott county convention resolved, that the Republican party of Scott county will stand by the constitution of the United States, will treat with respect the rights of the different States, and exert their influence to maintain the Union of all the States at all hazards, "peaceably if they can—forcibly if they must." *Daily Journal*, Feb. 17, 1860.

The Jay county convention resolved to oppose the Fugitive Slave law and the Dred Scott decision as unjust, unconstitutional, impolitic, and unwise; as in conflict with the laws of our country, the laws of God, and of the civilized world. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 20, 1860.

⁴¹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 4, 1860.

⁴² New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Aug. 6, 1859.

⁴³ As reported to the *Journal* the Republicans of Washington, Marion, Shelby, Carroll, Knox, Lagrange, Lake, Johnson, Greene, Ohio, White, Boone, LaPorte, Madison, Vermillion, Adams, Warrick, Marshall, Elkhart, Parke, Lawrence, Jackson, Cass, Pike, Clay, Warren, Sullivan, Bartholomew, and Monroe counties passed resolutions favoring Lane for governor. The Republicans of Henry, Fayette, Union, Wayne, and Grant counties passed resolutions for Morton for governor. The other Republican county conventions passed no resolutions favoring any man for governor.

election Lane was to be chosen for United States senator, while Morton would become governor.⁴⁴ It was thought that the refusal of the United States Senate to receive Lane in 1858 could only be atoned for by the State legislature sending him back to the United States Senate.⁴⁵

In what was probably the largest nominating convention held in Indianapolis up to this time the Republicans met in Indianapolis in Metropolitan hall on February 22, 1860.⁴⁶ Here it was decided to perfect the organization and then move to the Statehouse yard because of the crowded conditions. P. A. Hackleman of Rush county was made permanent chairman. M. C. Garber and L. Q. Hoggatt of Lawrence county were made secretaries. William T. Otto was the vice-president. Since fully one-half of the delegates could not get into the hall, the meeting adjourned to the Statehouse yard. Here Hackleman mounted a table and announced the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee on the State Central Committee.

Mr. Solomon Meredith, a former Know Nothing, moved that H. S. Lane be nominated by acclamation for governor. Mr. Nelson of Vigo nominated O. P. Morton for lieutenant-governor. Nelson said that this was not the place that Morton's friends wished for him, and not commensurate with his claims or abilities, but it was a place where he could serve the Republicans, and he believed that Morton would accept. Lane and Morton were nominated together for governor and lieutenant-governor. The following was the State ticket:

Governor, H. S. Lane, Montgomery county; Lieutenant Governor, O. P. Morton, Wayne county; Secretary of State, William A. Peele, Randolph county; Treasurer of State, Jonathan S. Harvey, Clarke county; Auditor of State, Albert Lange, Vigo county; Attorney General, James G. Jones, Vanderburgh county; Reporter of Supreme Court, Benjamin Harrison, Marion county; Clerk of Supreme Court, John P. Jones, LaGrange county; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miles J. Fletcher, Putnam county.

William T. Otto, P. A. Hackleman, D. A. Pratt of Cass county, and Caleb B. Smith of Marion county were chosen as

⁴⁴ Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 66.

⁴⁵ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Oct. 31, 1860.

⁴⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 23, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1860.

delegates at large to the Chicago convention.⁴⁷ A State Central Committee of sixteen members was named. A. H. Conner was made chairman of this committee.⁴⁸

Mr. Hielscher now offered a resolution instructing the delegates to Chicago to vote for no candidate for the nomination for the Presidency who was not a good Republican in 1856. This was aimed at the candidacy of Bates. This did not suit some of the Republicans who were for winning with any man regardless of his past record.⁴⁹ The convention laid this motion on the table.

A platform was adopted which denounced the doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery into the territories, stating that slavery should not be molested where it already existed, favoring a Homestead law, denouncing the corrupt State administration, opposing any attempt to change the naturalization laws, and stating that the Union must and shall be preserved.⁵⁰

⁴⁷The delegates from the districts were: First district, James C. Veatch, C. M. Allen; Second district, T. C. Slaughter, J. H. Bolton; Third district, J. R. Cravens, A. C. Vorhees; Fourth district, George Holland, J. L. Yates; Fifth district, Miles Murphy, Walter March; Sixth district, S. P. Oyler, J. S. Bobbs; Seventh district, G. K. Steele, D. C. Donohue; Eighth district, John Branch, J. M. Simms; Ninth district, C. H. Test, D. H. Hopkins; Tenth district, George Moon, Mr. Anderson; Eleventh district, W. W. Conner, J. M. Wallace.

⁴⁸Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 31. The members of the committee were: A. H. Conner, chairman; Robert B. Duncan, John A. Buchanan, Thomas Cottrell, George F. Meyer, Samuel Hall, Thomas H. Collins, D. C. Branham, S. S. Harding, John Schwartz, John S. Lyle, Robert N. Hudson, H. S. Hazlerigg, Thomas S. Stansfield, Benjamin W. Oakley, and Thomas J. Harrison.

⁴⁹*Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1858.

⁵⁰W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, 20.

Resolved. 1. That while disunion doctrines are proclaimed in the halls of congress by the Democracy, and disunion purposely openly avowed, we point with pride to the fact that not a single Republican, either in congress or the walks of private life—not a single Republican press—not a single Republican orator—not a single Republican convention, has avowed any design against the integrity of the Union, even should the present administration with its corrupt policy be perpetuated by the vote of the people.

2. That we are opposed to the new and dangerous doctrine advocated by the Democratic party, that the Federal constitution carries slavery into the public territories; that we believe slavery cannot exist anywhere in this government unless by positive local law, and that we will oppose its extension into the territories of the Federal government by all the power known to the constitution of the United States.

3. That we are opposed to any interference with slavery where it exists under the sanction of State law; that the soil of every State should be protected from lawless invasion from every quarter, and that the citizens of every State

It will be noted that the platform did not limit the exclusion of slavery from the territories to the impossible mode of congressional action. It declared that "slavery cannot exist anywhere in this government except by positive local law, and that we will oppose its extension into the territories of the federal government by all the power known to the constitution of the United States." Popular sovereignty seemed

should be protected from illegal arrests and searches, as well as from mob violence.

4. That the territory of Kansas, now desiring admission under a constitution, republican in form, expressing the will and wish of an overwhelming majority of her people, ought to be admitted as a sovereign member of the Union, speedily and without delay.

5. That we are in favor of the immediate passage by Congress of a homestead law, thereby giving out of our public domain homes to the homeless.

