

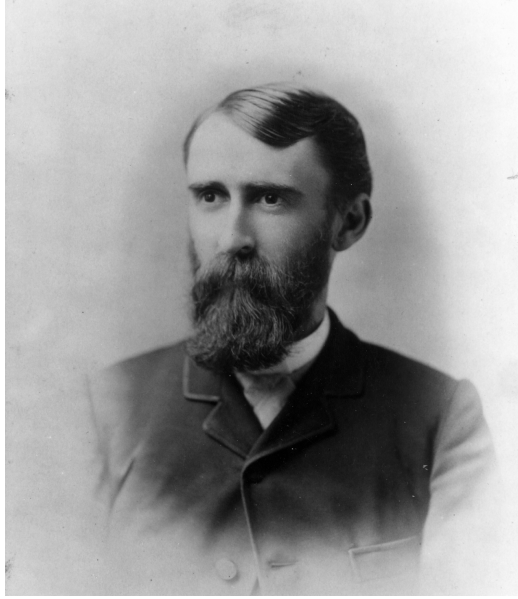
“Younger and More Irreconcilable”

James Albert Woodburn’s Undergraduate Orations at Indiana University, 1875-1876

JESSE J. GANT

College literary and debate clubs were an important part of student life on university campuses in the nineteenth-century United States. Indiana University had several, but two drew the largest number of members and exercised the most influence. In 1830, students formed the Athenian Society, which, in 1831, gave rise to a rival organization called the Philomethan Society. In their heyday, both groups gave their all-male (women were banned) memberships a chance to develop their writing and rhetorical skills in a space that was meant to be both supportive and intellectually rigorous, if not also exclusionary. In the period

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James Albert Woodburn, 1886. Ten years after he composed the last oration reproduced here, Woodburn was in Baltimore to begin his studies toward a doctoral degree.

Courtesy, Indiana University Archives

between 1830 and 1880, the two organizations played a key role in shaping the early social and intellectual world of Indiana University.¹

The Athenian Society was therefore an important part of the university's identity when James Albert Woodburn, a Bloomington native and future Indiana University historian, enrolled at the school in 1872. Like his father before him—who had joined the society in 1838 and become its president in 1840—James Albert prepared several speeches

¹This essay owes profound debts to the methodology and theme of David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001) and James H. Madison, "Civil War Memories and 'Partnership Forgittin', 1865-1913," *Indiana Magazine of History* 99 (September 2003), 198-230. Both the Athenian and Philomethan Societies are documented within the Indiana University Archives. See Indiana University Athenian Society Records, 1830-1886, and Philomethan Society (Indiana University) Records, 1836-1891, Indiana University, Bloomington. For more on the history of campus culture in the United States, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago, 1987).

and essays for his peers. All of the pieces offered detailed critiques of the Confederacy and warned of the potential dangers of a hasty national reunion.²

Woodburn's speeches were not unique in their choice of subject. Students were encouraged to use the Athenian Society as a safe place to express political views and grapple with contemporary themes, expressions that were discouraged in their more formal and conservative classrooms. It was the way Woodburn approached his subject that deserves further comment. As his report cards and early writings show, Woodburn was an exceptional student who learned to harness his formidable rhetorical ability at a young age. His interest in and understanding of Reconstruction-era politics grew out of his family history, a history he ultimately shaped in complex ways throughout his career. The speeches were written at a time when many northern whites were eager to adopt a tone of forgiveness toward the South. This tone was characteristic of a growing silence and widespread apathy on—or opposition to—the question of black equality in the wake of slavery's destruction during the Civil War. Woodburn wrote against these tendencies by adopting a powerful and withering critique of the Confederacy and all it stood for, a critique he developed in complex ways through all of his undergraduate speeches. He sharpened his points with particular power in two of the orations: "Decoration Day" (1875) and "A Political Harangue" (1876).

The manuscripts of these two speeches bring to light a mystery in Woodburn's life. A close examination of his papers, housed at the Indiana University libraries, shows that Woodburn intentionally silenced the delivery of these speeches. For reasons that remain unclear, he kept them hidden away in his archive and only returned to them several decades later, when he wrote the words "I was rather irreconcilable" at the top of "Decoration Day," and "never spoken or read to a living

²Two collections of manuscripts document the life of James Albert Woodburn and his family. The James A. Woodburn Papers, 1876-1943, Indiana University Office of University Archives and Record Management, document his professional career and ties to Indiana University; the Woodburn MSS collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, contains the bulk of his personal and family papers and is the primary focus of this essay. All of the undergraduate speeches by James Albert Woodburn referenced in this discussion are from Folder 1870-1879, box 1, of the Woodburn MSS. Both "Decoration Day" (1875) and "A Political Harangue" (1876) are published here for the first time. The rest remain unpublished. On the Woodburn family and the Athenian Society, see James Albert Woodburn, *History of Indiana University*, vol. 1, 1820-1902 (Bloomington, Ind., 1940), 303-310.

being" atop the "Political Harangue." The notes invite questions about not only how the speeches came into existence, but also why they were ultimately silenced.³

This essay provides a basic framework for understanding the production and eventual silencing of these speeches. A broader goal is to introduce them for the first time to a new group of readers, and to highlight some admittedly speculative paths that might help scholars attain a better understanding of them. I have structured the discussion that follows around three topics. The first involves a close examination of how the politics of slavery shaped the development of the Woodburn family history, so as to understand better how the transmission of family remembrance influenced a young man who was too young to have witnessed slavery firsthand or to have fought in the Civil War. Woodburn grew up in a family with deep antislavery roots. His ancestors had settled in South Carolina at the end of the eighteenth century, and moved to Indiana following what appears to have been a public scuffle of some kind over the emerging antislavery attitudes of his grandfather, Dorrance Beatty Woodburn. As antislavery sentiment developed in the Woodburn family throughout the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, it provided the grounds upon which Woodburn elaborated his politics as an undergraduate.

Woodburn's early political views were tested by the dynamics of the Athenian Society. In section two, I introduce what transpired at typical Athenian Society meetings and try to locate society functions within the broader context of Bloomington's campus. There is still a great amount of work to be done in understanding these meetings and the student culture that they helped to foster, but it seems clear that Woodburn did not feel comfortable delivering these particular speeches before this audience, or any audience, at the time. Was he worried about his scholarly reputation or did he fear that he might appear too "radical" on Reconstruction, and therefore too personally invested in his subject? Does his request for letters of recommendation from the faculty at the time that he wrote the speeches shed light on his choice not to deliver them? Just how inclusive were the male-dominated spaces of the Athenian Society? How far could students' freedom of speech be pressed within their confines?

³See "Decoration Day" (1875) and "A Political Harangue" (1876), both in Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

Finally, this essay investigates the broader political context of Woodburn's writings from the 1870s to the final days of his career as a professional historian. Woodburn never fully stopped working on the ideas contained in his undergraduate orations, even after he joined the faculty at Indiana University, where he worked for over fifty years. To fully understand the speeches, then, it seems important to look at how Woodburn's early ideas fit within the broader patterns and development of his thinking, and how the "irreconcilable" notions that later seemed to have bothered him in his early works may have shaped his transition to a respectable scholar and authority on Reconstruction. I conclude the essay with a short discussion of the way in which Woodburn has been remembered, both at Indiana University and within the scholarly profession he helped build, while offering my own take on how these speeches might be approached.

To understand the development of Woodburn's politics, it seems helpful first to locate his family's place in the broader saga of slavery's rise and expansion in the first decades after the American Revolution. The Woodburn family papers (1795-1942), housed at Indiana University's Lilly Library, document multiple generations of the family stretching back to the original James Woodburn (1748-1812), the earliest known ancestor and James Albert's great-grandfather. In 1767, James emigrated from County Derry, Ireland, to the United States, where he met Sarah (McGill) McMurray, then a widow, who was born in Ireland in 1746. They were married in 1775 and eventually settled in Chester County, South Carolina, where James lived until his death on August 21, 1812. James clearly valued education, as he kept a list of nearly fifty books that his great-grandson James Albert maintained as part of the family archive. Most of the titles were religious texts; the first five items were different versions of the Bible. Given that several of his sons and grandsons went on to become teachers, it seems fair to speculate that James Woodburn instilled a love for reading and study in his home, values that were then transmitted down through the family in tangible ways.⁴

⁴"Indiana Genealogy: The Woodburn Family," *Indiana Magazine of History* 33 (September 1937), 363-65. The list of books in the Woodburn library can be found in Folder 1795-1829, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

Future scholars interested in broadening their understanding of the Woodburn family might also look to the family's experiences in Chester County during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The expansion of plantation slavery in the early 1800s undoubtedly brought the family into frequent contact with area blacks and slaveholders, but the extent to which those contacts shaped the early family history remains unclear. Certainly, ongoing contests over land to support the expansion of the plantation economy would have provided a larger matrix from which the family's story took shape. The archive is also short on details about the political and cultural dynamics of the area. Chester County was a small and predominantly rural place when James Woodburn first arrived. By 1820, however, large-scale agricultural production placed increasing pressure on the state's yeoman population.⁵

Slavery's significance in the Woodburn family history can be better traced in the story of James Woodburn's son (James Albert's grandfather). Dorrance Woodburn (1786-1856) was born at Louisville, Georgia, on August 16, 1786, and served two years in the War of 1812. As a veteran and rural schoolteacher after the war, he balanced his time teaching and farming a small plot of land in Chester County, indicating that the family remained there or at least still held property there after James's death in 1812. Dorrance married Rachel Johnston (born November 4, 1788) in the Chester District, but records indicate that life in the South was far from hospitable for the couple. In his diary entries for 1822, Dorrance regularly complained about the lack of available land, a complaint common among yeoman farmers as plantation slavery expanded.⁶ Feeling pressed, Dorrance wondered whether his prospects would be better out West, perhaps in Alabama. "Very Civil and honest neighbors," he wrote, had already left for new lands there, and he admitted that his "views of moving were still strengthening." As Christmas approached, Dorrance wrote: "I would feel the happiest man in the universe if I had

⁵On slavery's expansion in this period, see Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003); Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995).

