

# The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860

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(Concluded)

## THE LECOMPTON STRUGGLE

After the election, interest in Indiana was directed toward the meeting of the next General Assembly. Should the Republicans follow the example set by the Democrats in 1855 by refusing to go into a joint election? It happened that the State constitution does not lay down definitely the mode of electing a United States senator. If the Republican senators should refuse to go into a joint election there was no way of forcing them to do so. Holding this question in mind, a Republican Editorial Convention was convened in Indianapolis, January 6, 1857. The American editors were invited to meet in the convention but they were asked to come as Republicans.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting it was resolved that since the "Old Line" Senate of 1855 had refused to go into the election of a United States senator the opposition in the present legislature should refuse to go into any election except by separate Houses.<sup>2</sup>

The next day, January 7, 1857, the State Republican convention met at Indianapolis as a delegate convention for the purpose of effecting a more permanent and efficient organization of the Republican party.<sup>3</sup> O. P. Morton, the chairman, said that the Republican creed was plain, being not to assail

<sup>1</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, December 25, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, January 8, 1857.

<sup>3</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, December 11, 1856; *Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, December 17, 1856.

slavery where it already existed but to meet it when it goes forth in conquest.<sup>4</sup> H. S. Lane spoke of the course pursued by the Democrats in the General Assembly of 1855 and hoped that the Republicans would postpone the election of a United States senator. He told the delegates to go home and proclaim it from the housetops. The committee on resolutions reported that the Republicans of Indiana were ready to stand upon the Philadelphia platform of 1856 and that, following the Democratic precedent of 1855, the Republicans should not enter into a joint convention for the election of a United States senator, but should elect only by separate Houses. Thus the policy of the Republican party on the election of a United States senator was definitely laid down.<sup>5</sup>

The Republican senators felt that they should prevent an election. Knowing that the seats of Messrs. Bobbs of Marion county, Rice of Rush county, and Cooper of Fountain county might be contested, giving the Democrats a majority in the State senate if these men were ousted, the Republicans met and organized the State senate before Lieutenant Governor Willard arrived. When Willard came he said that he had intended to admit Bobbs and Rice. The senate was now regularly organized and Mr. Cooper was voted in.<sup>6</sup> On the second of February, 1857, at two o'clock P. M. Lieutenant-Governor Hammond announced that the time had come to go to the hall of the house in accordance with a resolution of January 12. No motion of adjournment was made. Out went the Democrats, but not the Republicans.<sup>7</sup> Here Graham W. Fitch was nominated to serve until March 4, 1861—23 Democratic senators and 60 Democratic representatives voting for him. The two Fillmore Republicans voted for G. C. Dunn. Jesse D. Bright was elected to serve until March 4, 1863. The Republicans claimed that these elections were not legal, since the joint convention did not have a quorum of each House present and since each House had not resolved to go into a joint convention.<sup>8</sup>

The Democrats did not attempt to justify the election of

<sup>4</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

<sup>5</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

<sup>6</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, January 15, 1857.

<sup>7</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, February 5, 1857.

<sup>8</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, February 12, 1857.

Fitch and Bright as constitutionally done. Editor Hicks of the Rockport *Democrat* said that the Know Nothings stole into power in 1854 while the people were asleep and, therefore, did not represent the will of the people and that the action of the Democratic senate in 1855 represented the will of the people, while in 1856 the Democrats had an overwhelming majority in a fair election and were entitled to the two senators.<sup>9</sup> The New Albany *Weekly Ledger* said that it was unnecessary to attempt to conceal the fact that the election was irregular and not in accordance with general precedent, but justified the action on the ground that it was not just to deprive Indiana of representation in the United States senate.<sup>10</sup>

While the Democratic senators were voting for Bright and Fitch in the "sham" convention of February 2, 1857, the Republican senators were expelling Mr. LeRoy Woods of Clark county for holding two offices.<sup>11</sup> This angered the Democrats, who declared Woods must be seated or they would block legislation.<sup>12</sup> As a result the Revenue, Appraisement, and Temperance bills were not passed.

The State was now in an awkward position. Governor Willard was urged to call a special session of the legislature, but refused, alleging that a deadlock would occur over the Miller-Shyrock case from Fulton county. Mr. Shyrock now proposed that both should "resign and allow a new election" and to remain away from the proposed extra session.<sup>13</sup> This took away the excuse of Governor Willard for not calling a special session, but he stood firm and refused to call it.

Both parties blamed the other for "blocking legislation". The Democrats claimed that "an accidental" control of the State senate gave the Republicans the opportunity to "block the wheels of State government" in order to embarrass the Democratic State administration.<sup>14</sup> Even if the Democratic senators were wrong in supporting Woods and Miller the

<sup>9</sup> Rockport *Weekly Democrat*, January 31, 1857.

<sup>10</sup> New Albany *Weekly Ledger*, February 11, 1857. Bright and Fitch were seated in the United States Senate.

<sup>11</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, February 5, 1856. Woods had been appointed moral instructor at the prison at \$500 per year.

<sup>12</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, March 5, 1857.

<sup>13</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 30, 1857.

<sup>14</sup> *State Sentinel*, October 16, 1857.

party felt that it was the duty of the Republican senate to pass the necessary bills.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of the failure to pass the appropriation bill the hospital for the insane and the institution for the blind were closed.<sup>16</sup> Governor Willard was accused of saying that "the closing of the asylums would be a good move, since it would drive the Republicans to instruct their senators to give way to the Democrats".<sup>17</sup> These institutions remained closed until October, when Governor Willard ordered them reopened.<sup>18</sup> The reopening of the State institutions raised the question as to the legality of using State money for this purpose when none had been appropriated by the State legislature.<sup>19</sup>

The Americans met in their State convention, February 17, 1857, at the Statehouse in Indianapolis. Not many were present. After speeches by R. W. Thompson, of Terre Haute, and Milton Gregg the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform opposing all interference with the institutions of any State, opposing the extension of slavery beyond its present limits, favoring national internal improvements, urging a protective tariff, and favoring the amendment of the constitution of Indiana limiting the right of suffrage to native and naturalized citizens of the United States.<sup>20</sup> An examination of this platform shows that there was not much difference between the views of the Americans and those of the Republicans. The *Sentinel* stated that the natural affinity of the Americans was with the Republicans and that through their secret organizations the Know Nothings controlled the Republican party.<sup>21</sup>

The only other political meeting of any importance during the year was held October 5, 1857, at the Statehouse for the nomination of two supreme court judges to take the places of Judges Samuel B. Gookins and William Z. Stuart, who had resigned. A call was sent out for the Republicans to meet

<sup>15</sup> *State Sentinel*, April 16, 1860.

<sup>16</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 9, 1857; April 23, 1857.

<sup>17</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 16, 1857.

<sup>18</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, September 24, 1857.

<sup>19</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, October 6, 1858.

<sup>20</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, February 19, 1857.

<sup>21</sup> *State Sentinel*, Aug. 13, 1857.

for that purpose. This was the first call in which the word "Republicans" was used and which was signed by the Republican State Central Committee.<sup>22</sup> Horace P. Biddle of Cass county and Elias S. Terry of Parke county were nominated by the convention. A series of resolutions was passed reaffirming the Philadelphia platform of 1856, denouncing the Democrats for not assisting in passing necessary legislation at the last State legislature, and favoring paper currency redeemable in gold coin.<sup>23</sup>

Before the opening of the campaign of 1858 it was seen that the question of the admission of Kansas was going to be the leading issue. In the prospectus of the *State Journal* was a statement on the political outlook of the day which was prophetic:

The year 1858 will see the great battle of freedom on the floor of congress, and on the plains of Kansas, when it will be decided whether a ruthless minority of southern slave-holders shall force a diabolical constitution on the free people of Kansas, without even submitting it for their ratification; it will see a great division in the Democratic party north on the question of the admission of Kansas with the above constitution.<sup>24</sup>

The pro-slavery Lecompton convention had framed a constitution which was to be voted on "with slavery" or "without slavery". The constitution was not to be voted on. This produced a split in the Democratic party in Indiana. Some thought that the Lecompton constitution was not in harmony with the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, while others thought that Kansas should be admitted and then the people of Kansas could change their constitution to suit themselves.<sup>25</sup> It was the belief of this latter class of Democrats that this would be the best way of getting the Kansan affair out of politics. They were very anxious to have the question settled, since it was evident that the Republicans were intending to make Kansas the main issue.

The New Albany *Daily Ledger* could not see how the action of the convention in refusing to submit the constitution to the people could be defended. The slavery question alone was

<sup>22</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 24, 1857.

<sup>23</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 8, 1857.

<sup>24</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 7, 1858.

<sup>25</sup> *State Sentinel*, Dec. 17, 1857.

to be voted upon. A small minority was ruling a majority in such a way as to defeat the will of the majority.<sup>26</sup>

The *Sentinel* changed front on the Lecompton constitution. December 3, 1857, it published an article denouncing the Lecompton convention as a breach of faith and an unmanly attempt to force a constitution upon a people to whom fair dealing had been pledged. On the 16th of December, 1857, it published an article stating that the conservative, law-abiding, and loyal citizens would sustain the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. The *Sentinel* was anxious to have the question settled by Congress, hoping that the people would forget about it.<sup>27</sup>

R. S. Hicks, editor of the *Rockport Democrat*, charged the Democratic politicians with violation of the will of the people of Kansas and the principles of Democracy.<sup>28</sup>

Among the anti-Lecompton newspapers of Indiana were the Indianapolis *National Democrat*, The New Albany *Ledger*, The Terre Haute *Journal*, The Spencer *Guard*, The Decatur *Democrat*, The South Bend *Forum*, The La Porte *Times*, The Goshen *Democrat*, The Logansport *Pharos*, The Corydon *Democrat*, The Washington *Democrat* (Salem), The Cannelton *Reporter*, The Rockport *Democrat*, The Newburgh *Democrat*, The Princeton *Clarion*, The Sullivan *Democrat*, The Indianapolis *Volksblatt*, The Greenfield *Democrat*, The Lawrenceburg *Register*, The Crawfordsville *Review*, The Columbus *Democrat*, The Brownstown *Democrat*, The Greensburg *Democrat*, The Anderson *Standard*, The Shelbyville *Volunteer*, The Franklin *Jeffersonian*, The Brookville *Democrat*, The Bedford *Democrat*, The Fort Wayne *Jeffersonian* and The Albion *Democrat*. These papers constituted three-fourths of the Democratic papers of Indiana.<sup>29</sup> They were following the lead of Douglas, who was opposing the policy of the administration in recommending the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, as being contrary to the wishes of the people of Kansas and to the principle of Popular Sovereignty.<sup>30</sup>

Jesse D. Bright astounded the Democrats of Indiana by

<sup>26</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Dec. 2, 1857.

<sup>27</sup> *State Sentinel*, April 9, 1858.

<sup>28</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, April 24, 1858.

<sup>29</sup> *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, April 28, 1858.

<sup>30</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 1, 1858.

declaring that he had never doubted that congress had the power to legislate for the territories.<sup>31</sup> This sounded strange to Democrats in view of the principle of Democracy in 1856, non-intervention. On March 20, 1858, in the Senate he said, "So strong is my conviction of the viciousness of submitting to a direct vote of the people the propriety of the enactment of or rejection of laws, that for one I am prepared to extend the same objection to the submission of the entire constitution to the same tribunal."<sup>32</sup> Bright had gone back on one of the great principles of the Democratic party—the right of the people of any State to vote upon their own constitution.

Representative David Kilgore of the Fifth district in the House of Representatives said:

Where slavery exists by legal sanction, let it alone. But, sir, where slavery does not exist, where territories are free, where there is no law creating the institution, I say, what that eminent leader (Henry Clay) said among his last declarations: "I never can and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote, to spread slavery over territory where it does not already exist!" The Republican party which is here opposing the admission of Kansas under this constitution, is in favor of giving the land of this territory, in limited quantities, to the poor man South and the poor man North, instead of giving it to overgrown corporations, etc.<sup>33</sup>

Although Representative William E. English of the Second district had said in a speech in the House of Representatives on March 9, 1858, that the Lecompton constitution did not embody the will of the people of Kansas,<sup>34</sup> he introduced a bill providing that if Kansas would come in under the Lecompton constitution she was to get five per cent of the proceeds of the sale of 2,000,000 acres of public land within the State and that if the people voted against the Lecompton constitution Kansas should not be admitted until it had a population sufficient to entitle it to one representative.<sup>35</sup> In discussing this bill George W. Julian said, "It was a proposition of gigantic bribery, after bluster and bullying had been exhausted."<sup>36</sup> Aquilla Jones of Laporte county wrote a letter to the *Rockport Democrat* in which he said that he could not support the English bill since it did not settle the Kansan

<sup>31</sup> Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, April 21, 1858.

<sup>32</sup> *State Sentinel*, July 31, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 22, 1858.

<sup>34</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, July 3, 1858.

<sup>35</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, May 5, 1858.

<sup>36</sup> Julian, *Political Recollections*, p. 162.

question and was an attempt to force the Lecompton constitution upon an unwilling people.<sup>37</sup>

Congress passed the English bill as amended by Senator James S. Green of Missouri. Of this action the *Journal* said, "Lecompton will prove a deadly poison to the party that has swallowed it. It is slavery's last triumph."<sup>38</sup> Kansas voted against English's proposition by about 12,000.<sup>39</sup> Representative English said that he never thought that Kansas would accept the Lecompton constitution.<sup>40</sup>

One of the difficulties of the northern Democrats was to meet the statements made by the southerners on the Lecompton question. While the northern Democratic newspapers were maintaining that it was not the purpose of the administration to force slavery into Kansas the southern papers were printing views which were contrary to those set forth by the northern Democratic papers. On August 4, 1858, the *Mobile Register* said:

If Kansas was not to come in under the Lecompton Constitution as a Slave State, the South was to be compensated by keeping her out as a free State for an indefinite number of years.<sup>41</sup>

**The Charleston *Mercury* said:**

The postponement of the admission of Kansas into the Union until she obtains the population which a member of Congress represents, was to allow the South another chance to win the territory.<sup>42</sup>

**Representative Sharter of Alabama said:**

By the bill the North has been compelled to consent that 33,000 people be admitted into the Union as a State with a pro-slavery constitution, while they cannot be admitted as an anti-slavery State until they number 93,000 souls.

**Representative Bryce of South Carolina said:**

Kansas has voted upon the land proposition, and refuses to accept the terms offered, and therefore remains out of the Union. This conclusively establishes the fact that Kansas is ultra anti-slavery. This being the case, the best thing for her is to stay out of the Union. Her coming in would only give an accession of strength to our enemies. If she should stay out forever, all the better.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, June 26, 1858.

<sup>38</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, May 6, 1858.

<sup>39</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

<sup>40</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

<sup>41</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

<sup>42</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.

<sup>43</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 23, 1858.



In fact, the South had advanced from the principle of non-intervention as expressed in the Cincinnati platform to that of attempting to force legalized slavery upon the people of a new State by the action of congress.<sup>44</sup>

The great question which each Democratic county convention faced was that of the Lecompton question. Indiana Democrats were divided on this question, with most of them favoring the principles set forth in the Cincinnati platform, approving the Dred Scott decision, and the election of Bright and Fitch, and favoring the right of any territory to determine its own domestic institutions without interference from congress.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> O. M. Dickerson, *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1913-14, p. 199.

