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Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860 *

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In view of the present movement to provide a memorial to Abraham Lincoln and his mother in Indiana, it would seem an appropriate time to recall the part taken by this State in the nomination of Lincoln for the presidency thirty years after he crossed the Wabash to the prairies of Illinois.

The political importance of the Old Northwest in 1860 was without doubt a factor which carried much weight in the selection of the Republican candidate for president. "It should be well understood," wrote a correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* early in May, 1860, "that there is a West lying upon the borders of the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley."¹ This section with its fifty-eight electoral votes, more than the combined electoral votes of the New England states, was indeed one which could not be ignored.

The position of Indiana in the Old Northwest and in the nation was, from a political standpoint, relatively of greater importance than it is today. With an electoral vote of thirteen and, consequently, with twenty-six votes in the Republican National Convention, Indiana ranked second among the States of the Old Northwest, being exceeded only by Ohio. She ranked fifth in this respect among the States of the Union, possessing the same number of electoral votes as Massachusetts. When we read the statement of one of the Indiana delegates at Chicago, "they are suing us and wooing us," it is not difficult to understand why. They were well worth the suing and the wooing.²

* Read before the American Historical Association meeting, Indianapolis, December 28, 1928.

¹ *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1860.

² *Ibid.*, May 16, 1860.

In the four preceding presidential elections, the electoral vote of the State had been given to the Democratic candidates. In 1856, Fremont carried Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, but failed to carry Indiana and Illinois. The Republican Party might reasonably count, in 1860, upon carrying the same three States in the Old Northwest and the eight other Fremont States of 1856. Forty additional electoral votes were needed to win the election. These must come largely from those doubtful states, of which Indiana was one, that had returned Buchanan majorities four years before. It was pointed out that the electoral votes of Indiana and Pennsylvania would, if secured, give exactly the number needed. If Pennsylvania should be won by the Democrats, then the votes of Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, California, Kansas (if admitted in time), and Oregon would be required by the Republicans in order to win.³ Hence it became important to nominate a candidate acceptable to the doubtful states. It was this fact which rendered the position of Indiana a strategic one in 1860. Lincoln recognized this after his nomination. "We might succeed in the general results without Indiana," he wrote Caleb Smith, "but with it failure is scarcely possible."⁴ Others were fully aware of the same thing before the candidates were named, and therein lies the reason for the readiness to listen to the wishes of the State in the matter of the nomination.

The *Daily Atlas*, a newspaper edited in Indianapolis by John D. Defrees, in 1859 and the early part of 1860, declared as early as November, 1859: "It is conceded that Indiana must be carried next year to render the election of a Republican President beyond a contingency. It may possibly be accomplished without her vote, but with it success may be regarded as certain."⁵

The *Boston Daily Atlas* went even farther. "There are four free states which cannot be considered sure for the Republican candidate in 1860. They are New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. Now we would be almost willing to let the delegates from those four states nominate the candidate."⁶

³ *Indianapolis Daily Atlas*, August 27, 1859.

⁴ John J. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1894) Vol. VI, p. 48.

⁵ *Daily Atlas*, November 9, 1859.

⁶ Quoted in the *Daily Atlas*, September 2, 1859.

The choice of Chicago as the Convention City, in December, 1859, from among eleven claimants for the honor was well received in Indiana, even though Indianapolis tried to obtain it.⁷ Prior to the assembling of this historic gathering in May, 1860, there was the usual discussion of candidates. Perhaps never before had this been more earnest or the interest more widespread. In Indiana, the particular form which it assumed was conditioned by the character of the Republicanism which had rooted itself in the State. Here, in its leadership, in its platform pronouncements, and in the smallness of the abolitionist element, the party was characterized by a greater conservatism than elsewhere in the Northwest.⁸ The outstanding leader of the party in Indiana was Henry S. Lane, nominee for governor in 1860, a Kentuckian by birth, a former Whig, and a great admirer of Henry Clay, whose name he declared had been inscribed upon his banner ever since he entered Indiana politics.⁹ In advocating the non-extension of slavery and at the same time the non-interference with the institution in the States where it existed, Lane represented the view of the rank and file of the party in Indiana.

