

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOLUME LVII

SEPTEMBER 1961

NUMBER 3

The Impact of the Civil War on Indiana

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The Civil War was the greatest challenge Indiana's democratic government had met. The war affected all of the citizens of the state, penetrated their vital social relations, and threatened their necessary and cherished organizations. The way the people met that challenge constitutes much of the history of the war years in Indiana.

That all patriots yield obedience to the voice of the people when expressed in a constitutional manner and that all citizens unite in preserving the Union and the Constitution was the message of Abraham Lincoln to the people of Indiana as he journeyed from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, D.C., for his inauguration as president of the United States. The next day, February 12, 1861, his fifty-second birthday, he was escorted to the railway station where he entrained for Cincinnati. Lincoln's Indianapolis appearance and speech were the subject of favorable comment by the Republican *Daily Journal*, but the Democratic *Daily Sentinel* declared him to be a theorist, a dreamer, and an impractical man who lacked the will and purpose to be a leader.¹

The attack upon Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, stunned the people of Indiana and its sister states.² When the news

* The Indiana Civil War Centennial Commission requested publication of the author's two chapters on the Civil War originally included in John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth* (4 vols., New York, 1954). In preparing the chapters for this purpose they were combined into one, and some revision in style was attempted. The original publication is more extensively footnoted than the one which appears here. Some bibliographical references have been added, however.

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¹ Indianapolis *Daily State Sentinel*, February 12, 1861; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, February 12, 1861.

² Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, April 13, 1861.

came over the wires, small groups gathered to discuss the ominous deed. Some were gloomy because of the portent of war. Others were angry because of the insult to the flag and the threat to the unity of the nation of which the flag was the symbol.

Angry or sad, the people responded immediately. In two mass meetings in Indianapolis on the evening of the following day, the people promised to defend the government with their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor; and on Sunday, April 14, ministers of various churches gave their sanction to these same loyal sentiments. When President Lincoln and Governor Oliver P. Morton called for troops, volunteers came forward in such numbers that Indiana's quota could have been filled twice.³

South Carolina had seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860, and five other states joined her on February 4, 1861, to organize the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis was elected president, and the raising of one hundred thousand troops was authorized. Texas soon came into the Confederacy, and after Lincoln's call for soldiers four additional states seceded.

The border states were in a difficult position, for their people were divided in sentiment, and none relished the prospect of their land becoming a battleground of contending armies. Indianans were particularly concerned about the decision of Kentucky because it was separated from Indiana only by the Ohio River and citizens of the two states had been friends since frontier days. The decision of Kentucky might determine how close the fighting would come to Hoosier soil.⁴

A large number of Indiana citizens were natives of southern states or the children of transplanted southerners. Many of them had relatives or friends among the people of the Confederacy. Former southerners were not so numerous in the northern counties of Indiana, but they were quite numerous in the southern and central counties where the danger of invasion was greater. Richard Thompson, of Terre Haute, received letters from relatives in the South appealing

³ *Ibid.*, April 18-20, 1861.

⁴ Kenneth M. Stampp, "Kentucky's Influence upon Indiana in the Crisis of 1861," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIX (September, 1943), 263-276.

to him to try to stop the war.⁵ But Hoosiers who had been born in the states on the south side of the Ohio River had helped to make Indiana a free state in 1816. They knew from experience some of the injustices involved in slavery, and they did not want them in Indiana. They did not object, however, to this institution in the southern states until efforts to preserve it threatened the unity of the nation.

War issues tended to divide the people of Indiana, to break the unity of families, to form groups with different ideals, to split political parties into factions, and to prevent representative government from functioning smoothly. A few Hoosiers who were pro-southern were willing to acquiesce in disunion. Jesse D. Bright, whose influence was dominant in the Democratic party for some years before 1860, shared these views. He was expelled from the United States Senate on February 5, 1862, because he had written a letter to "His Excellency, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederation,"⁶ in which he recommended a friend who wished to sell an improved firearm.⁷ Other Peace Democrats opposed the use of force and insisted that the Union could be preserved by concessions to the South. Included in this faction were Lambdin P. Milligan, John C. Walker, and Horace Heffren, individuals associated with the secret political societies.

More numerous were the Constitutional Union men who wanted to preserve the Union and therefore supported the war, but who opposed such measures as the tariff and the National Banking Act. Many of these Union men were willing to offer some concessions to prevent a war or to bring an early peace. When they realized that the destruction of the Union might leave Indiana a part of an interior nation—with-

⁵ U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Population*; Elfrieda Lang, "Immigration to Northern Indiana, 1800-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Indiana University, 1950); Charles Roll, *Colonel Dick Thompson: The Persistent Whig* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXX; Indianapolis, Ind., 1948), 1-35.

⁶ *Indianapolis Daily State Sentinel*, August 20, 1861. It is very difficult to classify Bright accurately. He favored negotiation, but that seemed a broken reed. He also opposed the use of force. His was a peculiar type of loyalty, if it were loyalty. Wayne J. Van Der Weele, "Jesse David Bright: Master Politician from the Old Northwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Indiana University, 1958), 266.

⁷ *Ibid.*; Kenneth M. Stampp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXI; Indianapolis, Ind., 1949), 97-98, *et passim*.

out free access to the sea and with her trade subject to taxes imposed by a southern or eastern confederacy—their nationalism increased perceptibly. Nevertheless they declared that they were unwilling to fight an abolition war.

A few War Democrats openly supported the state and national administrations and joined with the Republicans in forming the Union party. Among the War Democrats were former Governor Joseph A. Wright, James Hughes, of Bloomington, Lew Wallace, and Allen Hamilton.⁸

The firing on Fort Sumter not only started the Civil War but made it necessary for Indiana Democrats to readjust themselves rather quickly. They had recently been engaged in state and national political campaigns with considerable intensity and had continued their criticism of and hostility toward the Lincoln and Morton administrations. After April 12, vigorous hostility began to assume the aspects of disloyalty, which the Republicans were quick to turn to their advantage. Such action only increased the anger of the Democrats and made their protests more vigorous. Although the remarks of the Democrats were often tactless, the Republicans did not prefer charges in a civil court against them, much less secure a conviction in a criminal court against anyone.

The war not only embarrassed Democrats, but it also divided Republicans. The latter differed about the concessions they would make to avoid war, but the real division came later in respect to the Emancipation Proclamation. Was the preservation of the Union the sole purpose of the war? At the beginning the answer was almost always in the affirmative. A few Republicans, however, like George W. Julian, "had no love for a proslavery Union." He regarded liberty as more desirable than the Union. Radicals of this type demanded that no concessions should be made to the South and that force should be used to preserve the Union. Very shortly they were insisting that slavery should be destroyed. Julian said on January 14, 1862, that

"the disturbing element has uniformly been slavery. This is the unclean spirit that from the beginning has needed exorcism. . . ."