6. That the fiscal affairs of the State of Indiana have been badly managed. That State officers have been shown to be defaulters to large amounts, and suffered to go unprosecuted. That large amounts of the public moneys have been squandered to enrich officials and partisan favorites, and that when the representatives of the people sought to stop those peculations, by the passage of an "Embezzlement bill," the governor of the State vetoed that bill, and thus kept the doors of the treasury opened to be further robbed by dishonest partisans.

7. That it is the duty of every branch of the Federal government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and the acts of certain parties in high places, in cheating and defrauding the government out of large and valuable tracts of the public lands, as well as a reckless waste and extravagant expenditure of the public money, by which the National Treasury has become bankrupt, and a borrower in the public markets, by the sale of bonds and treasury notes, meets our earnest condemnation.

8. That we consider the slave trade as justly held to be piracy by the law of nations and our own laws, and that it is the duty of all civilized nations, and of our public authorities to put a stop to it in all parts of the world.

9. That we are in favor of equal rights to all citizens, at home and abroad, without reference to the place of their nativity, and that we will oppose any attempt to change the present naturalization laws.

10. That we regard the preservation of the American Union as the highest object and duty of patriotism, and that it must and shall be preserved, and that all who advocate disunion are, and deserve the fate of traitors.

11. That we take this occasion to express our thanks to our Republican members in Congress, from this and other States, for their perseverance and triumphant success in the organization of the House of Representatives, in the election of high-minded and national men, over the efforts of a corrupt, sectional and disunion party.

12. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction.

13. That the soldiers of the war of 1812, who yet remain among us, deserve the grateful remembrance of the people, and that congress should at once recognize their services by placing their names upon the pension rolls of the government.

14. That we are opposed to the retrocession of the Wabash and Erie canal, as well as to the State becoming liable for any of the debts, or bonds for which the same was transferred to satisfy.

to be the only mode practicable in the territories.⁵¹ The *New Albany Daily Ledger* stated that the platform took a backward step from the Philadelphia platform by failing to declare that it was the duty of congress to prohibit slavery in the territories.⁵²

The platform declared for a Homestead law. It was the thought of the Republicans that the West would be rapidly settled if a homestead of 160 acres were granted each settler. The South opposed such a law on the ground that it would fill the territories with liberty-loving Germans and others who favored freedom.⁵³ Republicans took up the challenge of "Land for the landless *versus* niggers for the niggerless."

R. S. Hicks, editor of the *Rockport Democrat*, said that the Republicans had come down a peg or two on their previously declared ultra notions on political questions. According to his view they had softened on naturalization, liquor, and the protection of our citizens abroad.⁵⁴

Lane was chosen for governor as best able to unite all sections and shades of feeling in the State. The frank admission of the Republicans that this was the reason for Lane's nomination gave the Democrats an opportunity to say that the Republicans supported men rather than principles.⁵⁵

They further charged that the temperance men were all for Lane knowing that he would not veto a Maine law if one were passed by the next legislature.⁵⁶ This was not a very severe charge against Lane since "Maine law" sentiment in Indiana was not strong.

The Know Nothings fared badly at the hands of the convention. The *New Albany Daily Ledger* asserted that not a Fillmore man was an officer, that none were on the committee on resolutions, that none were on the State ticket, that none were on the electoral ticket, that none were on the State Central Committee, and none were chosen as delegates to the Chicago convention.⁵⁷ Truly may it be said that this was a straight Republican convention.

⁵¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 24, 1860.

⁵² *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Feb. 28, 1860.

⁵³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 15, 1860.

⁵⁴ *Rockport Democrat*, March 3, 1860.

⁵⁵ *State Sentinel*, Feb. 27, 1860.

⁵⁶ *State Sentinel*, Sept. 6, 1860.

⁵⁷ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Feb. 24, 1860.

Since it was realized that it was necessary for the Republicans to carry Illinois and Indiana in order to carry the election, M. C. Garber, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, sent a memorial to the National Republican Committee urging the selection of Indianapolis as the best place for holding the Republican national convention. He urged that Indiana should have the convention since the State was more doubtful than any other State.⁵⁸ The *Sentinel* hoped that this convention would be held in Indianapolis since it would help the railroads, hotels, and saloons and would give pious Republicans of Indiana an idea of real Republican temperance.⁵⁹ The Republican National Committee failed to see the importance of holding the convention in Indiana. It called a convention of the Republican electors of the several States, the members of the People's party in Pennsylvania, the opposition party in New Jersey, and all others opposed to the course of the administration to meet at Chicago, June 13, 1860.⁶⁰

Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and New Jersey were looked upon as the States in which the greatest efforts would have to be made in order to elect a Republican President. "As Pennsylvania goes, so goes the Union" had come to be considered as an unfailling truth. For this reason Pennsylvania was to be looked after first while much attention was to be given to the States of the Old Northwest, which had received from Pennsylvania many colonists who were largely influenced by the attitude of their kinsmen in Pennsylvania.⁶¹ It was felt that any one nominated for the Presidency would have to be strong in these States.

Since the Republican party of Indiana had been largely an opposition party made up of men of widely differing views the question of the qualifications of a candidate for the Presidency was important. Should the party nominate a conservative man who was lukewarm on the slavery question, but who would appeal to the outside party men or should it nominate a man who represented the great principle of the

⁵⁸ Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 2, 1859.

⁵⁹ *State Sentinel*, Sept. 21, 1859.

⁶⁰ *State Sentinel*, Jan. 4, 1860. The time was afterward changed to May 16.

⁶¹ *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1859.



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party? B. R. Sulgrove, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, urged that the principle of the candidate should be the determining factor. Any candidate who was not opposed to the further extension of slavery should not be considered by the party.⁶²

Schulyer Colfax, editor of the *South Bend Register*, stated that the candidate must be for free labor as against slave labor and its extension, and that he must oppose the doctrine that the constitution carried slavery into the territories. Colfax favored the man who, supporting the above, could get the most votes. "In a word, if old Zach Taylor were alive although he might not be technically a straight Republican, we should most cheerfully vote for him for President."⁶³

Indiana had several men who were looked upon as of Presidential caliber. Lane and Colfax were strong among the Republicans, R. W. Thompson had the support of the Know Nothings, and John D. Defrees was acceptable to the Old Line Whigs.⁶⁴ Lane was probably the strongest of these men, having been a Clay Whig and then a Republican. With Cameron for Vice-President it was thought that he could carry Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey for the Republicans.⁶⁵ At the time when the Republican national convention met in May no Indiana man was prominent enough to be considered for the Presidency.