The two candidates identified with the more radical wing of the party, Chase and Seward, received little support in the State. George W. Julian favored the former, with the latter as his second choice, but Julian represented only a small minority of the Republican voters of Indiana.¹⁰ Furthermore, Seward's antagonism toward the Know-Nothing or American Party weakened him in the State. This element, which had cast more than twenty-two thousands votes for Fillmore in 1856, almost held the balance of power in Indiana. If the Republicans hoped to achieve success in 1860 this group must be won over.¹¹

The candidates receiving the most favorable consideration in the State in this pre-convention discussion were Edward Bates of Missouri, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Judge McLean of Ohio. Of these, Bates appeared to be the favorite. A Virginian by birth, a Whig in politics, a former slave holder who had freed his slaves, an opponent of slavery agi-

⁷ *Wabash Express* (Terre Haute) December 28, 1859.

⁸ Walter Rice Sharp, "Henry S. Lane," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 95-96; 98-99.

⁹ *Weekly Western Sun* (Vincennes), April 28, 1860.

¹⁰ Grace Julian Clarke, *George W. Julian* (Indianapolis, 1923), p. 204.

¹¹ Carl F. Brand, *The History of the Know-Nothing Party in Indiana* (Bloomington, 1916), pp. 165-170. (Master's thesis, type-written, in Indiana University Library).

tation, which he declared had never done any good to any party, section or class, he appealed to conservative Republicans in Indiana.¹² Some fifteen newspapers were reported as favorable to the candidacy of Bates.¹³ These papers were widely scattered throughout the State from the southern border to the northern border. John D. Defrees, editor of the *Daily Atlas*, was a supporter of Bates, who was likewise favored by Schuyler Colfax, editor of the *St. Joseph Register*. Colfax believed that if Seward were nominated "we shall go forward to a defeat as inevitable as election day." On the other hand he believed success to be certain with Bates.¹⁴

The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* had a good word for Judge John McLean and also for Abraham Lincoln. An editorial appearing a few weeks before the meeting of the Chicago Convention ran as follows: "Judge McLean of Ohio and Mr. Lincoln of Illinois present a strong claim on the attention of the Republican Convention. Next to Judge McLean we believe Abraham Lincoln of Illinois presents the best combination of qualities as a candidate and officer."¹⁵

A short time later the *Journal* advised that "if Lincoln should prove the safest candidate, let us take him,

Take a Republican whom [*sic*] we know can secure the indifferent anti-slavery feeling."¹⁶

The writer has been unable to find any newspaper in Indiana that came out more strongly for Lincoln than the *Journal* in the foregoing statement. That he had friends in Indiana is well known. The Lincoln-Douglas debates had attracted widespread attention in the State, and Hoosiers had attended some of them in considerable numbers, especially the one at Charleston, where an Indiana band led the Lincoln parade.¹⁷ Lincoln had been well received on the occasion of his visit to Indianapolis in September, 1859, when he delivered a two hour address on the political issues of the day. There was much in common between Lincoln and the conservative leaders of the Republican Party in Indiana. He, like Lane, had been an ardent supporter of Henry Clay in former days. His views on the slavery question did not antagonize the more conservative

¹² D. W. Bartlett, *Presidential Candidates* (New York, 1859), p. 121.

¹³ *Madison Daily Courier*, February 21, 1860.

¹⁴ O. J. Hollister, *Life of Colfax* (New York, 1886), pp. 148-144.

¹⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, April 19, 1860.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 26, 1860.

¹⁷ Edwin E. Sparks, (Editor), *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III, p. 267.

members of the party. The Bates men in Indiana could consistently vote for the man who had himself declared to his friend, O. H. Browning, that he might "be right in supposing Mr. Bates as the strongest and best man we can run."¹⁸ In short there was nothing to prevent Indiana Republicans from giving their support to the former Hoosier resident in case he should prove to be the most available candidate.

The twenty-six delegates chosen to the Chicago Convention from Indiana were uninstructed. They were unpledged to any candidate. They went "open to persuasion,"¹⁹ and, in a few cases at least, if we may believe their statements, without personal preference.²⁰ The four delegates at large, William T. Otto of New Albany, Daniel D. Pratt of Logansport, Caleb B. Smith of Indianapolis, and P. A. Hackelman of Rushville were selected by the Republican State Convention which met at Indianapolis on February 22, 1860. The district delegates, chosen previously by district conventions, were announced at the same time.