"This rebellion is a bloody and frightful demonstration . . . that slavery and freedom cannot dwell together in peace. . . . I believe the

⁸ James A. Woodburn, "Party Politics in Indiana during the Civil War," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1902* (2 vols., Washington, D.C., 1903), I, 223-251.

popular demand now is, or soon will be, the total extirpation of slavery as the righteous purpose of the war and the only means of a lasting peace. . . . Never perhaps in the history of any nation has so grand an opportunity presented itself for serving the interests of humanity and freedom."⁹

In the naming of his cabinet, Lincoln tried to counteract the division within the party. He chose party leaders who represented different elements and sectional groups in order that he might keep the support of all factions. For secretary of the interior, Lincoln chose Caleb B. Smith, of Indianapolis, who had been a lawyer, a newspaper publisher, and a railroad president. An advocate of internal improvements, Smith was elected to the state house of representatives from 1832 to 1842. From 1843 to 1849 he served Indiana as a member of the national House of Representatives. He was a skilled stump speaker, and his appointment came to him at least in part because of his support of Lincoln in the Republican national convention in Chicago. His appointment was also a recognition of the important role played by Indiana Republicans in Lincoln's nomination and election. It has also been alleged that the choice resulted from a pre-nomination pledge made by Judge David Davis and Joseph Medill to secure the selection of Lincoln by the Chicago convention and which Lincoln felt obligated to carry out although it was made without his knowledge. Smith remained in the cabinet for less than two years; his resignation became effective on January 1, 1863.

Indiana's congressional delegation was divided between seven Republicans and four Democrats. All of the latter were from the vicinity of the Ohio and lower Wabash rivers. William S. Holman, of Aurora, was a War Democrat who was later better known as the "Watchdog of the Treasury." John Law, of Evansville, the historian of Vincennes, was a War Democrat who vigorously opposed emancipation as a war aim. James A. Cravens, of Washington County, was also a War Democrat. Daniel W. Voorhees, of Terre Haute, has been called a Constitutional Union Democrat whose sharp tongue led many to consider him a Peace Democrat. "To him abolitionism and secession were equally hateful; and he be-

⁹ Grace Julian Clarke, *George W. Julian (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XI; Indianapolis, Ind., 1923)*, 225-230.

wailed the breaches of the Constitution and the tyranny of the war Government in terms of unmeasured opprobrium."¹⁰

The seven Republican members of the national House of Representatives ranged from radicals to moderates. Schuyler Colfax, editor of the South Bend *St. Joseph Valley Register*, had been elected to Congress in 1854, and was re-elected until he became vice president of the United States in 1869. He was considered in 1860 for a post in Lincoln's cabinet, but was passed over for Caleb B. Smith. Colfax served as speaker of the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1869 and was known as a Radical Republican. George W. Julian, of Wayne County, already noted as a radical, had been a Free Soil member of Congress from 1849 to 1851 and a Free Soil candidate for vice president in 1852. Now he was a Radical Republican deeply interested in the abolition of slavery. Albert S. White, of Tippecanoe County, was more conservative than Julian but was very energetic in trying to secure adoption of gradual emancipation of slaves and indemnification of their owners. Albert G. Porter, of Indianapolis, had been a Democrat but had joined the new Republican party, which elected him a congressman in 1858 and 1860. After Sumter he favored a vigorous prosecution of the war. William M. Dunn, of Madison, was elected in 1860 but defeated in 1862. He entered the army and became assistant judge advocate general in 1864.¹¹

Although Oliver P. Morton had been elected lieutenant governor, he became the chief executive on January 16, 1861, when Governor Henry S. Lane resigned to accept a seat in the United States Senate. Believing that war was inevitable, Morton was foremost in preparing the state to do her part in support of the national administration. After Sumter was fired upon, he appointed Lew Wallace adjutant general,

¹⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols., New York, 1928-1958), XIX, 291; Leonard S. Kenworthy, *The Tall Sycamore of the Wabash: Daniel Wolsey Voorhees* (Boston, Mass., 1936), 62-63, *et passim*; I. George Blake, *The Holmans of Veraestau (Men of America)*, Vol. IV; Oxford, Ohio, 1943), 98-127.

¹¹ John P. C. Shanks was elected in 1860 but defeated in 1862. He served in the military forces during the remainder of the war. William Mitchel was also defeated for re-election in 1862. Dunn became judge advocate general in 1875.

Willard H. Smith, *Schuyler Colfax: The Changing Fortunes of a Political Idol* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXIII; Indianapolis, Ind., 1952), 102-209; Clarke, *George W. Julian*, 85-142, 210-241; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 80-81.

Colonel Thomas A. Morris quartermaster general, and Isaiah Mansur commissary general.¹² The state fairground at Indianapolis was transformed into Camp Morton, where Indiana volunteers were trained, equipped, and organized into regiments.

The response of the people to the call for troops came quickly and forcefully as has been noted. Within five days the number of volunteers exceeded Indiana's quota. The first six regiments were organized as the Indiana Brigade under Brigadier General Thomas A. Morris, a graduate of West Point. He resigned as quartermaster general and led these first troops into western Virginia, where they participated with other troops in driving the Confederates out of Philippi in what is present-day West Virginia on June 3, 1861. This first inland battle of the war prevented the Confederates from seizing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and was the beginning of General George B. McClellan's campaign in western Virginia.¹³

Indiana's geographical position, her large population, and her large crops of agricultural products made her support of the war important. Since the state was located between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, railroads connected her cities, villages, and farms with Atlantic ports. Other railroads which ran from north to south were prepared to carry troops, supplies, and food to the armies which were soon located in the south central states. Indiana was a part of the great production area for wheat, corn, and hogs. Hoosier farmers raised more hogs than those of any other state and were second in the production of wheat. Only four loyal states had a larger population or more members in the national House of Representatives.¹⁴

Most of the state was in the drainage basin of the Ohio River, which with the Mississippi River formed the natural

¹² William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* (2 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1899), I, 101-112; Lewis Wallace, *Lew Wallace: An Autobiography* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1930), I, 260-269; *Indianapolis State Sentinel*, May 27, 30, June 14, 1861; [Howard R. Burnett] (ed.), "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain: Letters to the Vincennes Sun," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (December, 1933), 350-371.

¹³ McClellan made derogatory remarks about Morris and other officers which Kenneth P. Williams considers unjustified. See Williams' *Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War* (5 vols., New York, 1949-1959), I, 106-110.

¹⁴ U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860, Agriculture*, cxxiv, xxix; *ibid.*, *Population*, iv.

outlet for her surplus products. Although the east-west railroads opened the way to other markets, commerce to New Orleans had not diminished. Consequently the outcome of secession was of vital importance because it threatened Indiana's most natural route to the markets of the world.

The state, however, lacked the funds necessary to organize and equip regiments and to send them to the front. Temporarily the need was supplied by private persons and banks, among which was Winslow, Lanier, and Company, of New York. James F. D. Lanier, formerly a banker of Madison, Indiana, and a founder and principal stockholder of the Second State Bank of Indiana, was largely responsible for the interest this firm took in Indiana affairs. Although he left the state in 1851, he was much concerned about Indiana's part in the Civil War. His company loaned Governor Morton \$420,000 at this time. Since this loan and other actions required legislative approval and cooperation, Morton called a special session of the general assembly which met on April 24.¹⁵

The new governor undertook the great task of guiding the state through the war years. He addressed the special session of the legislature with an appeal that politics be forgotten and that all act as patriots. The members of the assembly responded quickly and vigorously, divided legislative offices between the two parties, authorized an issue of \$2,000,000 in state bonds for the defense of the state and nation, and appropriated \$1,600,000 for military purposes.

