

Documents

CIVIL WAR LETTERS AND DISPATCHES

Edited by HARVEY WISH

In the December issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, a descriptive account of certain newly discovered Indiana documents at Chicago was presented by the writer.¹ This collection of the official correspondence of Indiana's governors from 1840 to 1867 pertains chiefly to the administration of Governor Oliver Perry Morton. The following documents are more representative of the political material than of the administrative files, which constitute the larger part of the collection. These letters and dispatches reveal, in an intimate way, certain aspects of Indiana's problems during the Civil War concerning contraband trade, defeatist organizations, such as the Knights of the Golden Circle, and other important political questions of that era.² Many of the details given here are entirely new in that they do not appear in the numerous publications dealing with Indiana's history from 1861-1865.

[LETTERS]

Office of the Secretary of State,
Frankfort [Kentucky], June 14, 1861

Dear Sir:

Information is received at the Executive Department of this state that one hundred bags of coffee shipped from Baltimore to Messrs. Buchanan & Co., Louisville, is now detained at Indianapolis by a vigilance committee or some other such authority. It is presumed that this

¹ The discovery of Indiana archival material in Chicago, as described in the December issue, was made by the Illinois unit of the Survey of Federal Archives directed, in that state, by Dr. Russell H. Anderson, and sponsored by both the National Archives and the Works Progress Administration. Acknowledgments are due to Dr. Philip M. Hamer, National Director of the Survey, and Chief of the Division of the Library, National Archives, for his support and guidance of this and similar projects throughout the country. This collection was transferred to the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana, in January, 1937.

² From a recent interview with Mr. Frederick G. Campbell, Clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago and a former resident of Tippecanoe County, Indiana, several important facts concerning the provenance of the documents were obtained. When the Court was first organized in 1891, both Oliver Perry Morton, son of the Indiana Governor, and Edward Morton Holloway, a grand-nephew, were employed in its offices in the old Federal Building on the present site of the United States Courthouse (also known as Federal Building), at Clark and Adams Streets, Chicago.

Mr. Campbell came to Chicago in 1899 to take up his work in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Appeals, then located temporarily in the Monadnock Building while the new Federal Court House was in the process of construction. Edward M. Holloway was then the Clerk and also the custodian of a large amount of Indiana archival documents which were kept in the office. His father, Colonel William R. Holloway, formerly Private Secretary to Governor Morton, came frequently to peruse the material, evidently with the intention of writing upon some aspects of Indiana history. He had already collaborated with William D. Foulke upon a biography of Governor Morton, but expected to complete an independent work of his own—a hope never realized. Whether he or the younger Morton was responsible for the transfer of the Indiana documents to Chicago could not be determined by the writer. When the Clerk's office was reestablished in the United States Courthouse, about 1902, the documents were packed away in the huge dome and soon forgotten.

infracton of private rights has been perpetrated without your knowledge or consent and that your attention need only be called to this wrong to secure prompt remedy. I am therefore instructed by Governor Magoffin³ to call your attention to the fact and await your action.

Very Resp.,
Tho. B. Monroe, Jr.
Secy. of State

To
Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis

Louisville, June 20, 1861

Wm. H. Schlater, Esq.,⁴

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 18th inst. enclosing copy of T. B. Monroe's of the 14th is at hand. Mr. Buchanan applied to me some time ago *as a lawyer* to endeavor to get his coffee for him. I then told him that if he would give me satisfactory assurances that the coffee should be sold only for home consumption that I would go out and get his coffee for him without fee or reward. This he declined to do and I declined taking any step for him.

The coffee is undoubtedly intended for the southern market. It strikes me that the best course would be to let the coffee come to Jeffersonville and then be seized by the collector. That places the matter in the hands of the U. S. government and releases Gov. Morton from all responsibility on the subject.

There is no fear of the collector at Jeffersonville failing in his duty. If he errs at all it will be the other way. Messrs. Buchanan & Co. are secessionists, but they are gentlemen whose promises would be held sacred and if they gave assurances that the coffee should be sold only for home consumption in Ky., I would not hesitate to let it pass.

Yours truly,
Thos. W. Gibson⁵

Aurora, Ind., Aug. 1st, 1861

Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dr Sir we deem it our duty to inform you that for some time past the Madison Packets have been bringing Bacon and Mess Pork from Cinti [Cincinnati] to this place and leaving it on the wharfboat where it remains a day or two, when the Louisville Boats take it below. And that there is something wrong about it is evident from the fact that it is not shipped direct to its destination. Some of it is directed to citizens

³ The well-known secessionist sympathies of Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky and his persistent attempts to preserve the "neutrality" of his state during the early part of the Civil War created special difficulties for Governor Morton who was called upon to organize the Union sentiment of Kentucky. The contraband problem was but one phase in the duel between the two governors.