No evidence has been discovered that the Illinois leaders put forth any efforts to win the Indiana delegates for Lincoln before their arrival in Chicago, shortly before the time for the meeting of the convention, though it is possible that they may have done so. Two weeks before the convention Lincoln wrote to a friend in Ohio: "It is represented to me by men who ought to know that the whole of Indiana might not be difficult to get. . . . I believe you personally know C. M. Allen of Vincennes, Indiana. He is a delegate and has notified me that the entire Indiana delegation will be in Chicago the same day you name, Saturday, the 12th."²¹ As a matter of fact, the day before this letter was written, Lincoln had written to C. M. Allen: "Our friend Dubois and Judge David Davis of Bloomington, one or both will meet you at Chicago, on the 12th. If you let Usher and Griswold of Terre Haute know, I think they will coöperate with you."²² John P. Usher and W. D. Griswold, it might be explained, were law partners in Terre Haute. The former had ridden the circuit with Lincoln in Illinois and was a close friend. In 1863, he became Lincoln's Secretary of the

¹⁸ *Diary of O. H. Browning*, Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 395.

¹⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1860.

²⁰ *Madison Daily Courier*, February 24, 1860.

²¹ Gilbert A. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln*, (Boston, 1917), p. 146.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Interior. The letters quoted above indicate that Lincoln was particularly anxious to win the Indiana delegates.

The regular delegates formed but a small part of the number who turned their faces toward the convention city as the opening day approached. Every train out of Indianapolis for Chicago, we are told, was filled. If these newspaper reports may be relied upon, there must have been hundreds of Hoosiers among the great throngs that paced the board sidewalks of the lusty young city beside the Lake. What scenes greeted them! Everywhere, says an eye witness, there were pictures of Lincoln and everywhere there were flags "which glimmered in the fitful light of omnibus lamps and the distant radiance of street lights like stripes on a glow worm's back."²³

Henry S. Lane was among the early arrivals. He had presided at the Philadelphia convention four years before. Known far and wide as an orator of first rank, he was selected to deliver one of the principal addresses at the dedication of the Wigwam on Saturday night preceding the week of the convention.

The Illinois leaders, with Judge David Davis at their head, from the Lincoln headquarters in the Tremont House, directed their efforts at the outset toward winning the Indiana delegates. With no candidate of their own, the Indiana men were in a less embarrassing position than certain other states, like Pennsylvania with Cameron, and New Jersey with Dayton. These delegates were just as desirous as was the Hoosier delegation to see Seward defeated. The statements are somewhat conflicting as to when the Hoosiers were definitely won over to Lincoln. Leonard Swett declared shortly after the convention adjourned: "She [Indiana] was about equally divided between Bates and McLean. Saturday, Sunday, and Monday were spent upon her, when she came to us unitedly with twenty-six votes, and from that time acted efficiently with us."²⁴ Swett was evidently mistaken about the matter. An informal vote taken on Monday, following a full expression of opinion participated in by the delegates and other citizens from Indiana, stood one each for Seward and Chase, four or five for McLean and the remainder about equally divided between Bates and Lincoln. However, the person reporting the meet-

²³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 16, 1860.

²⁴ O. H. Oldroyd, *Lincoln's Campaign* (Chicago, 1896), p. 71.

ing, added, "there is no doubt but Lincoln will be the choice of a majority if not all of our delegates."²⁵

On Tuesday the Chicago correspondent of the *Indianapolis Daily Journal* wrote: "Illinois is for Lincoln always and all the time. Indiana leans in the same direction. At a caucus of delegates this noon the expression was in the main for Lincoln. But our men are not hidebound. They will support any man who is sound and reliable and has a decent show of strength. There is a decided effort for Mr. Bates and I think it is stronger than anybody could have suspected."²⁶

Later the same day, this correspondent wrote: "The Bates movement has pretty nearly run its course. I think the consultations and comparisons of today have shown that he cannot be nominated . . . McLean may come up as the only one upon whom Indiana and Pennsylvania can agree, but that is his sole chance. The opposition to Seward, which yesterday manifested some disposition to concentrate on Lincoln, has gathered closer and more compactly today, and now I think he is the strongest man next to Seward. Our delegation had two long sessions today in the city court room, and an informal ballot taken at the close of the last showed that Lincoln had a majority though there is no preference for him that would make them stand out against the honest representations of other states."²⁷

Another report of the same day had Indiana mostly for Bates.²⁸ Still another declared that Lincoln threatened Bates in this State and that the delegates were vacillating between Bates and Lincoln.²⁹ On Wednesday, the sixteenth, the day the convention opened, Indiana was still reported as divided between Bates and Lincoln, with a majority for the latter.³⁰ Gustave Koerner, one of the Illinois delegates at large, says that on Thursday morning, the seventeenth, while he was working as one of the sub-committee of seven on the platform, word came that the Pennsylvania and Indiana delegates were in consultation at the court house, and that Frank Blair, the Missouri delegate who was the manager for Bates, was making a speech for the latter at this meeting. Koerner and O. H.