The Indianapolis *Daily Sentinel*, which on April 13, hailed the firing on Fort Sumter as the "Abolition War of Seward, Lincoln and Company," and advised on April 15, "Let Them Go in Peace," promised on April 25 that "there will be no factious opposition on the part of the Democratic members." Four days later it urged: "The Legislature of Indiana should promptly provide for all the requisitions of the General Government." The ultimate was reached on May 10 when it commented on the possibility of war or peace: "There is now no choice in the matter. The Government must be sustained." It actually used "Webster's Reply to Hayne" against the arguments of the secessionists. The call to action seemed to have

¹⁵ James F. D. Lanier, *Sketch of the Life of J. F. D. Lanier* (New York, 1870), 32; H. Brooklyn Cull, "James F. D. Lanier: Banker, Patriot" (Master's Thesis, Dept. of History, Indiana University, 1952), 56.

brought unity to Indiana—at least the dissident elements became quiet, but this temporary unity was not to last long.¹⁶

Since the markets for many products of southern Indiana had been in the southern states and trade continued after Sumter, the legislature appointed committees to investigate the possibility that aid was being given to the Confederacy by the continuation of trade. Acts were adopted defining treason, prohibiting correspondence and trade with the Confederacy, and providing penalties for violation of these measures. The federal government also intervened to prevent commerce with the enemy. Interference with the normal economic activity of this part of the state resulted in hardships for the people.

The governor was authorized on May 6, 1861, to organize six additional regiments from the volunteers. They were formed into a brigade under Brigadier General Joseph J. Reynolds, a graduate of West Point who had several years of military experience. The regiments were soon in federal service. To safeguard the immediate defense of the state, a militia was provided under the title "Indiana Legion." Its organization was confined largely to the southern counties, and inevitably much of the burden of local defense fell upon the citizens of this part of the state.

A debate over the purpose of the nation in waging war also revealed elements of disunity. Both houses of the general assembly adopted resolutions which declared that the men and resources of the state should not be employed to destroy slavery or the constitutional rights of the states. Some of the legislators wanted to add pledges stating that the preservation of the Union was the sole aim of the war, but radicals asserted that only the abolition of slavery would bring permanent peace.

The first engagement of large forces—the First Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas—took place on July 21, 1861, a few miles southwest of Washington. The repulse of the Union army dashed the hopes of those who had expected a short war but strengthened the determination of the North to prepare for a serious conflict.¹⁷

¹⁶ Indianapolis *Daily State Sentinel*, April 13, 15, 25, 29, May 10, 20, 1861; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, May 10, 1861.

¹⁷ Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, I, 76-102.

After this battle federal officials, particularly Secretary of War Simon Cameron, were willing to receive troops more readily. Governor Morton, who had been criticizing the unwillingness of the War Department to call for more soldiers, rushed forward the organization of additional regiments. By the end of the year, 61,341 volunteers had enlisted, a number considerably in excess of Indiana's quota of 38,832.

States competed with federal officials and with each other for arms, ammunition, uniforms, and other supplies; consequently, they paid high prices and increased the profits of contractors and speculators. The lack of system in purchasing also led to inadequate and inferior supplies. Irregularities brought the state's quartermaster and commissary departments under fire. A legislative investigation revealed adulterated coffee, unsatisfactory clothing, and, from the commissary general's own pork house, inferior meat. The latter official resigned after the Indiana House of Representatives requested his removal for malfeasance and incompetency. Bookkeeping in both departments was chaotic.¹⁸

Governor Morton established a state arsenal that produced large quantities of munitions from 1861 to 1864 without scandal. Robert Dale Owen, one of Indiana's most able reformers, on May 30, 1861, became the agent of the state to purchase arms, a position he filled with honor and distinction. His salary and expenses, which he determined for himself, amounted to \$3,452 for almost two years of service.¹⁹

The year 1862 proved to be a most critical year. Significant military campaigns and battles were fought both in the eastern and western theaters, Indiana Republicans were defeated in the fall elections, and the slavery issue was injected into the war aims. The Emancipation Proclamation produced repercussions among those who wished to bring the war to an early end with the sole issue the preservation of the Union.

In the East, General McClellan, who had been appointed general-in-chief, led the Army of the Potomac in the Peninsular Campaign. After bloody and costly engagements, including the Battle of Seven Pines on May 31, the Seven Days' Battle, of June 26 to July 1, and instances of over-cautiousness, Lincoln recalled McClellan and brought the

¹⁸ Indianapolis *Daily State Sentinel*, May 27, June 8, 1861.

¹⁹ Richard W. Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (*Harvard Historical Studies*, Vol. XLV; Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 346-349.

army back to northern Virginia. The Twentieth Indiana Infantry Regiment was the only Hoosier regiment to participate in all of this campaign, but others were in the Shenandoah Valley and along the Potomac with the troops protecting Washington. After Lincoln recalled McClellan, he gave the command to General John Pope, who soon lost the Second Battle of Manassas, or Bull Run, August 30, 1862. Four Indiana infantry regiments and one battery of light artillery participated in this engagement.

General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Confederate forces about Richmond and at Manassas, took advantage of the confusion which followed the Union defeat by advancing rapidly across the Potomac into Maryland. McClellan, whom Lincoln again placed in charge of the army around Washington, met Lee at Antietam, September 17, and checked his advance. When, however, he permitted Lee to retreat into Virginia without again attacking him, Lincoln once more relieved McClellan from command.²⁰ Indiana troops that fought at Second Manassas also helped to check Lee at Antietam.

General Ambrose E. Burnside, a native of Liberty, Indiana, and a graduate of West Point, was assigned the command of the Army of the Potomac. He suffered a disastrous defeat, December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Four Indiana regiments were in his army; the Fourteenth was in the opening attack, and the Nineteenth covered his retreat. This engagement ended the year's fighting in the East.

In the West, the Confederates had not been able to make the Ohio River their northern boundary because of the neutrality of Kentucky. After General Leonidas Polk, a Confederate, violated that policy by seizing Columbus, Kentucky, General Ulysses S. Grant occupied Paducah. The southerners' line was established from New Madrid, Missouri, through Island No. 10 in the Mississippi, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, to Bowling Green, and on into eastern Kentucky.

Grant moved from Cairo and Paducah to attack Forts Henry and Donelson early in 1862. The first surrendered on February 6 and the second on February 16. The Union forces then advanced up the Tennessee and were attacked by Confederate General Albert S. Johnston at Pittsburgh Landing,

²⁰ Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, II, 445-479.

or Shiloh, on April 6. The federal troops were driven back from most of the field of battle, but as the day ended, eight companies of the Thirty-sixth Indiana, the vanguard of the army of Don Carlos Buell, arrived in time to participate in the last few minutes of the fighting. Their appearance also signified that other regiments were not far away. General Lew Wallace, who had been summoned about noon, had taken the wrong road and did not reach the field of battle until late in the afternoon, but with him came three brigades of troops with other Indiana regiments among them. As night fell on this Sunday, April 6, Grant knew that he had met the full force of the Confederate attack, that Wallace's army was on the field of battle, and that Buell's army was being ferried over the river to him. During the next day the trend of battle was reversed, and Grant's forces recovered much of the lost ground. Very early on April 8, the Confederates withdrew and began their march back to Corinth, Mississippi.²¹

After the battles at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh, the steamboats of Indiana and neighboring states were employed in bringing back the wounded. Buildings in the Ohio River cities were converted into hospitals, and the women volunteered as nurses. Governor Morton mobilized doctors and supplies to assist in caring for the wounded.