⁶"Indiana Genealogy: The Woodburn Family"; Dorrance Woodburn, Diary entries for December 9 to 24, 1822, Folder 1795-1829, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

enough to pay off all my debts." He explained, "How pleasant I would be to meet my friends and neighbors without having it in their power to say to me 'pay what thou owest.'"⁷

Dorrance also began to speak out against slavery, particularly within his religious congregation, part of the Associate Reformed Church. Family papers suggest that in September 1823, some of his proslavery neighbors began to make public accusations against him, placing broadsides and other notes on a number of area tavern doors, with coded rumors about his "religious" and "political" values. These denunciations led Dorrance to proclaim: "I wish well to every one and am clear of malice to any different sentiments on particular subjects." He warned his neighbors about the dangers of making false accusations, and implored "those writers and setters up of papers on this tavern door either on religious or political subjects to affix their names." Dorrance was never targeted with violence, but the actions of his neighbors seem to have led him to a more public statement of his views.⁸ In 1826, Dorrance helped write an antislavery petition for state legislators representing Chester, York, and Fairfield Counties. Calling slavery a "political" and "moral" evil, the petition demanded the end of all support for the system in South Carolina. This was certainly a bold move, and it was not long before the Woodburn family left for the "free soil" of southern Indiana in 1830.⁹

The family's experiences in Indiana would also have given James Albert a tangible connection to the antislavery struggle. Once relocated, Dorrance kept in touch with a number of his ex-neighbors, suggesting that not everyone back in South Carolina appreciated the tactics used against the Woodburn family. One former neighbor wrote in October 1831 to say that the "woeful practice" of slavery continued; he also indicated that a number of locals were concerned about the rumors of slave rebellion.¹⁰ These fears were prompted, of course, by Nat Turner's rebellion of August 22 and 23, when slaves killed over fifty area whites dur-

⁷Dorrance Woodburn, Diary entries for December 9, 20, and 24, 1832, Folder 1795-1829, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

⁸Dorrance Beatty Woodburn, "A Request," September 1, 1823, Folder 1795-1829, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

⁹"Anti-Slavery Petition," ca. 1826, Folder 1795-1829, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

¹⁰John Sprowl [?] to Dorrance B. Woodburn, October 8, 1831, Folder 1830-1839, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

ing two days of horrific bloodshed. Authorities captured Turner on October 30, meaning the letters Dorrance received were likely composed in the weeks before the arrest. Further correspondence from a South Carolina friend named Samuel McCalla detailed white fears in the aftermath of the violence.

You have no doubt heard of the Southampton insurrection of negroes, the panic on the guilty Slave holder was not trifling. I heard of some that took their guns and blankets and concealed themselves in deep gullies in the night to avoid danger. . . the whole military in some places performed patrol duty for five days and nights in succession. The Negroes were treated with severity.

Given their drama and connection to storied events, these and other accounts in the family's archive were probably an important part of their history, and would have played a role in framing James Albert's understanding of his own past.¹¹

James Albert's father continued the tradition of antislavery belief within the family. James Woodburn II (1817-1865) was born on September 1, 1817, in Chester County, South Carolina. As one of the nine children born to Dorrance and Rachel, James moved with the family to Monroe County, Indiana, in 1830. One of the earliest graduates of Indiana University in 1842, he continued the family tradition of teaching, working as a part-time instructor in rural schools between 1839 and 1844. James routinely expressed antislavery sentiments during his work as a schoolteacher. At a school meeting held February 19, 1842, for example, he said

The subject of slavery affords a theme of warm controversy at present, and it may yet terminate in bloody scenes or a division of the Union It is the duty of all to correct these errors, to eradicate the feelings which they engender that the several members of our Union may be knit together by the former ties of friendship.

¹¹Samuel Walker McCalla to Dorrance B. Woodburn, November 19, 1831, Folder 1830-1839, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

Though these views were likely controversial, it seems that, unlike his father, he largely avoided the wrath of his neighbors. His daybook listed the names of some four hundred students, along with their parents, indicating that he retained at least some weight in the local community.¹²

James Albert Woodburn could also turn to the family archive for lessons on "Bleeding Kansas." Like many others in Indiana at the time, his father had taken an intense interest in the spread of violence in the wake of debates over the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. Letters to James from friends in Kansas indicate that the family had ties to people on the ground. On December 2, 1856, James Daly wrote of rising tensions in the town of Lawrence, where a number of Free Soil settlers had established a base: "If it does come to shooting it will be a war of extermination of one of the parties," adding that "if the free state men are victorious, I doubt whether there are a Missourian left to tell the tale." Pro-slavery forces had, in fact, raided Lawrence on May 21, destroying several antislavery presses. If James Albert knew of these letters or the stories contained in them, they must have lent reality to abstractions of the past in ways that shaped him as a young man.¹³

The Woodburn family viewed the Civil War from the Indiana home front, joining other Hoosiers in mourning the deaths of nearly 25,000 Indiana soldiers during the course of the war. The family archive is fairly quiet about the war and its effects, but there are occasional references within. One of the most interesting is a letter written just a few weeks after Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. In February 1863, perhaps seeking the counsel of his former teacher, John Hood, serving in the 80th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, wrote to James soliciting his thoughts. Hood related that life in the army was not always pleasant, but he reiterated his support of the Union's cause as his unit camped near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. "I have not yet seen the day that I regretted having joined the army," Hood assured him. "I should like to hear from you on the present condition of our country. What [do] you think of the prospects?" James Albert was too young to fight but it seems

¹²James Woodburn quoted in James Albert Woodburn, "James Woodburn: Hoosier Schoolmaster," *Indiana Magazine of History* 32 (September 1936), 246-47.

¹³Jim Daly to James Woodburn, December 2, 1856, Folder 1850-1859, box 1, Woodburn MSS; "Obituaries: Dorrance Woodburn, Died at Bloomington, Indiana, on the 21st of October, 1856," clipping, n.d., Folder 1850-1859, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

probable that he took inspiration from his father's wartime stories as he composed his speeches.¹⁴

The untimely death of James Woodburn in September 1865 probably also shaped the young boy's memory in significant ways. The year had already brought some of the most remarkable developments in all of American history. In February, Charleston, South Carolina—in many ways the symbolic center of secession—was evacuated and surrendered to Union forces after a long siege. In April, Ulysses S. Grant accepted the surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. Within a few days, of course, Lincoln was assassinated in Washington, D.C.¹⁵ The death of James Albert's father four months later occurred in a context of stunning reversals to the North's wartime gains. With Lincoln dead and Andrew Johnson in the White House, anti-black violence increased throughout the South. Nine-year-old James Albert mourned his father against a backdrop of ongoing Congressional debates over the Thirteenth Amendment—finally ratified on December 6—and the creation of southern black codes, aimed at restricting the freedoms of the nation's newly emancipated.¹⁶

James Albert Woodburn spent the majority of his life in Indiana. Born on November 30, 1856, in a house on North College Street in Bloomington, he was only four years old when the first shells burst over Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. As a young boy in the time of Radical Reconstruction, he probably read about or heard the name of Thaddeus Stevens, a man he eventually chronicled in a 1913 biography. In late 1865, as the Woodburn family mourned in Indiana, Stevens was leading the Congressional opposition to the policies of President Johnson, in particular his Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon for the Confederate States, issued in May.

It is difficult to know how closely young James Albert followed events from Bloomington in the aftermath of his father's death. He may have heard, for example, about the first national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, held at nearby Indianapolis in 1866. As

¹⁴John Hood to James Woodburn, February 22, 1863, Folder 1860-1869, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

¹⁵Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 64-71.

¹⁶Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (1988; New York, 2002); Blight, *Race and Reunion*, chaps. 2-4.

books such as John T. Trowbridge's *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (1866) gained audiences in the North through portrayals of an "unreconstructed" South, southerners themselves lamented the end of slavery and again celebrated the righteousness of their cause.¹⁷ As debates over the Civil Rights Act of April 1866 took shape, news of race riots—including the Memphis riots on May 1-3 and the bloodshed at New Orleans on July 30—became increasingly commonplace.¹⁸ Woodburn would have been ten when Radical Republicans won a series of election victories in late 1866. He re-narrated these events in his speeches, particularly in the "Political Harangue," but it is difficult to know whether the urgency and confusion of the political moment filtered into his household, and how and when Woodburn himself acquired an understanding of the events.

The ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the election of Grant to the presidency shaped the political context of James Albert's upbringing. Americans were struggling to come to grips with the meaning of the war and its 620,000 deaths. In 1869, for example, Henry Ward Beecher gave a speech at the Gettysburg battlefield that challenged the young men in attendance, many of them too young to have participated in the fighting itself, to "never prove unworthy of their father's name."¹⁹ At the same gathering, former Indiana governor Oliver P. Morton offered his take on the legacy of the war. "The rebellion was madness," he said. "It was the insanity of states, the delirium of millions, brought upon by the pernicious influence of human slavery." More and more, however, Morton's views were in the minority. Increasing numbers of Americans were reaching for reunion and forgiveness with the South, signaling their willingness to accept the terms of black inequality in the name of sectional reunion.²⁰

Woodburn entered school the same year that race riots erupted in Meridian, Mississippi, and the same year that Congress opened its inves-

¹⁷John Townsend Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, Conn., 1866).