²⁵ *Wabash Express* (Terre Haute), May 16, 1860.

²⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 16, 1860.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1860.

²⁸ *New York Times*, May 16, 1860.

²⁹ *New York Tribune*, May 16, 1860.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1860.

Browning were immediately dispatched to counteract the movement. Koerner obtained the floor as soon as he could, declaring that Bates might secure the German votes of St. Louis, but that if nominated he would not get the votes of German Republicans anywhere else. Browning followed with an eloquent appeal to Whig sentiment, emphasizing the fact that Lincoln had been a Whig and certainly ought to satisfy those who still adhered to Whig principles in Pennsylvania and Indiana. "The delegates then held a secret session," Koerner asserts, "and we soon learned that Indiana would go for Lincoln at the start, and that a large majority of the Pennsylvanians had agreed to vote for him for their second choice."³¹

Apparently, therefore, the Indiana delegates were definitely won over by Thursday evening. In the conferences of that night, Indiana took a leading part. Henry S. Lane was seen at one o'clock, pale and haggard, walking as if for a wager, from one caucus to another at the Tremont house. His plea was that the nomination of Seward would be followed by certain defeat in Indiana.³² Andrew G. Curtain, the Republican nominee for governor of Pennsylvania, expressed himself in the same manner. The attitude of the Pennsylvania delegates was uncertain, however, until a caucus on Friday morning after the first ballot had been taken.³³

Of more importance than the question of when the Indiana delegates were won for Lincoln is that of how they were won. It has been stated again and again that it was the promise of a Cabinet position to Caleb B. Smith that finally secured their support. Charles Gibson, one of the leading Bates supporters of 1860, said in later years: "We had nearly all Indiana and a large portion of the Pennsylvania delegation. Davis, Swett, and others acting for Mr. Lincoln bought our votes in those states by agreeing to give Simon Cameron and Caleb B. Smith cabinet positions. Thurlow Weed controlled Seward's votes absolutely, and had agreed with me that if Seward was not nominated that morning he would combine on Bates and nom-

³¹ *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner* (Cedar Rapids, 1909), Vol. II, pp. 87-89.

³² Murat Halstead, *A History of the National Political Conventions* (Columbus, 1860), p. 142.

³³ Frank B. Carpenter, "How Lincoln was nominated", in *Century Magazine*, Vol. II (n. s.), pp. 857-858.

inate him. But for votes purchased from Bates, Lincoln could not have been nominated."⁸⁴

If this be true, it was a case of the theft of a nomination, a great steal. The thing that won the Indiana delegation, however, was not the offer of a Cabinet position, but rather the cogent arguments of the Illinois leaders that Abraham Lincoln, a former resident of southern Indiana, was the best man for the opposition to unite on, that he, better than any other candidate, would get the southern Whig vote in the State. The Lincoln atmosphere, to which the delegates were constantly subjected in Chicago, doubtless helped. Had the convention been held in St. Louis, which lost it by only one vote, and had Bates possessed as able leaders as Lincoln to look after his interests, it is probable that the Indiana delegates would have been won for Bates, and that the latter would have been the nominee.

There seems no doubt that Caleb B. Smith was promised a cabinet position. In fact, Judge Davis admitted later that such a pledge was made. Judge William T. Otto, one of the Indiana delegates at large, is authority for the statement that Caleb B. Smith made Judge Davis believe that he must be promised a position in the Cabinet in order to secure the support of the Indiana delegates. Whereas, the facts of the case were, according to Judge Otto, that after looking over the ground at Chicago, they decided to go for Lincoln and cared nothing for Smith obtaining a position in the Cabinet.⁸⁵

The climax of the great drama came on Friday morning. On that memorable day, Indiana played a conspicuous rôle. The nomination of Abraham Lincoln was seconded by Caleb B. Smith in behalf of the Indiana delegates. This was the signal for a demonstration which has few equals in convention history. Henry S. Lane is reported to have leaped upon a table and swaying hat and cane to have performed like an acrobat. When the balloting started, Indiana's twenty-six votes were cast for Lincoln. Only one other state gave him its entire vote on the first ballot. That was Illinois whose twenty-two delegates were under instructions to vote as a unit

⁸⁴ Charles Gibson, "Edward Bates," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections* (1900), Vol. 2, p. 55.