General Henry W. Halleck now assumed immediate command of the western army and advanced slowly on Corinth, which he entered on June 1. Meanwhile Captain David G. Farragut, who had forced his way up the Mississippi with his fleet, took New Orleans on April 25. Proceeding northward and receiving the surrender of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Natchez, Mississippi, he ran past Vicksburg and joined the fleet of gunboats which had cleared the river as far south as Vicksburg. The Confederates had abandoned Columbus, Kentucky, and New Madrid, Missouri, and were forced to surrender Island No. 10.

Since Halleck refused to furnish troops for an attack on Vicksburg in 1862, the siege of that stronghold was postponed until the following year. The Confederacy continued to transport men and supplies across the Mississippi River between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, Louisiana. European goods were landed in Mexico and brought across Texas and Louisiana to the armies east of the Mississippi. The Union blockade of

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 178-395, and especially 348-352.

the coast of the Confederate states greatly limited the direct importation of such supplies.

After Corinth had fallen, Buell was sent to take possession of eastern Tennessee, but he quickly assumed a stationary position some thirty-five miles southeast of Nashville. On August 28, General Braxton Bragg, who had assembled a southern army at Chattanooga, marched out of that city and soon invaded Kentucky. He was aided by General Kirby Smith, who advanced from Knoxville to Kentucky.

Fear seized the Ohio River towns, martial law was proclaimed both in Cincinnati and southern Indiana. Businessmen, clerks, and laborers formed local companies of home guards, built earthworks, and assembled artillery and supplies for the defense of their homes. Two small, poorly equipped, and untrained armies composed chiefly of Indiana soldiers were thrown into the paths of the Confederate generals. One force met Smith at Richmond, Kentucky, where it suffered defeat, but the battle gave additional time to prepare the defense of Cincinnati. The other force fought Bragg at Munfordsville for three days before surrendering. This delay helped make it possible for Buell to reach Louisville first and to turn back southward to Perryville, where he checked the advance of Bragg on October 8. The Confederates then withdrew to eastern Tennessee, and Buell returned to Nashville.²²

After failing to obey an order to advance into eastern Tennessee, Buell was replaced by General William F. Rosecrans, who led the Union army to assault Bragg at Stone River near Murfreesboro. The southern general, however, attacked first and seemed to have won the battle on December 31; but Rosecrans, who would not retreat, advanced on January 2 and forced the Confederates to retire to Chattanooga, leaving central and western Tennessee in Union hands. Rosecrans, Grant, Farragut, and their men had opened most but not all of the Mississippi River, had won Kentucky, and all of Tennessee except the eastern part during the year 1862.

Many Indiana regiments had been sent to Missouri to help retain that state in the Union and then had been transferred to Grant's command in the Tennessee River campaign.

²² John D. Barnhart (ed.), "A Hoosier Invades the Confederacy: Letters and Diaries of Leroy S. Mayfield," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIX (June, 1943), 149-150; Stampp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 152-155.

Still other regiments had gone directly to Grant's army. Many wounded had returned home. Governor Morton devoted much time to the Hoosier soldiers, seeing that they had warm clothing, adequate food, and proper care when ill or wounded. He became known as the "soldiers' friend."

A rancorous partisan conflict without precedent in Indiana also took place in 1862. The Democratic state convention met in Indianapolis on January 8 in the midst of discouraging circumstances. Divided among themselves in respect to support of the war, their attitude towards slavery, and the methods of preserving the Union, Democrats were associated in the minds of many people with the rebellion of the South. Thomas A. Hendricks, president of the convention, promised support of the war for the preservation of the Union, but warned against abolitionists and complained about economic changes which the war stimulated and which worked to the advantage of the East. The platform promised support of a war for the "integrity of the Union under the Constitution" but opposed emancipation of the Negroes or the subjugation of the southern states.²³ The platform was unrealistic in demanding the preservation of the Union as it had been before the war.

The Union party, a coalition of Republicans and War Democrats, met in convention on June 18, anticipating an easy victory. Governor Morton as president of the convention again urged the abandonment of party for the duration of the war. He also spoke of treasonable societies in the state and of the possibility that strong measures against them might be necessary. Another speaker likened the Democratic convention to the Hartford Convention in which the Federalist party had opposed the War of 1812 and by so doing had destroyed its own usefulness. The nominations for offices were divided between the War Democrats and the Republicans. The platform declared in favor of vigorous prosecution of the war, which should be waged for the preservation of the Union and not for the abolition of slavery.

Developments that occurred between the meeting of the Union party convention and the election caused a sharp reversal of sentiment. Economic measures of the Lincoln administration—the growth of the national debt, the Pacific

²³ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, I, 203-212.

Railroad Act, with its large land grant and loan of money to a private corporation, and especially the raising of tariff duties to aid manufacturers—seemed to be a return to Hamiltonian policies. Arbitrary arrests, interference by the military in civilian affairs, violation of freedom of speech and the press, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus for all persons charged with disloyal practices caused the people to fear that their constitutional liberties were in danger. The failure of the military to win the war was very disappointing. Hoosiers had expected the opening of the Mississippi River, but they were not prepared for the failure of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, the call for more volunteers which followed, and the disaster at the Second Battle of Bull Run.²⁴

One of the causes of dissatisfaction in the state was the conscription of soldiers. Volunteers had enlisted in 1861, but in December the War Department, fearing that it could not equip and use so many soldiers, ordered governors to cease raising troops. When resumed in 1862 recruiting became increasingly difficult. In June urgent appeals were sent to the governors for more regiments, and early in July Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand additional soldiers. Fervent appeals, promises of money for the support of soldiers' families, and bounties for volunteers brought only languid recruiting. On July 17, 1862, Congress passed an act authorizing the states to resort to conscription if necessary to meet their quotas. In each county a commissioner was appointed, who in turn named a deputy in each precinct. The latter was to make a list of all resident male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. The commissioners and deputies then passed on all pleas for exemption and sent the final lists to the general commissioner in Indianapolis. The general commissioner determined whether each township had met its quota and then ordered those that had not to draw names from the list and send the draftees to the capital. Substitutes could be employed.²⁵

In conformity with this measure, on August 4, Lincoln requested another 300,000 men. Because of inadequate records, Indiana officials assumed that the state had failed

²⁴ Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, I, 327-330; Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 128-148.

²⁵ Charles E. Canup, "Conscription and Draft in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, X (June, 1914), 70-76.

to furnish its quota, although later investigation indicated that the state had furnished 8,008 more men than had been required. The draft was administered by state officials and was applied only to those townships which had not furnished the number of volunteers required of them. A total of 3,003 men were conscripted. Dissatisfied persons destroyed a draft box and delayed the officials in Blackford County for two days, while threats and misdemeanors marred the record of Fountain County. "Few events did more to strengthen the opposition [to the state Republican administration] than this first crude attempt to administer a draft."²⁶ It seemed to confirm fears of arbitrary government.

The reassertion of abolitionism raised again the question of the purpose of the war and of the sincerity of the original statements of the war aims of the administration. Although Lincoln had revoked the military orders of General John C. Frémont, in Missouri, and General David Hunter, in South Carolina, both of whom sought to abolish slavery in their military districts, the President suggested that Congress pass a measure for compensated emancipation in the border states. Congress accepted this proposal only insofar as it applied to the District of Columbia and excluded slavery from the territories. After the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862, which declared that slaves would be free in all states resisting the Union on January 1, 1863. Since the proclamation applied only to the people of the Confederacy—who would not obey the order—it was in reality only an announcement of policy and may not have freed a slave. Although very pleasing to the Radicals and to English liberals who helped prevent English interference in the American war, to many in Indiana the proclamation meant that the war had become a means of ending slavery as well as a struggle to preserve the Union. To numerous citizens who had migrated from south of the Ohio River and who were not willing to fight for the abolitionist cause, this proclamation was very objectionable.