¹⁸On the Memphis riots, see Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 2009), chap. 2. On the New Orleans riot, see James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *An Absolute Massacre: The New Orleans Race Riot of July 30, 1866* (Baton Rouge, La., 2001).

¹⁹Beecher quoted in Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 76.

²⁰Morton quoted in *ibid.*, 71-72.

Indiana State University	
Report, Showing the Merit of	
<i> Jas. A. Woodburn</i>	
In Department, Recitations and Punctuality as a Student, for the Term ending July 2, 1874.	
Department,	<i>10</i>
SENIOR STUDIES.	
International Law,	
Astronomy,	
English Literature,	
French, (optional)	
JUNIOR STUDIES.	
Civil Engineering,	
Natural Philosophy,	
Constitutional Law and Civil Polity,	
Physiology,	
Latin--Tacitus,	
Greek,	
French, (optional)	
SOPHOMORE STUDIES.	
Integral Calculus,	<i>9.0</i>
Higher English Grammar,	<i>9.3</i>
Botany,	
Latin--Horace's Satires and Prosody,	<i>9.4</i>
Greek--Homer,	
German,	<i>9.4</i>
FRESHMAN STUDIES.	
Trigonometry,	
History,	
Greek--Anabasis,	
German,	
Preparatory Latin,	
—22—134—	
Number of Recitations lost,	<i>4</i>
Recitations lost without sufficient excuse,	<i>0</i>
Absences from morning devotions,	{ Excused, <i>0</i>
	{ Unexcused, <i>0</i>
EXPLANATIONS.	
The above report contains the standing for the term, in each department. The number 10 is the standard of this grade and denotes perfection in both the daily recitations and in the final examination. Anything below 7 is to be considered poor. Every student is allowed 10 in department, unless demerited by reason of absence without excuse, or other violation of College Rules.	
CYRUS NUTT, President of the University.	

An IU grade report for Woodburn's sophomore year, 1874.

Woodburn's collegiate success would continue in the decades of his distinguished academic career.

Courtesy, Woodburn Manuscript Collection, Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana

tigation of the Ku Klux Klan for its role in white supremacist violence in the South. One of his earliest report cards documents his successes for the 1871 school year: high marks, with the lowest grade a more-than-respectable 97 out of 100 in algebra. He continued his classwork in 1872, and by then had enrolled at Indiana University as an undergraduate. His freshman year coincided with the Republican Party's split, with the party establishment nominating Grant and the "Liberal Republicans" gathering in Cincinnati that May to nominate Horace Greeley. Later that same year, Grant won his second term as president, while Louisiana elected its first black governor, P. B. S. Pinchback. Woodburn, meanwhile, took classes in spelling, arithmetic, history (he received a 100 in the class), and Latin, maintaining an extremely high overall score of 99.²¹

What might be learned from this first year of James Albert's undergraduate career? Woodburn kept a diary as an Indiana undergraduate, but it appears that sometime around 1876, or perhaps later, he destroyed what remained of its entries. Perhaps he destroyed the journal for reasons that journals are often destroyed—embarrassment at some of the things he had written or protection of thoughts that he later, far into his career, considered private or otherwise unimportant. What seems certain is that Woodburn had a clear interest in protecting and shaping his archive, a practice he maintained not only with his own journals, but also with all the papers in his family's history. Indeed, he often returned to his family's papers to inform his later works as a professional historian. In 1924, when he wrote a commencement address for his alma mater, he drew upon his own archive to recreate the world of Indiana University in 1872 for his audience. He remembered that Indiana had just one building when he first arrived at the school, and that there were 280 students in his freshman class, led by eleven instructors. He frequently borrowed information from his father's writings, as well.²²

In the end, Woodburn probably felt motivated to write his speeches by the continuing onslaught of reversals that filled newspaper headlines during his time as an undergraduate. He could look to his family history to see evidence of how southern intimidation worked, as it had

²¹Report Card, Bloomington Graded School, for "Albert," February 1871, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS; Report Cards, Indiana University 1871-1872, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

²²James Albert Woodburn, "Since the Beginning: A Retrospect": Commencement Address at Indiana University, June 11, 1924 (Bloomington, Ind., 1924).

against his grandfather Dorrance in the 1820s. He could point to the forceful overthrow of popular sovereignty in 1850s Kansas, and he could remember his father's stories of Union soldiers facing tremendous hardship as they battled slavery's defenders. Federal Reconstruction withered under the southern counter-revolution of the mid-1870s, and the Panic of 1873 strengthened calls for peace and reconciliation. Congressional elections in 1874 returned control of the House of Representatives to the Democratic Party for the first time since before the Civil War. As blacks throughout the South worried about rumors of their potential re-enslavement with the Democrats back in control, nineteen of the nation's twenty-five governors' seats were also ceded to the Democrats. It was during this period that Woodburn began drafting his "Decoration Day" speech.

Recognizing slavery's place in your family's story was one matter; learning to pass those lessons on to future generations was another. For Woodburn, the Athenian Society offered his first chance to do precisely that. Together with its rival the Philomethan Society, the organization formed part of a larger culture of literary societies common at many early American colleges. Traditions within these clubs stretched back to the foundations of higher education in the United States, but they were most popular on campuses in the period between 1830 and 1890. Their highpoint at Indiana and many other schools came in the 1850s during the heated debates of the sectional crisis. Members of the IU club contributed to a monthly publication called *The Athenian*, and by most accounts the club, like others of its kind, offered a student-created and student-led space where young men could gather to explore their various intellectual concerns, refine their oratorical skills, and enjoy homosocial camaraderie. Rigorous in their pursuit of intellectual excellence, part of the societies' appeal was that they were also spaces to use emotion and humor in ways that were not allowed in the classrooms.²³

Woodburn would not have been encouraged to make politically charged speeches in his college classrooms. Because the curriculum at

²³The papers of both the Athenian and Philomethan Societies are housed at the Indiana University Archives. See Indiana University Athenian Society Records, 1830-1886; Philomethan Society Records, 1836-1891. The meeting minutes are particularly helpful in understanding the culture of the society's meeting space; see "Meeting Minutes," 1865-1876, box 2, Indiana University Athenian Society Records, 1830-1886. See also James D. Gieser, "The College Literary Society: The Athenian Society of Indiana University during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Indiana University Student Personnel Association*, 2010 edition, 5-16.

the time was still grounded in traditional and classical methods (recall Woodburn's freshman-year course in Latin) that sometimes involved rote memorization, the Athenian Society was the place to practice English rhetorical and writing skills on topics that seemed more relevant to the times. The freedom of expression found within the groups made their meetings lively and sometimes combative. Throughout his career, Woodburn recalled his times with the Athenian Society with obvious fondness. He remembered, in particular, the society's library, which was apparently better stocked than the official college collection, composed almost entirely of classics.²⁴

During their college years, Woodburn's father and uncle had been members of the Athenian Society and their experiences provide some insight into its social world. In 1858, when James was still a toddler, his uncle John Henry Loudon entered Indiana University and joined the Athenian Society's ranks. In a February 12 diary entry, he recalled taking "Miss Lizzie" (Elizabeth Chestnut Hemphill, whom he eventually married in 1863) to the "Anniversary of the Athenian," an event from which they did not return home until well into the evening. In a March entry, John noted that he had taken Lizzie "to the exhibition of the Athenian Society. Very good performance." John relished the social and fraternal opportunities the club offered, writing on Christmas Eve that the "Athenian boys" had gathered to make party plans.²⁵

James Albert learned that being a member of the Athenian Society was both a privilege and a responsibility, a way to establish one's self as a student leader and a gentleman and to exclude those who the group felt did not belong. Athenians divided their activities among four primary functions: debate, library maintenance, publications, and providing social space to members. In debates, students used a range of rhetorical and performative tactics, such as emotion, humor, sarcasm, and parody. Members were also encouraged to pick issues that mattered to them, not to the schoolmasters, leaving the doors wide open to a range of questions. Woodburn recalled: "The cultivation of the public speaker was highly thought of in those days. In politics, in the law, in the pulpit, for

²⁴Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 2-3; Gieser discusses the early curriculum in "The College Literary Society," 6. His summary reflects many of the descriptions I read in my research for this essay.

²⁵For Loudon's diary, see Lawrence Wheeler, "A College Freshman in 1858," *Indiana Magazine of History* 47 (September 1951), 267-98.

which men were being chiefly educated, effective public speaking was deemed an essential."²⁶ Another element of membership involved maintaining the society library. Students brought in a range of materials that tested the boundaries of elite cultural tastes. Fiction, drama, and poetry, along with political and social texts, were especially welcomed. Finally, members contributed their writings and thoughts to *The Athenian*, which published student essays as well as bits of humor and parody.²⁷

The humorous and sometimes emotionally charged content of the speeches made these meetings popular affairs. In their heyday of the 1850s, practically every male student on the IU campus belonged to at least one literary society, even if not all were allowed to join the group they might have preferred. Most of the clubs met on Friday nights. In 1924, Woodburn recalled that he had once missed a meeting and had been charged a fifty-cent fine for his absence. The upperclassmen who usually served as officers and leaders of the meetings made sure that these rules were enforced; it was also their responsibility to ensure that the meetings were conducted in such a way as to give good feedback to the writers and orators. "There it was known that they would have to meet the tests and criticisms, sometimes hostile, for which they would be prepared," Woodburn remembered. "Many a student, after he had gone out into the world, bore testimony...to the benefits received the experience and training that came to him in these societies."²⁸ In 1889, another Indiana alumnus remembered that "every Friday evening...we flocked to these halls, ready to declaim some carefully committed oration, read profound essays, or indulge in heated debate over questions which we fondly imagined interested the world quite as much as ourselves."²⁹

Not all appearances before the Athenian Society were pleasant, however. In his commencement speech for 1924, Woodburn related that in the years before the Civil War, society meetings had sometimes turned hostile. He told the story of two young men engaged in an especially

²⁶Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 3.