⁴ Secretary to Governor Morton.

⁵ A military agent for Governor Morton. Many of Gibson's letters, as well as those of other agents whose reports are included in the collection, reveal the detailed events at the front and behind the lines.

of this place but is never hauled up town. We do not wish to act without authority but we are determined that Provisions shall not be carried through our place to Secessiondom.

By directing your attention to the above you will oblige many citizens and the subscribers.

Your Obt. Svts.
W. P. Squibb & Co.

Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 26/61

Gov. Morton—

Dear Sir—Feeling it to be my duty under existing circumstances, and in obedience to the laws of our country, to give all the information in my possession to arrest the progress of traitors and to bring to justice all offenders, I beg to call your most earnest attention to the following case which I hope and trust you will take immediate steps to ferret out:

About the middle of May last, Carey W. Barbour and Wolsey Barbour⁶ of this county, loaded two flat boats at their landing above the city, and dropt down to this city where they completed their loading. The freight consisted of corn, hay, oats, bacon, etc. and was designed for a house in New Orleans that had advanced \$2000. on the load. Our citizens, learning these facts, and hearing that the boats were ready to cut loose from their moorings, repaired to the river in a body and took off the oars, tied up the boats and told the Barbours that the boats must not be sent out. Their reply was that they would do as they pleased about the matter,—they had received \$2000. on the load and were bound to make their contract good. In about ten days after this, in the dead of night the boats were cut loose, manned by three or four noted sympathizers of this city. The impression was created by this crew after their return that the boats were unloaded at Cairo, for the army at that point. Not satisfied with this, I refered to the matter several times through my paper [*The Atlas*] and demanded an explanation. To one of these notices the Journal replied that the two boats were unloaded at Smythland, Ky., and the loading shipped over the Louisville and Nashville Road to Memphis, Tenn. Since this time I have found a man who is now in Camp Nigo, as a private, that says he saw the produce at the landing in Memphis, and for the truth of this, refers to the following persons and circumstances: The boats were stopped at Smithland and towed up the Cumberland River to some point, and finally reached Nashville by some circuitous route. The steamboat St. Francis was employed for this purpose, the capt. living at Henderson. You are also refered to—Jondan and F. I. Martin, at Mayfield, Ky., also to Miss—Gregory, Wing Curve, three miles from Doublin, Ky., and Mrs. D. Tucker, seven miles below Wing Curve, Ky. These facts are worthy of attention and I now ask your cooperation in this matter that these two persons may be brought to justice. Our citizens offered to pay the Barbours the \$2000. advanced to them by the rebels, but were refused. I can procure all the names of the crew—one of them, E. Lane, of this city has told two tales

⁶ These two Barbours may have been related to Cromwell Woolsey Barbour, prominent lawyer, state legislator, and later, in 1861, a farmer in Fayette Township. Blackford Condit, *The History of Early Terre Haute* (New York, 1900), pp. 112-113.

about the matter. The first was that the boats landed at Cairo, but seeing what the Evansville Journal said, he changed the story to this—*The secessionists took the boats above Cairo, drove the crew off, and landed the boats at Smithland.* This matter must be looked into, and as I am in possession of these facts, many of our best citizens have requested me to acquaint you with the same that you may order the arrest of these two offenders, and the crew, as aiders and abettors. The man referred to in Camp Nigo is Jesse K. Kendall, in Capt. Welch's company.

Trusting that you will take immediate and efficient steps to ferret out this matter.

I remain your humble Serv't,
Isaac M. Brown.⁷

Bedford, Ind., March 24, 1863.

Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir:

I think it highly important & beneficial to Indiana and the adjoining States to address you thus—as a friend. It is well known to you that there is such a Society⁸ in Indiana as k.g.c. [Knights of the Golden Circle]. And to be plain & honorable I wish to inform you that I have been a member of that order for about three months and having served in the capacity of an officer in the Central lodge of my County & of course I have the opportunity of knowing all the important moves that is being or going to be made throughout all the different lodges in the State & adjoining States.