<sup>45</sup> The Hancock Democratic convention affirmed the Cincinnati platform, *Sentinel*, July 16, 1857.

Floyd and Whitley county Democratic conventions approved the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, September 9, 1857.

Jasper county approved the Cincinnati platform, Buchanan's administration, and the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, Oct. 7, 1857.

Monroe county approved the Cincinnati platform, Willard's administration, the election of Bright and Fitch, and the Dred Scott decision, *Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1857.

Rush county approved the Cincinnati platform, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the election of Bright and Fitch; *Sentinel*, Oct. 23, 1857.

Owen county favored the Cincinnati platform and letting Kansas settle her own troubles; *Sentinel*, Dec. 12, 1857.

Decatur county deplored the split between Bright and Wright; *Sentinel*, Dec. 8, 1857.

Tippecanoe county approved the Kansas-Nebraska act, the Dred Scott decision, and the early admission of Kansas; *Sentinel*, Dec. 16, 1857.

Adams county favored the Cincinnati platform, the administration of Buchanan, an independent treasury system, and the election of Bright and Fitch; *Sentinel*, Dec. 17, 1857.

The reports of the following conventions are taken from the New Albany *Daily Ledger* of Jan. 2, 1858:

La Porte county: The people of a territory have the right to form their own institutions subject only to the constitution of the United States.

Wells county: Approved the stand of Douglas on the Lecompton affair.

Vanderburg county: That the course of the Lecompton convention in refusing to submit the whole constitution to the will of the people is contrary to the true meaning of popular sovereignty.

Spencer county: Favored submitting the Lecompton constitution to the people of Kansas.

Howard county: That we look upon the course of the late constitutional convention of Kansas as violating the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Franklin county: That we are in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state.

Jennings county: That we are in favor of the people of Kansas determining their own institutions.

Fayette county: We recommend that congress confirm no constitution for Kansas or any other territory that conflicts with the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

In this divided state the Democracy of Indiana realized that it was unfortunate that the Democratic State convention was to be held on January 8, 1858, at Indianapolis, since there did not seem to be much possibility of harmonizing the Douglas and administration Democrats. It was thought that an effort would be made by the followers of Bright and Fitch to force the convention to endorse the Lecompton constitution as a basis for the admission of Kansas into the Union.<sup>46</sup> The opponents of Bright and Fitch urged the party to remember where the doctrine of expediency advocated by the leaders in 1849 had placed the Democratic party and reminded them that it would be foolish to make such a mistake again.

The convention was a bitter struggle between the Bright men and the Douglas men, in which the Douglas people were unsuccessful. They sustained their first defeat when A. P. Willard was made chairman by defeating W. S. Holman of Dearborn county. The second defeat came when Joseph W. Chapman of Jefferson county moved that parliamentary rules govern the convention. This gave Willard the power to appoint the committees. The nominating committee reported the renomination of the old officers except Superintendent W. C. Larrabee, in whose place Samuel L. Rugg of Allen county was nominated.<sup>47</sup> While Senator Bright was addressing the convention the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform endorsing the Cincinnati platform, the Dred Scott decision, Bright and Fitch as United States senators, condemning the Republican State senators for their course in refusing to pass the necessary appropriation bills, and endorsing the administration of James Buchanan. When the Douglas men realized that the platform as reported did not endorse Douglas pandemonium broke loose. Lew Wallace arose, intending to introduce a Douglas resolution, but after fifteen minutes of yelling the meeting was adjourned by Chairman Willard.

As soon as the convention adjourned and the noise had abated somewhat, John C. Walker of La Porte county took the chair. Ryan of Marion county read a resolution endorsing popular sovereignty as set forth by Stephen A. Douglas. It

<sup>46</sup> Logansport *Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 6, 1858.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel E. Perkins, A. J. Davidson, James M. Hanna, and James L. Worden were nominated for the supreme court.

was the sentiment of this meeting that unless the majority were willing to give the minority a chance to express their views they would organize another convention.

At the evening session a letter from Aquilla Jones, in which he gave his reason for refusing to accept the nomination as treasurer of State, was read. Jones said:

But, gentlemen, with regret I must say, that I cannot conscientiously accept the honor you have offered me, upon the platform you have this day adopted. I am impelled to this conclusion, not so much by anything you assert in your resolutions as by the fact that in my humble judgment some of the favorite measures and at least one vital principle of the Democratic party have either been omitted, or asserted in such a manner as to be susceptible of an equivocal construction.<sup>48</sup>

After the reading of this letter Nathaniel Cunningham of Vigo county was nominated for State treasurer.<sup>49</sup>

Of this meeting the New Albany *Ledger*, January 12, 1858, said, "It would not be the truth to say that the proceedings of the convention were conducted in harmony and good feeling." The Logansport *Democratic Pharos* characterized the meeting as one in which Lecompton was upheld by the well-drilled satellites of Senator Bright, as a contest in which it was decided that the servant should instruct the Democracy which had placed him in power, and as an insult to the citizens of Indiana that Bright should leave Washington and come to Indianapolis to secure the abandonment of a principle which was endorsed by nine-tenths of the Democrats of Indiana.<sup>50</sup>

That the Douglas men were not satisfied with their treatment by the convention of January 8, 1858, was seen when a call for a Democratic mass meeting to be held February 22, 1858, at Indianapolis was issued. This address stated that although sixty Democratic county conventions had passed resolutions on banking and an independent treasury system, the platform touched on neither subject; that the local interests of the State were forgotten in the intensity of the excitement over the slavery issue; that different interpretations of the platform have arisen, one section viewing it as opposing

<sup>48</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 21, 1858; *Rockport Democrat*, June 26, 1858.

<sup>49</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1858.

<sup>50</sup> *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 13, 1858.

the Lecompton constitution, while the other thinks that it does not apply to Kansas at all. The address put the question of Kansas squarely before the Democrats when it said:

Are we in favor of contributing to force the Lecompton constitution with slavery upon the people of Kansas against their will? If we do we shall be beaten. \* \* \* We ask our brethren not to risk defeat by deserting that principle, which has led us to victory in the past, and the abandonment of which would doom us to defeat in the future.<sup>51</sup>

On the appointed day a larger crowd than had attended the Democratic State convention of January 8, 1858, assembled at Indianapolis. W. M. McCarty of Marion county was made chairman. Here a platform was made which stated that by the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska act Kansas had a right to vote on her own constitution, opposed the retrocession of the Wabash and Erie canal, favored an independent State treasury system, favored gold and silver only for money, endorsed Douglas, read the *Sentinel* out of the Democratic party, and recommended that a mass convention of the Democracy of the Northwest be held at Chicago or some other suitable place.<sup>52</sup>

These resolutions put the Democratic party upon the Cincinnati platform. The resolution calling for a national convention at Chicago was very significant. It meant that the Democratic party would, if this were carried out, reorganize itself by refusing to surrender any further to the demands of the South. It would have been a revolution in the party politics of the country.<sup>53</sup> The *Sentinel* spoke of the members of this convention as "bolters".<sup>54</sup> The Evansville *Enquirer* said that the mongrel convention was "an assemblage of sore-headed malcontents who have been fed by the Democratic party so long that they think themselves the exclusive rulers of the party, and Mr. Buchanan, having failed to appoint them to some fat office, has given great offence, whereupon they turn 'People' and call a convention of the people".<sup>55</sup> John L.

<sup>51</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 28, 1858; *Logansport Democratic Pharos*, Jan. 27, 1858; *New York Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1858.

<sup>52</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 25, 1858; *Democratic Pharos*, March 3, 1858.

<sup>53</sup> *New York Times*, March 1, 1858.

<sup>54</sup> *State Sentinel*, March 4, 1858.

<sup>55</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, March 25, 1858.

Robinson spoke of the Douglas men as follows: "I say let them go, and may God pardon their poor, contemptible, pusillanimous souls".<sup>56</sup>

What was the condition of the Republican party at the opening of the campaign of 1858? Horace Greely, in an editorial on this subject, said:

The Republican party is still numerous and strong, but it has no platform or distinct creed. In its origin it was the growth of a sudden emergency. It took its shape and principles from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the rape attempted by slavery upon Kansas. These were temporary issues and have nearly disappeared from the political field. The great mass of the Republicans have abandoned the doctrine of congressional control of the territories, and have adopted the principle of *Popular Sovereignty*. Upon other questions there is no agreement among them. In regard to slavery the great body of the Republicans tend toward conservatism.<sup>57</sup>

In Indiana the Republicans were divided on the question of the issues for the campaign. Men of the Defrees type wanted one great, live issue—Shall slavery be extended beyond the limits of the States where it now exists? This class of Republicans wanted no other issue than this.<sup>58</sup> The other class of Republicans proposed dwelling more on State issues than on any national issue. They took the stand that they stood a better chance of carrying the election on local issues.<sup>59</sup> In the eyes of the Democrats the Republicans had but one great principle—opposition to the Democratic party. "In intense hatred of Democracy they live, move, and have their being".<sup>60</sup>

A close study of the call for a mass convention to be held March 4, 1858, causes one to feel that the Republicans were more of an opposition party than party with definite principles. This call invited all, regardless of past political affiliations, who opposed the Lecompton policy of the present administration to participate in the mass meeting for the purpose of forming a State ticket in opposition to that nominated by the packed convention of January 8, 1858.<sup>61</sup> It was not an

<sup>56</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Feb. 4, 1858.

<sup>57</sup> *New York Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1857.

<sup>58</sup> *State Sentinel*, Feb. 18, 1858.

<sup>59</sup> *State Sentinel*, Aug. 19, 1857.

<sup>60</sup> *State Sentinel*, Oct. 16, 1857, from *Terre Haute Express*.

<sup>61</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 21, 1858.

official act of the Republican State Central Committee, but was signed by twenty-one Republicans who had been called together by John Defrees, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.<sup>62</sup> It did not suit M. C. Garber, who said that the wind would be taken out of the Kansas policy in the call when the administration backed down.<sup>63</sup> In 1857 Garber had said that he wanted an out and out Republican convention or none at all. He had had enough Talbotts, Collins, Dawsons, R. W. Thompsons, and Greggs.<sup>64</sup> Lew Wallace wrote that the call revealed the plan of the Republicans to come out on a popular sovereignty platform.<sup>65</sup> From the call it was evident that the Republicans were going to make Kansas the issue. In order to get the fullest use of this issue the *Boone County Ledger* wanted the State Republican convention put off until July or August in the hope that the acts of the national administration in dealing with Kansas would be such as could be used against the Democratic party in Indiana.<sup>66</sup>

The Republican county conventions made the "Lecompton Fraud" the great issue. Their resolutions denied that they favored negro equality, opposed the Dred Scott decisions, favored the Philadelphia platform, denounced the doctrine that the constitution carried slavery into the territories,

<sup>62</sup> The State Central Committee was composed of the following members: Indianapolis—Defrees, J. S. Harvey, David McGuire, James Blake, Berry Sulgrove. First district, Thomas F. DeBruler; Second district, John Ferguson; Third district, John R. Cravens; Fourth district, John H. Farquahr; Fifth district, Miles Murphy; Sixth district, James Ritchey; Seventh district, George K. Steele; Eighth district, O. S. Clark; Ninth district, D. G. Rose; Tenth district, T. G. Harris; Eleventh district, James A. Stretch.

<sup>63</sup> *State Sentinel*, Jan. 15, 1858.

<sup>64</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, April 21, 1857.

<sup>65</sup> *New Albany Weekly Ledger*, Jan. 27, 1858.

<sup>66</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 10, 1857.

The Marion county Republican convention of Feb. 13, 1858, passed resolutions opposing the further extensions of slavery, denouncing the Lecompton constitution, denying the right of Bright and Fitch to seats in the United States Senate, denouncing the Dred Scott decision, opposing the assumption of the Wabash and Erie canal, demanding a homestead bill, and denying that the Republicans favor the political and social equality for negroes.

The Hamilton county convention approved of the Philadelphia platform, opposed the spread of slavery, demanded that Kansas vote upon her own institutions, opposed the election of Bright and Fitch to the United States Senate, and opposed the assumption of the Wabash and Erie bonds.

Clinton, Carroll, Rush, Tippecanoe, Vigo, Marshall, Morgan, Randolph, Hancock, Delaware, Monroe, Johnson, St. Joseph, Montgomery and Henry county Republicans held conventions and passed resolutions similar to the above.

avored a Homestead law and denounced the admission of Bright and Fitch to the United States senate.

The Republicans met March 4, 1858, in their State convention, which was characterized by the *New Albany Weekly Ledger* of March 10, 1858, as "Black Republican all over". Oliver P. Morton was made chairman of the meeting. In his remarks to the convention he urged the members to act in harmony, saying that it was idle to expect to please everybody. He pointed out that it was the duty of every member of the convention to support the ticket. He then showed that the pro-slavery people had taken every foot of territory from the North and had gotten control of the supreme court of the United States.<sup>67</sup>

George W. Julian followed Morton. He urged the convention to make the Philadelphia platform the creed of the Indiana Republicans. He further censured the State Central Committee for not sending more Republican speakers into southern Indiana in 1856. According to Julian, this was the cause of the defeat of the Republicans in 1856.

Mr. Theodore Hielscher of Indianapolis was the next to speak. He represented that there were 40,000 Germans in Indiana, of which not 500 would support the Lecompton constitution. Mr. Hielscher wanted it said of the Republican party that it was a "free white laborer" party.

C. D. Murray followed Mr. Hielscher. He thought that the adoption of the substance of the Philadelphia platform was sufficient, favoring making the Dred Scott decision the great issue. While he was speaking the Committee on Resolutions reported a platform in the name of the Republicans of Indiana embodying most of the resolutions passed by the Republican county conventions.<sup>68</sup> Owing to the two views held by the members of the convention the Resolutions Com-

<sup>67</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, March 11, 1858.

<sup>68</sup> W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, p. 16.

1. That our national government ought to be so administered as to promote harmony between the different sections of our country, secure the affections of all the people of the United States, and command the respect of the nations of the earth.

2. That the people of a territory when they come to form a constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State have the right to adopt such a constitution, being Republican in form, as may be acceptable to themselves, and that no State ought to be received into the Union before the consti-

mittee had a difficult task in trying to draft a platform that would suit those desiring a verbal reaffirmation of the Philadelphia platform and those desiring to make Kansas the leading issue.<sup>69</sup>

George W. Julian attacked the platform as being the work of the managers of the convention rather than an honest expression of the views of the members of the Republican party. He argued for a direct reaffirmation of the Philadelphia platform.<sup>70</sup> Morton answered him by saying that the platform was sufficient if it declared the substance of the Philadelphia platform. Morton thought that since the men who made the Philadelphia platform had made it to suit the

tution thereof has been fully and fairly submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection and received the approval of the majority of its legal voters.

3. That the attempt now being so persistently made by the present administration to impose upon Kansas the Lecompton constitution, notoriously obnoxious to the great majority of her citizens and with no other object than to force upon them institutions against which they have repeatedly and most earnestly protested, is a gross outrage upon the rights of the people of the territory, and calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of the country.