²⁷Two complete leather-bound copies of volume 1 of *The Athenian* can be found in box 1, Indiana University Athenian Society Records, 1830-1886. To my knowledge, these are the only extant copies of the publication. Gieser, "The College Literary Society," 5-16.

²⁸Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 3.

²⁹Unidentified Athenian alumnus quoted in Gieser, "The College Literary Society," 7.

heated debate on the eve of the war: "Once a member attempted to brain another with a chair for a difference of political opinion," he said. "That was in the days before the Civil War when politics were warm and offered burning questions for discussions."³⁰ It is difficult to tell whether Woodburn, speaking more than sixty years later, intentionally misremembered the tale for dramatic or perhaps comedic effect for his 1924 audience. It is not difficult to imagine, however, that sometimes the emotion put on display by these young men exploded, particularly in the heady days of the late 1850s. The intensity of those years did nothing but annoy Woodburn's uncle Loudon, who attended what he called a "political" speech in July 1858. He judged it "a bore" and noted that "it is strange men can't talk on any thing but Kansas." Loudon may have found the talk stifling, but his comments highlight the importance of political discourse among his peers.³¹

The Athenian Society also provided a space for the cultivation of manly and mannered practice. Members could be fined for spitting, talking too loudly, lying down, smoking, or placing their feet on the chairs. Except for public events which might include the larger student body and faculty, outsiders were strictly not allowed—in this way, members policed their space to ensure that the young men who were part of the club could create and maintain their position at the top of collegiate society, and that the virtues of elite society would be transmitted down through the student body, something the college administration certainly welcomed about the clubs. Women were banned from the regular meetings. Still, female literary organizations did exist, including the Edgeworthalean Society (1841-1844), the Hesperian Literary Society (1870-1871), and the co-ed Independent Society, which took root in 1885.³²

The Civil War caused a significant drop in Athenian Society membership as young men rushed to fight, but the club remained an important feature of campus life through the early 1870s, when Woodburn enrolled. Amzi Atwater, an Indiana student who was enrolled during the

³⁰Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 3.

³¹John Henry Loudon, Diary entry for Wednesday, July 28, 1858, in Wheeler, "A College Freshman in 1858," 287.

³²Gieser, "The College Literary Society," 5-16; Woodburn, *History of Indiana University*, I:318-19. On the Edgeworthalean in Monroe County (more than twenty years before IU admitted women), see Lawrence Wheeler, ed., "The Minutes of the Edgeworthalean Society, 1840-1844," *Indiana Magazine of History* 46 (June 1950), 179-202.

war, said that the formal etiquette surrounding the societies remained in place. Students continued to ask that members remove their boots before entering the society hall; members were fined for breaking club rules. Usually, the meetings involved young men gathering around a large stove in the center of the room for conversation before asking members to approach the center of the floor to deliver their papers or speeches, sometimes extemporaneously on a subject they might know very little about. "It was the effect of this practice to teach a young man to...think on his feet," Atwater explained. "The critics bestowed praise or blame (chiefly the latter) upon each performance," he said, suggesting that the space probably served as a venue for trying out serious ideas, without the pretentiousness that might surround a public address before the faculty or the general public. Students could relax and enjoy the company of their friends as they struggled to make sense of questions they found interesting. "It must be admitted," Atwater wrote in retrospect, "that there was much of boyish crudity about the whole thing, but that was to be expected."³³

Sectional feelings may have become a taboo subject that Athenian Society members gradually created and were later not allowed to breach. In his commencement address for 1924, Woodburn made note of the sectional differences that were alive and well at Indiana during what he called "the early days" of the university. "It should be remembered that there were many southern students," he said.³⁴ The university drew residents from all over the nation. Woodburn liked to point out that Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia sent two of his sons and two of his nephews to IU, all graduates of the class of 1850. Woodburn also noted the student catalogue of 1830, which listed a number of southern-born students, some from families who wanted their children to receive an education in northern schools, others from families who had recently moved to Indiana.³⁵

³³Amzi Atwater, "Indiana University Forty Years Ago," *Indiana Magazine of History* 1 (September 1905), 142.

³⁴Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 4. Migrations to the state following the War of 1812 and onward gave the state a complex demographic make-up shaped by large numbers of Upland Southerners, as historian Nicole Etcheson has shown. Many of these migrants were sympathetic to the slaveholding South, and they mixed and mingled with Yankee migrants from New England and upstate New York who tended to settle in the more northern reaches of the state. Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787-1861* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996).

³⁵Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 4.

The war, Woodburn recalled, destroyed many relationships in and around Bloomington, on and off campus: it “severed relationships, aroused suspicion and hatred, and our southern youths were cut off from student life among us.” It is likely that the war ended many of the friendships the Athenian Society had helped build. Perhaps these words give us the best clue as to why Woodburn decided not to deliver “Decoration Day” and “A Political Harangue.” He might have seen his works as being too divisive and detrimental to a sense of cohesion among his peers.³⁶

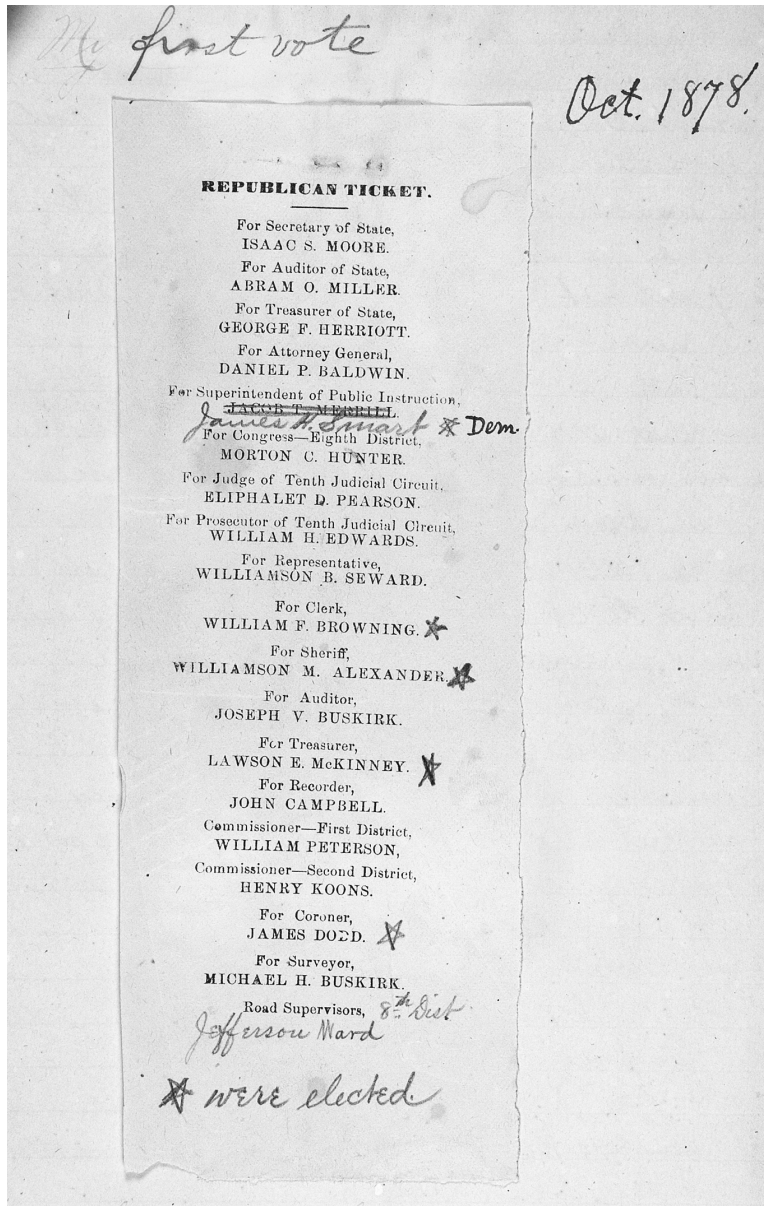
Woodburn would have had to balance these feelings, however, alongside his deepening political interest. He became a committed Republican during his time in college. Although his journal for the years from 1872 to 1876 was damaged, he did keep a ticket from his first vote, cast in the 1878 election (two years after he graduated), for the rest of his life. He scribbled the words “first vote” on it, and also wrote, “At this election, the Republican Party was badly worsted but came with a good victory in Ohio.”³⁷ He prepared (and apparently did deliver) several other politically themed speeches before the Athenian Society. In 1873, as a freshman (or maybe a first-semester sophomore), he wrote a speech called “Mr. President,” which essentially borrowed passages from his father’s writings. Unsatisfied by a lackluster first effort, he began sharpening his abilities in the upcoming years.³⁸

As a sophomore, he took his thinking in new directions with a speech called “Hero Worship,” which analyzed the dangers of the growing American obsession with soldier sacrifice. The theme can be read as a direct protest against the growing cult of reunion that characterized the early and mid-1870s. Written for delivery on May 26, 1874, the speech might be best understood in the context of war monument dedications, such as the 1875 Richmond, Virginia, event that drew almost fifty thousand people to honor Stonewall Jackson (in the same year that ex-Confederate General James Kemper, hero of Pickett’s doomed charge at Gettysburg, came sweeping back into the Virginia governor’s seat).