⁸⁵ Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Q. Gresham* (Chicago, 1919), Vol. I, pp. 110-111. In regard to Smith's dealings with Judge Davis, Mrs. Gresham says: "That the pledge was made, I have heard from Judge Davis's own lips. That it was kept, everybody knows, for Caleb B. Smith became the first Secretary of the Interior in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet". *Ibid.*, I, 111.

for the Illinois candidate. Otherwise, it is doubtful if the entire vote of Lincoln's own State would have been so cast. The Seward men in the Decatur convention had strenuously resisted instructions. Fully one-third of the Illinois delegates, it is said, would gladly have gone for the New York man.³⁶ The united support of the Indiana delegates produced a more marked effect on the convention. On the second ballot, on the third and on the last, the same twenty-six votes from Indiana were given to Lincoln.

Addressing the convention shortly after the nomination, Caleb B. Smith drew a picture which doubtless struck a responsive cord in the hearts of all Hoosiers present in the Wigwam that morning. "Thirty years ago," he declared, "on the Southern frontier of Indiana might have been seen a humble, ragged boy, barefooted, driving his oxen through the hills." In explaining the efforts of the Indiana delegates in behalf of this former resident of Indiana, the speaker said: "It is not that we loved Seward less but because we loved the great Republican cause more. . . . I assure you that the Republican flag will wave in triumph upon the soil of Indiana."³⁷

Lincoln's nomination was the result of a chain of circumstances, no one of which alone could have brought it about. The Lincoln-Douglas debates lifted him into the national vision.³⁸ The Cooper Institute address and the New England tour which followed won the attention of the East. The meeting of the convention at Chicago gave to it a Lincoln background. The yelling and spectacular demonstrations may or may not have helped. The powerful opposition of Horace Greeley, who, as it was learned later, had written a letter six years before announcing the dissolution of the political firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, weakened Seward and created doubts as to his availability.³⁹ The adroit leadership of the Illinois group was indispensable. Could these leaders have succeeded if the Indiana delegates had not responded to their entreaties and rallied to the support of their candidate?

³⁶ *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer* (Cincinnati, 1901), pp. 80-81.

³⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, May 19, 1860.

³⁸ Frederic L. Paxson, *The Civil War* (New York, 1911), p. 80. "Stephen A. Douglas Lifted Lincoln into the national vision"; see also, Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1903), Ch. XVI.

³⁹ Thurlow Weed *Memoirs* (Boston, 1884), Vol. II, pp. 273-277.

It is true that enough votes were transferred to Lincoln after the third ballot to secure the nomination for him without the votes of Indiana. But would this situation have existed had not Indiana lent her aid before the balloting started? It seems reasonable to conclude that if the Indiana delegates had decided to support Bates or some one else that the other doubtful states where Seward was weak, after giving complimentary votes to their own favorite, would have concentrated on the same man in order to defeat Seward.

This view was expressed by many in attendance at the famous convention. Horace Greeley wrote in the columns of the *Tribune*: "The Indiana delegation, having no candidate in their own state to embarrass their action and perfectly unanimous in the conviction that to nominate Governor Seward was to invoke defeat in their state and in the Union, were most efficient in the canvass, while their early adhesion to Lincoln nearly narrowed the contest to him and Seward."⁴⁰ The Chicago correspondent of the *Madison Daily Courier* wrote in a similar vein: "To the Indiana delegation and to outside Indians much, very much of the credit and glory of the nomination is due. . . . Indeed I claim that your delegation did more toward the result than any other. Your gallant Henry S. Lane, Caleb B. Smith, and General Steel of Rockville were indefatigable, untiring, and persistent in urging the claims of Old Abe and large numbers of delegates from other states are known to have been influenced by them, and others from your State. . . . Indiana has won the lasting gratitude of Illinois for her aid in effecting the nomination."⁴¹

Even more to the point is the statement of John D. Defrees in a letter to Colfax: "We Bates men of Indiana concluded that the only way to beat Seward was to go for Lincoln as a unit. . . . We made the nomination."⁴²

The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* had this to add: "There is no doubt but that the unanimity of the Indiana delegation for Lincoln was the cause of his nomination. If Indiana had divided, or given her strength to any other candidate, it is absolutely certain that no concentration could have been made on Lincoln, for it was only the united efforts of Indiana and

⁴⁰ Quoted in *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860.