4. That freedom is national and slavery sectional, and that we do most earnestly protest against and denounce the dangerous and alarming doctrine first promulgated by the disunionists and nullifiers of the South, that the constitution of the United States of itself carries slavery into, and protects it in, all the territories of the United States and this doctrine and all its supporters, maintainers and defenders, whether in or out of authority, we here pledge ourselves to resist and oppose, as enemies to the peace and welfare of the country.

5. That we re-affirm the doctrine, that congress has the constitutional power to exclude slavery from the national territories, notwithstanding the extra judicial opinion of the supreme court of the United States to the contrary.

6. That we disclaim any right to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, but we oppose now, as heretofore, its extension into any of the territories, and will use all proper and constitutional means to prevent such extension.

7. That we do not struggle for a mere party triumph, but for the right and good of our whole country, and that we honor those political opponents who have had the manliness to place themselves in opposition to the administration in its assault upon the fundamental principles of American liberty.

8. That Jesse D. Bright and Graham N. Fitch are not of right the representatives of this State in the senate of the United States, and ought to be immediately ousted therefrom.

9. That we will always resist the scheme of selfish and unscrupulous persons, high in power, having for its object the re-transfer of the Wabash and Erie canal from bondholders to the State.

10. That we are in favor of granting to actual settlers on the public lands a homestead of at least 160 acres.

<sup>69</sup> *Miami County Sentinel*, March 18, 1858.

<sup>70</sup> July 4, 1857, at Raysville, Julian had characterized the People's party as "conceived in mere policy and lust for office, and managed by unbelieving politicians, and that cowardice was stamped upon its features." W. D. Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 61-2.



case the Republicans of Indiana had the right to do the same.<sup>71</sup>

The nominating committee reported the following ticket:

For Supreme Judges—First district, Horace P. Biddle of Cass; Second district, A. W. Hendricks of Jefferson; Third district, Simon Yandes of Marion; Fourth district, William D. Griswold of Vigo; Attorney General, W. T. Otto of Floyd; Treasurer, John H. Harper of St. Joseph; Auditor, Albert Lange of Vigo; Secretary of State, W. A. Peele of Randolph; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John Young of Marion.

In considering the Republican platform it might be said that any Douglas Democrat could subscribe to the first three planks and that any Free Soiler could support the next three planks. There were no Temperance nor Know Nothing planks. Although this was a State election no expression of State policy was found in the platform except on the question of the Wabash and Erie bonds, upon which both parties were agreed.<sup>72</sup>

The *Miami County Sentinel* of March 18, 1858, criticized the platform by saying that it did not say that congress ought to exclude slavery from the territories, as did the Philadelphia platform. It favored homesteads of not less than 160 acres to actual settlers on the public lands. It was the thought of the party that this would be a good means of combatting the further spread of slavery, which depended on large plantations for extension. This plank also appealed to the Germans, who were much interested in getting land for homes. Julian criticized the platform severely by saying that the Republicans not only surrendered the policy of congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories and adopted the principle of popular sovereignty, but made opposition to the Lecompton constitution the sole issue in the campaign.<sup>73</sup>

The ticket was straight Republican. All the men nominated were former Whigs, with Judge Otto as perhaps the ablest man on the ticket.<sup>74</sup> Lange, who had been nominated in order that the Germans would be satisfied, had been elected by the Democrats in 1854 as auditor of Vigo county. Young, an Irish Protestant, was probably put on the ticket to catch

<sup>71</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, March 8, 1858.

<sup>72</sup> *State Sentinel*, March 5, 1858.

<sup>73</sup> Julian, *Political Recollections*, 167.

<sup>74</sup> *New Albany Weekly Ledger*, March 10, 1858.

the foreign vote.<sup>75</sup> M. C. Garber said that since so few of the Republicans were Catholics there was no need of representing them on the ticket.<sup>76</sup>

Next to be considered is the attitude of the Republican party toward slavery. Republicans looked upon slavery as a moral, social, and economic evil, an injustice to the slaves, a curse to any community supporting it, and contrary to the dictates of civilization and Christianity. Since there seemed to be no clause of the Federal constitution which gave the national government the right to interfere with slavery in the States, the party did not propose to do anything with it as it existed within the States. But believing that the Federal constitution gave congress the exclusive control of the United States territories, the Republicans proposed to prevent the establishment of the institution of slavery in any territories. When ready for Statehood the people of any territory had a right to frame their constitution to suit themselves.<sup>77</sup> In answering the attacks of the Democrats that the Republicans had swung over to popular sovereignty, Editor Defrees said that when the Republicans proclaimed popular sovereignty they took no new position and abandoned no former principle, but were standing on a principle that they had asserted "from time immemorial".<sup>78</sup> There is no doubt that the Republicans in congress resisted the acceptance of the Lecompton constitution by congress as being contrary to the principle of popular sovereignty. Defrees said: "The Republicans contended then as now that slavery had no right in a territory till the people, through their lawful representatives, established it".<sup>79</sup> This does not differ much from Douglas' Freeport doctrine.

The Indiana State legislature in the special session of 1858 endorsed the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Lew Wallace introduced a resolution on the election of United States senators, part of which read as follows:

*Resolved*, That we recognize and insist upon the right of the people of any territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their

<sup>75</sup> *State Sentinel*, March 25, 1858.

<sup>76</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, April 5, 1858.

<sup>77</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, June 2, 1858.

<sup>78</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, April 22, 1858.

<sup>79</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 9, 1858.

own way, subject only to the general constitution; and that, as incidental to that great right we recognize and insist upon their further right through their Legislature, to pass and establish laws and regulations relative to their property as they shall deem proper, without interference by Congress.<sup>80</sup>

Senator Walter March of Delaware county offered an amendment denouncing Representatives Hughes, Foley, English, Niblack, and Gregg for not supporting the doctrines of popular sovereignty, and further resolving:

That the people of any territory when they form a constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State absolutely and inherently possess the right to make it in their own way upon the subject of slavery, as well as upon all other subjects uninfluenced by any outside interference whatsoever subject only to the constitution of the United States; that this right is not now and never has been called in question by the people of the United States or by any respectable number thereof.<sup>81</sup>

The March bill as amended by the House, December 15, 1858, was passed by the Senate, December 16, 1858, by a vote of 27 to 22.<sup>82</sup> George W. Julian asserted that the State legislature endorsed the Douglas dogma and that the better class of Republican papers urged the abandonment of the Republican creed.<sup>83</sup> The *New York Times* stated that the State legislature had endorsed the doctrine of popular sovereignty as set forth by Douglas and had taken up the Freeport doctrine.<sup>84</sup>

Being an off-year in the election there was not as much interest in this election as there had been in that of 1856. Who would be elected to congress seemed to be of greatest importance to the voters. The determining factor in the Democratic nominations for congress was the attitude of the nominees toward the Lecompton policy of President Buchanan. Every Republican congressman elected in 1856 was renominated in 1858. Below are the opposing candidates:

First district, William Niblack, Dem.; Alvin P. Hovey, Ind. Dem.  
Second district, John M. Wilson, Ind. Dem.; W. H. English, Dem.

<sup>80</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 2, 1858.

<sup>81</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 9, 1858.

<sup>82</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 23, 1858.

<sup>83</sup> Julian, *Political Recollections*, 167.

<sup>84</sup> *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1856.

Third district, George W. Carr, Ind. Dem.; W. M. Dunn, Rep.; James Hughes, Dem.

Fourth district, P. A. Hackleman, Rep.; W. S. Holman, Dem.

Fifth district, David Kilgore, Rep.; Lafe Develin, Dem.

Sixth district, A. G. Porter, Rep.; Martin M. Ray, Dem.

Seventh district, John G. Davis, Ind.; Henry Secrist, Dem.

Eighth district, James Wilson, Rep.; J. W. Blake, Dem.

Ninth district, Schuyler Colfax, Rep.; J. C. Walker, Dem.

Tenth district, Charles Case, Rep.; John W. Dawson, Dem.

Eleventh district, John U. Pettit, Rep.; John R. Coffroth, Dem.

In the First district the Republicans did not nominate a candidate, but supported Hovey, who had announced himself as standing on the Cincinnati platform and as being opposed to the Lecompton policy of President Buchanan. Hovey could not support a party which was in favor of the English-Green bill, by which 36,000 inhabitants could make Kansas a slave State, while it took 93,000 to make her free.<sup>85</sup> Since there was no possible chance for a Republican to be elected from this district, every Republican had to decide this question—Is a thorough Lecompton man and a blind follower of the pro-slavery policy of the President preferable to an anti-Lecompton Democrat?<sup>86</sup>

In the Second district the Republicans did not nominate a candidate, but supported John M. Wilson in a hopeless race against English.<sup>87</sup>

In the Third district the Democrats ran James Hughes, who had said, "If every stump in Kansas were a negro, every tree upon her soil a slave-driver, and every twig upon the tree a lash to scourge a negro to his daily toil, I would vote for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution". The Anti-Lecompton Democrats withdrew from the Democratic convention and then nominated George W. Carr.<sup>88</sup> That this was looked upon as the cause of the defeat of Hughes was shown by a resolution passed by the Monroe county Democratic convention of 1860, stating that those men who caused the defeat of the Democratic candidate for congress from the

<sup>85</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, June 10, 1858; July 29, 1858; *Rockport Democrat*, June 12, 1858.

<sup>86</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, July 29, 1858.

<sup>87</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

<sup>88</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1858; June 17, 1858.

Third district by bringing out George W. Carr in 1858 deserved the condemnation of all good Democrats.<sup>89</sup> William McKee Dunn was the candidate of the Republicans.<sup>90</sup> Every vote cast for Carr was looked upon by the Democrats as a vote for Dunn.<sup>91</sup>

In the Fourth district the Republicans ran P. A. Hackleman. Will Cumback withdrew, feeling that Hackleman would run a better race against W. S. Holman, an "acquiescer", who believed that Kansas should be given a fair chance to settle the question. Holman was forced upon the regular Democrats by the Douglas men.<sup>92</sup>

In the Sixth district Albert G. Porter was nominated by the Republicans over John D. Defrees, the man who had labored ever since the party was organized for its success<sup>93</sup> and who had done more than any other man to organize it. Martin M. Ray, a Know Nothing in 1854, was nominated by the Democrats, who were afraid to draft a platform because of the Anti-Lecompton sentiment.<sup>94</sup>

In the Seventh district the Republicans supported John G. Davis, the independent Anti-Lecompton candidate. Davis was defeated in the Democratic convention by Secrest, an "acquiescer".<sup>95</sup> The failure of the Republicans to run a candidate seriously diminished the chances of Secrest, since the district was strongly Anti-Lecompton. The *Journal* charged that the Democrats were offering \$1000 and expenses of any Republican who would come out against Davis.<sup>96</sup>

In the Tenth district John W. Dawson, editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*, and candidate for secretary of State on the Fusion ticket in 1856, was nominated by the Democrats. Dawson was read out of the Republican party at the district convention of August 12, 1858.<sup>97</sup>

The Democrats rejoiced at the return of Daniel Mace to

<sup>89</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 8, 1860.

<sup>90</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, June 17, 1858.

<sup>91</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, July 13, 1858.

<sup>92</sup> *New York Times*, July 26, 1858; *Weekly State Journal*, July 8, 1858; *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Aug. 5, 1858.

<sup>93</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 5, 1858.

<sup>94</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 5, 1858.

<sup>95</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, July 1, 1858; July 15, 1858.

<sup>96</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 12, 1858.

<sup>97</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Aug. 19, 1858.

his "old love". Mace wrote to the *Wabash Intelligencer* in 1854 that his future course would be an active, hearty co-operation with the Anti-Nebraska, anti-slavery extension organization. "I make no terms with traitors."<sup>98</sup> Mace now said that he came back to his old party since he had left it solely on the Kansas question, which was now settled by the English bill.<sup>99</sup> The editor of the *Journal* wrote that if Mace had not been so anxious to lead the movement for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska act that he had introduced a bill for this purpose a year before it could possibly be passed he might possibly have remained a Republican.<sup>100</sup>

The Know Nothings played no part as an organized political party in this campaign. They did not hold a State convention and left each Know Nothing to vote as he thought best in this election. The cry of Know Nothingism, which in former years had kept many out of the Republican ranks, no longer had that effect.<sup>101</sup> The Know Nothing party was dead.

The Republicans made much over the Lecompton issue during the early part of the campaign. After the election in August in Kansas under the English-Green bill, Lecompton could no longer be used as the issue.<sup>102</sup> Then the division in this State was between the supporters and opponents of the administration.<sup>103</sup> The Republican party in Indiana was now a purely opposition party. The campaign was a struggle between the Republicans and Anti-Lecompton Democrats on the one side and the Old Line Democrats led by English, Niblack, Foley, Hughes, Gregg, Fitch, and Bright on the other side,<sup>104</sup> who maintained that the Republicans sought to dissolve the Union and that they were a sectional party seeking to give the North the advantage over the South.<sup>105</sup>

It was not until September that the people of the State

<sup>98</sup> *Wabash Weekly Intelligencer*, July 26, 1854.

<sup>99</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Aug. 24, 1858.

<sup>100</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 7, 1858.

<sup>101</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, July 22, 1858.

<sup>102</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Sept. 1, 1858: "Lecompton was undoubtedly a God-send to the Republicans. They nursed it, gloated over it, rejoiced at it, fondled it, and it was no doubt a great trial to them to be compelled to abandon it now, before they have been able to reap any substantial benefits from it."

<sup>103</sup> *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1858.

<sup>104</sup> *New York Times*, July 26, 1858.

<sup>105</sup> *Logansport Journal*, Dec. 20, 1858.

showed a great deal of interest in this campaign. By that time speakers were going into each county and township and campaign literature was being widely circulated. The people were aroused and much ill-feeling was displayed.<sup>106</sup>

The Democratic State ticket was elected by majorities ranging from 1500 to 2900.<sup>107</sup> Dunn, Kilgore, Porter, Wilson Colfax, Case, and Pettit were the Republican congressmen elected. J. G. Davis was elected in the Seventh district and Niblack, English, and Holman in the First, Second and Fourth districts. The opposition had eight congressmen, while the Democrats had three, a loss of three since 1856.<sup>108</sup> An opposition State legislature was elected, there being 25 Republicans, 3 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and 22 Democrats in the Senate; and 52 Republicans, 4 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and 44 Democrats in the House.<sup>109</sup>

The success of the Democratic State ticket was due to the fact that many Democrats voted for their State ticket, but voted for Republican congressmen because of their Anti-Lecompton views.<sup>110</sup> The Germans in the large cities and in many counties supported the Republican candidates.<sup>111</sup> Many of the Know Nothings in southern Indiana must have voted for the Republican candidates also.<sup>112</sup>

#### THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

As the time for the special meeting of the State legislature drew nearer interest in the election of the two United States senators increased. The Republicans firmly believed that Bright and Fitch had no legal right to their seats and that they should be ousted from the United States Senate. H. S. Lane and William M. McCarty, an Anti-Lecompton Democrat, were elected to the United States Senate by a concurrent resolution.<sup>1</sup> Lane and McCarty went to Wash-

<sup>106</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Sept. 9, 1858.

<sup>107</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Nov. 4, 1858.

<sup>108</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1858.

<sup>109</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Oct. 21, 1858.

<sup>110</sup> *Logansport Journal*, Oct. 23, 1858.

<sup>111</sup> *Democratic Pharos*, April 6, 1859.