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Republican Ticket, October 1878, binder 1, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

³⁸James Albert Woodburn, “Mr. President,” delivered January 3, 1873, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS. The speech praises the acquisition of knowledge. Woodburn wrote: “This Sounds a good deal like one of my father’s as early as 1839 or 1840, and it may have been inspired by one of his papers. August 27, 1929.”



The Republican ticket for the first election in which Woodburn voted, 1878.

Woodburn took pride in his growing political activism.

Courtesy, Woodburn Manuscript Collection, Lilly Library

"Hero Worship" is the first oration in which Woodburn focused on themes of Civil War memory. Just nineteen years old at the time, he would continue thinking about these issues for the rest of his career.³⁹

As a junior, he prepared "Decoration Day," a speech he intended to deliver on June 18, 1875. It offered an extended rumination on the entangled legacies of the Civil War and slavery. In 1925, well into his professional career, he wrote in the document's margin, "I was rather irreconcilable," suggesting that he had regretted the content of what he had prepared.⁴⁰ As a senior, Woodburn wrote "A Political Harangue," which seems to have been written alongside or at least contemporaneously with another speech, "The Irrepressible Conflict: Will True Principles of Government Triumph," of June 14, 1876. The United States celebrated its centennial that year with a massive exhibition at Philadelphia, and Woodburn would have composed the speech in the middle of the presidential campaign between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel Tilden. Hayes was an Ohio Republican, a Civil War veteran, a conservative, and a three-term governor. Woodburn completed the speech before the election results were thrown into a dispute as the result of a virtual tie. Adding further insult to injury, for Republicans at least, was the election of Wade Hampton to the governor's seat in South Carolina. The disputed election led to a deal between four southern Democrats and five Ohio Republicans, who met at a hotel to broker a compromise meant to assist in the removal of federal troops from the South and provide the South with federal funding for new railroad construction, all while agreeing to help southern Democrats regain a foothold in national politics.⁴¹

Woodburn graduated from Indiana University around the time that he composed the "Political Harangue." He had earned high marks throughout his undergraduate career, and earned the recommendation

³⁹James Albert Woodburn, "Hero Worship," May 26, 1874, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS. On the Stonewall Jackson monument dedication, see Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 79-83.

⁴⁰James Albert Woodburn, "Decoration Day," June 18, 1875, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS. Transcripts of "Decoration Day" and "A Political Harangue" are included below.

⁴¹James Albert Woodburn, "A Political Harangue," Summer 1876, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

of several former professors, who wrote glowing letters on his behalf. "During the whole time of his connection with the University he was a diligent and successful student," one said. "We would regard him, as far as scholarship is concerned, every way competent to teaching all the branches usually taught in our high schools." Another mentioned that "I take great pleasure in commending him to the regard and confidence of any to whom this testimonial may come, alike for excellent of character and of scholarship." The writer added that "during his connection with this institution he won and still retains the affectionate esteem of his instructors." His experience at Indiana behind him, Woodburn turned toward a career of scholarship and learning, following the paths of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather before him.⁴²

Shortly after his graduation, Woodburn left Indiana to live in a new place for the first time in his life. He started his advanced studies toward the PhD in Baltimore in 1886, and completed his degree in 1890. Degree in hand, he returned to his beloved home state and started teaching. He met Caroline Louise Gelston in Indianapolis during one of his lectures, and the two were eventually married in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on November 20, 1893. During a career that spanned fifty years, he wrote several books on the early politics of the United States, drafted a biography of the radical abolitionist Thaddeus Stevens, served on the editorial board of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, and stood as an ardent defender of Indiana's public school system. He and Caroline had their first son, James IV, in 1894, and their only daughter, Janet McMillan, in 1900.⁴³ He remained a loyal supporter of the Republican Party.

If Woodburn chose to silence his more politically charged speeches as an undergraduate, he seems to have rejuvenated many of their arguments as a professional scholar. His politics were evident in a variety of his later works, but most clearly in his glowing appraisal of his Radical Republican subject in *The Life of Thaddeus Stevens: A Study in American Political History, Especially in the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1913), which earned him the ire of colleagues. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mainstream historical

⁴²T. A. Wylie[?] On behalf of Woodburn, March 21, 1877, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS; Lemuel Moss, President of Indiana University, on Behalf of J.A.W., March 28, 1877, Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS.

⁴³Another son, Edward Albert, was born on July 26, 1903, but died in infancy at the age of ten weeks.

scholarship grew increasingly critical of the abolitionist movement and the era called "Radical Reconstruction," making Woodburn's biography of Stevens an obvious flashpoint. M. L. Bonham, writing in the *Mississippi Historical Review* in 1914, patronizingly said that while the name "Woodburn" on a history guaranteed "an interesting" read, "the multitude of friends and admirers of Professor Woodburn will regret that he ever published this." Rather predictably, the source of Bonham's discontent was Woodburn's glowing portrayal of Stevens. Citing the works of other "unbiased" historians including Frederick Jackson Turner and William A. Dunning, Bonham concluded that "the usually critical historian has become a biased hero worshipper."⁴⁴

Bonham would not have known about Woodburn's undergraduate oration on the dangers of "Hero Worship." He lampooned Woodburn for his supposed lack of scholarly objectivity and critical concern: "This book is not really a biography at all, but a glorification of Thaddeus Stevens through a presentation of his political activities."⁴⁵ Other readers were more supportive of the work. Bernard Steiner, a librarian at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, wrote to Woodburn to say how "pleasant" it was to read this look at Stevens. "I am glad to see you are an uncompromising Union man," Steiner said. "There is far too much falling back from the ground we have won."⁴⁶ Surely, the Indiana historian would have agreed.

Woodburn's career, however, was also marked by examples of bipartisanship. In 1912, the "rather irreconcilable" historian congratulated Indiana's new Democratic governor, Samuel Ralston, for his recent electoral victory. "During the civil war and many years subsequent," Ralston wrote in reply, "prejudice against the democratic party was so strong that many teachers—perhaps a majority—deliberately endeavored to discredit its fundamental principles...it is gratifying, indeed, to know that I have the friendship of men like yourself."⁴⁷ Around the time he became the first chair of the History Department at Indiana in 1914,

⁴⁴M. L. Bonham, untitled review, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 1 (June 1914), 125.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 126.

⁴⁶Bernard Steiner to James Albert Woodburn, September 29, 1913, Folder 1913, box 2, Woodburn MSS.

⁴⁷Governor Samuel Ralston to James Albert Woodburn, March 30, 1912, Folder 1913, box 2, Woodburn MSS.

Woodburn also started a regular correspondence with Woodrow Wilson, the first southerner elected to the White House since before the Civil War.

Despite these displays of bipartisanship and cooperation, however, Woodburn remained committed to many of the ideals that he had spelled out in his earlier undergraduate orations. In a 1926 essay on western radicalism in American politics, for example, he criticized scholars for calling the transformations of the Civil War era "radical." American radicalism, he urged, "has always been democratic in its purposes and tendencies." He pointed to Abraham Lincoln as an example of how the word "radical" had been much used and abused over the years. "Lincoln's radical call was merely that the Republic should go back to the standards of human equality announced in the Declaration of Independence and to the days and desires of the Fathers, when it was supposed by all that slavery was to be put into the course of ultimate extinction," he said. Speaking at Springfield, Illinois, Woodburn added, "But when Lincoln announced here on this historic soil what he supposed the fathers of the Republic believed, his utterance was deemed so radical as to threaten the dismemberment of the Union and to endanger the cause for which he stood." Woodburn again echoed earlier themes, reminding listeners that the real source of radicalism in Reconstruction had originated from white supremacy.⁴⁸

Woodburn's commencement address to Indiana University graduates in 1924 crystallized many of these enduring themes. He used the nearly fifty-year span between his graduation in 1876 and his appearance in 1924 to reflect further on the meaning of the Civil War and the turbulent decades that had since defined the country. "It is a dark picture," he said.

Here we stand at the end of the period with a world lying in moral wreckage and ruin It almost seems that gloom and despair are to envelop us, and that men are coming to believe that unfaith and brutal cynicism are alone to rule the world The new patriotism calls us to strive for the living unity of mankind.

⁴⁸James Albert Woodburn, "Western Radicalism in American Politics," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13 (September 1926), 143-68.

Echoing the words of the “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” Woodburn said, “As they struggled to unite America let us struggle to unite mankind.”⁴⁹

James Albert Woodburn died of pneumonia in Madison, Wisconsin, on December 12, 1943. His death came just three years after the completion of his *History of Indiana University*, very much a labor of love, and a glowing tribute to the works of his fathers before him. He was buried at Rose Hill Cemetery in Bloomington. His loss was deeply felt on the Indiana University campus and throughout the scholarly community more broadly. *Indiana Magazine of History* editor John D. Barnhart issued a short statement upon his death, praising Woodburn as “a wise counselor and a devoted supporter.” Barnhart added: “Dr. Woodburn was a kind, constant, and intelligent friend, and as such he will be mourned by those who were fortunate enough to have been associated with him in the long years of his useful life.”⁵⁰ Today, visitors to the university can still read the small plaque that stands in the entranceway to Woodburn Hall: “Chronicler of University history...inspiring teacher...wise counselor...and warm friend of students.” The Lilly Library, the present-day home of Woodburn’s papers, sits, incidentally, directly next door to Woodburn Hall, which was renamed in his honor on October 24, 1971. Woodburn Hall is also home to two murals by the artist Thomas Hart Benton, who originally painted the scenes for the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress International Exposition. One of the murals, which includes a rendering of Ku Klux Klan members burning a cross, has been the subject of recurring contention on campus.⁵¹ Suggestive of the enduring legacy of the Civil War, the murals add yet another layer of meaning to Woodburn’s challenges that we remember and learn from our nation’s past.