Bates of Missouri was much considered in Indiana for the Presidency. His declaration of his views had put him within the pale of the Republican party although he had not been a Republican in 1856. Bates had come out in a letter declaring that congress had power to forbid the introduction of slavery into the territories.⁶⁶ There was a strong sentiment favoring him in Indiana, especially in Southern Indiana, where it was thought that he could get the support of the Fremont and the Fillmore men. Those favoring his candidacy felt that he could best unite all the elements of opposi-

⁶² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 3, 1860.

⁶³ *New York Times*, July 19, 1860.

⁶⁴ *State Sentinel*, July 4, 1859.

⁶⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 27, 1860.

⁶⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 5, 1860; *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1859; *New York Times*, March 24, 1860.



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tion to the administration.⁶⁷ His opponents wondered if he was strong enough to handle the Presidency in the approaching crisis. They argued that what was needed was not a conservative man but a man of the Jackson type.⁶⁸ Bates was obnoxious to the Germans and the extreme anti-slavery men.⁶⁹ When it was realized that he was not available, sentiment for Lincoln steadily arose.⁷⁰ Yet just before the opening of the Chicago convention John D. Defrees signed an address to the delegates urging the selection of Bates on the ground that he could carry Indiana, Illinois, and Oregon and make the election secure.⁷¹

Another possible candidate finding favor in Indiana was Justice John R. McLean, of Ohio. He was considered available since the public was not prejudiced against him as it was against Seward. One strong point in his favor was the fact that he had been a Republican since the beginning of the party.⁷² There seemed to be no doubt that Indiana Republicans would demand that a western man be nominated.⁷³

Could Seward be elected if nominated? This was the question which the Republicans of Indiana had to settle. As the time for the convention approached there grew up a strong conviction in Indiana that this State could not be carried by a radical like Seward. This same feeling was shown in Pennsylvania and Illinois.⁷⁴ It was argued that the free labor sentiment of the United States was strong enough to win if an acceptable candidate were nominated. Neither Seward nor Chase would do since both were looked upon as being "aggressively" hostile to slavery. It was said that there were 30,000 men in Indiana, who, if they could vote directly for or against the extension of slavery, would vote against it for-

⁶⁷ Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, I, 111; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, April 13, 1860.

⁶⁸ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 21, 1860.

⁶⁹ New York *Times*, March 10, 1860; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 9, 1860.

⁷⁰ *State Sentinel*, Feb. 13, 1860, quotes the South Bend *Register* as saying that an overwhelming majority of the Republicans of Indiana favored Bates. New York *Times*, May 16, 1860, stated that Indiana was for Bates. *State Sentinel*, May 17, 1860, from Chicago *Times*, "Indiana is counted for Lincoln but her real choice is Bates. The talk about Lincoln is absurd."

⁷¹ New York *Times*, May 15, 1860.

⁷² Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, April 19, 1860.

⁷³ *State Sentinel*, Feb. 11, 1860.

⁷⁴ New York *Times*, May 17, 1860.



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ever, and yet would not vote for Seward. There were Fremont men who would not support him because of his prominence in the anti-slavery movement when it was less popular than it was in 1860.⁷⁵ The Republican delegates knew that Indiana would never support Seward and, having no candidate from their own State, concluded that the best way to defeat him was to support Lincoln.⁷⁶

Col. A. K. McClure, State chairman of the opposition committee of Pennsylvania, gives an explanation of Seward's defeat in the convention which other writers do not seem to have noticed. Seward had been elected governor of New York largely through the assistance of Archbishop Hughes. In return for this aid Seward had urged a division of the school fund between Protestants and Catholics. This turned the Know Nothings of the United States against him. In Indiana and Pennsylvania there were considerable American votes without which the Republicans could not carry either State. Lane, Defrees, A. G. Curtain, the opposition candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, and McClure visited the various State delegations urging that Indiana and Pennsylvania could not be carried by Seward.⁷⁷ Since it was felt that these States must be carried in order to succeed, Seward, although he was the individual choice of many who voted for Lincoln, was sacrificed for expediency. As the day of the convention drew nearer it was evident that there would be two parties present—a Seward and an anti-Seward party.

On May 16, 1860, in the "Wigwam" the meeting was called to order. It was estimated that ten thousand were within the "Wigwam", with thousands unable to gain admittance. David P. Wilmot was made temporary chairman. P. A. Hackleman was put on the Committee of Permanent Organization. J. R. Cravens of Madison was appointed a member of the Committee on Credentials. Walter March was put on the Committee on Business. Colonel John Beard was made a vice-president and D. D. Pratt was appointed one of

⁷⁵ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, April 26, 1860; May 29, 1860.

⁷⁶ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860; Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 148. The New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Sept. 13, 1860, had an extract from the *Saturday Evening Post*, stating that the Indiana delegates met about one month before the Chicago convention and decided to support Lincoln.

⁷⁷ McClure, *Our Presidents and How we make them*, 155.

the secretaries. Indiana was represented on the Platform Committee by William T. Otto.

As the platform was being read there was applause, sometimes loud and sometimes weak. When the plank declaring that duties on imports should be so adjusted as to benefit the industry of the people the cheering gradually grew until it was deafening. It was evident that the delegates present favored protection for home industries. In addition to the protective tariff plank, the platform denounced the dogma that the constitution carried slavery into the territories, denied the authority of congress or any territorial legislature to give legal existence to slavery in any territory, and demanded a Homestead law, opposed any change in the naturalization law or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship should be abridged.

After the nomination of Seward by William M. Evarts of New York, Norman B. Judd of Illinois put in nomination Abraham Lincoln. A terrible din arose, during which Indians, Illinoisans, and Pennsylvanians danced and yelled like maniacs. After the nominations of William L. Dayton, Cameron, and Chase, Caleb B. Smith arose and said, "I am instructed by the State of Indiana to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln".⁷⁸ Bates and Judge McLean were then put in nomination. During the balloting Indiana cast her twenty-six votes for Lincoln each time. When Ohio on the third ballot changed her vote from 29 to 34 for Lincoln and thus nominated him a roar burst forth from the thousands within and without the "Wigwam", sounding as though a thunderstorm had struck Chicago.