<sup>112</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 19, 1858.

<sup>1</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Dec. 16, 1858.

ington and filed their credentials with the senate, which finally decided the case in favor of Bright and Fitch. When the vote was cast Senator Douglas voted against Bright and Fitch, who now looked upon Douglas as a personal enemy. This was a cause of the split among the Democrats of Indiana in the next election.

One of the most difficult things that the Republicans had to meet in their canvassing was the utterances, writings, and acts of the radical members of their party. While it was not claimed by the Democrats that the Republicans approved of and were responsible for the John Brown raid, they looked upon it as the result of the irrepressible conflict.<sup>2</sup> They knew that the "sinews of war" had come from many of the prominent members of the Republican party.<sup>3</sup> It was claimed by some of the Democratic newspapers that the whole affair was a Republican conspiracy. This charge was dropped when it was discovered that Captain Cook, second in command under Brown, was a brother-in-law of Governor Willard, who was now charged with being an accomplice in the affair.<sup>4</sup> The Democrats were further embarrassed by the fact that Willard, McDonald, and Vorhees went to Charleston, Virginia, to assist in the defense of Captain Cook.<sup>5</sup> It was now said that Willard had gone to Charleston to promise to throw the support of the Indiana Democrats to Governor Wise in his candidacy for the presidency at the Charleston convention if Governor Wise would pardon Cook.<sup>6</sup>

The Harper's Ferry outrage was considered by Democrats to be the result of such books as Helper's *Impending Crisis*, which was widely circulated in Indiana and had been endorsed by Representatives Colfax, Kilgore, Wilson, and Case.<sup>7</sup> They argued that the real issue in the coming election was to be found in the teachings of this book and in the speeches of Lovejoy, Seward, and Sumner.<sup>8</sup> This charge seemed to be borne out by the resolutions passed by the Republicans at

<sup>2</sup> *State Sentinel*, Oct. 24, 1859.

<sup>3</sup> *Democratic Pharos*, Nov. 2, 1859.

<sup>4</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 2, 1859.

<sup>5</sup> *Logansport Journal*, Nov. 5, 1859.

<sup>6</sup> *Logansport Journal*, Nov. 19, 1859.

<sup>7</sup> *Goshen Democrat*, Dec. 28, 1859.

<sup>8</sup> *State Sentinel*, Dec. 28, 1859.



Dublin, Wayne county, recommending Helper's *Impending Crisis* as an efficient helper in the overthrow of American slavery.<sup>9</sup> The real attitude of the Republicans of Indiana toward this book was expressed by H. S. Lane at Greencastle, when he condemned Helper's *Impending Crisis* as conducive to civil war.<sup>10</sup>

In their county conventions the Democrats came out strongly for the Cincinnati platform, for Popular Sovereignty, opposing the purchase of the Wabash and Erie bonds, denouncing the Harper's Ferry outrage, and favoring Douglas for President.<sup>11</sup> These resolutions indicated that the Democrats of this State thought that their party should stand for non-intervention by congress with slavery in State and territory, or in the District of Columbia.

<sup>9</sup> *State Sentinel*, Jan. 31, 1860.

<sup>10</sup> *State Sentinel*, Feb. 28, 1860.

<sup>11</sup> *State Sentinel*, July 15, 1859.

The Decatur county Democratic resolutions approved non-intervention and popular sovereignty; *Sentinel*, Aug. 6, 1859.

Jennings county Democrats approved the Cincinnati platform, upheld the Fugitive Slave law and opposed the Massachusetts restriction on the right of foreigners to vote two years after naturalization. *Sentinel*, Aug. 8, 1859.

The St. Joseph Democratic convention resolved that the Cincinnati platform was Democratic doctrine, that the people of a territory should regulate their own affairs, and that the Republican party was sectional. *Sentinel*, Aug. 17, 1859.

The Porter county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform and popular sovereignty in its fullest sense. *Sentinel*, Aug. 20, 1859.

The Cass county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform, opposed the purchase of the Wabash and Erie bonds, and favored an independent treasury. *Sentinel*, Aug. 22, 1859.

The Morgan county Democratic convention favored the Cincinnati platform and equal rights to all citizens, regardless of nativity. *Sentinel*, Aug. 24, 1859.

The Vigo county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform and opposed congressional intervention. *Sentinel*, Sept. 10, 1859.

The Fountain county Democratic convention endorsed the Cincinnati platform and denounced the "higher law." *Sentinel*, Nov. 7, 1859.

The Ripley county Democratic convention approved the Cincinnati platform, the Dred Scott decision, and denounced the Harper's Ferry outrage. *Sentinel*, Nov. 21, 1859.

The Wayne county Democratic convention resolved that the late treasonable and insurrectionary movement at Harper's Ferry was the natural result of the teachings of the leaders of the Republican party, and that it illustrated what might be expected from the practical carrying out of the doctrines of that party.

An examination of the reports of the Democratic county conventions as given by the *Sentinel* of 1859 showed that the delegates to the State Democratic convention of 1860 from Perry, Wabash, Parke, Owen, Franklin, Vigo, Brown, Ohio, Bartholomew, Sullivan, Jefferson, Boone, Cass, Hendricks, Wells, Miami, Hamilton, Vermillion, Putnam, and Elkhart counties were instructed to support Douglas for the presidency. This list does not include all the counties instructing their delegates to support him.

Undoubtedly Douglas was the choice of Indiana Democrats for the presidency. R. S. Hicks, editor of the *Rockport Democrat*, said that two-thirds of the counties of the State had instructed their delegates to vote for Douglas men for the Charleston convention.<sup>12</sup> At the same time it was known that Douglas was obnoxious to many of the Democratic State politicians, who would probably oppose the selection of Douglas delegates to the Charleston convention.<sup>13</sup> It was felt by Democrats that if the will of the people were carried out in the State convention by endorsing the views of Douglas that many voters who had gone over to the People's party on the Lecompton issue would support the Democratic nominees in the coming election.<sup>14</sup> Should the will of the politicians, under the leadership of Senator Bright, or should the will of the people be carried out in the convention, was the question to be decided by the Democracy of Indiana in their State convention.

The Douglas Democrats feared the Bright men would control the convention. They did not like the decision of the Democratic State Central Committee that the convention was to be a delegate convention. It was thought that a packed convention might be the result unless some means were discovered of preventing the selection of Bright men as delegates to the State convention.<sup>15</sup> This fear increased when it became known that Senator Bright was coming to Indiana to attend the convention.<sup>16</sup>

When the convention assembled at Indianapolis on January 11, 1860, it was soon evident that there was to be a struggle between the administration men and the Douglas men for its control. Robert Lowry of Elkhart, a Douglas man, was chosen permanent chairman over Judge Samuel Perkins of Marion county, by a vote of 189½ to 174½. This showed that the Douglas men were in a small majority. This majority was increased by the admission of Douglas delegates from Hancock, Jackson, Jennings, Laporte, Lawrence, Randolph, and Spencer counties. But the big fight came on the resolution

<sup>12</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, Dec. 24, 1859.

<sup>13</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Dec. 8, 1859.

<sup>14</sup> *Democratic Pharos*, Sept. 7, 1859.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 2, 1859.

<sup>16</sup> *State Sentinel*, Jan. 10, 1860.

to instruct the delegates to the Charleston convention for Douglas. During the stormy scene that followed John L. Robinson announced that he could not support Douglas. The resolution was passed by a vote of 265 to 129—Tipton county refusing to vote. The report of the committee designating the twenty-six electors to the Charleston convention was accepted. The following State ticket was nominated:

Governor—Thomas A. Hendricks, Shelby Co.  
Lieutenant Governor—David Turpie, White Co.  
Secretary of State—William Schlater, Wayne Co.  
Treasurer—Nathaniel Cunningham, Vigo Co.  
Auditor—Joseph Ristine, Fountain Co.  
Attorney General—Oscar B. Hord, Decatur Co.  
Superintendent of Public Instruction—Samuel Rugg, Allen Co.  
Clerk of Supreme Court—Cornelius O'Brien, Dearborn Co.  
Reporter of Supreme Court—M. C. Kerr, Floyd Co.

The Resolutions Committee reported a platform endorsing the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the peaceful acquisition of Cuba, denouncing the action of the Massachusetts legislature in regard to foreigners, wishing success to Buchanan's administration, instructing the delegates to the Charleston convention to vote for Douglas, condemning the outrage at Harper's Ferry, accepting the decisions of the supreme court on the true meaning of the constitution, asserting the unquestionable right of "the people of a territory, like those of a State, to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits", and opposing the transfer of the Wabash and Erie canal to the State.<sup>17</sup>

A study of these resolutions convinces one that the committee on resolutions was trying to please both factions. As a result the platform declares for the acceptance of the decisions of the supreme court and also the right of the people in a territory to determine the status of slavery there. The Dred Scott decision made these two planks diametrically opposed to each other.<sup>18</sup> Upon this platform, with this ticket, and with a party that was composed of two factions, the campaign that was to determine the fate of the nation began.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 12-13, 1860.

<sup>18</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 16, 1860.

<sup>19</sup> *Democratic Pharos*, Nov. 16, 1859.

The great question in the minds of the voters of the North as the time for holding the national convention drew nearer was, Who can be elected? This was of vital importance to the voters of Indiana, since there was sure to be a strenuous contest in this State. Although the great battles of the campaign were to be fought in the Northern States, a portion of the southern newspapers were demanding that these States should not be granted a vote in the Charleston convention. These editors did not seem to realize that the heaviest fighting would be in the northern States and that a candidate should be chosen who had the best chance of carrying these doubtful States.<sup>20</sup> Not only was this demand made, but the South demanded that the Democrats leave the principle of non-intervention and adopt the doctrine that the national congress must protect slavery in the territories. The Democratic senators held a caucus at Washington, with Senator Bright as chairman, and adopted the Davis resolutions as the creed of the Democratic party.<sup>21</sup> It seemed to Indiana Democrats that the administration and the South were desirous of formulating the platform and choosing the candidate for the presidency. This was calling upon the Democrats of the North to acknowledge that the party had stood upon erroneous ground in 1856. There were probably twenty or thirty thousand Democrats in Indiana who would refuse to do so.<sup>22</sup> This sentiment was that of the Indiana delegates to the Charleston convention, who voted fifty-seven times solidly for Douglas.<sup>23</sup> This did not please Senator Bright, of whom it was reported that he would stump Indiana, county by county, against Douglas, if he should be nominated.<sup>24</sup> After the nomination of Douglas and Johnson at Baltimore nearly all the prominent politicians of Indiana—most of whom had been opposed to Douglas—went over to the Douglas ranks.<sup>25</sup> Indiana Democrats were no longer willing to yield to the demands of the South. A mass-meeting was held at Indianapolis on July 18, for the purpose of ratifying the nominations

<sup>20</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Nov. 29, 1859.

<sup>21</sup> *Democratic Pharos*, Feb. 29, 1860.

<sup>22</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, April 14, 1860.

<sup>23</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, May 19, 1860.

<sup>24</sup> *Rockport Democrat*, May 12, 1860.

<sup>25</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 1, 1860.

of Douglas and Johnson. The *Sentinel* estimated the attendance at two thousand, and states that on all sides was heard the expression that it was the duty of the party to support Douglas.<sup>26</sup> According to the Breckinridge Democrats, the only effect of the meeting was to turn one of the Douglas marshals, Charles Coulon, and a great many Germans from Douglas to Lincoln as the stronger of the two free-soil leaders.<sup>27</sup>

What should be the attitude of the Republicans of Indiana toward the extension of slavery? Should Indiana support free labor or slave labor? Republicans urged that all who were opposed to the stand of the Democratic party on this question should unite in opposition to it.<sup>28</sup> While Republicans agreed that the party should oppose the further extension of slavery they were somewhat divided on the question of congressional or popular sovereignty. Many Republicans did not want the party to declare for either, since the adoption of one of these methods would leave the party with but one mode of doing the work. These men thought that the party should use any legal means for accomplishing its purpose.<sup>29</sup> On this question the *Shelbyville Banner* said, "We favor any legitimate way of excluding slavery from the territories." *Howard County Tribune*, "If congress is beyond our reach we would accept an intervention by popular sovereignty." *Terre Haute Express*, "While the Republicans were willing to let the people of a territory regulate their domestic institutions, yet they never abandoned the conviction that congress would exclude slavery from the territories."<sup>30</sup>

It is not to be inferred from the above discussion that the Republicans no longer believed in the prohibition of slavery in the national territories by act of congress. If the Republican party should succeed it was understood that congress would declare that slavery should no longer exist in the national territories.<sup>31</sup> If the supreme court of the United States should declare the act abolishing slavery in the territories

<sup>26</sup> *State Sentinel*, July 19, 1860.

<sup>27</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

<sup>28</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 13, 1859.

<sup>29</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 16, 1859.

<sup>30</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 8, 1859.

<sup>31</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 2, 1860.

unconstitutional, then the Republicans would use popular sovereignty in accomplishing their end. As the *New York Times* put it, popular sovereignty would settle the question, regardless of whatever party won, since the people of the territory were the ones who should decide the status of slavery there.<sup>32</sup>

While union of all the elements of opposition to the Democratic party was desirable, it was thought that it would be impossible for the anti-slavery men to unite cordially with the Americans, who wished to ignore the slavery question.<sup>33</sup> The Americans were willing to enter the Republican State convention on the following terms:

1. That the convention be an opposition convention in which Republicans, Americans, and Whigs should participate, fully, fairly, and freely.
2. That no extreme anti-slavery man should be nominated for office.
3. That a national platform be adopted.
4. That the delegates to the national convention be instructed to vote for Bates, Bell, or Corwin for President.<sup>34</sup>

These demands were so extreme that the Republicans were opposed to calling such a State convention. It did not seem possible to unite the Americans with the Republicans on such terms as those stated above. Many Republicans were earnestly bent on forming a specific Republican party, even though it cost the party the victory at the polls.<sup>35</sup> Prominent among this class of Republicans were the editors of the *Fort Wayne Republican* and the *Madison Courier*. These men favored a straight Republican convention and no other kind.<sup>36</sup> The Republican State Central Committee evidently wanted the opponents of the Democrats to enter into the State convention as individuals and not as members of political parties. The call is as follows:

The people of Indiana who are opposed to the policy of the present administration of the general government, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the territories of the United States, to the re-opening of the African slave trade; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the constitution recently

<sup>32</sup> *New York Times*, March 13, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Aug. 17, 1859.

<sup>34</sup> Brand, *The Know Nothings in Indiana*.

<sup>35</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1859.

<sup>36</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Dec. 14, 1859.

adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States, and of defending the soil of every State from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of the sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in the national government, even at the expense of its existence; who are opposed to the present profligate and reckless administration of the State government of Indiana and its disregard of the laws of its management of the pecuniary affairs of the State, and who are in favor of restoring the State government to a system of strict economy and subordination to the laws of the State; who are in favor of the passage of laws against the embezzlement of the people's money by the State officers, and who are in favor of an honest administration of State affairs, are requested to meet in their respective counties on a day to be agreed upon by them and elect delegates to attend the mass State convention, to be held at Indianapolis, on the 22nd of February, 1860, to appoint candidates for State officers and to appoint delegates to attend the national convention, to be held at Chicago on the 13th of June next, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.<sup>37</sup>

M. C. GARBER, *Chairman*.

It will be observed that the word Republican was not used in this call. This was done in deference to the wishes of the Americans.<sup>38</sup> It seemed broad enough to embrace every op-

<sup>37</sup> Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 28. The State Executive Committee was as follows:

First district, M. C. Garber, chairman; James Mason, Knox county; James C. Veatch, Spencer county; Conrad Baker, Vanderburg county.