⁴⁹Woodburn, *Since the Beginning*, 18.

⁵⁰John D. Barnhart, “James Albert Woodburn, 1856-1943,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 39 (December 1943), 362.

⁵¹Nick Dugan, “Woodburn Hall home to racial Benton Murals: Building Had \$3.4m renovation project in 1980,” *Indiana Daily Student*, March 21, 2006.

"DECORATION DAY"⁵²

Among those days of interest, and of sacred feeling to the citizens of our country, and of those days in which we as a people are called upon to celebrate as a national holiday in commemoration of events we love and ought to think of, Decoration Day, which has recently past and been celebrated, is one which calls for great attention, and excites the deepest feelings of reverence and love in the hearts of American patriots.

It is a day, literally speaking, of recent origins; yet it had its foundation with the world. Euripedes has told us that "a noble nature is prone to reverence." This spirit of reverential love for departed greatness is innate in man. This has been a notable feature in nations in all ages. It is useless to cite you to history. We have heard Horace sing that "it is sweet and honorable to die for one's country;" another has told us that "it is a Godlike thing to do," and in studying the character and customs of great and civilized nations, we are convinced of the universality of the habit. It is well that it is so; it is well that [we] have this day to honor our fallen soldiers; it is one of the customs of our people which tend to the perpetuity of the government; as our orator told us they are "schools of patriotism to our youth."

It certainly inspires a youthful, and even more mature heart to be present on such occasions; to see the people *en masse* assembling to lift up their hearts in prayer, asking for the future welfare of the nation; to listen to the eloquent discourse of public men over the silent graves of those who have "fought their last fight;" to see the solemn crowd as it passes mournfully along, accompanied by the measured dirges; and the last and most impressive of all to see that crowd passing reverently among the graves of the loved sleepers and scattering to their memory the brightest flowers of Spring.

We have had this for a national holiday but for a short time. The celebrations have been instituted since the war, and since then it has been a day which has been observed with considerable attention and patriotic zeal. It is sweet that we should do so; it is sweet that we should

⁵²Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University. Woodburn wrote "June 18th, 1875" on the document, but with a notation at the bottom that read, "Athenian Hall. This never was read." The language at the top read, "I was rather irreconcilable, J.A.W., July 20, 1925."

wreath our roses and our lilies, and place them on their graves, and thus honor the men who made such a sacrifice and consented to die in order that we as a nation might live. And what have they accomplished?

We have only to look around us and behold the beauties of our country; we have only to think of our advancement and growth; only to think of the education, civilization, the prosperity, the *freedom* and *unity* of our country, and with unanimity we exclaim: "A thousand times worth the sacrifice."

And this brings us to the cause of the conflict. We do not mention the subject of slavery. Of course the gall-like fruit we reaped we plucked from that tree. But the want of a feeling of rationality on the idea of state sovereignty which existed in eleven states of the Union was the great thing that brought this upon us.

This feeling concerning state sovereignty, combined with that of aristocracy had existed and had been growing in the south many years before the formation of our present government. We have had various manifestations of it since. We saw it manifested when John Randolph rose on the floor of Congress and with his hissing "Mr. Speaker" said: "When I speak of my country I mean the commonwealth of Virginia"; and when the southern school boy was asked what was the name of his country, who quickly and proudly replied South Carolina. It was this feeling that caused such intellectually strong men as Robert E. Lee and Alexander H. Stevens, being educated by the institutions of the South, though strongly opposed to the secession government, thinking that they owed their allegiance first to their state, then to their nation, to leave all and follow their state even at the expense of their nation, and it was this feeling that precipitated us head long into the fight. But we have come out purified, and Decoration Day is celebrated in which we call to memory those men who with their blood have washed and purified us.

And now we ask ourselves does this tend to place us farther from reconciliation? Does it tend to widen the gulf between the North and the South? We think not; it certainly ought not, and if done in the true spirit it does not.

As that noble band of women of Mississippi went out on the 30th Day of May with their baskets lined with wreaths and garlands, not as manifestations of reverence to whom we know as fallen patriots, but to manifest their love for and their remembrance of their dear brothers and fathers, and husbands who died in the lost cause, and as they decked, and wept bitter tears of sorrow over these graves so dear, and with generous hand took the fairest flowers of their gardens, the most fragrant,

the purest, the sweetest, and with moist eye gentle fingers and loving hearts, scattered these over some of those graves the North have been so wont to call the "many thousand unknown graves of the south"; and when the gifted poet so truly portrays to us the equality of the "Blue and the Grey in that great judgment day;" we say while all this is done by people of the dejected South should not the heart of the North be poured out to them in sympathy, forgiveness, and love? And should not the South with one acclaim, with *humility* generously respond and come back to the tried and well worn paths of the North?

The justly boastful America could add another boast, and with revenge and hate absent, and the unity of the States connected by love always present our Republic could endure forever and we could then show to the world that with our "union of lakes and a union of land, we have a union of hearts and a union of hands." But how is this to be accomplished? Is it the fault of our government if animosity exists? We think not. We know our government has forgiven. The South are slightly at fault, do they expect honor with forgiveness? I never learned that forgiveness implied it. Do they expect that we can allow citizens of America or our public celebrations to give equal honor to Albert Sydney Johnston and Nathaniel Lyon?

No act effecting our country would do we more good than to see the North and South bound closely together by a league of friendship and fraternal Christian love. But if this Union is to be formed only by our people equally honoring those who fought for and those who fought against our country, and died thus fighting, then I can earnestly say let the day never come. But this is not necessary. The envied Reconciliation can be effected without it. The people in the coming age must think of these men and the children as they grow up must not be taught to honor them. I can't conceive of a band of patriots publicly extolling and honoring our Arnold. I don't conceive of a lover of his country reverently scattering flowers to the memory of, and thus honoring the name of Aaron Burr. Nor do I wish to see the day when the people thus act toward Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis.

In his Green Castle speech Governor Morton said: We were told that we should bury the animosities of the war. I say so. I would that they were in the deep bosom of the ocean buried. But not the principles for which they fought—not the character of the cause for which they died. We should never forget that. The Confederate army displayed valor and high courage; nobody denies that. But after all the great fact remains that they fought on the wrong side, against their country, against liberty

and humanity, and we can never put them on the same level with the Union soldiers in regard to pensions, or in regards to honors without dishonoring the principles for which these men fought. If there is such a thing as right as distinguished from wrong; if there is such a thing as a good cause as distinguished from a bad one, then these soldiers acted upon the right side fighting for God, and humanity and their country, and the others were upon the wrong side.

It is an important principle never to be forgotten; the soldiers who fight against their country never deserve well of that country.

Verily we believe that the South does not do right, nor can the object be accomplished as long as they honor and hold in such reverence the names of such men as Yancey and Toombs, and Zollicoffer, and Lee, and Jackson and Davis, but they must come forth a new people, seeing as they must see that if they do right and what will render satisfaction to their government they must cast these men into their merited oblivion and with a lenient government we predict the present generations will see the work accomplished.



“A POLITICAL HARANGUE” (1876)⁵³

1

According to the Constitution of the United States, and in the course of events the time has come, or soon will come, when it will be necessary for the people of this country to choose a chief executive for the next four years. Who that chief executive is to be, and what is to be the policy of his administration, should interest every American citizen. Civil Government has been originated by the Divine Being, and given to man for his own good. It then becomes man that he should take an interest in, and pay attention to, the affairs of government; not only as a duty that he owes to himself, but as a day he owes to his God, originat-

⁵³Folder 1870-1879, box 1, Woodburn MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University. At the top of the manuscript, beneath the title, Woodburn wrote: “Written, while at leisure in the summer of 1876, but never spoken or read to a living being. J.A. Woodburn, May 12th, 1877” and “Hayes and Wheeler Campaign.”

ing Government as he did for the good of man. Especially is it the duty of every American citizen, since there has been given us such a country—with its mighty rivers, its broad plains and fertile valleys—since we have such a free country with a government for the people and of the people & by the people—especially I say, since all of these things are, is it the duty of American citizens to give attention to the affairs of his government. It is the duty of every man to vote and when he votes, to vote intelligently.

He should vote with an eye single to the perpetuity of his country—for when we have given us such a government as we have, it is the duty of every man to do all in his power to have that government live & survive and be perpetuated forever, upon sound and loyal principles. The great source of general intelligence in this country is the Press. But it is right and proper and in a great sense necessary that men should confer together and talk with another about these things and this be aided by their intercourse informing their opinion. It is the right and privilege of men to speak to each other and to exchange opinions, not as section prejudiced partazens [*sic*], but as citizens, desiring and hoping to do themselves & each other good. Such I would like to characterize not my speech—but my *talk* tonight. I don't want to make a partisan harangue—but a good natured honest *talk*, having as I have, the greatest respect for all men's opinions. So I hope no offence may be taken at anything I may say, for I only speak in a friendly manner, as one friend to another.

In the present political situation, there are two great political parties asking for the suffrages of the people, the Republican and the Democratic Parties. Ever since the birth of the Republican Party & its first Presidential contest these parties have been pitted against each other in every political conflict. In the contests of 1860, 1864-'68 & '72 they have met each other as opponents in the political arena, and in each of these contests the Great Republican Party has come out victorious. And now in 1876, the same two parties, composed of the same men, advocating about the same principles, come before the people of this country, each submitting its claims and asking support. Which of these parties should be entrusted with power, which should receive your vote, is a question which comes home to us all, and one which interests, or should interest every man in this land of ours.