Caleb B. Smith nominated Cassius M. Clay for the Vice-Presidency. The Indiana delegation voted eighteen for Clay and eight for Hamlin on the first ballot. On the second ballot the vote was fourteen for Clay and twelve for Hamlin. Blakely of Kentucky moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Smith seconded the motion in what Editor Sulgrove called "the most stirring, inspiring speech of the whole Convention". Lane was called for, but was so exhausted that he could only speak long enough to promise Indiana for Lin-

⁷⁸ *New York Times*, May 19, 1860.

coln by a 10,000 majority. After the appointment of the National Committee, of which Solomon Meredith of Indiana was made a member, the convention adjourned.⁷⁹

There can be no doubt that the attitude of the Indiana delegation was largely responsible for the nomination of Lincoln. George W. Julian said that the delegates from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois representing a "superficial and half-developed Republicanism" labored untiringly for the nomination of Lincoln, urgently pleading for "Success rather than Seward".⁸⁰ The firmness of the Indiana delegation was acknowledged on all sides at Chicago to have been the primary cause of the nomination of Lincoln.⁸¹

Owing to the insistent demand upon the State Central Committee by the Republicans of the State, the 29th day of August was set as the day upon which Republicans should hold a grand State rally for Lincoln and Hamlin and the Republican cause.⁸² On that day it was estimated that 50,000 assembled in Indianapolis. They came in carriages, wagons, on horseback, and by railroad. At sunrise thirty-three guns were fired. Those who had come to the outskirts of the city the night before now began moving into the city. At 11 a.m. a huge procession of "Wide Awakes", "Rail Maulers", and "Abe's Boys" floats, and county delegations moved eastward on Ohio to Washington and thence to Military park. After assembling at the park speaking commenced at four stands and was kept up the greater part of the afternoon. Thomas Corwin and Benjamin Staunton of Ohio, Frank P. Blair of Missouri, John C. Underwood of Virginia, H. S. Lane, Caleb B. Smith, O. P. Morton and others were the speakers. In the evening occurred a torch-light procession, in which probably five thousand took part. The exercises of the day closed when the Indianapolis "Wide Awakes" awarded "Abe's Boys" of Connersville a banner for having the largest number of uniformed men in line.

⁷⁹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21, 1860; *State Sentinel*, May 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21, 1860.

⁸⁰ Julian, *Political Recollections*, 177.

⁸¹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860.

⁸² Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 31, 1860.

And so passed away a day and a night, in which were seen more people, a grander display, and more political enthusiasm than was ever before known in the capital of the Hoosier State.⁸³

How did the men of the time look upon the Republican party? Caleb Cushing, president of the Charleston convention, said that the Republican party consisted of disjointed fragments of all past or present parties, with discordant opinions on the great questions of the day, as well as with different political antecedents, and having but one common sentiment—hostility of feeling, if not of act and purpose, toward the local institutions of fifteen of the thirty-three States of the Union.⁸⁴

Editor M. C. Garber of the *Madison Courier* said:

If a party is measured according to its principles rather than its organization, the Republican party is the only organization that can go back to the foundation of the government and there find the principles upon which the one rests the key and cornerstone of the other.⁸⁵

Thomas Corwin said that James Monroe, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, William Wirt, Smith Thompson, Washington, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and Madison held that congress could prohibit slavery in the territories.⁸⁶ Morton said:

The Republican party has not produced this agitation but has been produced by it; it is the creature rather than the creator, it sprang like a Phoenix from the ashes of decayed parties, not as a sword but as a shield to prevent the invasion and subjugation of all the free territory by the institution of slavery.⁸⁷

William McKee Dunn said:

The repeal of that compromise which gave peace to a distracted country was one of those acts of reckless partisanship characteristic of the Democratic organization. That repeal, and the associated movements to subjugate Kansas to slavery, gave birth to the Republican party.⁸⁸

The Know Nothings, who had played such an important part in the campaign of 1854 and 1856, had almost disap-

⁸³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Aug. 30, 1860.

⁸⁴ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 6, 1860.

⁸⁵ *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Sept. 12, 1860.

⁸⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860.

⁸⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 16, 1860.

⁸⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 13, 1860.

peared. A. H. Davidson called a meeting of the General Committee of the Constitutional Union party to be held April 12, 1860, at Indianapolis. Here it was resolved to support Judge McLean for President and John Bell for Vice-President, or any other conservative men chosen at Baltimore, May 9, 1860. Delegates were selected to attend the national Constitutional Union convention.⁸⁹

The Constitutional Union State convention was held at Indianapolis, August 15, 1860. Not more than 150 were present representing not over one-fourth of the counties of the State.⁹⁰ Except R. W. Thompson, William K. Edwards, and Mr. Bowers of Ripley county there were no prominent political men present. A. H. Davidson of Indianapolis presided. R. W. Thompson, of Vigo, addressed the convention, stating that he wanted it understood that he was for Bell and Everett, not Lincoln. Governor Morehead of Kentucky was brought to the platform and made a speech in which he bitterly denounced the Republicans as sectional and eulogized Douglas. He seemed to be full of the Kentucky feeling that the Douglas and Bell men should unite. A state electoral ticket was selected and a resolution passed ratifying the nomination of Bell and Everett and opposing fusion or alliance with any other political party. The meeting was without numbers, enthusiasm, and leaders. It showed that the party was dead. The great body of its members had gone over to the Republicans.⁹¹

On the night of the convention R. W. Thompson addressed an open meeting at Indianapolis in which he said that the Douglas party was a sectional party. This speech made the Republicans feel that the Americans would never unite with the Douglas people.⁹² At Terre Haute he said that the Democrats were the authors of all this mischief and that the present disruption and demoralization of their party was a fair and just reward for their reckless tampering with the peace and welfare of the country. He further stated that none

⁸⁹ *New York Times*, April 13, 1860; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 13, 1860.

⁹⁰ *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

⁹¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 16, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 18, 1860; *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1860, and Aug. 22, 1860.

⁹² *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1860.

could be elected but Lincoln. He feared that if the election should go to congress the House would not be able to elect and the Senate would elect Joseph Lane. "Rather than see this insult brought about, I tell you frankly, I would prefer the election of Lincoln."⁹³ If the Bell men of the State united with either wing of the Democrats Thompson intended to vote for Lincoln.