Second district, John W. Ray, Clark County Walter Q. Gresham, Harrison county; Alfred Hayes, Scott county.

Third district, John R. Cravens, Jefferson county; Isaac Rector, Lawrence county; Simeon Stansifer, Bartholomew county.

Fourth district, David G. Rabb, Ohio county; Abram Hendricks, Decatur county; Pleasant A. Hackleman, Rush county.

Fifth district, Nelson Tinsler, Fayette county; John C. Lyle, Wayne county; Thomas M. Brown, Randolph county.

Sixth district, Benjamin Harrison, Marion county; Joseph Miller, Hendricks county; A. I. Griggs, Morgan county.

Seventh district, Thomas H. Nelson, Vigo county; D. C. Donohue, Putnam county; George K. Steele, Parke county.

Eighth district, Dr. Larabee, Montgomery county; Godlove O. Behm, Tippecanoe county; George Wagoner, Warren county.

Ninth district, A. L. Osborn, LaPorte county; D. D. Pratt, Cass county; Mark L. DeMotte, Porter county.

Tenth district, Thomas G. Harris, Elkhart county; William Mitchell, Noble county; John W. Dawson, Allen county.

Eleventh district, D. James Brattam, Huntington county; James A. Stretch, Grant county; T. C. Phillips, Hancock county.

<sup>38</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Jan. 24, 1860.

ponent of the national and State administrations without sacrificing the principles of the Republican party. In commenting upon this call, M. C. Garber, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, said that the State Central Committee did not ask a coalition of political parties; that it was the design of the committee to obliterate, as far as possible, distinctions among the opponents of the so-called Democracy; and that it was the intention of the committee to support any candidate who got a majority of the votes of the convention upon his own merits, but never as a representative of another political party.<sup>39</sup> In short, this convention was to be a Republican meeting and nothing else.

In their county conventions the Republicans asserted their desire of preserving the Union, denounced the doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery into the territories, stated that the Dred Scott decision and the Douglas theory of popular sovereignty were in conflict, denounced the John Brown raid, favored a homestead law, asserted that congress had the right to prohibit the extension of slavery, and expressed the intention of not interfering with slavery in the States where it already existed.<sup>40</sup> These conventions were well attended and much interest was displayed.

<sup>39</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Feb. 3, 1860.

<sup>40</sup> The Dearborn county convention met Dec. 25, 1859, and resolved:

That we recognize the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, and here deny that S. A. Douglas has any patent on its discovery. But that the principle is as old as our government, and that the Republican party now, as ever, is ready to stand and abide by it. *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 19, 1860.

The Jasper county convention of January 25, 1860, resolved that the constitution does not carry slavery into the territories and that the Dred Scott decision and the theory of Popular Sovereignty were in conflict. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 4, 1860.

The Fountain county convention denounced the Democratic theory of slavery, favored a homestead law, and denounced the Democratic leaders as disunionists, secessionists, filibusters, and nullifiers. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 6, 1860.

The Marion county convention resolved that the Union must be preserved, that Congress has power to and should prevent the extension of slavery into the territories, that a homestead law was necessary, and that the Massachusetts act denying suffrage to United States naturalized citizens was unjust. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 6, 1860.

The Tippecanoe county convention was for preserving the Union, giving naturalized citizens full rights, giving each settler 160 acres of public land, and denounced the John Brown raid. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 8, 1860.

The Lake county convention resolved to oppose by all lawful and honorable means the extension of slavery into any of the territories of the United States now free. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 11, 1860.

The Greene county convention favored the principles of Washington and Jef-



The Republicans realized that this contest would be one of real strength. Hoping to preserve the Union and to bring the administration of the national and State governments back to their former integrity, they were strengthening and perfecting their party organization for the coming campaign. It was essential for success that a strong man be placed at the head of the State ticket. "What will he do for the party in the coming election?" was asked concerning candidates for nomination for the State offices.<sup>41</sup> For Governor H. S. Lane, Oliver P. Morton, and Judge William T. Otto were mentioned. It was urged by the opposition in the southern part of the State that if the Republicans wanted to win they should nominate Judge Otto or some other man who was acceptable to the Know Nothings.<sup>42</sup> Lane seemed to be the choice of the Republicans as expressed in their county conventions.<sup>43</sup> Feeling that Lane could better unite the elements of opposition, it was arranged that he should be put on the ticket for governor and Morton for lieutenant-governor. After the

fereson and condemned the Harper's Ferry outrage on the ground that the slave States had a right to their slaves. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 14, 1860.

The Ohio county convention invited all opposition voters to attend the State convention. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 14, 1860.

The Vanderburg county convention resolved that slavery should be let alone in the slave States, that the Fugitive Slave law, while law, should be enforced, and that the people of a territory had the right to form a State with or without slavery. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 15, 1860.

The Huntington county convention resolved that every attempt to force slavery upon a people should be resisted by all legal and constitutional means. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 17, 1860.

The Scott county convention resolved, that the Republican party of Scott county will stand by the constitution of the United States, will treat with respect the rights of the different States, and exert their influence to maintain the Union of all the States at all hazards, "peaceably if they can—forcibly if they must." *Daily Journal*, Feb. 17, 1860.

The Jay county convention resolved to oppose the Fugitive Slave law and the Dred Scott decision as unjust, unconstitutional, impolitic, and unwise; as in conflict with the laws of our country, the laws of God, and of the civilized world. *Daily Journal*, Feb. 20, 1860.

<sup>41</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 4, 1860.

<sup>42</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Aug. 6, 1859.

<sup>43</sup> As reported to the *Journal* the Republicans of Washington, Marion, Shelby, Carroll, Knox, Lagrange, Lake, Johnson, Greene, Ohio, White, Boone, LaPorte, Madison, Vermillion, Adams, Warrick, Marshall, Elkhart, Parke, Lawrence, Jackson, Cass, Pike, Clay, Warren, Sullivan, Bartholomew, and Monroe counties passed resolutions favoring Lane for governor. The Republicans of Henry, Fayette, Union, Wayne, and Grant counties passed resolutions for Morton for governor. The other Republican county conventions passed no resolutions favoring any man for governor.

election Lane was to be chosen for United States senator, while Morton would become governor.<sup>44</sup> It was thought that the refusal of the United States Senate to receive Lane in 1858 could only be atoned for by the State legislature sending him back to the United States Senate.<sup>45</sup>

In what was probably the largest nominating convention held in Indianapolis up to this time the Republicans met in Indianapolis in Metropolitan hall on February 22, 1860.<sup>46</sup> Here it was decided to perfect the organization and then move to the Statehouse yard because of the crowded conditions. P. A. Hackleman of Rush county was made permanent chairman. M. C. Garber and L. Q. Hoggatt of Lawrence county were made secretaries. William T. Otto was the vice-president. Since fully one-half of the delegates could not get into the hall, the meeting adjourned to the Statehouse yard. Here Hackleman mounted a table and announced the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions and the Committee on the State Central Committee.

Mr. Solomon Meredith, a former Know Nothing, moved that H. S. Lane be nominated by acclamation for governor. Mr. Nelson of Vigo nominated O. P. Morton for lieutenant-governor. Nelson said that this was not the place that Morton's friends wished for him, and not commensurate with his claims or abilities, but it was a place where he could serve the Republicans, and he believed that Morton would accept. Lane and Morton were nominated together for governor and lieutenant-governor. The following was the State ticket:

Governor, H. S. Lane, Montgomery county; Lieutenant Governor, O. P. Morton, Wayne county; Secretary of State, William A. Peele, Randolph county; Treasurer of State, Jonathan S. Harvey, Clarke county; Auditor of State, Albert Lange, Vigo county; Attorney General, James G. Jones, Vanderburgh county; Reporter of Supreme Court, Benjamin Harrison, Marion county; Clerk of Supreme Court, John P. Jones, LaGrange county; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miles J. Fletcher, Putnam county.

William T. Otto, P. A. Hackleman, D. A. Pratt of Cass county, and Caleb B. Smith of Marion county were chosen as

<sup>44</sup> Foulke, *Life of Morton*, I, 66.

<sup>45</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Oct. 31, 1860.

<sup>46</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 23, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1860.

delegates at large to the Chicago convention.<sup>47</sup> A State Central Committee of sixteen members was named. A. H. Conner was made chairman of this committee.<sup>48</sup>

Mr. Hielscher now offered a resolution instructing the delegates to Chicago to vote for no candidate for the nomination for the Presidency who was not a good Republican in 1856. This was aimed at the candidacy of Bates. This did not suit some of the Republicans who were for winning with any man regardless of his past record.<sup>49</sup> The convention laid this motion on the table.

A platform was adopted which denounced the doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery into the territories, stating that slavery should not be molested where it already existed, favoring a Homestead law, denouncing the corrupt State administration, opposing any attempt to change the naturalization laws, and stating that the Union must and shall be preserved.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> The delegates from the districts were: First district, James C. Veatch, C. M. Allen; Second district, T. C. Slaughter, J. H. Bolton; Third district, J. R. Cravens, A. C. Vorhees; Fourth district, George Holland, J. L. Yates; Fifth district, Miles Murphy, Walter March; Sixth district, S. P. Oyler, J. S. Bobbs; Seventh district, G. K. Steele, D. C. Donohue; Eighth district, John Branch, J. M. Simms; Ninth district, C. H. Test, D. H. Hopkins; Tenth district, George Moon, Mr. Anderson; Eleventh district, W. W. Conner, J. M. Wallace.

<sup>48</sup> Seeds, *History of the Republican Party in Indiana*, 31. The members of the committee were: A. H. Conner, chairman; Robert B. Duncan, John A. Buchanan, Thomas Cottrell, George F. Meyer, Samuel Hall, Thomas H. Collins, D. C. Branham, S. S. Harding, John Schwartz, John S. Lyle, Robert N. Hudson, H. S. Hazlerigg, Thomas S. Stansfield, Benjamin W. Oakley, and Thomas J. Harrison.

<sup>49</sup> *Weekly State Journal*, Jan. 14, 1858.

<sup>50</sup> W. E. Henry, *State Platforms*, 20.

*Resolved.* 1. That while disunion doctrines are proclaimed in the halls of congress by the Democracy, and disunion purposely openly avowed, we point with pride to the fact that not a single Republican, either in congress or the walks of private life—not a single Republican press—not a single Republican orator—not a single Republican convention, has avowed any design against the integrity of the Union, even should the present administration with its corrupt policy be perpetuated by the vote of the people.

2. That we are opposed to the new and dangerous doctrine advocated by the Democratic party, that the Federal constitution carries slavery into the public territories; that we believe slavery cannot exist anywhere in this government unless by positive local law, and that we will oppose its extension into the territories of the Federal government by all the power known to the constitution of the United States.

3. That we are opposed to any interference with slavery where it exists under the sanction of State law; that the soil of every State should be protected from lawless invasion from every quarter, and that the citizens of every State

It will be noted that the platform did not limit the exclusion of slavery from the territories to the impossible mode of congressional action. It declared that "slavery cannot exist anywhere in this government except by positive local law, and that we will oppose its extension into the territories of the federal government by all the power known to the constitution of the United States." Popular sovereignty seemed

should be protected from illegal arrests and searches, as well as from mob violence.

4. That the territory of Kansas, now desiring admission under a constitution, republican in form, expressing the will and wish of an overwhelming majority of her people, ought to be admitted as a sovereign member of the Union, speedily and without delay.

5. That we are in favor of the immediate passage by Congress of a homestead law, thereby giving out of our public domain homes to the homeless.

6. That the fiscal affairs of the State of Indiana have been badly managed. That State officers have been shown to be defaulters to large amounts, and suffered to go unprosecuted. That large amounts of the public moneys have been squandered to enrich officials and partisan favorites, and that when the representatives of the people sought to stop those peculations, by the passage of an "Embezzlement bill," the governor of the State vetoed that bill, and thus kept the doors of the treasury opened to be further robbed by dishonest partisans.

7. That it is the duty of every branch of the Federal government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and the acts of certain parties in high places, in cheating and defrauding the government out of large and valuable tracts of the public lands, as well as a reckless waste and extravagant expenditure of the public money, by which the National Treasury has become bankrupt, and a borrower in the public markets, by the sale of bonds and treasury notes, meets our earnest condemnation.

8. That we consider the slave trade as justly held to be piracy by the law of nations and our own laws, and that it is the duty of all civilized nations, and of our public authorities to put a stop to it in all parts of the world.

9. That we are in favor of equal rights to all citizens, at home and abroad, without reference to the place of their nativity, and that we will oppose any attempt to change the present naturalization laws.

10. That we regard the preservation of the American Union as the highest object and duty of patriotism, and that it must and shall be preserved, and that all who advocate disunion are, and deserve the fate of traitors.

11. That we take this occasion to express our thanks to our Republican members in Congress, from this and other States, for their perseverance and triumphant success in the organization of the House of Representatives, in the election of high-minded and national men, over the efforts of a corrupt, sectional and disunion party.

12. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction.

13. That the soldiers of the war of 1812, who yet remain among us, deserve the grateful remembrance of the people, and that congress should at once recognize their services by placing their names upon the pension rolls of the government.

14. That we are opposed to the retrocession of the Wabash and Erie canal, as well as to the State becoming liable for any of the debts, or bonds for which the same was transferred to satisfy.

to be the only mode practicable in the territories.<sup>51</sup> The New Albany *Daily Ledger* stated that the platform took a backward step from the Philadelphia platform by failing to declare that it was the duty of congress to prohibit slavery in the territories.<sup>52</sup>

The platform declared for a Homestead law. It was the thought of the Republicans that the West would be rapidly settled if a homestead of 160 acres were granted each settler. The South opposed such a law on the ground that it would fill the territories with liberty-loving Germans and others who favored freedom.<sup>53</sup> Republicans took up the challenge of "Land for the landless *versus* niggers for the niggerless."

R. S. Hicks, editor of the Rockport *Democrat*, said that the Republicans had come down a peg or two on their previously declared ultra notions on political questions. According to his view they had softened on naturalization, liquor, and the protection of our citizens abroad.<sup>54</sup>

Lane was chosen for governor as best able to unite all sections and shades of feeling in the State. The frank admission of the Republicans that this was the reason for Lane's nomination gave the Democrats an opportunity to say that the Republicans supported men rather than principles.<sup>55</sup>

They further charged that the temperance men were all for Lane knowing that he would not veto a Maine law if one were passed by the next legislature.<sup>56</sup> This was not a very severe charge against Lane since "Maine law" sentiment in Indiana was not strong.

The Know Nothings fared badly at the hands of the convention. The New Albany *Daily Ledger* asserted that not a Fillmore man was an officer, that none were on the committee on resolutions, that none were on the State ticket, that none were on the electoral ticket, that none were on the State Central Committee, and none were chosen as delegates to the Chicago convention.<sup>57</sup> Truly may it be said that this was a straight Republican convention.