⁴¹ *Madison [Indiana] Daily Courier*, May 21, 1860.

⁴² Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, p. 148.

Illinois men that secured the coöperation of Pennsylvania and some New England States at the last hour. The firmness and unanimity of Indiana, who had no candidate to interfere with a disinterested choice, nothing to induce her to adhere to any man from personal motives, and no purpose but to produce a result which would command the widest approval, was acknowledged on all hands at Chicago to be the primary and potential cause of Lincoln's nomination."⁴³

It remains to examine the way in which the nomination was received in Indiana. To radicals like Julian, the failure of Chase or Seward to secure the nomination was a severe disappointment. It was Julian's belief that the nomination of Lincoln was secured by a "superficial and only half-developed Republicanism" bent alone upon success.⁴⁴ It was not Julian's nature, however, to sulk in his tent. He gave to the ticket his support in the campaign and came to have a more favorable opinion of the Illinois man following a visit to Springfield in January, 1861.⁴⁵

The leading Democratic newspaper of the State, the *Daily Sentinel*, in true partisan style, declared that it would be difficult for any Republican to state a single qualification that Mr. Lincoln possessed for the office of President. The nomination was deplored at a time when a man of preëminent ability and great experience was required "to successfully guide the ship of state through the shoals and rocks seen and unseen which threaten danger on every side."⁴⁶

The masses of Indiana Republicans greeted the nomination of Lincoln with great enthusiasm.⁴⁷ The newspapers are filled with accounts of ratification meetings. Upon the receipt of the news of the nomination in Indianapolis a round of one hundred guns was fired. In the evening an enormous crowd packed the crossing of Pennsylvania and Washington Streets. A huge bonfire was lighted. Rockets were discharged. Speeches were called for. One of the men to respond was Benjamin Harrison, then but twenty-seven years of age, the Republican candidate for Reporter of the State Supreme Court.⁴⁸

⁴³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 25, 1860.

⁴⁴ George W. Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago, 1884), p. 177.

⁴⁵ George W. Julian, in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, pp. 47-65.

⁴⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, May 19, 1860.

⁴⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 22 and 23, 1860.

⁴⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1860.

Some papers were quick to discover elements of greatness in Lincoln. "There are today," declared the *Terre Haute Express* in somewhat bombastic fashion, "more of the elements of universal popularity in the character and personal history of 'honest Abe Lincoln' of Illinois than any other man on the American continent. . . . Since the days when all that was great and good sank to rest around the quiet shades of Mount Vernon—since the great debater of Massachusetts, the sage of Monticello, the logician of South Carolina, and the 'Constitutional expounder' closed their eyes to the bright sunlight, we do believe no truer man, no abler man, no sincerer man has lived than Abraham Lincoln."⁴⁹

Another paper, the *Vincennes Gazette*, rejoiced that a man of the people, and not a time serving politician had been selected and made the standard bearer of freedom in the coming contest.⁵⁰

If any further proof is needed of the enthusiastic response of Indiana Republicans to Lincoln's candidacy it is only necessary to refer to the great Republican rally held in Indianapolis in August. The meeting, according to newspaper accounts of the time, was one of the largest ever held in Indiana. From all the surrounding countryside delegations came in to the capital city to participate in the grand procession. Organizations known as "Wide Awakes," "Rail Maulers," "Lincoln Rangers of Liberty," and "Old Abe's Boys," streamed in all day long. One thing of unusual interest was a huge wagon filled with "pioneers" actually splitting rails from a log. The wagon was drawn by forty-three yoke of oxen, the entire outfit stretched along the whole front of the capitol square, for a distance of more than four hundred feet.⁵¹

In conclusion, Indiana not only nurtured Lincoln during those formative years in which he grew from youth to manhood, but she played a very prominent part in making him the sixteenth president of the United States. "I am indeed much indebted to Indiana," wrote Lincoln to Caleb B. Smith the week following his nomination. Well might he have felt grateful to her. Without the aid of Indiana, Lincoln might never have become "The Great Emancipator," "The First American."

⁴⁹ Quoted in *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 22, 1860.

⁵⁰ Quoted in *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 22, 1860.

⁵¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, August 30, 1860.