I would greatly prefer seeing Mr. Bell elected, but he shall never be elected, with my consent, nor shall any other man, by a bargain with Mr. Douglas or his friends, or Mr. Breckenridge or his friends.⁹⁴

The Bell men realized that they had no chance to carry this State for Bell. That the Bell State Central Committee of Kentucky also thought so was seen by their sending a circular to the Bell men of Indiana advising them to vote for Douglas and make sure of the defeat of Lincoln. According to the committee's notion the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives and Bell would be chosen.⁹⁵ R. W. Thompson answered the circular with a reply addressed to the "Conservative Men of Indiana," in which he urged that each State had a right to manage its own domestic affairs without any outside interference. He believed that too much attention was paid by the voter to national politics and not enough to the affairs of the State. Thompson feared that if the election went to the House of Representatives it could not elect and Joseph Lane would become the President of the United States. This would be a triumph of the very disunion element about which the Kentucky State Central Committee were worrying so much. Supporting Douglas would mean the absorption of the Bell men into the Douglas party. He did not see how the Whigs of the Constitutional Union party could be asked to support Hendricks, who had supported the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and thus helped to bring into being the Republican party. Thompson was for H. S. Lane for governor, since his election would revive the spirit of Whiggery for which Thompson had long been laboring. Between Lane and the Bell men there was

⁹³ *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1860.

⁹⁴ *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860; Aug. 21, 1860.

⁹⁵ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 6, 1860.

but one point of difference—slavery—and upon that question Lane as governor would have no opportunity to do anything since he would have no power outside of Indiana.⁹⁶

James G. Bryant, member of the State Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union party, wrote that an attempt was being made to throw the Bell vote to the Democrats. He thought that the Constitutional Union party was not organized to aid either the Democrats or the Republicans. It was his own opinion that the Bell men ought to support the Republican State ticket or stay away from the State election and that every Bell man should vote for Bell and Everett in November.⁹⁷

Before the day of the October election it was conceded that the majority of the Bell men would vote for the Republican State ticket. Thompson and Edwards were openly against the Democratic party and many other Bell men were for the Republican State ticket, not because they believed in its principles but because of the desire to defeat the Democrats.⁹⁸

When the United States Senate took up the question of seating Bright and Fitch, Douglas voted against them. When Lane and McCarty were voted upon by the United States Senate, Douglas supported them. This was looked upon as the equivalent of a declaration that Bright and Fitch had been elected by fraud. They never forgave Douglas and were from that time on bitter personal enemies of him.⁹⁹ In order to insure his defeat in the coming election Bright started a newspaper at Indianapolis called the *Old Line Guard*. This was not looked upon with favor by Indiana Democrats since it was felt that its object was to disrupt the National Democracy of Indiana and carry the State for Lincoln.¹⁰⁰ At this time there were but five out of sixty-nine Democratic newspapers in Indiana that were not supporting Douglas. None of these five newspapers were very hostile to him. Bright thought that he had a chance by starting a newspaper supporting Breckinridge to revenge himself for Douglas' opposition to seating him in the United States Senate.

⁹⁶ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 5, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 9, 1860.

⁹⁷ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 3, 1860.

⁹⁸ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 5, 1860.

⁹⁹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 18, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 22, 1860.

¹⁰⁰ Rockport *Democrat*, July 21, 1860; *New York Times*, July 10, 1860.

Knowing that the Democrats of the State were for Douglas, Bright, Fitch, and James Hughes backed a move for a convention on July 31 to nominate a State ticket. Bright had succeeded in arraying the two factions of the Democratic party in open war against each other.¹⁰¹

This did not please the Douglas men who claimed that all that Bright was he owed to the Democratic party organization which had had him elected Senator three times by the votes of men who had hated him. Now he was willing to defeat the will of the Democracy of Indiana by putting a new ticket in the field and electing Lincoln.¹⁰²

What did Bright want the Democrats of Indiana to hold as their political doctrine? Breckinridge in his letter of acceptance said that he represented the view that neither congress nor a territorial legislature could establish or prohibit slavery in any territory, but that it was the duty of the federal government and all its departments to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of all his property in any territory of the United States.¹⁰³

This was in harmony with the view of President Buchanan who, in his message to congress, said, "Neither congress nor a territorial legislature, nor any human power has any authority to annul or impair this vested right."¹⁰⁴ Of Buchanan R. S. Hicks, editor of the Rockport *Democrat*, said that he had changed his position on Popular Sovereignty in 1858 and since then every Democrat who had refused to change with Buchanan was no longer within the Democratic organization. According to Hicks, Buchanan really represented the principle of congressional intervention.¹⁰⁵ In short the Democrats of this State faced the question of whether they favored their old principle of non-intervention or the newer principle of protection of slavery in the territories by the federal government.

At the Breckinridge State convention which met July 31, 1860, at Indianapolis, Jesse D. Bright, John Pettit, Dr. Sher-

¹⁰¹ *New York Times*, July 14, 1860.

¹⁰² *New Albany Weekly Ledger*, July 25, 1860.

¹⁰³ *Old Line Guard*, July 17, 1860.

¹⁰⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 554.

¹⁰⁵ *Rockport Democrat*, April 16, 1859.

rod, John Eckles, John R. Coffroth, John R. Elder, A. B. Carlton, the editor of the *Old Line Guard*, Senator Fitch, and James Morrison were the most prominent men present. It was decided to put up an electoral ticket but not to nominate a State ticket. A platform was adopted affirming that any citizen had a legal right to take slave property into any territory where it should be protected by congress until statehood was reached. Dr. Sherrod introduced a resolution which provided that the Breckinridge State Central Committee confer with the Douglas State Central Committee with the view of organizing and running a joint electoral ticket which should cast its vote for Breckinridge and Lane or Douglas and Johnson depending upon which had the highest number of electoral votes from the other States.¹⁰⁶

Although this resolution was passed it was not taken very seriously by the members of the Breckinridge convention. The proposition did not meet with general acceptance although both wings of the Democratic party realized that the chance of defeating Lincoln was lessened by the split in the party. The *Old Line Guard* favored the acceptance of this "Olive Branch," as did the *Democratic Herald*, a Douglas newspaper, which prophesied a terrible defeat for the Democrats unless this compromise were accepted by the Douglas men.¹⁰⁷ The Committee of Five appointed by the Breckinridge State convention to correspond with the Douglas State Central Committee in regard to the proposed joint electoral ticket sent their proposition to this committee. N. B. Palmer, chairman of the Douglas State Central Committee, replied to W. H. Talbott, chairman of the Breckinridge State Central Committee, that the members of the Douglas State Central Committee had no power to act in the matter.¹⁰⁸ The *Paoli Eagle* in commenting upon this action said that the masses of both Douglas and Breckinridge wings desired a joint electoral ticket and would hold these men responsible for the vote of Indiana going for Lincoln.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 1, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Aug. 11, 1860.

¹⁰⁷ *Democratic Herald*, Aug. 9, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, July 26, 1860.