<sup>51</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Feb. 24, 1860.

<sup>52</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Feb. 28, 1860.

<sup>53</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 15, 1860.

<sup>54</sup> Rockport *Democrat*, March 3, 1860.

<sup>55</sup> *State Sentinel*, Feb. 27, 1860.

<sup>56</sup> *State Sentinel*, Sept. 6, 1860.

<sup>57</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Feb. 24, 1860.

Since it was realized that it was necessary for the Republicans to carry Illinois and Indiana in order to carry the election, M. C. Garber, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, sent a memorial to the National Republican Committee urging the selection of Indianapolis as the best place for holding the Republican national convention. He urged that Indiana should have the convention since the State was more doubtful than any other State.<sup>58</sup> The *Sentinel* hoped that this convention would be held in Indianapolis since it would help the railroads, hotels, and saloons and would give pious Republicans of Indiana an idea of real Republican temperance.<sup>59</sup> The Republican National Committee failed to see the importance of holding the convention in Indiana. It called a convention of the Republican electors of the several States, the members of the People's party in Pennsylvania, the opposition party in New Jersey, and all others opposed to the course of the administration to meet at Chicago, June 13, 1860.<sup>60</sup>

Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and New Jersey were looked upon as the States in which the greatest efforts would have to be made in order to elect a Republican President. "As Pennsylvania goes, so goes the Union" had come to be considered as an unfailing truth. For this reason Pennsylvania was to be looked after first while much attention was to be given to the States of the Old Northwest, which had received from Pennsylvania many colonists who were largely influenced by the attitude of their kinsmen in Pennsylvania.<sup>61</sup> It was felt that any one nominated for the Presidency would have to be strong in these States.

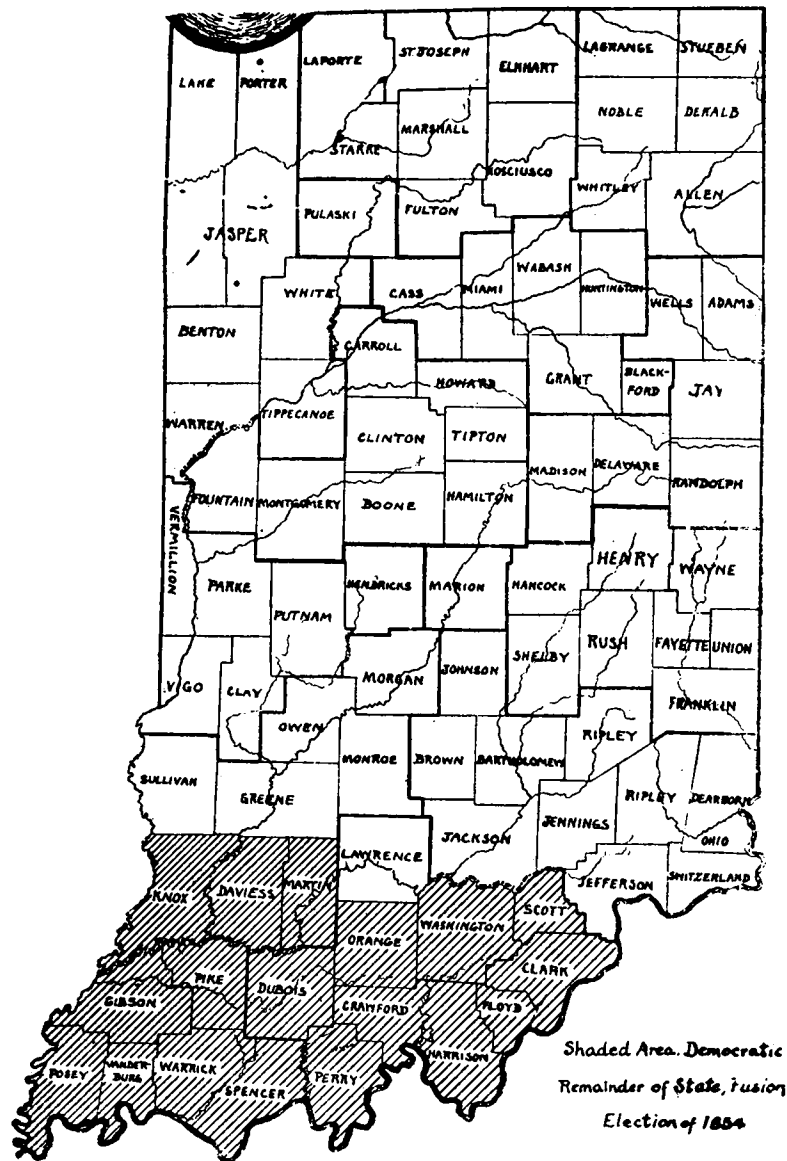
Since the Republican party of Indiana had been largely an opposition party made up of men of widely differing views the question of the qualifications of a candidate for the Presidency was important. Should the party nominate a conservative man who was lukewarm on the slavery question, but who would appeal to the outside party men or should it nominate a man who represented the great principle of the

<sup>58</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 2, 1859.

<sup>59</sup> *State Sentinel*, Sept. 21, 1859.

<sup>60</sup> *State Sentinel*, Jan. 4, 1860. The time was afterward changed to May 16.

<sup>61</sup> *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1859.



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party? B. R. Sulgrove, editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, urged that the principle of the candidate should be the determining factor. Any candidate who was not opposed to the further extension of slavery should not be considered by the party.<sup>62</sup>

Schulyer Colfax, editor of the *South Bend Register*, stated that the candidate must be for free labor as against slave labor and its extension, and that he must oppose the doctrine that the constitution carried slavery into the territories. Colfax favored the man who, supporting the above, could get the most votes. "In a word, if old Zach Taylor were alive although he might not be technically a straight Republican, we should most cheerfully vote for him for President."<sup>63</sup>

Indiana had several men who were looked upon as of Presidential caliber. Lane and Colfax were strong among the Republicans, R. W. Thompson had the support of the Know Nothings, and John D. Defrees was acceptable to the Old Line Whigs.<sup>64</sup> Lane was probably the strongest of these men, having been a Clay Whig and then a Republican. With Cameron for Vice-President it was thought that he could carry Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey for the Republicans.<sup>65</sup> At the time when the Republican national convention met in May no Indiana man was prominent enough to be considered for the Presidency.

Bates of Missouri was much considered in Indiana for the Presidency. His declaration of his views had put him within the pale of the Republican party although he had not been a Republican in 1856. Bates had come out in a letter declaring that congress had power to forbid the introduction of slavery into the territories.<sup>66</sup> There was a strong sentiment favoring him in Indiana, especially in Southern Indiana, where it was thought that he could get the support of the Fremont and the Fillmore men. Those favoring his candidacy felt that he could best unite all the elements of opposi-

<sup>62</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 3, 1860.

<sup>63</sup> *New York Times*, July 19, 1860.

<sup>64</sup> *State Sentinel*, July 4, 1859.

<sup>65</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 27, 1860.

<sup>66</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 5, 1860; *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1859; *New York Times*, March 24, 1860.





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tion to the administration.<sup>67</sup> His opponents wondered if he was strong enough to handle the Presidency in the approaching crisis. They argued that what was needed was not a conservative man but a man of the Jackson type.<sup>68</sup> Bates was obnoxious to the Germans and the extreme anti-slavery men.<sup>69</sup> When it was realized that he was not available, sentiment for Lincoln steadily arose.<sup>70</sup> Yet just before the opening of the Chicago convention John D. Defrees signed an address to the delegates urging the selection of Bates on the ground that he could carry Indiana, Illinois, and Oregon and make the election secure.<sup>71</sup>

Another possible candidate finding favor in Indiana was Justice John R. McLean, of Ohio. He was considered available since the public was not prejudiced against him as it was against Seward. One strong point in his favor was the fact that he had been a Republican since the beginning of the party.<sup>72</sup> There seemed to be no doubt that Indiana Republicans would demand that a western man be nominated.<sup>73</sup>

Could Seward be elected if nominated? This was the question which the Republicans of Indiana had to settle. As the time for the convention approached there grew up a strong conviction in Indiana that this State could not be carried by a radical like Seward. This same feeling was shown in Pennsylvania and Illinois.<sup>74</sup> It was argued that the free labor sentiment of the United States was strong enough to win if an acceptable candidate were nominated. Neither Seward nor Chase would do since both were looked upon as being "aggressively" hostile to slavery. It was said that there were 30,000 men in Indiana, who, if they could vote directly for or against the extension of slavery, would vote against it for-

<sup>67</sup> Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences*, I, 111; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 13, 1860.

<sup>68</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Feb. 21, 1860.

<sup>69</sup> *New York Times*, March 10, 1860; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 9, 1860.

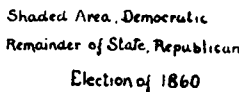
<sup>70</sup> *State Sentinel*, Feb. 13, 1860, quotes the South Bend *Register* as saying that an overwhelming majority of the Republicans of Indiana favored Bates. *New York Times*, May 16, 1860, stated that Indiana was for Bates. *State Sentinel*, May 17, 1860, from *Chicago Times*, "Indiana is counted for Lincoln but her real choice is Bates. The talk about Lincoln is absurd."

<sup>71</sup> *New York Times*, May 15, 1860.

<sup>72</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 19, 1860.

<sup>73</sup> *State Sentinel*, Feb. 11, 1860.

<sup>74</sup> *New York Times*, May 17, 1860.



## CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION 1860

ever, and yet would not vote for Seward. There were Fremont men who would not support him because of his prominence in the anti-slavery movement when it was less popular than it was in 1860.<sup>75</sup> The Republican delegates knew that Indiana would never support Seward and, having no candidate from their own State, concluded that the best way to defeat him was to support Lincoln.<sup>76</sup>

Col. A. K. McClure, State chairman of the opposition committee of Pennsylvania, gives an explanation of Seward's defeat in the convention which other writers do not seem to have noticed. Seward had been elected governor of New York largely through the assistance of Archbishop Hughes. In return for this aid Seward had urged a division of the school fund between Protestants and Catholics. This turned the Know Nothings of the United States against him. In Indiana and Pennsylvania there were considerable American votes without which the Republicans could not carry either State. Lane, Defrees, A. G. Curtain, the opposition candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, and McClure visited the various State delegations urging that Indiana and Pennsylvania could not be carried by Seward.<sup>77</sup> Since it was felt that these States must be carried in order to succeed, Seward, although he was the individual choice of many who voted for Lincoln, was sacrificed for expediency. As the day of the convention drew nearer it was evident that there would be two parties present—a Seward and an anti-Seward party.

On May 16, 1860, in the "Wigwam" the meeting was called to order. It was estimated that ten thousand were within the "Wigwam", with thousands unable to gain admittance. David P. Wilmot was made temporary chairman. P. A. Hackleman was put on the Committee of Permanent Organization. J. R. Cravens of Madison was appointed a member of the Committee on Credentials. Walter March was put on the Committee on Business. Colonel John Beard was made a vice-president and D. D. Pratt was appointed one of

<sup>75</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 26, 1860; May 29, 1860.

<sup>76</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860; Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 148. The *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Sept. 13, 1860, had an extract from the *Saturday Evening Post*, stating that the Indiana delegates met about one month before the Chicago convention and decided to support Lincoln.

<sup>77</sup> McClure, *Our Presidents and How we make them*, 155.

the secretaries. Indiana was represented on the Platform Committee by William T. Otto.

As the platform was being read there was applause, sometimes loud and sometimes weak. When the plank declaring that duties on imports should be so adjusted as to benefit the industry of the people the cheering gradually grew until it was deafening. It was evident that the delegates present favored protection for home industries. In addition to the protective tariff plank, the platform denounced the dogma that the constitution carried slavery into the territories, denied the authority of congress or any territorial legislature to give legal existence to slavery in any territory, and demanded a Homestead law, opposed any change in the naturalization law or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship should be abridged.

After the nomination of Seward by William M. Evarts of New York, Norman B. Judd of Illinois put in nomination Abraham Lincoln. A terrible din arose, during which Indians, Illinoisans, and Pennsylvanians danced and yelled like maniacs. After the nominations of William L. Dayton, Cameron, and Chase, Caleb B. Smith arose and said, "I am instructed by the State of Indiana to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln".<sup>78</sup> Bates and Judge McLean were then put in nomination. During the balloting Indiana cast her twenty-six votes for Lincoln each time. When Ohio on the third ballot changed her vote from 29 to 34 for Lincoln and thus nominated him a roar burst forth from the thousands within and without the "Wigwam", sounding as though a thunderstorm had struck Chicago.

Caleb B. Smith nominated Cassius M. Clay for the Vice-Presidency. The Indiana delegation voted eighteen for Clay and eight for Hamlin on the first ballot. On the second ballot the vote was fourteen for Clay and twelve for Hamlin. Blakely of Kentucky moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Smith seconded the motion in what Editor Sulgrove called "the most stirring, inspiring speech of the whole Convention". Lane was called for, but was so exhausted that he could only speak long enough to promise Indiana for Lin-

<sup>78</sup> *New York Times*, May 19, 1860.

coln by a 10,000 majority. After the appointment of the National Committee, of which Solomon Meredith of Indiana was made a member, the convention adjourned.<sup>79</sup>

There can be no doubt that the attitude of the Indiana delegation was largely responsible for the nomination of Lincoln. George W. Julian said that the delegates from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois representing a "superficial and half-developed Republicanism" labored untiringly for the nomination of Lincoln, urgently pleading for "Success rather than Seward".<sup>80</sup> The firmness of the Indiana delegation was acknowledged on all sides at Chicago to have been the primary cause of the nomination of Lincoln.<sup>81</sup>

Owing to the insistent demand upon the State Central Committee by the Republicans of the State, the 29th day of August was set as the day upon which Republicans should hold a grand State rally for Lincoln and Hamlin and the Republican cause.<sup>82</sup> On that day it was estimated that 50,000 assembled in Indianapolis. They came in carriages, wagons, on horseback, and by railroad. At sunrise thirty-three guns were fired. Those who had come to the outskirts of the city the night before now began moving into the city. At 11 a.m. a huge procession of "Wide Awakes", "Rail Maulers", and "Abe's Boys" floats, and county delegations moved eastward on Ohio to Washington and thence to Military park. After assembling at the park speaking commenced at four stands and was kept up the greater part of the afternoon. Thomas Corwin and Benjamin Staunton of Ohio, Frank P. Blair of Missouri, John C. Underwood of Virginia, H. S. Lane, Caleb B. Smith, O. P. Morton and others were the speakers. In the evening occurred a torch-light procession, in which probably five thousand took part. The exercises of the day closed when the Indianapolis "Wide Awakes" awarded "Abe's Boys" of Connersville a banner for having the largest number of uniformed men in line.

<sup>79</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21, 1860; *State Sentinel*, May 16, 17, 18, 19, and 21, 1860.

<sup>80</sup> Julian, *Political Recollections*, 177.

<sup>81</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860.

<sup>82</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 31, 1860.