Sir it will be putting my life at Stake to expose the Secret organization above mentioned, though I think that it is very important that it should be, for a proper exposition of this Secret order will keep down a rebellion among our people, although there will be some difficulty to overcome the attempts that is now being made, yet with proper information it can be done with more than usual Success. Now Sir if you feel disposed to act in good faith and will justify me for so doing I will furnish you with a written or verbal statement of all its proceedings from its introduction in Indiana up to the present, viz., a copy of the oath of each degree, the Signs grips and passes also the Signs grips and passes when they change, the accurate number of firearms held by this order the principal points where kept, the intentions and designs of this order and in short—everything necessary for information belonging thereto by bringing things before the public in this manner, this Secret order like a ball in the air must fall. In order that full information may be had from time to time it is necessary for me to remain a member of

⁷ Before editing the *Atlas*, Isaac M. Brown had been foreman of the *Terre Haute Express*, owned by David S. Donaldson. His suggestion to the latter that the *Express* was ready for a daily issue, bore fruit in the establishment of *Terre Haute's* first daily paper (May 12, 1851). Condit, *op. cit.*, pp 135-6.

⁸ The anti-war activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle were exposed in the treason trials of 1864 through the efforts of General H. B. Carrington, Governor Morton, and a host of secret service men. The membership was estimated at 50,000 and its funds at \$200,000. Charles M. Walker, *Sketch of the Life, Character, and Public Services of Oliver P. Morton* (Prepared for the *Indianapolis Journal*, Indianapolis, 1878), pp. 106-7.

this order. I trust therefore that you will not drop any hint or expose the name of your humble Correspondent in any way whatever as it would not only expel me from this order but would bring my life at Stake. If after a proper consideration of the ideas dropped in this letter you should think it expedient to answer Address me at Bedford, Lawrence County, Indiana and I will either come to Indianapolis and see you personally or will write as you may think best.

Very respectfully your humble servant
L. F. C.

P.S. Direct your letter to the initials signed at the bottom of this letter and in Care of Isaac Recter.

Bergetts Corner
July 29, 1863

Dear Sir I feel it my duty to inform you of some Things going on in this neiborhood that I must confess that I dont understand we have men that thir [their] conversation and actions is tresonble throughout thir [they] are desturbing the Peace of all good Loyel men in every way [If] they can they Go to Church on the Sabbeth Day waring thir buternuts for brest pins and Cursing and Swaring and daring any and evry body to take them of and say if they are drafted They will fight and die at home. All that I want to No if there is any way to Stop such action of being cared on. Last Sabeth I saw myself ten or twelve armed men at Church in [and] return home firing their pistols from wagons amongst Wimen and Children. I tell Govner us union folks is geting Weary of Such Carings on if There is anyway to Stop Copperheads and buternuts from Talking treason I wish to No it and if you think it best to let them say and do as they Pleas I wish to no it. I can give names if you want them please Send me a few Lines and give your opinion.

Address Bergetts Corner, Clinton Co. Ind. I must Close for the Present.

Yours Respectfully,
Isaac Dick

North Salem,
Mar 20th 1863

Honeable [*sic*] O. P. Morton Govner of Ind.
Honead [*sic*] Sir

Do please pardon me for imposing on your Honer, by informing you of Some Matters Existing with the Disloyal party of our neighborhood. The Citizens of our Town and Township are becoming Alarmed. Thoese abominable Trators are holding at night & sometimes in the day Secret Meetings. They have procured all the amunition in Town they could get. Arming themselves with pistols and guns making all sorts of threats They are becomeing Very Impertinent and Sassy. make threats what they will do if thir Should come another draft and I firmly believe their is devastation and trouble at our doors. Some goes so far as to Say they are in hopes the union mens heads will be maid to ache yet and good many Such Threats. We have a Toleable bad Butternut hole in this part of Hendricks Co Ind. I have been Selling Dry goods here

for 30 years & am pretty well acquainted with the greater part of all persons. I am positively afraid to buy goods this Spring and my Neighbor merchants are also alarmed as to buying goods as I suppose this Eelriver Township is the most disloyal Township in the County.

Hon. Governor Morton,
Dear Sir:

Salem, Steuben Co., Ind.
March 23, 1863.

We the loyal people of Salem Tp. Steuben Co. Ind. are Surrounded by Cecesh of the deepest dye, and wish to know, what can be done to stop them in their mad career.

At a public meeting last nite, their speaker (Van Nocken) upheld Cession, claimed brother-hood with armed traitors, openly denounced everything and everbody that were in favor of the Suppression of the Rebellion. And heaped the bitterest curses that his Hell deserving soul could rake up on the President and his Cabinet. In short it was well calculated to stimulate the ignorant Copperheads to acts of outrage of which they have already threatened. The treasonable speech was cheered by all present except Six [Union men].