¹⁰⁸ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 22, 1860.

¹⁰⁹ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 1, 1860: The *Paoli Eagle* was one of the few Democratic newspapers favoring the scheme.

At a meeting of the Breckinridge State Central Committee held September 17, at Indianapolis, it was decided that it would be inexpedient to place a national Democratic State ticket in the field.¹¹⁰ This left the Breckinridge men to support whomever they pleased at the State election in October.

Although the Douglas men had refused to unite with their brethren, the Breckinridge Democrats, in a joint electoral ticket, they courted the American vote assiduously.¹¹¹ Joint electoral tickets had been formed in New York, Georgia, and Kentucky. The *Sentinel* approved these joint tickets and would have been glad to see such a ticket in this State. This was quite a contrast from the position taken by the *Sentinel* in 1854 and 1855 in regard to the Know Nothings. At that time the *Sentinel* designated the Know Nothings as infamous, outlaws, murderers, proscriptive, and miserable shams.¹¹² The Breckinridge Democrats declared that they would not vote for the Democratic State ticket believing that political power and patronage would be divided between the Douglas men and "their allies", the Know Nothings.¹¹³ There was some soreness among the Breckinridge men because of the refusal of the Douglas people to form a joint electoral ticket.

Although the Douglas State Central Committee had refused to consider the joint electoral proposition the *Old Line Guard* kept on urging the Douglas men to unite with them on the proposition.¹¹⁴ At Evansville the friends of Douglas and Breckinridge held a meeting and urged the selection of a joint electoral ticket which should vote for the one receiving the highest vote in the Union, provided that if neither could be elected the electors were to vote their individual preferences so as to defeat Lincoln.¹¹⁵ The *Franklin Herald* said:

If this be not done Mr. Lincoln stands a very sure chance to get Indiana next November and the Democracy alone will be to blame. And we know that nineteen-twentieths of the Democrats of Johnson county hold the same views. What is there obnoxious in fusing with the Breckinridge men when we are openly courting favor with the Know Nothings?¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 20, 1860.

¹¹¹ W. H. Talbott said that Douglas' friends were busily engaged in forming coalitions with the Know Nothings and that these coalitions were approved by nearly all of the Douglas papers in Indiana.

¹¹² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 22, 1860.

¹¹³ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 20, 1860.

¹¹⁴ *Old Live Guard*, Oct. 11, 1860.

¹¹⁵ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 18, 1860.

¹¹⁶ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 25, 1860.

The *Democratic Herald* wanted to know what objection there could be to fusing with the Breckinridge men—members of our own household—when we were courting favor with the Know Nothings?¹¹⁷ A. B. Carlton wrote from Bloomington that the proposition did not take there. Many had expressed themselves in favor of voting for Lincoln if a joint electoral ticket were selected. Carlton thought that this scheme, if carried out, would drive all the original Douglas men to Lincoln.¹¹⁸

It was soon seen that Indiana would be carried by Lincoln or Douglas. To vote for Breckinridge and Lane was looked upon as strengthening Lincoln's chance of success. As the *Democratic Herald* stated, "It is Mr. Douglas and Democracy, or Mr. Lincoln and Republicanism. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve."¹¹⁹ Senator Bright said:

If I were to tell you that I believe that we are going to carry the State, I should tell you that which I don't believe. * * * Let the breach be as wide as possible between us; and let the sound and rotten men of the Democratic party be separated.¹²⁰

Although the Breckinridge men realized that they could not carry the State they believed that the Democracy of Indiana thought that Breckinridge and Lane occupied the correct position, but in order to defeat the "Woollys" they would have to vote for Douglas.¹²¹

The feeling of the Breckinridge men toward Douglas and his supporters was one of hostility. In some counties of the State they refused to go into the Douglas conventions.¹²² To them the Douglas wing of the party was the seceding wing. They argued that Douglas was nominated by States not one of which could give him an electoral vote.¹²³ Many of them looked upon the Douglas men as a wing of the Republican party.¹²⁴ It was argued that the Douglas men should vote

¹¹⁷ *Democratic Herald*, Oct. 18, 1860.

¹¹⁸ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 20, 1860.

¹¹⁹ *Democratic Herald*, July 12, 1860.

¹²⁰ *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1860.

¹²¹ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 22, 1860.

¹²² *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

¹²³ *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

¹²⁴ *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

with the Republicans, since both wanted to stop the spread of slavery. Douglas favored doing so by "unfriendly legislation" and the Republicans by congressional prohibition.¹²⁵ To a Breckinridge Democrat "Douglasism" was the halfway house to Republicanism, with which nine-tenths of the Douglas party were in full sympathy. W. H. Talbott, chairman of the Breckinridge State Central Committee, said:

We cannot perceive any political difference in the positions taken by Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas on this question so far as the rights and interests of the slave States are concerned. Mr. Lincoln believes that congress can abolish slavery in the territory while Douglas believes that the territorial legislature can do so by "unfriendly legislation."¹²⁶

Both views were hostile to the equality of States, which was the main contention of the Breckinridge men. Like the Republican party, the Douglas party had no strength in the slave-holding States and was therefore considered sectional.¹²⁷

The attitude of the three candidates for the Presidency toward the power of congress over slavery in the Territories was well explained by the Rockport *Herald*:

Lincoln: If they want the institution congress should prevent them from having it.

Breckinridge: If they prohibit the institution congress should force it upon them.

Douglas: Congress should not meddle with their decision one way or another.¹²⁸

What did the State election of 1860 mean? If the Republican State ticket were defeated the Democrats believed that all danger of a sectional President would be at an end.¹²⁹ They believed that the Republican party would no longer survive if defeated in the coming elections. It was said by the Democrats that the leaders of the Republican party had gone into it because they thought that it would be successful and that a defeat at this time would cause its leaders to leave the party and kill it.¹³⁰ The Republicans thought that the elec-

¹²⁵ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 18, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

¹²⁶ *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 18, 1860.

¹²⁷ Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 2, 1859.

¹²⁸ Rockport *Democrat*, Sept. 29, 1860.

¹²⁹ Rockport *Democrat*, July 6, 1860, quoting the *Louisville Journal*.