And so passed away a day and a night, in which were seen more people, a grander display, and more political enthusiasm than was ever before known in the capital of the Hoosier State.<sup>83</sup>

How did the men of the time look upon the Republican party? Caleb Cushing, president of the Charleston convention, said that the Republican party consisted of disjointed fragments of all past or present parties, with discordant opinions on the great questions of the day, as well as with different political antecedents, and having but one common sentiment—hostility of feeling, if not of act and purpose, toward the local institutions of fifteen of the thirty-three States of the Union.<sup>84</sup>

Editor M. C. Garber of the *Madison Courier* said:

If a party is measured according to its principles rather than its organization, the Republican party is the only organization that can go back to the foundation of the government and there find the principles upon which the one rests the key and cornerstone of the other.<sup>85</sup>

Thomas Corwin said that James Monroe, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, William Wirt, Smith Thompson, Washington, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and Madison held that congress could prohibit slavery in the territories.<sup>86</sup> Morton said:

The Republican party has not produced this agitation but has been produced by it; it is the creature rather than the creator, it sprang like a Phoenix from the ashes of decayed parties, not as a sword but as a shield to prevent the invasion and subjugation of all the free territory by the institution of slavery.<sup>87</sup>

William McKee Dunn said:

The repeal of that compromise which gave peace to a distracted country was one of those acts of reckless partisanship characteristic of the Democratic organization. That repeal, and the associated movements to subjugate Kansas to slavery, gave birth to the Republican party.<sup>88</sup>

The Know Nothings, who had played such an important part in the campaign of 1854 and 1856, had almost disap-

<sup>83</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Aug. 30, 1860.

<sup>84</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 6, 1860.

<sup>85</sup> *Madison Dollar Weekly Courier*, Sept. 12, 1860.

<sup>86</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860.

<sup>87</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 16, 1860.

<sup>88</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 13, 1860.

peared. A. H. Davidson called a meeting of the General Committee of the Constitutional Union party to be held April 12, 1860, at Indianapolis. Here it was resolved to support Judge McLean for President and John Bell for Vice-President, or any other conservative men chosen at Baltimore, May 9, 1860. Delegates were selected to attend the national Constitutional Union convention.<sup>89</sup>

The Constitutional Union State convention was held at Indianapolis, August 15, 1860. Not more than 150 were present representing not over one-fourth of the counties of the State.<sup>90</sup> Except R. W. Thompson, William K. Edwards, and Mr. Bowers of Ripley county there were no prominent political men present. A. H. Davidson of Indianapolis presided. R. W. Thompson, of Vigo, addressed the convention, stating that he wanted it understood that he was for Bell and Everett, not Lincoln. Governor Morehead of Kentucky was brought to the platform and made a speech in which he bitterly denounced the Republicans as sectional and eulogized Douglas. He seemed to be full of the Kentucky feeling that the Douglas and Bell men should unite. A state electoral ticket was selected and a resolution passed ratifying the nomination of Bell and Everett and opposing fusion or alliance with any other political party. The meeting was without numbers, enthusiasm, and leaders. It showed that the party was dead. The great body of its members had gone over to the Republicans.<sup>91</sup>

On the night of the convention R. W. Thompson addressed an open meeting at Indianapolis in which he said that the Douglas party was a sectional party. This speech made the Republicans feel that the Americans would never unite with the Douglas people.<sup>92</sup> At Terre Haute he said that the Democrats were the authors of all this mischief and that the present disruption and demoralization of their party was a fair and just reward for their reckless tampering with the peace and welfare of the country. He further stated that none

<sup>89</sup> *New York Times*, April 13, 1860; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 13, 1860.

<sup>90</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

<sup>91</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 16, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 18, 1860; *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1860, and Aug. 22, 1860.

<sup>92</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1860.



could be elected but Lincoln. He feared that if the election should go to congress the House would not be able to elect and the Senate would elect Joseph Lane. "Rather than see this insult brought about, I tell you frankly, I would prefer the election of Lincoln."<sup>93</sup> If the Bell men of the State united with either wing of the Democrats Thompson intended to vote for Lincoln.

I would greatly prefer seeing Mr. Bell elected, but he shall never be elected, with my consent, nor shall any other man, by a bargain with Mr. Douglas or his friends, or Mr. Breckenridge or his friends.<sup>94</sup>

The Bell men realized that they had no chance to carry this State for Bell. That the Bell State Central Committee of Kentucky also thought so was seen by their sending a circular to the Bell men of Indiana advising them to vote for Douglas and make sure of the defeat of Lincoln. According to the committee's notion the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives and Bell would be chosen.<sup>95</sup> R. W. Thompson answered the circular with a reply addressed to the "Conservative Men of Indiana," in which he urged that each State had a right to manage its own domestic affairs without any outside interference. He believed that too much attention was paid by the voter to national politics and not enough to the affairs of the State. Thompson feared that if the election went to the House of Representatives it could not elect and Joseph Lane would become the President of the United States. This would be a triumph of the very disunion element about which the Kentucky State Central Committee were worrying so much. Supporting Douglas would mean the absorption of the Bell men into the Douglas party. He did not see how the Whigs of the Constitutional Union party could be asked to support Hendricks, who had supported the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and thus helped to bring into being the Republican party. Thompson was for H. S. Lane for governor, since his election would revive the spirit of Whiggery for which Thompson had long been laboring. Between Lane and the Bell men there was

<sup>93</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 31, 1860.

<sup>94</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860; Aug. 21, 1860.

<sup>95</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 6, 1860.

but one point of difference—slavery—and upon that question Lane as governor would have no opportunity to do anything since he would have no power outside of Indiana.<sup>96</sup>

James G. Bryant, member of the State Executive Committee of the Constitutional Union party, wrote that an attempt was being made to throw the Bell vote to the Democrats. He thought that the Constitutional Union party was not organized to aid either the Democrats or the Republicans. It was his own opinion that the Bell men ought to support the Republican State ticket or stay away from the State election and that every Bell man should vote for Bell and Everett in November.<sup>97</sup>

Before the day of the October election it was conceded that the majority of the Bell men would vote for the Republican State ticket. Thompson and Edwards were openly against the Democratic party and many other Bell men were for the Republican State ticket, not because they believed in its principles but because of the desire to defeat the Democrats.<sup>98</sup>

When the United States Senate took up the question of seating Bright and Fitch, Douglas voted against them. When Lane and McCarty were voted upon by the United States Senate, Douglas supported them. This was looked upon as the equivalent of a declaration that Bright and Fitch had been elected by fraud. They never forgave Douglas and were from that time on bitter personal enemies of him.<sup>99</sup> In order to insure his defeat in the coming election Bright started a newspaper at Indianapolis called the *Old Line Guard*. This was not looked upon with favor by Indiana Democrats since it was felt that its object was to disrupt the National Democracy of Indiana and carry the State for Lincoln.<sup>100</sup> At this time there were but five out of sixty-nine Democratic newspapers in Indiana that were not supporting Douglas. None of these five newspapers were very hostile to him. Bright thought that he had a chance by starting a newspaper supporting Breckinridge to revenge himself for Douglas' opposition to seating him in the United States Senate.

<sup>96</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 5, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 9, 1860.

<sup>97</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 3, 1860.

<sup>98</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 5, 1860.

<sup>99</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 18, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 22, 1860.

<sup>100</sup> Rockport *Democrat*, July 21, 1860; *New York Times*, July 10, 1860.

Knowing that the Democrats of the State were for Douglas, Bright, Fitch, and James Hughes backed a move for a convention on July 31 to nominate a State ticket. Bright had succeeded in arraying the two factions of the Democratic party in open war against each other.<sup>101</sup>

This did not please the Douglas men who claimed that all that Bright was he owed to the Democratic party organization which had had him elected Senator three times by the votes of men who had hated him. Now he was willing to defeat the will of the Democracy of Indiana by putting a new ticket in the field and electing Lincoln.<sup>102</sup>

What did Bright want the Democrats of Indiana to hold as their political doctrine? Breckinridge in his letter of acceptance said that he represented the view that neither congress nor a territorial legislature could establish or prohibit slavery in any territory, but that it was the duty of the federal government and all its departments to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of all his property in any territory of the United States.<sup>103</sup>

This was in harmony with the view of President Buchanan who, in his message to congress, said, "Neither congress nor a territorial legislature, nor any human power has any authority to annul or impair this vested right."<sup>104</sup> Of Buchanan R. S. Hicks, editor of the Rockport *Democrat*, said that he had changed his position on Popular Sovereignty in 1858 and since then every Democrat who had refused to change with Buchanan was no longer within the Democratic organization. According to Hicks, Buchanan really represented the principle of congressional intervention.<sup>105</sup> In short the Democrats of this State faced the question of whether they favored their old principle of non-intervention or the newer principle of protection of slavery in the territories by the federal government.

At the Breckinridge State convention which met July 31, 1860, at Indianapolis, Jesse D. Bright, John Pettit, Dr. Sher-

<sup>101</sup> New York Times, July 14, 1860.

<sup>102</sup> New Albany Weekly Ledger, July 25, 1860.

<sup>103</sup> Old Line Guard, July 17, 1860.

<sup>104</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 554.

<sup>105</sup> Rockport Democrat, April 16, 1859.

rod, John Eckles, John R. Coffroth, John R. Elder, A. B. Carlton, the editor of the *Old Line Guard*, Senator Fitch, and James Morrison were the most prominent men present. It was decided to put up an electoral ticket but not to nominate a State ticket. A platform was adopted affirming that any citizen had a legal right to take slave property into any territory where it should be protected by congress until statehood was reached. Dr. Sherrod introduced a resolution which provided that the Breckinridge State Central Committee confer with the Douglas State Central Committee with the view of organizing and running a joint electoral ticket which should cast its vote for Breckinridge and Lane or Douglas and Johnson depending upon which had the highest number of electoral votes from the other States.<sup>106</sup>

Although this resolution was passed it was not taken very seriously by the members of the Breckinridge convention. The proposition did not meet with general acceptance although both wings of the Democratic party realized that the chance of defeating Lincoln was lessened by the split in the party. The *Old Line Guard* favored the acceptance of this "Olive Branch," as did the *Democratic Herald*, a Douglas newspaper, which prophesied a terrible defeat for the Democrats unless this compromise were accepted by the Douglas men.<sup>107</sup> The Committee of Five appointed by the Breckinridge State convention to correspond with the Douglas State Central Committee in regard to the proposed joint electoral ticket sent their proposition to this committee. N. B. Palmer, chairman of the Douglas State Central Committee, replied to W. H. Talbott, chairman of the Breckinridge State Central Committee, that the members of the Douglas State Central Committee had no power to act in the matter.<sup>108</sup> The *Paoli Eagle* in commenting upon this action said that the masses of both Douglas and Breckinridge wings desired a joint electoral ticket and would hold these men responsible for the vote of Indiana going for Lincoln.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 1, 1860; *State Sentinel*, Aug. 11, 1860.

<sup>107</sup> *Democratic Herald*, Aug. 9, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, July 26, 1860.

<sup>108</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 22, 1860.

<sup>109</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 1, 1860: The *Paoli Eagle* was one of the few Democratic newspapers favoring the scheme.

At a meeting of the Breckinridge State Central Committee held September 17, at Indianapolis, it was decided that it would be inexpedient to place a national Democratic State ticket in the field.<sup>110</sup> This left the Breckinridge men to support whomever they pleased at the State election in October.

Although the Douglas men had refused to unite with their brethren, the Breckinridge Democrats, in a joint electoral ticket, they courted the American vote assiduously.<sup>111</sup> Joint electoral tickets had been formed in New York, Georgia, and Kentucky. The *Sentinel* approved these joint tickets and would have been glad to see such a ticket in this State. This was quite a contrast from the position taken by the *Sentinel* in 1854 and 1855 in regard to the Know Nothings. At that time the *Sentinel* designated the Know Nothings as infamous, outlaws, murderers, proscriptive, and miserable shams.<sup>112</sup> The Breckinridge Democrats declared that they would not vote for the Democratic State ticket believing that political power and patronage would be divided between the Douglas men and "their allies", the Know Nothings.<sup>113</sup> There was some soreness among the Breckinridge men because of the refusal of the Douglas people to form a joint electoral ticket.

Although the Douglas State Central Committee had refused to consider the joint electoral proposition the *Old Line Guard* kept on urging the Douglas men to unite with them on the proposition.<sup>114</sup> At Evansville the friends of Douglas and Breckinridge held a meeting and urged the selection of a joint electoral ticket which should vote for the one receiving the highest vote in the Union, provided that if neither could be elected the electors were to vote their individual preferences so as to defeat Lincoln.<sup>115</sup> The *Franklin Herald* said:

If this be not done Mr. Lincoln stands a very sure chance to get Indiana next November and the Democracy alone will be to blame. And we know that nineteen-twentieths of the Democrats of Johnson county hold the same views. What is there obnoxious in fusing with the Breckinridge men when we are openly courting favor with the Know Nothings?<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 20, 1860.

<sup>111</sup> W. H. Talbott said that Douglas' friends were busily engaged in forming coalitions with the Know Nothings and that these coalitions were approved by nearly all of the Douglas papers in Indiana.

<sup>112</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 22, 1860.

<sup>113</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 20, 1860.

<sup>114</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 11, 1860.

<sup>115</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 18, 1860.

<sup>116</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 25, 1860.

The *Democratic Herald* wanted to know what objection there could be to fusing with the Breckinridge men—members of our own household—when we were courting favor with the Know Nothings?<sup>117</sup> A. B. Carlton wrote from Bloomington that the proposition did not take there. Many had expressed themselves in favor of voting for Lincoln if a joint electoral ticket were selected. Carlton thought that this scheme, if carried out, would drive all the original Douglas men to Lincoln.<sup>118</sup>

It was soon seen that Indiana would be carried by Lincoln or Douglas. To vote for Breckinridge and Lane was looked upon as strengthening Lincoln's chance of success. As the *Democratic Herald* stated, "It is Mr. Douglas and Democracy, or Mr. Lincoln and Republicanism. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve."<sup>119</sup> Senator Bright said:

If I were to tell you that I believe that we are going to carry the State, I should tell you that which I don't believe. \* \* \* Let the breach be as wide as possible between us; and let the sound and rotten men of the Democratic party be separated.<sup>120</sup>

Although the Breckinridge men realized that they could not carry the State they believed that the Democracy of Indiana thought that Breckinridge and Lane occupied the correct position, but in order to defeat the "Woollys" they would have to vote for Douglas.<sup>121</sup>

The feeling of the Breckinridge men toward Douglas and his supporters was one of hostility. In some counties of the State they refused to go into the Douglas conventions.<sup>122</sup> To them the Douglas wing of the party was the seceding wing. They argued that Douglas was nominated by States not one of which could give him an electoral vote.<sup>123</sup> Many of them looked upon the Douglas men as a wing of the Republican party.<sup>124</sup> It was argued that the Douglas men should vote

<sup>117</sup> *Democratic Herald*, Oct. 18, 1860.

<sup>118</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 20, 1860.

<sup>119</sup> *Democratic Herald*, July 12, 1860.

<sup>120</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1860.

<sup>121</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 22, 1860.