Now Governor what can be don for God's Sake tell us. Will we be justified by Law if we use the rope? May we shoot them or will you have them arrested?

Your humble Servant,
D. R. Wisel⁹

Your Excellency O. P. Morton

Ossian, Wells Co., Indiana,
April 23, 1865.

Sir My duty prompts one to drop you a few lines and the citizens of Adams County prays they may be heard. A man named John Rupright living in Preble Township, Adams Co., Ind. being a rank Cessionist has been a Source of annoyance to us for the last 4 years he was the leader of the society called the knights of the golden circle and came very near getting our Township raised in arms against the draft and further more on Saturday the 15th the news reached us of the death of Mr. Lincoln. I was standing in my yard about 20 Steps from the public road when the Said John Rupright and another man named George Judd passed my house with the team. Mr. Rupright asked me if I had heard of the death of Lincoln. I told him I had and felt Sorry for it and said at the top of his voice he was God Damed glad he was Dead they passed on a few rods further and on meeting some Ladies the above named George Judd remarked to them that Lincoln died this morning at seven o'clock and went to hell and after they got home they gathered up all the bells and old pistols I suppose they had and marched up and down the road untill near mid-

⁹The writer, J. S. Woodward, goes on to make a request for his son's discharge from a Union hospital.

¹⁰Daniel R. Wisel was president of the local Union League. Later he served as Commander of the McLain Post, Company D. 13, Ohio Cavalry, a veterans' organization. He is described as a "hail, affable comrade" who "always attends to the interest of his post and takes just pride in same." *The War for the Union* (War Record of Steuben County, Indiana, 1888-9), pp. 70-71.

knight rejoicing over his death this we think is more than we can bear and we beg of the authorities to bring them to justice this statement I have mad here I am ready to be qualified to at any time if necessary my post office address Ossian Wells Co. Indiana.

From Yours,
Lewis Griffith

(Anonymous)

A plain Statement of facts:

Col. Helm (as they call him) of Louisville came in on the morning Express train on Saturday last (24th) with considerable baggage accompanied by 2 young women. They went up to his brother's (Dr. James T. Helm)¹¹ and on Saturday Evening there was a lively group gathered there; *they were seen in close confab.* The group seen comprised Dan'l W. Voorhees,¹² W. D. Krumbhaar,¹³ B. Frank Clark and the two Helms—On Monday afternoon (26th) this Col. H. bought 2 tickets for Buffalo & one ticket for one of the females to Detroit via Sidney Last Evening this B. Frank Clark was seen making some very suspicious movements, backing & filling around a corner towards Dr. Helm's at 10 o'clock at night (perhaps ¼ of 10) and this morning he (Clark) bought a ticket for Greencastle Junction (a direct connection for Louisville). He seemed to have plenty of money (which is in itself great cause for suspicion as he is known and acknowledged as a veritable Jeremy Diddle).¹⁴ Before the train started he was seen in close confab with Co. Thomas Dowling¹⁵ *These things all have great weight & significance* since facilities are closed via Adams & other Expresses in sending correspondence to the traders at the South, they must have private messengers. From all things gathered by a *watchful eye* these men have a great plan to be carried out in connection with Col. Helm's visit. *All the men* whose names are above mentioned are intimate & in closest connection with that miserable specimen, John G. Davis,¹⁶ meeting him at the train when he arrives here and coming down with him when he departs, and when in the city closeted with

¹¹ The connection of the Helms of Louisville with Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd of Indianapolis, of the Order of Sons of Liberty, seems to have been suspected by the detective, Felix G. Stidger. A reference to Dr. James Helm appears in Stidger's *Treason History of the Order of the Sons of Liberty, 1864* (Chicago, 1903), p. 108. No place or date given for this communication. It was evidently written at Terre Haute, and probably in 1863.

¹² The evidence, as later presented during Carrington's raid upon Voorhees' office, appears to be inconclusive as to the guilt of the latter. Voorhees denied that the office belonged to him in August, 1864, the time of the raid. Stidger, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 137-139.

¹³ Possibly William F. Krumbhaar, Warden of St. Stephens Protestant Episcopal Church of Terre Haute. Condit, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁴ The improvident character in James Kenney's farce, *Raising The Wind*. (London, 1803). Jeremy borrows small sums continually from his acquaintances whom he later cannot repay.