¹³⁰ New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Oct. 2 and 3, 1860.

tion of Lane for governor would indicate the election of Lincoln in November. If Lane were defeated Lincoln might be elected, since the Breckinridge men who supported Hendricks would not support Douglas.¹³¹

Would the South secede if Lincoln were elected in November? It seemed to have been consensus of opinion in Indiana that his election would cause the South to leave the Union. The *Democratic Herald* thought that the election of a Democratic President was necessary for the perpetuation of the Union.¹³² The *Sentinel* said that secession would follow the election of Lincoln unless congress were conservative.¹³³ If it came to this issue the editor of the *Journal*, B. R. Sulgrove, was for parting with the South in peace.¹³⁴ The *Journal* thought that the best policy would be to let the South depart in peace. In the fierce struggle in the world between despotism and liberty the South would soon be glad to come back into the Union.¹³⁵ If the Southerners could understand that the Union was worth more to them than they were to it, the last shriek of disunion would be over.¹³⁶ It seemed that the only terms on which the Southerners were willing to stay in the Union was the placing of the powers of the government in the hands of the South, in order that no interference with slave property be attempted.¹³⁷ In the eyes of the Democrats the Republican party had but one purpose—dissolution of the Union.¹³⁸

As in previous campaigns, the German vote was appealed to by both Democrats and Republicans. It was early realized by the Republicans that Indiana could not be carried without the German vote.¹³⁹ Schurz thought that 10,000 German votes formerly controlled by the Democrats could now be turned to the Republicans.¹⁴⁰ This was easier to do than it was in 1856, since there was no temperance issue in the con-

¹³¹ *New York Times*, Sept. 19, 1860.

¹³² *Democratic Herald*, Dec. 22, 1859.

¹³³ *State Sentinel*, November 2, 1860.

¹³⁴ *State Sentinel*, Nov. 7, 1860.

¹³⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 17, 1860.

¹³⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Oct. 31, 1860.

¹³⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Oct. 30, 1860.

¹³⁸ *Rockport Democrat*, Oct. 20, 1860.

¹³⁹ Carl Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, Political Papers*, I, 43.

¹⁴⁰ Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, Political Papers*, Vol. I.

test and the Republicans had given up the purpose of securing a Maine law. Reports from the counties in which there was a considerable German population indicated a steady change to the Republicans.¹⁴¹ From these German communities came demands for German speakers.¹⁴² Carl Schurz, Charles Coulton, Fred Hassaurek of Cincinnati, and Albert Lange delivered speeches in German during the campaign. All the German newspapers in Indiana were for Lincoln, but the *Volksblatt* of Indianapolis, which supported Douglas.¹⁴³ This was in strong contrast to 1856, when the *Freie Presse* of Indianapolis was the only German newspaper supporting the Republican party.¹⁴⁴ The Democrats appealed to the Germans not to support Lincoln, since it was the intention of the Republicans to free the negro, who would then come north to compete with the Irish and German immigrants.¹⁴⁵

Early in the campaign the Republicans began perfecting their organization. They planned a perfect canvass of the State, aiming to get a complete record of the voters in each township and to canvass thoroughly the doubtful voters. In the work of organization the Republicans were considerably ahead of the Democrats in this campaign.¹⁴⁶ At the ratification meeting, August 29, 1860, it was resolved that a meeting be held during the third week of September in every township of the State and that county committees arrange the time of meetings, places, and speakers.¹⁴⁷ The Douglas Democratic State Central Committee recognized the value of this plan by recommending that on Thursday, September 20, 1860, each township should meet and organize for the purpose of getting out the full vote.¹⁴⁸ While victory seemed certain because of the split in the Democratic party, the Republican leaders

¹⁴¹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 11, 1860; Aug. 26, Sept. 13, Sept. 29, July 7, Sept. 25, 1860.

¹⁴² *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1860.

¹⁴³ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 4, 1860. The German Newspapers were the Indianapolis *Freie Presse*, the Evansville *Volksbote*, the Terre Haute *Zeitung*, the Tell City *Helvetia*, the LaPorte *Freie Blatter*, the Lafayette *Post*, and the Indianapolis *Volksblatt*.

¹⁴⁴ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 30, 1860.

¹⁴⁵ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 29, 1860.

¹⁴⁶ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 19, 1860.

¹⁴⁷ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 19, 1860.

¹⁴⁸ *Democratic Herald*, Sept. 6, 1860.

feared that overconfidence might mean defeat. John D. De-frees thought that the Republican party should be completely organized even to the districts. If this were done he was confident of victory.¹⁴⁹

All over the State "Young Republican" clubs sprang up, whose purpose was to spread the tenets of the party. Usually a hall was hired where speeches were heard and literature was distributed. These clubs became the center of the activities of the party in their particular communities.¹⁵⁰ Many of the Republican county conventions had recommended that these clubs be formed.¹⁵¹

A prominent part was played in the campaign by the "Rail Maulers" and the "Wide Awakes". The "Rail Maulers" appeared in the Republican procession in red shirts, black pantaloons, drab hats, and carried mauls.¹⁵² Lincoln "Wide Awakes" were organized at Indianapolis and many other towns in the State for the purpose of acting as a political police; to escort all prominent political speakers who visit the city to address the citizens in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin; to attend public meetings in a body and see that order was preserved and the speaker not disturbed.¹⁵³ Each "Wide Awake" carried a thin smooth rail, surmounted with a tin swinging lamp so arranged that the lamp could be held in any position without spilling the oil. A small American flag, bearing the names of Lincoln and Hamlin, was fastened on the rail just below the lamp. The uniform consisted of a black, drab, or silver gray cape, made of enameled cloth, reaching below the waist, and a military cap of the same material. Officers wore cape overcoats of the same material. The primary purpose of the organization was the election of Lincoln and Hamlin to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, according to the laws and constitution of the country.

¹⁴⁹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 26, 1860.

¹⁵⁰ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Jan. 23, Feb. 2, and March 20, 1860.

¹⁵¹ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 5, 1860, stated that in 1856 Fremont got 17 votes while today there were 197 members of the Lincoln Club and many Republicans who were not members of the Club.

¹⁵² Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860.

¹⁵³ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 9, 1860. This reference gives the constitution of the Lincoln "Wide Awakes" of Indianapolis.