The New Albany *Ledger*, along with many War Democrats who had been affiliated with the Union party, transferred its support to the Democrats.²⁷ As the strength of the

²⁶ Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 144.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 147-152.

Union party weakened, its leaders resorted to charges of disloyalty and treason and to a stimulation of emotions by means of horror stories which told of cruelty on the part of Confederates. The report of a federal grand jury on a secret political society was circulated as a campaign document. Republicans cultivated the impression that only Union party members were loyal and that only their candidates could safely be entrusted with official positions.

The grand jury report just mentioned exposed the existence and activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle. This organization, which originated before the Civil War, was said to have been devoted to the conquest of Mexico and its acquisition by the United States. As secession became eminent, the South took the place of the nation in the organization's ritual and purpose, and the order expanded into the Ohio Valley. Castles or local chapters were organized in Indiana, but the revelation of the group's existence and the charges of its supposed treason were so inextricably involved in the efforts of the Union party to win the state election of 1862 that the grains of truth cannot now be separated from the chaff. The charges were often so extreme as to discredit themselves. Many of the people undoubtedly believed that the order was an organization of traitors, and, perhaps, some of the members were. Other observers asserted that such allegations were not only false but were made for the purpose of winning the election. The existence of the society has been questioned, but the persons said to be its leaders were critical and unfriendly towards many of the methods which the state and national administrations were using to win the war.²⁸ The KGC was said to have protected individuals against arbitrary arrest and mob action, opposed Hamiltonian economic policies, and insisted that the draft was unconstitutional. Its friends asserted that it was only a harmless political club, but its enemies attributed to it all kinds of disorders, murders, resistance to conscription, and treason.

The failure to achieve military success and the raid of Braxton Bragg and Kirby Smith into Kentucky at this time

²⁸ "The Republican constructed myths about Copperhead secret societies served their purposes well. It was a political apparition which appeared on the eve of elections. It was a figment of Republican imagination." Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, Ill., 1960), 205. The importance of Copperhead organizations has undoubtedly been exaggerated.

counteracted much of the advantage which the Republicans gained from the exposure of the Knights. The destruction and capture of untrained Indiana soldiers at Richmond and Munfordsville did not change Indiana's lack of enthusiasm for the war. And shortly before the election, the draft was first employed in Indiana.

On October 14 the voters gave the Democratic candidates their preference by approximately nine thousand votes. The new state legislature contained Democratic majorities in both houses, but control of the senate was very narrowly held. The lesser state officials and seven of eleven congressmen were Democrats. This result was, according to the victors, an expression of dissatisfaction with Republican policies and with the failure of the administration to win the war. The absence of many voters in the armies, said the Republicans, determined the election since there was no provision for absentee ballots. Some truth may be found in each statement, but adequate evidence does not exist to estimate the division of the soldiers between the two parties. The soldier vote was assumed by the Republicans to be in their favor, but there is some evidence to the contrary.²⁹

Discouragement with the slow progress of the war and the bitterness of the previous political campaign led to the collapse of constitutional government in Indiana in 1863. This development was perhaps different only in degree from what took place in other states, for despondency, gloom, declining morale, and even desertions were general. Professor Wood Gray has called the months from December 13, 1862, to July 4, 1863, the "Period of Despair."³⁰

Amid charges of disloyalty, the legislature met on January 8, 1863. Before a week had passed, Thomas A. Hendricks, the defeated candidate for governor in 1860, and David Turpie, a moderate Democrat, were elected to the United States Senate. Turpie completed the unexpired term of Jesse D. Bright, which lasted only a few weeks, but Hendricks was chosen for the regular term, 1863-1869. Henry S. Lane, who had been elected governor on the Republican ticket in 1860, and United States senator in 1861, was the other member

²⁹ "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment, Peninsular Campaign to Chancellorsville: Letters to the Vincennes Western Sun," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIII (September, 1937), 341.

³⁰ Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), 118-147.

of the Senate from Indiana. The state house of representatives began to consider several partisan measures to lessen the authority of the governor, for Morton had conducted himself in a very forceful manner and many of the opposition hated him intensely. The Democrats proposed to create an executive council composed of the other state administrative officials, to limit the governor's power, to reorganize the state board of benevolent institutions, and to modify the militia system by dividing the governor's authority with other executive officers. Like most politicians recently come to power, they proposed to redistrict the state in a manner favorable to themselves.

Republican members of the legislature raised the cry of treason, and when Democratic members showed their determination to proceed, Republican members of the house of representatives bolted from Indianapolis and prevented the assembling of a quorum. The constitution of the state required two-thirds of each house to be present in order to form a quorum. The bolters went to Madison, where they remained until the legislature adjourned. Apparently they intended to cross the Ohio if threatened with arrest.³¹

Democratic representatives expected that their control over the appropriation bill would force the Republicans to return before the session ended. Morton, however, chose to regard the Democratic bills as proof of a treasonable conspiracy to take Indiana out of the Union; he therefore refused to reassemble the legislature. The national War Department, nineteen counties, and various private persons furnished the governor almost a half million dollars with which he financed the government without the legislature and the appropriation bill. The most serious problem was the necessity of paying interest due on the state debt. Winslow, Lanier, and Company, however, furnished approximately \$629,432.85 to meet the payments. In this manner the Republican governor was able to evade the results of the election of 1862.³²

Many unfortunate results of a long and bitter war were felt in the northern states before the victories of 1863 brought hope to a confused people. Lower moral standards were

³¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 11, 1863; Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 158-185.

³² Cull, "James F. D. Lanier," 69. Lanier, *Sketch of the Life of J. F. D. Lanier*, 35, gives \$640,000 as the sum furnished by the company.

much in evidence as numerous individuals failed to resist opportunities to join in profiteering on war contracts. Gambling, heavy drinking, and various forms of vice seemed to be increasing. Soldiers and other men lawlessly ignored the rights of property holders and citizens. The organization of the northern states into military districts and the assumption of governmental control by army officers approached the imposition of military rule over a civilian people. Fanaticism, bitter sectionalism, and war hysteria rose to deny the rights of the people to think for themselves and criticize what they regarded as unwise state and national actions and policies. Inflation and the absence of wage earners who were in the army brought hardships to families of the poor, while death or permanent disability of wage earners often made their families' situation desperate. As bitter partisanship brought the collapse of constitutional government, uncontrolled emotionalism threatened the loss of civil freedom.

What of the enlisted man? How did he fare? The soldier was a fighting man, but he spent little of his time in battle. He was constantly engaged in adjusting himself to a new scheme of life made necessary by the existence of war, but which was a compromise between the civilian life he had known and the exigencies of military activities. He learned quickly to sleep in the open or to find some kind of shelter along the line of march. As soon as his regiment became stationary he constructed some type of shanty out of whatever materials were at hand. When the Fourteenth Indiana Regiment was guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, a number of men found themselves without shelter in the midst of a rainy night. They stood around the campfires until morning, a night they would long remember. A month later at another camp, "a large pile of pine lumber, two stacks of hay, and a huge rick of straw vanished in a jiffy." One can imagine that the men did not stand out in the rain that night. The troops' usual equipment included tents and stoves—"better quarters no soldier would ask for." Too frequently, however, orders came to march as soon as comfortable quarters had been established.