¹⁵ Colonel Thomas Dowling, founder of the Terre Haute *Express*, ended his newspaper career in 1845. He served several times as a member of the state legislature; then as trustee of the Wabash and Erie Canal; City Councillor in Terre Haute; and County Commissioner. He died in 1876. Condit, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135. Also mentioned in William Wesley Woollen's *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1883), p. 96.

¹⁶ John G. Davis, an anti-war Democrat, was active in the Vallandigham peace movement in the Old Northwest. His correspondence, declared by Carrington to reveal disloyal plans, was seized in Voorhees' office at Terre Haute. William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* (Indianapolis, 1899), I, *passim*.

him—*Something must be done* in examining these suspected messengers as they arrive and depart. They are known and closely watched by true-hearted men who long to cooperate with the proper authorities in suppressing this mighty scheme, that is being carried on via *Terre Haute*.

Fulton, Fulton [County] Ind.

June 19th, 1863.

Mr. Morton:

Dear Sir, knowing that you must have a multiplicity of business on your mind I will detain you with only a few lines—

Seeing the condition of our Country, and the imminent danger to which the honest and Loyal citizen[s] of this State are Exposed on account of this *Banditi of Unholy men*; I allude to *Knights of the Golden Circle*, who are holding their night meetings throughout the length and breadth of the land. Evidently—I think to adopt plans, and ways, by which to greatly weaken if not, entirely frustrate, the movements of the Government, in the prosecution of this war—In a word they are rebels in heart and will be so in practice—very soon.

Unless they can be check'd immediately.—I would therefore recommend the propriety of enforcing Martial Law throughout the State, *Immediately*. I believe it would be a wise and proper movement also for the Governor to Issue a proclamation making it the duty of all the males over Eighteen and under 45 years to form themselves into companies, allowing older men the privilege of joining in with them, and all such companies to be put, under obligation to *drill* on Saturday afternoon of each week and to be called the *home militia*. Men who have had some practise in military tactics can be obtained in the country to drill such companies without calling home any from the regular army.

Then if Government Should find it necessary hereafter, to furnish such companies, with arms, it would be a great advantage to have men already drill'd who could go into action without farther delay. But I must close by advising you to keep a body guard of honest men, around your person. Please write to me soon if you can get the time as I am very anxious to hear how things are moving at Indianapolis—My address is Fulton, Fulton Co., Ind. I am a member of the N. W. Ind. Conf. of M. E. Church & 22 years a travelling Preacher. Brothers J. L. Smith, Wm. Wills, R. Hargrave are well acquainted with me.

Respectfully yours,
R. H. Calvert

(Private)

Columbus, O., June 5, 1863

Dear Governor:

We are watching Judge Davis'¹⁷ course at Chicago with great interest, opinion being divided as to his probable course. I feel that some homogenous policy is necessary and wish it would be adopted by

¹⁷ Judge David Davis (1815-1886), Justice of the United States Supreme Court, then serving in the Circuit Court at Chicago. This may be a reference to General Burnside's arbitrary arrests of civilians and his interference in the policies of Democratic newspapers such as the *Chicago Times*.

the government. The Copperheads here are bold and defiant and seem to gather courage. The "Crisis"¹⁸ reprints the article that caused the World¹⁹ to be interdicted. The republicans are beginning to divide into factions looking to the presidency, though Gov. Tod will be nominated again for Governor by consent it seems.

The recent operations in Illinois²⁰ & the course of Valandigham²¹ south, confirm me in what I believe as to the intent of the K.G.C. in Illinois & the northwest, and the value of a thorough, but uniform policy in those states. I have not yet failed to see cause, since before the war commenced, to stand by my conclusions whether accidental or otherwise, as to measures of public policy & feel daily renewed confidence in what I have regarded as the wise policy for the management of the west & northwest.

I have seen few Indianapolis papers and hardly know what you are doing.

The order restoring Dawson²² states that he was recommended to executive clemency.

I have no idea or intimation of my particular destination.

With sincere regard,

I am truly your friend,

Henry B. Carrington²³

Colfax²⁴ writes me he received numerous petitions about me but did not use them, being a neighbor of Gen. Haskell.

Cincinnati, May 12, 1865

Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis.

Dear Sir: I notice by orders recently issued from Washington, that

¹⁸ The Cincinnati *Crisis*, an organ favorable to the Vallandigham peace party, was suspended shortly thereafter by military order. Samuel Klaus, editor, *The Milligan Case* (New York, 1929), pp. 19-23.