It is generally admitted that the party which would most surely act for the good of the whole country is the one to trust. How to settle the question as to which of the parties would do this, we must carefully

examine the character of the parties—we must look at their *tendencies*, we must look at the men of whom they are composed, and last, but perhaps not least we must look at the parties as they have appeared to us in the past; and not only this but we must look (& no doubt this is the most important of all) we must look at the present policies of the parties—their positions upon the great issues of the day and their assurances and promises of what the people demand at the present time. I believe this is what we must do to learn which party is most certain to control the government as patriotic men desire. Just here I will say, that in my opinion the welfare of the country demands the triumph of the Republican party in the fall elections, and in a few remarks I will try to give my reasons for thinking so. I would say in the first place that the Republican Party occupies the best position upon the live issues of the day, and can fairly meet its approach upon any ground it may choose. We have several questions interesting the people today. The most important are the financial questions, the southern question and the question of Administrative *reform*. I wish to say just a word or two about this financial question. Literally speaking it is not an issue between the two parties. In their national conventions, they both declared for hard money—and an early return to specie payment. I wish to call attention to the fact that the position of the Republican Party upon this question cannot be misunderstood; it is not indefinite, but it is definite—containing no uncertain sound. But on the other hand the Democrats tried to form a platform to conciliate both wings of the party—the hard money and the soft money—a platform that would mean hard money in the east and soft money in the west, and it was done simply to get votes. In the East the Democrats say that the national platform is a hard money platform, but we know that in the West, the party is pledged to inflation and repudiation. Is this the position of a Great National Party? Is this the position of a Great Reform Party? If they are for hard money let them say so in one section of the Union as well as the other; if they are a soft money party let them say so, and our speakers will meet them on the argument and beat them at the ballot box. But we do object, and have a right to object, when we suppose they are in favor of resumption—taking it for granted that this Great National Party expresses its principles in its national platform—that they should come up and stab us in the back, by saying that in the west they are a soft money party. We say it is cowardly, that's all.

This great question of the financial [I] wouldn't attempt to discuss, but will leave that for abler hands than mine. It is a great question and

one that needs great study. All that I want to say is to call your attention to the fact that if the Democratic Party stands by its national platform it is no issue between them. If they are not going to stand by their platform but are going to be a soft money party, all we want is for them to let us know it and we'll meet them upon the issue. Is that asking anything more than what is just and fair.

The next question I want to speak upon, and it is probably the most important, is that of Administrative Reform. It is not hard for us to acknowledge that reform is necessary. It is necessary in the civil service of the United States to do away with the old Democratic maxim, "to the victors belong the spoils"; it is necessary to bring our country to that purity of government which Gov. Hayes promised in the letter of acceptance and which all men believe that he is the one to accomplish. Now the question comes which of the two parties gives the greater assurance of accomplishing this reform. The Democratic Party would have you believe that this is the only question before the people and that the Republican Party is trying to evade the question. I answer that the Republican Party evades *no* question, but is ready to fairly meet its opponent upon any question coming before the American people. We assert that we meet our opponent on this question to the satisfaction of the people, and then when we propose a question which we know is [of?] interest to the people they try to evade it in a cowardly and a dishonorable way. We ask again the question, "which of the two parties gives the best promise of reform?" I believe the light of recent events would cause you to decide in favor of the Republican Party. I acknowledge that great corruption has grown up in the Republican Party; I acknowledge that powerful rings, and combinations of corrupt demagogues have almost gained control of the party machinery, and that some of the unprincipled men, loving self better than party, or even their country, have brought disgrace upon the civil service of our country, and have been in & around the White House itself. But thanks to the uprising of the honest elements of the party the power of the rings have been broken, and the party today is under the control of the reform & honest masses! It is not necessary to try to prove this to a person who is an observer of events. We have only to refer to the republican nominations all upon the country to show that the ring men, the machine men are in the minority. When we see such nominations as Morgan in New York & Mathews & Force and Garfield, and Foster and Cox in Ohio, and Browne & Harrison & Sexton in Indiana, we feel surely that the party is controlled by the good and honest men. As another [proof?] we ask you to look at the nomination of

Hayes. Why was not Blaine nominated at Cincinnati? Simply because, a few days before, some foul democrats charged him with corrupt doing, so the party refused to take him—not because they thought he was *guilty*—they believe he wasn't guilty—but because they wanted to avoid all appearance of evil—because they wanted to come before the country with a man against whom the foul breath of slander & calumny had never been sent, and so they nominated the irreproachable Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. But it ill becomes the Democratic Party to accuse the Republican Party of corruption. I assert, and few will deny it that the great mass of intelligence, respectability, Christianity, and loyalty in the country, is embraced in the Republican Party. I don't forget the many thousand honest Democrats all over the country; I can't help but know that there are many honest loyal men of democratic proclivities. But they can't escape the conviction, they can't get around the fact that their party's success depends entirely upon the illiterate and immoral vote of the country.

The Republican Party has been in power in this country for sixteen years and every little misdeed, every little mistake that it has made has been heralded to the country by its opponent and made to appear *ten* times as large as it was. But the very moment any Republican refers to the course of the Democratic Party in the past—to any of its actions during the war, or to its infamous course in the long pro-slavery struggle before the war, that moment the Democratic politicians and the Democratic press cry out “Dead issues, Dead Issues—bloody shirt, bloody shirt.” We wish to discuss this question candidly, and earnestly, without being disagreeable to anyone. But we know that the great masses of the intelligent and loyal people of the north—very much to the dissatisfaction of our Democratic friends—somehow get it into their heads that we have had a war in our country. The Democratic Party would have us forget this fact. They talk of reconciliation and mutual love—trying to put the blame of the great unpleasantness now existing between the two sections of our country, upon the Republican Party of the North.

We honestly believe that no party exists which is more anxious for fraternal good feeling between the two sections of our country than the Republican Party. That party is truly desirous of having what, perhaps, we have never had before—not only a “union of lakes, and a union of lands, but also a union of hearts and a union of hands.” But the references we make to the war are forced upon us. We are desirous of having such a union, but every intelligent lover of his country must admit that

such a union must come upon certain conditions and upon those conditions only. He claims that those principles are that *the great fundamental principles* for which the 300000 brave boys died, and for which the immortal Lincoln gave up his life—that these principles shall live and survive & be perpetuated forever, and that the ruinous principles against which they fought shall die their deserving death. Their sins just so long as the spirit of Democracy is shown to be what it is; just so long as the spirit of the South is shown to be what it is; just so long as they nominate for the highest offices in the gift of the people, such men as they do,—so long must these questions growing out of the war be considered by the intelligence and loyalty of our country, and a righteous verdict passed upon them. We refer to these things; I care not what you call that reference; you may call it “dead issues,” “bloody shirt,” or anything you please, but we want our Democratic Brethren to understand that this is a question of too serious a character to be ridiculed out of consideration, simply because such consideration is destructive of Democratic interests.

Let us see if the course of recent events would justify those men who fought to preserve our Union, in forgetting that they once had occasion thus to fight. When one of the southern gentleman who used all the machinations of his devilish genius to destroy the Union; when the notorious Ben Hill of Georgia rises upon the floor of the House and says to the loyal men of the north that they are responsible for the war; when he stands there and makes it his office to justify and attempt to palliate the infernal outrages committed at Andersonville, and Libby and Belle Isle, and Salisbury; when he calls the leaders of the North Fanatics—we want to know if it is a crime to refer to these things and ask the loyal millions to vote as they fought. We might stand this; but when Mr. Hill lays these prison horrors—not at their own door—at the door of the Southern Confederacy—but lays them at the door of the immortal Lincoln, a greater and a better man than whom never entered the portals—then all we have to say is that it is just a little too much—too much. Nor is this all. John Randolph Tucker takes his place upon the floor of Congress—he pronounces a eulogy upon Robt E. Lee, and this Centennial Year of America, defends the infamous and ruinous doctrine of States Rights and attempts to justify the South in rebellion. Does this not tend to teach us an important lesson? Does it not show that soon, if we are not careful, we will step into the same fire from which we have just escaped? I thought that four years of bloodshed, of woe, of destruction, of desolation; four years of treason and rebellion had taught us a lesson which was not to go

unheeded. I thought that we were to be governed in the future by the bitter experience of the past. Yet here comes Mr. Tucker preaching the same political gospel, teaching to our youth the same political doctrines which so nearly ground our Ship of State so short a time ago. If this is allowed to go on without remonstrance or opposition, I ask will it not result in evil? Yet if we refer to these things we are "waving the bloody shirt." But when I see the flag of my country insulted; when I see the black flag of rebellion and treason floating upon the Centennial 4th of July, as it did in Missouri, with the names of Tilden and Henricks inscribed upon it, I ask if it is not time to remonstrate and object, and if that is "waving the bloody shirt," I say let it never cease to wave.

But, gentleman, the whole secret of this thing is just here: The Democratic Party know that they are wrong upon this question; they know they can't come honestly before honest men, and ask them for their suffrage occupying the position they do; *they know more*, *they* know that they are ashamed and afraid to let the people to keep in mind their past record, and the consequence is they try to ridicule it out of the campaign. But they will find they can't succeed, for the people are going to think of this thing.

We often hear from Democratic politicians hypocritical appeals about reunion and reconciliation. They tell us that bygones should be bygones, and that we are all loving brothers together, and that [he is] a fool or a rascal who does not know it. Now I know that the great mass of republican voters are just as anxious that the wounds of the Civil War should be healed as are the Democratic. We hear with pleasure the eloquent tribute of Mr. Lamar over the dead body of Charles Sumner; we understand the South Carolinian who said to the Bostonian "if we had known what you really were we should not have wished to have fought you. *Yet none of these things*; nor all the jeers at the bloody shirt, nor Democratic vociferations that bygones should be bygones, and that the centennial year is the accepted time for universal harmony—we say none of these things should cause any man to forget the fact that the *Democratic party is now what it has been for many years the political organization of those who sought to destroy the Union for the basest and most revolting of purposes*. Political history teaches us that there are no abrupt or radical changes in political belief. No one is so foolish as to suppose that the end of the war of the rebellion was the end of the principles, the habits of thoughts and habits of action and the sectional differences which engendered the rebellion I say no one is foolish as to suppose that. The history of our country would falsify the supposition.