Company G of the Fourteenth Indiana Infantry built on Cheat Mountain in what is now West Virginia a camp that was somewhat unusual. "The broad, well bouldered avenue that runs north and south between the two rows of Co. G's

'dens' has been dubbed Provision Street for the reason that it runs smack into the Commissary's Department." "Corporal Wm. H. Jackson's mess . . . built a log shanty covered with bark, stone fire-place, and bark chimney. A great many huts principally of stone and on the Esquimaux style, have been erected in the encampment within a day of [or] two, some of them exhibiting considerable skill and ingenuity. . . . " "Denny, Patterson, and I have our bed filled with a plentiful supply of fresh 'feathers,' (the tips of young pine and cedar tree branches) and sleep as warm and comfortable thereon as though ensconced (Dutch fashion) between two feather beds."

The campfire was a necessary concomitant of military life. Around it some cooking was done, clothes dried, and benumbed bodies warmed. It was the center of social life where stories were swapped and rumors made their rounds. "Up to 9 o'clock camp fires burned brightly; around them groups of soldiers gathered singing, laughing, 'speculating' on the coming fight. There was a constant jingle, jingle of iron ram-rods, snapping of caps, and sputtering of hot grease in sundry frying pans. . . . "³³

The soldier often experienced the necessity of finding his own food or going hungry. The commissary department generally kept up with the regiments and furnished the men with such edibles as could be procured but sometimes fell behind. Food tended to be very monotonous and tiresome. "We have nothing to complain of just now but our grub which is of the most miserable quality. Should like to see a whole brigade of commissaries hung." Furthermore, on raids and forced marches the men carried with them rations which could not offer much variety. Consequently the soldier learned to forage for himself, as well as to build shelters. One of the men of the Fourteenth Indiana wrote in February, 1862:

Wednesday night at eleven o'clock we boarded the cars and steamed down the road twenty-two miles. About daylight the train halted and the regiment disembarked, built fires along . . . the railroad track, and

³³ [Burnett], "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (December, 1933), 350-371, see 359-366; "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment: Letters to the Vincennes Western Sun," *ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1938), 78-79; Theodore F. Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, ed. by Oscar O. Winther (Baton Rouge, La., 1943), 44, 144.

thawed out our benumbed and stiffened limbs, the ride in open boxcars having cramped us up considerably, and more, too.

Grub being scarce, the boys obtained leave to knock over anything in the eating live [line] that was to be found on its legs within range. A general deploy for fresh rations took place immediately—and sheep, “slow deer” (porkers), rabbits, ducks, geese, &c., were made to suffer that day.³⁴

At other times some of the men were entertained in the homes of people who were Unionists—but only in territory where there had been little fighting. The lack of garden vegetables and fresh fruit was a serious failure of the commissary. Soldiers complained that they were fed on “side meat and crackers till we are tired of it—no vegetables or fresh meat for weeks past.” The lack of green stuff over a long period of time brought scurvy.

The quartermaster endeavored to keep the men adequately clothed, but the baggage frequently failed to keep up with the troops. Soldiers on long marches refused to carry articles that were not immediately necessary. Scenes such as the following were fairly frequent. As one officer commented, “The sun shone bright and warm . . . the roads were strewn thickly with U. S. blankets, shelter tents, overcoats, and clothing of every description . . . the old soldiers of the army carry nothing but arms, ammunition, and the grub-bag.”³⁵

But on September 8, 1862, the same officer complained that

here we are, drawn up in line-of-battle, on half rations, and the poorest kind at that, without blankets—scores without shoes. . . . Many without shirts, socks, shoes or caps even, and this, too, on American soil, *inside* of the United States, along side of regiments that are not only fresh, but with everything complete, and furnished with full rations of the best quality.

[Early that same year this officer's regiment] . . . received a full supply of under-clothing, mittens, tippets, &c.; Likewise, a “heaps of goodies” and something stronger than water. . . . [In June] caps, blouses, pants, drawers, shirts, socks, shoes, &c [were distributed].³⁶

³⁴ “The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment in the Valley of Virginia: Letters to the Vincennes *Sun*,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXX (September, 1934), 282.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 275, 276, 289; “Fourteenth Indiana Regiment,” *ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1938), 71-98, see 89.

³⁶ “Fourteenth Indiana Regiment, Peninsular Campaign to Chancellorsville,” *ibid.*, XXXIII (September, 1937), 325-348, see 330; “The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment in the Valley of Virginia,” *ibid.*, XXX (September, 1934), 283, 296.

Sometimes the enemy was driven from his camp and his supplies were confiscated. Such an incident was described by the correspondent of the *Vincennes Sun*: "Here [was] a squad of infantry, with a knapsack or two each—strings of sausage, lengths of stove pipe, bed quilts, brooms, buckets full of honey, extra guns, chickens, turkies, loaves of bread, and other articles too numerous to mention." A cavalryman came in with "an extra large share of the 'spoils of war'—a large turkey and half a dozen chickens hung from his saddle-bow, while a feather bed, three different colored blankets, a broom, a skillet and a goose were fastened on behind." Obviously conditions varied from scarcity to plenty in a very short time.³⁷

Amusement was not entirely lacking, although no officially appointed agents were authorized to arrange entertainment. One evening in December, 1861, at Romney, Virginia, the Fifth Ohio Regiment invited the Fourteenth Indiana to "coffee, &c." Other refreshments and amusements were obtained from time to time in taverns and saloons. Once in a while the soldiers made an occasion of a particular opportunity, as on December 12, 1862, when the Fourteenth Indiana was "quartered in the fine brick buildings on Caroline Street in the city of Fredericksburg, Va.—ransacking pil-laging, feasting, fiddling, dancing, and having a gay time generally, as soldiers will have whenever opportunity offers, even though it be on the eve of a great battle and under the very guns of the enemy."³⁸ Occasionally when quartered near a large city the soldier or perhaps his company received a leave and spent some time away from camp. At other times he was permitted to return home to visit or was sent back to aid in recruiting. By and large, however, the fighting man was forced to find his own amusement in camp or the immediate vicinity.

Two happy occasions in camp were the days when mail and the paymaster arrived. The men were starved for letters and newspapers from home, and the diarist and letter writer seldom failed to mention the general rejoicing occasioned by

³⁷ "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment in the Valley of Virginia," *ibid.*, XXX (September, 1934), 280.