¹⁹ The New York *World*, a Democratic newspaper, was likewise suspended by General Burnside because it was "calculated to exert a pernicious and treasonable influence". Klaus, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁰ For details of the Chicago Conspiracy and the "Copperhead" activities in southern Illinois, see I. Winslow Ayer, *The Great Northwestern Conspiracy* (Chicago, 1865), pp. 55-60.

²¹ Clement L. Vallandigham (1820-1871), a leader of the "peace movement" in the Old Northwest. He had been arrested on May 5, 1863 by General Burnside for "declaring disloyal sentiments", but subsequently deported to the South by President Lincoln. After a cool reception from Jefferson Davis, Vallandigham escaped to Canada to direct from there his campaign for governor of Ohio. James L. Vallandigham, *A Life of Clement L. Vallandigham* (Baltimore, 1872).

²² Major Samuel K. Dawson, 19th Regiment, U.S. Infantry, Dept. of the Ohio, sentenced on January 9, 1863, by a General Court Martial to be cashiered. He was recommended to Lincoln soon after for executive clemency and subsequently reinstated in command. Thomas M. O'Brien and Oliver Diefendorf, editors, *General Orders of the United States War Department, 1861-5* (New York, 1864), Vol. II, p. 157.

²³ General Henry B. Carrington, federal mustering officer, acted in close collaboration with Governor Morton in setting up an espionage system which finally brought about the exposure of the Knights of the Golden Circle and other defeatist groups.

²⁴ Schuyler Colfax (1823-1885), later Vice-President of the United States during the Grant Administration, was active in Indiana state politics. Possibly the reference here to petitions concerning Carrington relates to the resentment among anti-war Democrats against the "letter-thief of Indiana" (Carrington) for his espionage activities. His "neighbor", General Milo Haskell, was at that time Commander of a small federal force in Indianapolis stationed about the city to protect government property against the alleged "Copperhead" plot to attack the city. Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North During the Civil War", *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIV, p. 211.

Bowles, Milligan, and Horsey²⁵ are to be executed within a few days at your place. Governor I believe you will do me the justice to say, that I have never been the apologist for punishment to traitors in arms against the government but when I see the rebellion put down and remember that we who still survive the fearful ravages of this wicked rebellion, whether we sided for or against the government, are at last, all brothers and countrymen, and that now we have beaten them fairly at war, had we not better cease the shedding of any more blood except the blood of miserable assassins of our beloved Lincoln and those who still continue in arms for plunder. Rivers of brothers blood has flown in this unholy and useless war, you, our Governor, have it in your power to save the lives of three fellow beings, two of whom at best are far in the journey of life. I appeal to you Governor by our past political and friendly associations to stay the hand of the executioner, and not to rest until you have it from the hands of the President a full and free pardon of these men. I know the aggravation to you is great but rise above all this and show to our countrymen that whilst victorious, you are more than generous; but let not a moment elapse, time is precious and a life once taken cannot be recalled. Do this Governor and whilst there may be some who will condemn, take my word for it, imitate our saviour be merciful and not only will your own conscience applaud but thousands of your fellow citizens will sing hosannas to you for being able to rise above party and personal feelings and thus save the lives of three persons who are reputed to have been your personal and political enemies. I will mention still further, that I am not personally acquainted with either of these parties condemned; but feel that there is no good to result to our country from their execution, and therefore ask your interposition in their favour, which I know if done settles it.

In a political point of view it can work [our] party no good to shed more blood but on the contrary, if we are merciful, the child is not yet born who will see the defeat of the Republican party, whilst on the other hand, if we are not, the reaction will come and probably the coming year will witness our overthrow. All considerations point to mercy, you have it in your power to be so [illegible]

As ever your Friend,
Silas F. Miller²⁶

²⁵ The trio, Dr. William A. Bowles, Lambdin P. Milligan, and Stephen Horsey, were the principal defendants in the great treason trials of 1864. They were charged with various disloyal activities among which were a project to seize the federal and state arsenals in Indiana, a plot to lead an uprising of prisoners in cooperation with the Confederates, and in other ways "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." The case, *ex parte Milligan*, famous in our constitutional history, grew out of these treason trials and became the test case of conflicting civil and military authority. President Lincoln refused to take any action in the case of the three defendants during the course of the war but gave assurance that he would pardon them upon the return of peace. The evidence of the guilt of these men which had been accepted by a military commission, appeared to be flimsy indeed. After Lincoln's death, President Andrew Johnson signed the order for execution, but Governor Morton successfully intervened in behalf of the men who were alleged (among other crimes) to have threatened his life. Horsey, Bowles and Milligan were released during April, 1866, after eighteen months imprisonment. Milligan subsequently (1868) brought suit for damages against the members of the military commission (*Ex parte Milligan*). Foulke, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 424-432; also Klaus, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²⁶ Colonel Silas F. Miller of the Galt House in Louisville, an extravagant admirer of Morton's.