The southern Democrats declared the "Wide Awakes", although organized as an aid to the Republican party, were an army in disguise, whose sole purpose was the invasion of the South and the freeing of the negro. The northern Democrats declared that its purpose was the keeping of Democratic voters away from the polls.¹⁵⁴ The presence of the "Wide Awakes" at Republican meetings resulted occasionally in small riots. Democrats liked to taunt them by calling them "nigger thieves", "Abolitionists", "John Brownites", and "Osawatomies".¹⁵⁵

During the campaign Douglas traveled over the country on an election tour. With the exception of General Scott in 1852, Douglas was the first man to make such a tour. In his letter of acceptance he pledged himself to accept the decisions of the supreme court. In his speech at Indianapolis in September he said that there was no recourse for a territory if the supreme court should decide that a territorial legislature must protect slavery. Douglas, who had stood for "Let the people rule", was now standing for "Let the people rule if the supreme court will let them".¹⁵⁶

Cassius M. Clay's speech at Frankfort, Kentucky; Carl Schurz's speech at Springfield, Massachusetts; Seward's speech, February 29, 1860, in the United States Senate; O. P. Morton's *Terre Haute* speech, March 10, 1860; G. A. Grow's speech in the house of representatives on February 29, 1860; and *Political Sovereignty*, an essay by John B. Dillon were political pamphlets widely circulated by the Republicans during this campaign. C. M. Clay, Will Cumback, H. S. Lane, C. B. Smith, O. P. Morton, P. A. Hackleman, J. S. Harvey, Carl Schurz, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, J. C. Underwood of Virginia, Charles Coulon, Frank Blair of Missouri, Dr. Reinhold Sulzer of New York City, Joseph M. Root of Ohio, ex-Governor Bobb of Kentucky, C. M. Case and A. J. Harlan were the principal Republican speakers. Fitch, Bright, W. H. English, and James Morrison were the principal Breckinridge speakers.

What were the Republicans fighting for and against?

¹⁵⁴ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 24, 1860.

¹⁵⁵ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 28, 1860; Oct. 24, 1860.

¹⁵⁶ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 21; Oct. 1, 1860.

Their speakers represented that they fought for free homes for the homeless; for the laborer against the aristocrat; for a Pacific railroad; to bring the government back to the purity of the fathers; for the extension of freedom; for the preservation of the Union; for the principles of Washington, Jefferson and Madison; to put "Old Abe" in the chair; against a slave code for the territories; against Squatter Sovereignty; and against the sin of polygamy.¹⁵⁷ On the third of October, 1860, Oliver P. Morton at Indianapolis said that the main point of the Republican creed was the keeping of the territories free for freeman and protecting free labor against slave labor.¹⁵⁸

The State election occurred October 8, 1860. The Republicans carried the State by about 10,000 majority. Lane defeated Hendricks by a vote of 136,725 to 126,968, while Morton received 136,470 votes to Turpie's 126,297. These figures showed that Lane had 255 votes more than Morton. Lane's majority was 9,757, while Morton's was 10,178. These figures do not bear out the thought of the Republicans in putting Lane at the head of the ticket. Had Morton been nominated for governor it is very probable that he would have made as good if not a better race than Lane did.¹⁵⁹

The Republicans elected seven congressmen to four by the Democrats. The following men were elected:

First district, John Law, Democrat; Second district, John A. Cravens, Democrat; Third district, William M. Dunn, Republican; Fourth district, W. S. Holman, Democrat; Fifth district, George W. Julian, Republican; Sixth district, Albert G. Porter, Republican; Seventh district, D. W. Vorhees, Democrat; Eighth district, Albert S. White, Republican; Ninth district, Schuyler Colfax, Republican; Tenth district, William Mitchell, Republican; Eleventh district, John P. C. Shanks, Republican.¹⁶⁰

The Legislature was as follows:

Republican senators holding over-----	11
Republican senators elected-----	17
	—
Total -----	28

¹⁵⁷ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 3, 1860.

¹⁵⁸ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 4, 1860.

¹⁵⁹ *State Sentinel*, Dec. 13, 1860. Abstract of the October and November votes.

¹⁶⁰ Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 18, 1860.

Democratic senators holding over.....	14
Democratic senators elected.....	8
	—
Total	22
Republican representatives.....	62
Democratic representatives.....	38
Republican majority in the Senate.....	6
Republican majority in the House.....	24
	—
Total majority.....	30

In the State election the Know Nothings probably supported the Republican ticket.¹⁶¹ The Breckinridge men generally voted the Republican ticket. This was attributed to the personal hatred of Douglas by Bright and Fitch, whom the *Sentinel* charges with disregarding the obligations of party duty.¹⁶² The Douglas State Central Committee issued an address stating that Bright and Fitch showed a determination to destroy the party in Indiana or bend it to their will. The address further stated that the Republicans were better organized than the Democrats.¹⁶³

Before the election in November the Democrats realized that Lincoln would be elected unless the Breckinridge and Bell men supported their candidates.¹⁶⁴ To make sure of Lincoln's defeat the *Sentinel* proposed that a mass-meeting of all opponents of Lincoln meet at Indianapolis to select an electoral ticket. Nothing was done on this proposition.¹⁶⁵

At the election, held November 8, 1860, Lincoln received 139,033 votes, Douglas 115,509, Breckinridge 12,294, and Bell 5,306. Lincoln had a majority of 5,906 and a plurality of 23,524 over Douglas. He had 2,308 votes more than Lane.¹⁶⁶

The causes of the Democratic defeat were, (1) the making of Buchanan's Kansan policy the test of Democracy, (2) the war of Buchanan and his friends upon Douglas, (3) the attempt of the South to force upon the North the principle of congressional protection of slavery, which was in contradic-

¹⁶¹ *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 25, 1860.

¹⁶² *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 30, 1860; *Sentinel*, Oct. 11, 1860.

¹⁶³ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 23, 1860.

¹⁶⁴ *State Sentinel*, Oct. 15, 1860.

¹⁶⁵ *State Sentinel*, Oct. 13, 1860.

¹⁶⁶ *State Sentinel*, Dec. 13, 1860.

tion to the principle of non-intervention, (4) the secession of the Breckinridge and Lane men.¹⁶⁷

Moved by two great moral forces—opposition to the further extension of slavery and the demand for a Maine law—the opponents of the Democratic party in Indiana formed the People's party. With the aid of the Know Nothings who generally supported the People's and Republican parties they succeeded in carrying the election of 1854. By 1856 the People's party had gone from the position of demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line to the principle of "No more Slave States". During this and the previous campaign the members of the People's party called themselves Republicans, but they did not dare to call their organization by that name. At this time the party was not completely organized, especially in southern Indiana. The defeat in the elections of 1856 did not discourage the members of the new party. In 1857 and 1858 they strengthened their party organization and succeeded in 1858 in electing eight congressmen, although losing the State election. By this time the Know Nothings no longer controlled the new party. During this campaign the Lecompton question was the leading issue and the Republicans of Indiana came perilously near to the Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Douglas. In 1860 they went into the canvass with an organization much more complete than before and on the issue of opposition to the further spread of slavery carried Indiana for Lincoln.

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