You remember the days of the great struggle with slavery; those days when John Quincy Adams was threatened by a mob for an utterance against that Divine Institution, when Old Joshua R. Giddings could only stand upon the floor of Congress to speak for freedom with the pistol of a southern gentleman at his head, when Lovejoy and Garrison and Sumner became martyrs to the cause; you remember those days when Southerners asserted that they would call the roll of their slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill Monument; when they said Union or Disunion we will extend and perpetuate our Institution of slavery; when they were threatening disunion; when treason was being talked in the very capitol of the nation; you remember those days to what a pitch the battle came in the council halls of the nation.

But the fight passed from the forum into the field. The South was brave and persistent; she bled at every pore, but at last she was conquered. But is it reason to suppose that after all this, she has changed? Is it likely that the men who were born in hatred of the Yankee; who were born and bred in hatred of the Union, is it likely, I say, that they have suddenly changed and become converted to the great principle which we know has saved our Union from destruction. On the other hand it is well known that the North and South of the pro-slavery struggle before the war; the North and South of four years of bloodshed during the war; the North and South of the long years of reconstruction since the war are the identical North and South of *today*.

And the *great* question in this centennial year; the great question which the loyal men of this country must decide next November is whether that North or that South shall control the country. They talk about sectionalism and ask us if we are forever going to fight the same old battle; or they ask us if we think that politics in this country can ever [be] safe if we demand that they shall be sectional. We answer certainly not. But sirs, is that a reason for recalling the South or the Democratic Party to power? Sectionalism! Why we deplore it as much as any men under the face of the sun. But the great fact remains and stares us in the face *undisputed and indisputable that our country is divided sectionally* and the Republican Party is not responsible for that sectionalism. *Our country is divided sectionally*, and all we ask is that that section which contains *the greater intelligence, which contains the greater patriotism, and the sounder Constitutional doctrine shall govern the country*.

And to keep the people from thinking of these things they cry "bloody shirt," "bloody shirt." They say the issues of the war are dead,

and the mission of the republican party is ended. I would answer that that mission is not ended until, as Wm. A. Wheeler says, "the negro can sleep as soundly as me disturbed in the canebrakes of Louisiana as can the millionaire upon the banks of the St. Lawrence," it is not ended until the amended Constitution can be enforced and is respected on every inch of American soil; it is not ended until equal rights under the law is secured to every man with citizenship; it is not ended till the credit of the United States is restored; and until our ship of state is farther out upon the waters of strength and peace and reunion. I ask do recent events in the South show respect for the Constitution and laws of the Union? We have only to refer to the "White Line" distinction in the South; to the massacres of the White League and Ku Klux; we have only to mention the shameless intimidation and frauds in Mississippi, or the massacre at Hamburg, South Carolina; we have only to refer to these things to show that the condition of the South is not such as it should be—not such as would justify the Republican Party in dying.

I am inclined to think that the massacre in Hamburg S.C. had a world of significance in it. Yet the Northern Democrats want to apologize for it, or hush it up by saying bloody shirt and that we are preaching a gospel of hate. You have all heard the circumstances of the case. I wish to read you what Colonel Higginson says of it. Col. H. is not what is as an Administration Republican. He is a Liberal; a short time ago it was not known that he would support the Republican nominee. He writes, from South Carolina, as a correspondent to the *N.Y. Times*. This is what he says: "Of all the Southern outrages since the war, there is no one more sure to have an important influence than this Hamburg atrocity. *There is no conflict of testimony about it.* It occurred in broad day, was utterly unprovoked, was attended by peculiar circumstances of barbarism and included the armed invasion of a neighboring State. For one, I have been trying hard to convince myself that the Southern whites had accepted the results of the war, and that other questions might now come uppermost. So far from being a bigoted Republican I took part in the Fifth Avenue Political Conference and should certainly have refused to support the Republican nominee had he not commanded my confidence. As it is I am more than ever grateful for the influences which secured the nomination of Hayes and Wheeler. Of what use are all our efforts to lay aside the issues of the war if they are still to be kept alive by our white fellow citizens of the South. The spirit which sends armed men across the South Carolina border today may just as easily send them across the Pennsylvania border next year if it secures the aid of a Democratic

National Administration. For one I do not propose to acquiesce in this." "Here then," as Geor. Wm. Curtis says, "is an issue not to be shuffled aside by the cry that the Democrats have accomplished reform by cutting down the army or by reducing the salary of some foreign ministers. Who commits these undeniable crimes against the order and very existence of society? *Democrats*. Who condones those crimes by silence, by calling them negro riots, or by sneering at the bloody shirt? *Democrats*. Is it then to Democrats, to a party which courts for success in the election, upon the votes *all* the Southern; who active and passively connive at the constant and monstrous crimes that the government of the country can be wisely instructed.

Now, gentlemen, it seems to me that there is but one issue you may talk about the southern question or the financial question, or the question of Administrative reform but after all there is only one question, and that is shall we trust the affairs of the government to the Democratic Party or to the Republican Party? The issue is simply between two parties—two constituents—two antecedents—two tendencies. All that the intelligent voter must do is to look at the past of the two parties—look to their tendencies in the future, and I can't believe it will be hard to decide how to vote. What, *what*, I ask, has the Democratic Party ever done to merit your vote or your trust? Has it proved itself to your mind as a wise party? Do you think it has advocated policies for the good of the whole country? I venture the assertion, and I believe I can prove it, that the Democratic Party has proposed no national doctrine for the last sixteen years, but what today is as dead as Julius Caesar; it has advocated no policy but what today is acknowledged by all men as ruinous and destructive. What were the great doctrines of the Democratic Party in 1860? One wing of the party declared that slavery had a right to go wherever the constitution goes. Does anybody in all this land believe that today? *No, its dead and buried*. The other wing of the party declared that slavery had a right in a territory if the people of the territory wanted it there. But that doctrine today is just as dead as the other. We now come to 1864. Then the Great Democratic Party declared, under the lead of Vallandigham and Tilden, that the war to save our glorious Union was a failure.

Does anybody believe that today? *No sirs*, as Garfield says, "It was killed by the million guns of the Republic; it was shot to death by the guns of Farragut at Mobile; it was driven in a tempest of fire, by Sheridan from the valley of the Shenandoah in less than a month from its birth at Chicago." Come now to 1868. The Democratic Party declared the

Constitutional amendments revolutionary and void. Their doctrine was declared in the Broadhead letter of '68. Is there any man who holds the doctrine today? It is dead, dead. Gen Garfield says, "I walk across that Democratic camping ground as in a graveyard, beneath my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies Slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave on which I read: Died in the flames of the Civil War; loved in its life; lamented in its death; followed to its [grave?] by its only mourner, the Democratic Party, but dead! And here is a double grave: Sacred to the memory of squatter sovereignty. Died in the campaign of 1860.

On the reverse side: Sacred to the memory of Dred Scott and the Breckenridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln. And here a monument of brimstone; Sacred to the memory of the rebellion; the wars against it is a failure; Tilden & Vallandigham [*sacrament?*] A.D. 1864. Dead on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. The doctrine of secession; of State sovereignty. Dead. Expired in the flames of Civil War, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy. Now gentlemen are you sad, are you sorry for these deaths? Are you not glad that secession is dead? That slavery is dead? That squatter sovereignty is dead? That the doctrine of the failure of the war is dead? Then you are glad that you were out voted in 1860, in 1864, in 1868, and in 1872. Now gentlemen come with me for a moment into the camp of the Republican Party, and review its career. Our central doctrine in 1860 was that slavery should not extend itself over another foot of American soil. Is that doctrine dead? It is folded like a victorious banner, its truth is alive forever more on this Continent. In 1864 we declared that we would put down the rebellion and secession. And that doctrine lives and will live when the second Centennial has arrived. Freedom, national, universal, and perpetual—our great constitutional amendments, are they alive or dead? Alive, thank the God that shields both Liberty and union. And our national credit saved from the assaults of Pendleton; saved from the assaults of those who struck it later, rising higher and higher at home and abroad, and only now in doubt lest its chief, its only enemy, the Democracy should triumph in November." "There," asks Mr. Garfield, "ought the Republican Party to surrender its truncheon of command to the Democracy?" And I ask you what reason can there be for giving the country over to the Democracy? I am not one of those who believes the Republican Party should be kept in power, simply because its opponent has made mistakes in the *past*. I don't believe the Republican Party should be elected to power simply because it was right in the past and

the Democratic Party was wrong. The Republican Party can't expect to stay in power simply because its opponent has been wrong in the past. It must look forward to the future and meet the live issues of the day—

But the fact that it *was* right in the past and the Democratic Party was wrong is something in its favor, it is an item, it is a consideration. Honest men will certainly admit that that fact is an item in its favor, and an item of no small consequence; for how can we judge of the future but by the past? And then if we start with the advantage of having been right in the past, and give the best assurance of what the people want today, how can it be but that the Republican Party is the one to trust? Besides having an advantage of them by our record in the past, we can meet them fairly and honestly on the living issues, believing we are right and can make others believe so too. We can meet them on the school question; on the financial question; or if they want to talk always about the *reform* question, *there* we can meet them and show them that the best chance of reform is in a Republican triumph.