New Harmony, Ind.
Jan. 16, 1861

[Letter of Edward Murphy to Governor Morton: Discussion of several personal differences among the members of an Indiana committee conducting a Geological Survey. The portion of this letter that follows has political interest in view of the importance of the individuals involved.] Our last ground of opposition to Dr. Richard Owen²⁷ is: He and his associates are as strong opponents of Republicanism as their capacities permit them to be; throughout the Presidential Campaign they have supported Douglas by the customary Democratic methods. Dr. R. Owen's conduct on January 5th will serve as a specimen. His brother, Robert Dale Owen,²⁸ had called a meeting for the day. The Republicans attended in greater number than was expected, and it was known that the night before, the Republican Club of New Harmony, had declared against compromise. Dr. R. Owen made a passionate attack upon the Republicans; he told them that there were some present who were opposed to compromise, and that as the party favorable to compromise had paid the expenses of the room, those opposed to compromise had not anymore right to be present than infidels would have to be present at a church-meeting or Methodists at a Tom Paine celebration. Robert Dale Owen said he must oppose his brother for he had called the meeting and had urged all the inhabitants to attend.

When Dr. R. Owen spoke again, he poured out a rhapsody to the effect that amalgamation is the chief Republican principle, that mulattoes are tuberculous that Negroes are made to be used by the Anglo-Saxon race in hot climates, and that to prevent all the pestilential consequences of "amalgamation" they must be kept south of a certain line; not the line that suits the Republicans but the Crittenden line, or that line with his brother's modification.

[DISPATCHES]

Washington, D. C., Sept. 22, 1861

To Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Have just ordered General Fremont²⁹ to send up gunboat if he can spare it.

A. Lincoln

²⁷ Dr. Richard Owen, (1810-1890) youngest son of Robert Owen, the famous philanthropist, was Assistant, and later, State Geologist of Indiana. In 1859 and 1860, he conducted the geological survey of the state to which the letter makes reference. Despite the impression given here, Owen's loyalty to the Union is evidenced by extensive military service for which he received flattering acknowledgments from Secretary Edwin M. Stanton. His scientific contributions are noteworthy. *A Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men of the State of Indiana* (Cincinnati, 1880), Vol. I, p. 38; also Arthur H. Estabrook, "The Family History of Robert Owen", *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIX, pp. 68-101.

²⁸ Robert Dale Owen (1807-1877), oldest son of Robert Owen, is noted for his philanthropies, particularly in behalf of the Negro and the community experiment at New Harmony, Indiana. He enjoyed an extensive literary and political career; was elected as a state representative on the Democratic ticket and twice as a national representative during 1843-7. During the Civil War, he acted as purchasing agent for Indiana arms in close collaboration with Governor Morton. On the war activities of Robert Dale Owen, see the official report of William H. H. Terrell, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion* (Indianapolis, 1869), pp. 317, 433-6, *passim*. Many of Owen's letters, written in his capacity as purchasing agent, are in the collection.

²⁹ The counterpart to this telegram appears in the *Official Records of the Union*

Washington, D. C., Sept. 26, 1861

To Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

We are supplying all the demands for arms as fast as we can.³⁰ We expect to order a lot to you tomorrow. I think there is no concentration of railroads at Muldrough's Hill. A week ago we heard that the enemy was encamped on Muldrough's Hill. Now our friends³¹ are encamped upon it and the enemies pickets are in sight. That is an improvement.

A. Lincoln

Washington, D. C., Sept. 29, 1861

To Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

I have just shown your message to General Scott. He says he will be glad if the report of Zollicoffers³² having left Cumberland Gap shall be confirmed. I intend writing to you today. Arms going to you and Anderson³³ as fast as we can send them.

A. Lincoln

Jackson, Tennessee

[No date, but probably 1862, after Donelson]

To Governor Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Glad to have you furnish clothing for the regiments named also for the twenty third and fifty second Indiana. If you can would also like to have more Indiana regts to be clothed.