³⁸ "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment," *ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1938), 80; "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment in the Valley of Virginia," *ibid.*, XXX (September, 1934), 278; Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 45, 92, 106.

the arrival of news about friends and loved ones. Seemingly the postmaster was even more welcome than the paymaster, although the latter was also received with a joyous shout. Money in the pocket could always be spent at the sutler's or in a neighboring village, and the need for various items and liquid refreshments always seemed to be urgent. The sutler, because of his high prices, was an unpopular individual.³⁹

Life in the army was, however, a serious business. Gradually poor health, accidents, wounds, fatalities, and desertions reduced the company's strength. From time to time recruits were brought in as replacements, but many of these additions disappeared in time. A company that participated in the full four years of fighting would be reduced to half strength or even less and then be merged with other units.⁴⁰ The soldier who saw his fellows killed or disabled by wounds or disease tended to become hard and fatalistic. He developed into a skilled and experienced fighter, but he was likely to feel that his continued existence was largely a matter of chance. He was unhappy about being away from home, family, and friends. He became emotionally wrought up about the war, why it was being fought, why it was not being won more rapidly, and about supposedly disloyal persons back home. A large backlog of dissatisfaction, prejudice, and hate were stored up, which many a soldier would carry with him to the grave. The last two generations of historians have pointed feelingly to the wrongs suffered by the South after the war, and yet little effort has been made to understand why northerners who were absent from their homes fighting to preserve their country behaved as they did after 1865. Some of the reasons may be found in the months and years they spent in camps, prisons, battles, and hospitals. Many of these men could not return to the ways of thinking and living which they had known before 1861.

The war-weary people of the North, whether in the armed forces or at home, were encouraged to continue their support

³⁹ [Burnett], "The Fourteenth Indiana Regiment on Cheat Mountain," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (December, 1933), 357; "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment," *ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1938), 79-80; Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 47.

⁴⁰ "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment, Peninsular Campaign to Chancellorsville," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIII (September, 1937), 338; "Fourteenth Indiana Regiment," *ibid.*, XXXIV (March, 1938), 88-89; Upson, *With Sherman to the Sea*, 85-86, 95, 122. See also Alan T. Nolan, *The Iron Brigade: A Military History* (New York, 1961), 263-282, *et passim*—an excellent piece of military history.

of the national administration by the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The successes of July, 1863, not only gave hope to the people, but they proved to be the turning point of the Civil War.

After Burnside's defeat at Fredericksburg, Virginia, December 13, 1862, President Lincoln chose "Fighting Joe" Hooker to lead Union forces on a march to Richmond, the Confederate capital. At Chancellorsville, May 13, 1863, he was met by Generals Lee and Jackson, who administered to the federal army a serious reverse which was somewhat counterbalanced for the North by the death of Jackson. Lee seized the opportunity offered by the confusion in national military circles to invade the North by way of the Shenandoah Valley. Lincoln hurriedly placed the Army of the Potomac under General George G. Meade, who hastened northward by a route shorter than the Confederates' and reached Gettysburg ahead of Lee. During the first three days of July the two great armies engaged in bloody combat. Lee's invasion was checked, although the forty thousand casualties were about equally divided. The Confederate General retired in such good order that Meade feared to attack and allowed the southern army to return to Virginia without further challenge.⁴¹

In the West, Grant had begun his campaign against Vicksburg late in 1862, but without immediate success. He transported his army down the Mississippi and marched around the fortifications in a semicircle on the western side of the river. His boats ran past Vicksburg at night and then ferried the army to the eastern shore at Grand Gulf. Grant hurriedly advanced on Jackson, Mississippi, headed off Confederate reinforcements, and approached Vicksburg from the east. Confederate General John C. Pemberton, who was ordered to hold Vicksburg at all costs, permitted himself to be confined and besieged in the town. On July 4, 1863, after the exhaustion of his food supplies, he surrendered an army of some thirty thousand men and extensive quantities of artillery and military supplies. The loss was costly to the South, and the opening of the Mississippi was an important advantage to the North. Numerous Indiana regiments participated in the battles and siege operations, and the graves of hundreds of Indiana soldiers are located in the federal

⁴¹ Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, II, 547-759.

cemetery on the battleground. The victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg restored the hope of the North that the war would be won and the nation saved.⁴²

The revival of faith in the administration was timely, for conditions in Indiana were critical. Political animosity continued at the boiling point, many persons protested the new draft, and the vigorous Confederate John H. Morgan and his cavalry invaded the state.

The most serious crisis came in Indianapolis on May 20, 1863, when the Democrats held a mass state convention. The state was then being governed by Morton without the legislature because Republicans had bolted the session and left the capital, and the Democrats had failed to pass the appropriation bill. General Burnside, of the Department of the Ohio, issued an order against "express or implied" treason. Arbitrary arrests which he ordered caused Morton to protest. "The General had little faith in the loyalty of Indiana, and it was only Morton's protest that prevented the establishment of martial law in his state."⁴³ In April, General Milo S. Hascal, of the District of Indiana, ordered that newspapers or speakers who endeavored "to bring the war policy of the government into disrepute" should be treated as violators of Burnside's order. The editor of the Plymouth *Democrat*, who challenged the order, was arrested and sent to Cincinnati. The owners of the paper were required to hire a new "loyal" editor and were placed under \$5,000 bond not to violate the order again. Other papers were warned to obey or cease publication.

The violation of freedom of the press by military officers seemed to Democrats to be characteristic of the general policy of the Governor and his party. Identification by the Republicans of criticism with disloyalty and Morton's insistence that he had saved Indiana for the Union were regarded by the Democrats as brazen distortions of the truth. In April and May the imposition of military government, arbitrary arrests, and interference with freedom of the press angered the critics of Morton almost beyond endurance.

The Governor thought his actions were necessary to put down treason. Undoubtedly disloyalty existed, but the crucial question concerns the wisdom of his policy, its necessity, and

⁴² Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1905-1925), VI, 546-553.

⁴³ Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 198-199.

the extent of disloyalty which he sought to counteract. Was the situation so alarming as to necessitate arbitrary arrests, interference with spoken and written criticism, and use of the military? A month and a half later, General John H. Morgan invaded the state. He hoped to find pro-southerners to help him, but the response was very disappointing to him.⁴⁴

Morton also failed to understand the functions of an opposition party. Had he adopted a less extreme policy, the extremists would have been unable to masquerade as defenders of civil rights. Although the war was over when the Supreme Court decided the case of *Ex parte Milligan*, the decision disapproved interference by the military when the civil courts were functioning. The highest judicial authority disapproved of the use of military courts.

As the day for the Democratic mass convention drew near, General Hascall mobilized infantry, cavalry, and artillery in Indianapolis on the assumption that the Knights of the Golden Circle were about to start a revolutionary uprising. Daniel Voorhees, one of the Democrats who opposed the conduct of the war, opened the convention with a defiant address in which he criticized the use of military government and defended the right of the people to discuss public policies.⁴⁵ Later a band of soldiers stopped Samuel R. Hamill while he was speaking. Disorders took place in various parts of the city, and many men were arrested for carrying concealed weapons or for uttering disloyal sentiments. Soldiers with fixed bayonets interrupted Senator Hendrick's speech to the convention, but officers ordered them away before violence occurred. As people started home on the railroads, they were searched for weapons. A train was stopped near Pogue's Run, into which a number of passengers threw their revolvers. The incident was thereafter called the "Battle of Pogue's Run." That serious trouble did not occur, however, was due in part to the forbearance of the Democrats.

Congress passed on March 3, 1863, a second conscription act which provided for an enrollment of eligible men by federal officials. It contained three objectionable features. First,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 196-202; Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIV (September, 1918), 183-286, see 211-213.

⁴⁵ Kenworthy, *Daniel W. Voorhees*, 62-63; Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIV (September, 1918), 210-213.

individuals who were called for service could pay \$300 to be exempted or could hire substitutes. This provision rather obviously favored rich men's sons. Second, conscription was to be used only in counties which had not met their quotas of volunteers. Richer counties paid bounties to induce men to enlist. Nearby poorer counties could not compete and consequently had to resort to the draft to fill their quotas. The practice of paying bounties also led unscrupulous men to make a business of volunteering and deserting in order to collect additional bounties. Third, enforcement and administration of the act by federal officials was not popular in Indiana.