<sup>122</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

<sup>123</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

<sup>124</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 16, 1860.

with the Republicans, since both wanted to stop the spread of slavery. Douglas favored doing so by "unfriendly legislation" and the Republicans by congressional prohibition.<sup>125</sup> To a Breckinridge Democrat "Douglasism" was the halfway house to Republicanism, with which nine-tenths of the Douglas party were in full sympathy. W. H. Talbott, chairman of the Breckinridge State Central Committee, said:

We cannot perceive any political difference in the positions taken by Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas on this question so far as the rights and interests of the slave States are concerned. Mr. Lincoln believes that congress can abolish slavery in the territory while Douglas believes that the territorial legislature can do so by "unfriendly legislation."<sup>126</sup>

Both views were hostile to the equality of States, which was the main contention of the Breckinridge men. Like the Republican party, the Douglas party had no strength in the slave-holding States and was therefore considered sectional.<sup>127</sup>

The attitude of the three candidates for the Presidency toward the power of congress over slavery in the Territories was well explained by the Rockport *Herald*:

Lincoln: If they want the institution congress should prevent them from having it.

Breckinridge: If they prohibit the institution congress should force it upon them.

Douglas: Congress should not meddle with their decision one way or another.<sup>128</sup>

What did the State election of 1860 mean? If the Republican State ticket were defeated the Democrats believed that all danger of a sectional President would be at an end.<sup>129</sup> They believed that the Republican party would no longer survive if defeated in the coming elections. It was said by the Democrats that the leaders of the Republican party had gone into it because they thought that it would be successful and that a defeat at this time would cause its leaders to leave the party and kill it.<sup>130</sup> The Republicans thought that the elec-

<sup>125</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 18, 1860; *Old Line Guard*, Aug. 4, 1860.

<sup>126</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Oct. 18, 1860.

<sup>127</sup> Madison *Dollar Weekly Courier*, Nov. 2, 1859.

<sup>128</sup> Rockport *Democrat*, Sept. 29, 1860.

<sup>129</sup> Rockport *Democrat*, July 6, 1860, quoting the Louisville *Journal*.

<sup>130</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Oct. 2 and 3, 1860.

tion of Lane for governor would indicate the election of Lincoln in November. If Lane were defeated Lincoln might be elected, since the Breckinridge men who supported Hendricks would not support Douglas.<sup>131</sup>

Would the South secede if Lincoln were elected in November? It seemed to have been consensus of opinion in Indiana that his election would cause the South to leave the Union. The *Democratic Herald* thought that the election of a Democratic President was necessary for the perpetuation of the Union.<sup>132</sup> The *Sentinel* said that secession would follow the election of Lincoln unless congress were conservative.<sup>133</sup> If it came to this issue the editor of the *Journal*, B. R. Sulgrove, was for parting with the South in peace.<sup>134</sup> The *Journal* thought that the best policy would be to let the South depart in peace. In the fierce struggle in the world between despotism and liberty the South would soon be glad to come back into the Union.<sup>135</sup> If the Southerners could understand that the Union was worth more to them than they were to it, the last shriek of disunion would be over.<sup>136</sup> It seemed that the only terms on which the Southerners were willing to stay in the Union was the placing of the powers of the government in the hands of the South, in order that no interference with slave property be attempted.<sup>137</sup> In the eyes of the Democrats the Republican party had but one purpose—dissolution of the Union.<sup>138</sup>

As in previous campaigns, the German vote was appealed to by both Democrats and Republicans. It was early realized by the Republicans that Indiana could not be carried without the German vote.<sup>139</sup> Schurz thought that 10,000 German votes formerly controlled by the Democrats could now be turned to the Republicans.<sup>140</sup> This was easier to do than it was in 1856, since there was no temperance issue in the con-

<sup>131</sup> New York Times, Sept. 19, 1860.

<sup>132</sup> Democratic Herald, Dec. 22, 1859.

<sup>133</sup> State Sentinel, November 2, 1860.

<sup>134</sup> State Sentinel, Nov. 7, 1860.

<sup>135</sup> Indianapolis Daily Journal, Aug. 17, 1860.

<sup>136</sup> Indianapolis Daily Journal, Oct. 31, 1860.

<sup>137</sup> Indianapolis Daily Journal, Oct. 30, 1860.

<sup>138</sup> Rockport Democrat, Oct. 20, 1860.

<sup>139</sup> Carl Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, Political Papers*, I, 43.

<sup>140</sup> Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence, Political Papers*, Vol. I.



test and the Republicans had given up the purpose of securing a Maine law. Reports from the counties in which there was a considerable German population indicated a steady change to the Republicans.<sup>141</sup> From these German communities came demands for German speakers.<sup>142</sup> Carl Schurz, Charles Coulton, Fred Hassaurek of Cincinnati, and Albert Lange delivered speeches in German during the campaign. All the German newspapers in Indiana were for Lincoln, but the *Volksblatt* of Indianapolis, which supported Douglas.<sup>143</sup> This was in strong contrast to 1856, when the *Freie Presse* of Indianapolis was the only German newspaper supporting the Republican party.<sup>144</sup> The Democrats appealed to the Germans not to support Lincoln, since it was the intention of the Republicans to free the negro, who would then come north to compete with the Irish and German immigrants.<sup>145</sup>

Early in the campaign the Republicans began perfecting their organization. They planned a perfect canvass of the State, aiming to get a complete record of the voters in each township and to canvass thoroughly the doubtful voters. In the work of organization the Republicans were considerably ahead of the Democrats in this campaign.<sup>146</sup> At the ratification meeting, August 29, 1860, it was resolved that a meeting be held during the third week of September in every township of the State and that county committees arrange the time of meetings, places, and speakers.<sup>147</sup> The Douglas Democratic State Central Committee recognized the value of this plan by recommending that on Thursday, September 20, 1860, each township should meet and organize for the purpose of getting out the full vote.<sup>148</sup> While victory seemed certain because of the split in the Democratic party, the Republican leaders

<sup>141</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 11, 1860; Aug. 26, Sept. 13, Sept. 29, July 7, Sept. 25, 1860.

<sup>142</sup> New York *Times*, Aug. 22, 1860.

<sup>143</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 4, 1860. The German Newspapers were the Indianapolis *Freie Presse*, the Evansville *Volksbote*, the Terre Haute *Zeitung*, the Tell City *Helvetia*, the LaPorte *Freie Blatter*, the Lafayette *Post*, and the Indianapolis *Volksblatt*.

<sup>144</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 30, 1860.

<sup>145</sup> New Albany *Daily Ledger*, Oct. 29, 1860.

<sup>146</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 19, 1860.

<sup>147</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, June 19, 1860.

<sup>148</sup> Democratic *Herald*, Sept. 6, 1860.

feared that overconfidence might mean defeat. John D. De-frees thought that the Republican party should be completely organized even to the districts. If this were done he was confident of victory.<sup>149</sup>

All over the State "Young Republican" clubs sprang up, whose purpose was to spread the tenets of the party. Usually a hall was hired where speeches were heard and literature was distributed. These clubs became the center of the activities of the party in their particular communities.<sup>150</sup> Many of the Republican county conventions had recommended that these clubs be formed.<sup>151</sup>

A prominent part was played in the campaign by the "Rail Maulers" and the "Wide Awakes". The "Rail Maulers" appeared in the Republican procession in red shirts, black pantaloons, drab hats, and carried mauls.<sup>152</sup> Lincoln "Wide Awakes" were organized at Indianapolis and many other towns in the State for the purpose of acting as a political police; to escort all prominent political speakers who visit the city to address the citizens in favor of Lincoln and Hamlin; to attend public meetings in a body and see that order was preserved and the speaker not disturbed.<sup>153</sup> Each "Wide Awake" carried a thin smooth rail, surmounted with a tin swinging lamp so arranged that the lamp could be held in any position without spilling the oil. A small American flag, bearing the names of Lincoln and Hamlin, was fastened on the rail just below the lamp. The uniform consisted of a black, drab, or silver gray cape, made of enameled cloth, reaching below the waist, and a military cap of the same material. Officers wore cape overcoats of the same material. The primary purpose of the organization was the election of Lincoln and Hamlin to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, according to the laws and constitution of the country.

<sup>149</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, July 26, 1860.

<sup>150</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Jan. 23, Feb. 2, and March 20, 1860.

<sup>151</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Sept. 5, 1860, stated that in 1856 Fremont got 17 votes while today there were 197 members of the Lincoln Club and many Republicans who were not members of the Club.

<sup>152</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1860.

<sup>153</sup> *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, July 9, 1860. This reference gives the constitution of the Lincoln "Wide Awakes" of Indianapolis.

The southern Democrats declared the "Wide Awakes", although organized as an aid to the Republican party, were an army in disguise, whose sole purpose was the invasion of the South and the freeing of the negro. The northern Democrats declared that its purpose was the keeping of Democratic voters away from the polls.<sup>154</sup> The presence of the "Wide Awakes" at Republican meetings resulted occasionally in small riots. Democrats liked to taunt them by calling them "nigger thieves", "Abolitionists", "John Brownites", and "Os-sawatomies".<sup>155</sup>

During the campaign Douglas traveled over the country on an election tour. With the exception of General Scott in 1852, Douglas was the first man to make such a tour. In his letter of acceptance he pledged himself to accept the decisions of the supreme court. In his speech at Indianapolis in September he said that there was no recourse for a territory if the supreme court should decide that a territorial legislature must protect slavery. Douglas, who had stood for "Let the people rule", was now standing for "Let the people rule if the supreme court will let them".<sup>156</sup>

Cassius M. Clay's speech at Frankfort, Kentucky; Carl Schurz's speech at Springfield, Massachusetts; Seward's speech, February 29, 1860, in the United States Senate; O. P. Morton's *Terre Haute* speech, March 10, 1860; G. A. Grow's speech in the house of representatives on February 29, 1860; and *Political Sovereignty*, an essay by John B. Dillon were political pamphlets widely circulated by the Republicans during this campaign. C. M. Clay, Will Cumbach, H. S. Lane, C. B. Smith, O. P. Morton, P. A. Hackleman, J. S. Harvey, Carl Schurz, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, J. C. Underwood of Virginia, Charles Coulon, Frank Blair of Missouri, Dr. Reinhold Sulzer of New York City, Joseph M. Root of Ohio, ex-Governor Bobb of Kentucky, C. M. Case and A. J. Harlan were the principal Republican speakers. Fitch, Bright, W. H. English, and James Morrison were the principal Breckinridge speakers.

What were the Republicans fighting for and against?

<sup>154</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 24, 1860.

<sup>155</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Aug. 28, 1860; Oct. 24, 1860.

<sup>156</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Sept. 21; Oct. 1, 1860.

Their speakers represented that they fought for free homes for the homeless; for the laborer against the aristocrat; for a Pacific railroad; to bring the government back to the purity of the fathers; for the extension of freedom; for the preservation of the Union; for the principles of Washington, Jefferson and Madison; to put "Old Abe" in the chair; against a slave code for the territories; against Squatter Sovereignty; and against the sin of polygamy.<sup>157</sup> On the third of October, 1860, Oliver P. Morton at Indianapolis said that the main point of the Republican creed was the keeping of the territories free for freeman and protecting free labor against slave labor.<sup>158</sup>

The State election occurred October 8, 1860. The Republicans carried the State by about 10,000 majority. Lane defeated Hendricks by a vote of 136,725 to 126,968, while Morton received 136,470 votes to Turpie's 126,297. These figures showed that Lane had 255 votes more than Morton. Lane's majority was 9,757, while Morton's was 10,178. These figures do not bear out the thought of the Republicans in putting Lane at the head of the ticket. Had Morton been nominated for governor it is very probable that he would have made as good if not a better race than Lane did.<sup>159</sup>

The Republicans elected seven congressmen to four by the Democrats. The following men were elected:

First district, John Law, Democrat; Second district, John A. Cravens, Democrat; Third district, William M. Dunn, Republican; Fourth district, W. S. Holman, Democrat; Fifth district, George W. Julian, Republican; Sixth district, Albert G. Porter, Republican; Seventh district, D. W. Vorhees, Democrat; Eighth district, Albert S. White, Republican; Ninth district, Schuyler Colfax, Republican; Tenth district, William Mitchell, Republican; Eleventh district, John P. C. Shanks, Republican.<sup>160</sup>

#### The Legislature was as follows:

Republican senators holding over-----	11
Republican senators elected-----	17
	—
Total -----	28

<sup>157</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, July 3, 1860.

<sup>158</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 4, 1860.

<sup>159</sup> *State Sentinel*, Dec. 13, 1860. Abstract of the October and November votes.

<sup>160</sup> Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 18, 1860.

Democratic senators holding over.....	14
Democratic senators elected.....	8
—	—
Total .....	22
Republican representatives.....	62
Democratic representatives.....	38
Republican majority in the Senate.....	6
Republican majority in the House.....	24
—	—
Total majority.....	30

In the State election the Know Nothings probably supported the Republican ticket.<sup>161</sup> The Breckinridge men generally voted the Republican ticket. This was attributed to the personal hatred of Douglas by Bright and Fitch, whom the *Sentinel* charges with disregarding the obligations of party duty.<sup>162</sup> The Douglas State Central Committee issued an address stating that Bright and Fitch showed a determination to destroy the party in Indiana or bend it to their will. The address further stated that the Republicans were better organized than the Democrats.<sup>163</sup>

Before the election in November the Democrats realized that Lincoln would be elected unless the Breckinridge and Bell men supported their candidates.<sup>164</sup> To make sure of Lincoln's defeat the *Sentinel* proposed that a mass-meeting of all opponents of Lincoln meet at Indianapolis to select an electoral ticket. Nothing was done on this proposition.<sup>165</sup>

At the election, held November 8, 1860, Lincoln received 139,033 votes, Douglas 115,509, Breckinridge 12,294, and Bell 5,306. Lincoln had a majority of 5,906 and a plurality of 23,524 over Douglas. He had 2,308 votes more than Lane.<sup>166</sup>

The causes of the Democratic defeat were, (1) the making of Buchanan's Kansan policy the test of Democracy, (2) the war of Buchanan and his friends upon Douglas, (3) the attempt of the South to force upon the North the principle of congressional protection of slavery, which was in contradic-

<sup>161</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 25, 1860.

<sup>162</sup> *Old Line Guard*, Sept. 30, 1860; *Sentinel*, Oct. 11, 1860.

<sup>163</sup> *New Albany Daily Ledger*, Oct. 23, 1860.

<sup>164</sup> *State Sentinel*, Oct. 15, 1860.

<sup>165</sup> *State Sentinel*, Oct. 13, 1860.

<sup>166</sup> *State Sentinel*, Dec. 13, 1860.

tion to the principle of non-intervention, (4) the secession of the Breckinridge and Lane men.<sup>167</sup>

Moved by two great moral forces—opposition to the further extension of slavery and the demand for a Maine law—the opponents of the Democratic party in Indiana formed the People's party. With the aid of the Know Nothings who generally supported the People's and Republican parties they succeeded in carrying the election of 1854. By 1856 the People's party had gone from the position of demanding the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line to the principle of "No more Slave States". During this and the previous campaign the members of the People's party called themselves Republicans, but they did not dare to call their organization by that name. At this time the party was not completely organized, especially in southern Indiana. The defeat in the elections of 1856 did not discourage the members of the new party. In 1857 and 1858 they strengthened their party organization and succeeded in 1858 in electing eight congressmen, although losing the State election. By this time the Know Nothings no longer controlled the new party. During this campaign the Lecompton question was the leading issue and the Republicans of Indiana came perilously near to the Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Douglas. In 1860 they went into the canvass with an organization much more complete than before and on the issue of opposition to the further spread of slavery carried Indiana for Lincoln.

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