Major-General Ulysses S. Grant

and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. IV (Washington, 1882), p. 265. Lincoln telegraphed on September 22, to General Fremont, then stationed at St. Louis, the headquarters of the Western Department, that he had just received a plea for help from Morton. Owensborough, Ky., forty miles above Evansville, was reported to be in possession of the Confederates and the Governor had demanded a gunboat to recapture the town by an attack along the Green River. Fremont complied at once by sending the gunboat *Lexington* to the scene but when it arrived no enemy was in sight. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

³⁰ Morton had wired to Simon Cameron on September 12: "Can you not send arms at once? Our border is nearly defenseless". *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, p. 257.

³¹ General William T. Sherman, in charge of the Home Guard of Kentucky and a force under Colonel Rousseau, reoccupied Muldrough's Hill at this time thus securing a strategic position necessary for the defense of Louisville. The breakdown of railroad communications, to which reference is made in the above telegram seemed to isolate Sherman who asked for more troops. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, p. 278.

³² General Felix Zollicoffer of the Confederate forces led the invasion into Kentucky which swept aside the last remnants of "Kentucky neutrality" fostered by Governor Magoffin. This precipitated a crisis in which Morton came forward as the leader of the Union element in Kentucky. Three days after Lincoln's telegram quoted above, the Governor issued a proclamation to the people of Indiana urging the support of the Unionists in Kentucky to repel Zollicoffer's invasion. *The Life of Oliver P. Morton*. (Prepared by the Indiana Republican State Central Committee, Indianapolis, 1876), pp. 34-5. Morton's anxiety over Kentucky, which is reflected in his repeated telegrams to Lincoln on the subject, can be seen in this message of September 2, 1861, to Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War:

"At the risk of being considered troublesome I will say the conspiracy to precipitate Kentucky into revolution is complete. The blow may be struck at any moment, and the southern border is lined with Tennessee troops, ready to march at the instant the Government is ready to meet them. If we lose Kentucky now, God help us". *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. IV, p. 256.

³³ Major Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame, then organizing Union volunteers in Kentucky. A number of his reports and telegrams appear in the collection.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 15, 1863

To Gov. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

The movements of the rebel forces in Virginia are sufficiently developed to show that Gen. Lee with his whole army is moving forward to invade the states of Md. & Penna. & other states. The Prest. to repel this invasion promptly has called upon Ohio, Penna, Maryland, & Western Virginia for one hundred thousand militia for six months unless sooner discharged. It is important to have the largest possible force in the least time & if other states would furnish militia for a short term to be credited on the draft it would greatly advance the object. Will you please inform me immediately what number in answer to a special call of the Prest. you can raise & forward of militia or volunteers without bounty for six (6) months unless sooner discharged and to be credited on the draft of your state.³⁴

Edwin M. Stanton.

Washington, D. C., June 18, 1863

To Col. W. R. Holloway,³⁵
Indianapolis, Ind.

Send to the President secretaries, Governors & New York papers my late proclamation. The rebel raid in Penna. is beginning to be believed humbug.³⁶

O. P. Morton

Washington, D. C., Nov. 15, 1864

To Gov. O. P. Morton,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Please send as soon as practicable exact or approximately the aggregate number of votes cast in your state at the late election. It is desired with reference to the forthcoming messages.³⁷

A. Lincoln

³⁴ Morton's call for volunteers in response to this telegram was issued in June, 1863. Four regiments were raised in Indiana and sent to eastern Tennessee. Terrell, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³⁵ Secretary to Governor Morton.

³⁶ The governor's proclamation of June 11, 1863, was a restatement of the drastic penalties imposed by state and federal authorities against those counselling or participating in resistance to the conscription laws. Terrell, *op. cit.*, Document 132, pp. 341-8. Secretary Terrell later wrote: "By personal visits to Washington and frequent suggestions by letter and telegram, he [Morton] continually pressed his views upon the Government and there is abundant evidence that these efforts had important, if not controlling, influence upon the conduct of the war". *Ibid.*, p. 26. Shortly afterwards, Morton prevailed upon the War Department to strengthen the army by the reenlistment of veterans (General Orders No. 191 of June 25, 1863.) Gettysburg was to prove the Governor a mistaken prophet.

³⁷ Lincoln's Fourth Annual Message to Congress of December 6, 1864, included several comments on the presidential election and a table of comparative statistics on the elections of 1860 and 1864. He cited the figures to prove that the country had indicated their loyal support of the Union cause and that the man-power of the North, far from being exhausted, was actually increasing. James D. Richardson, editor, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1900), Vol. VI, pp. 243-255.