Disorders occurred in connection with the draft, but an adequate critical study of the irregularities has not been made. Considerable opposition to enrollment was met in 1863. Two officials were said to have been murdered in Rush County, another was killed in Sullivan County, one was deprived of his papers in Fulton County, still another was driven out of his district in Johnson County, and other scattered disturbances occurred. Prompt arrest of offenders and appeals by leading Democrats for obedience to the law until it could be tested in the courts soon restored order. As usual, the irregularities were attributed to the Knights of the Golden Circle.

In the spring and summer of 1863, this organization was replaced or absorbed by the Order of the American Knights, which a year later became the Sons of Liberty. The nature of the organization seems to have changed less than the name. Each order had a military division which was not revealed to the general membership. To the large number of adherents it seemed to be a harmless Democratic club through which they could protest arbitrary actions by the government and try to protect their civil rights.⁴⁶

In addition to alarms about secret societies, resistance to conscription, and other disorders, Indiana suffered invasion in 1863. Captain Thomas Hines, one of the officers of the famous Confederate cavalry leader, John H. Morgan, crossed the Ohio River above Cannelton, pushed northward as far as Paoli and Hardinsburg, and returned to the Ohio above

⁴⁶ Canup, "Conscription and Draft in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, X (June, 1914), 74-81; Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," *ibid.*, XIV (September, 1918), 224-236.

Leavenworth. Most of his men were captured, but Hines swam the Ohio and escaped.

A month later, on July 8, Morgan crossed the river at Brandenburg, Kentucky, with nearly three thousand cavalry, advanced to Corydon, divided his forces and took Paoli and Greenville, united his troops again at Vienna and Lexington, moved northeastward to Versailles, and left the state near Harrison, Ohio. He had little trouble securing food, money, and fresh horses and was able to defeat the small bodies of militia that opposed him. Governor Morton called on the men of the southern half of Indiana to organize, arm, and take the field. In the northern part of the state, citizens were asked to organize military companies and hold themselves ready for action. In two days, twenty thousand men assembled in Indianapolis and another forty-five thousand were nearly ready to serve. Morgan destroyed railroads and bridges to delay his pursuers. The damage he wrought in the state has been estimated at \$500,000, but in return he left a host of stories—many humorous, others tragic—that have enriched the traditions of the state. Because he feared to try crossing the Ohio River at Madison and because the militia was closing in, he fled into Ohio. On July 26 he was captured at Salineville in eastern Ohio. He had expected the people of southern Indiana to come to his aid, but their efforts to capture him should have quieted the fears of various officials about their loyalty.⁴⁷

After the capture of Vicksburg, Rosecrans, who was in command of the federal forces in eastern Tennessee, advanced against Bragg at Chattanooga. He bypassed the city and met Bragg at Chickamauga to the south on September 19 and 20. The Confederate army had been reinforced by the armies of General James Longstreet and General Simon Buckner, the former a part of Lee's command at Richmond. The Confederates checked Rosecrans and drove him back to Chattanooga and then laid siege to the city. The fate of the Union army would have been even more severe had not General George H. Thomas stood and fought while the bulk of the army fled.

⁴⁷ Margrette Boyer, "Morgan's Raid in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, VIII (December, 1912), 149-165; letter from J. Eberle West to his father, July 28, 1863, "Morgan's Raid," *ibid.*, XX (March, 1924), 92-96.

Lincoln and Halleck quickly decided to rush the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps under Hooker from Virginia to Chattanooga by way of Wheeling, Indianapolis, Louisville, and Nashville—

a movement that was . . . epoch-making in military annals, for nothing on a similar scale had ever been attempted. More than twice the number of men that had been sent to Bragg by the Richmond government would be sent to the Federal commander, and they would have to move twice the distance; the great Ohio River must be crossed twice, and there were no railroad bridges.⁴⁸

In Indianapolis a distance of one mile which separated two railroads delayed the movement of men and equipment. Guns, wagons, baggage, and horses in addition to eighteen thousand men made the long journey in two weeks time, the soldiers reaching their destination in nine days.

General William T. Sherman was sent with many more troops from Vicksburg, and Grant was given over-all command. On November 23 to 25 he drove the Confederates from the outskirts of Chattanooga. Sherman in charge of the left wing and Thomas of the center attacked the southerners on Missionary Ridge. Hooker's men scaled Lookout Mountain and planted the flag on its summit, and Bragg hastily withdrew to the southeast. Many Indiana regiments took part in these engagements.

Though it won important battles, the military was not able to end the war in 1864, but it did go a long way toward achieving that goal. In the west the task of destroying the Confederate army and invading the lower South was accomplished; only in the east did large operations continue. Grant was promoted on March 9, awarded the title of lieutenant general, and, under Lincoln, given supreme authority over all federal forces. Taking the eastern command for himself, Grant brought about concerted action in the two theaters of the war. William T. Sherman was placed in command at Chattanooga and ordered to attack Atlanta through the mountains.

Both men started their campaigns in May and both followed somewhat similar tactics, attacking their opponents in

⁴⁸ Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, II, 764-765 ff.; Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 553-556.

the front and executing a flanking operation that forced a retreat. Sherman, with an army twice the size of General Joseph E. Johnston's, was more cautious than Grant and sometimes sought to make the flanking movement accomplish his aims without the frontal attack. Johnston, who knew the importance of preserving his army, retreated by stages towards Atlanta without risking a general engagement. He was replaced on July 17 by General John B. Hood, who in eleven days lost three battles and over ten thousand men. Sherman then laid siege to Atlanta, but Hood refused to be surrounded and on September 3 marched to the west to attack his opponent's supply line. Sherman sent Thomas to oppose Hood and began his own preparations to march with sixty thousand men from Atlanta to the sea.

Meanwhile Grant moved against Lee. Their first encounter was the Battle of the Wilderness on May 5 to 7, in which both lost heavily in an indecisive conflict. When Grant began a flanking movement, however, Lee retreated. The second engagement was a five-day battle at Spottsylvania, May 8 to 12, in which Grant lost many men. He then moved southeastward around his opponent's right but was met by Lee at North Anna. This time the national commander did not make a direct attack but moved to his own left towards Richmond. From May 5 to 21 his losses totaled thirty-four thousand. At Cold Harbor, June 1 to 3, Grant lost another eight thousand men before advancing to the south. His next attack was on Petersburg, where losses continued to be heavy. Finally he settled down to the siege of Petersburg and Richmond, while Sherman was systematically destroying the resources of the Confederacy.

The political front in Indiana was more discouraging than the military situation. The failure of the armed forces to secure a decisive victory and the heavy losses in men were very depressing. Many became convinced that the war could not be won. The calls for additional soldiers and use of conscription impressed the seriousness of the situation upon family after family. To make the political conflict worse, a dangerous split developed among the Republicans when the Radicals spoke against Lincoln's reconstruction policy. How to keep them in the party without making concessions that would alienate the remaining War Democrats was a serious

problem. Much opposition to the renomination of Lincoln appeared on the ground that his administration had failed to prosecute the war effectively.

A mass convention of Union men met in Indianapolis on February 23, 1864, to nominate a state ticket. Lincoln's friends executed a surprise attack by immediately introducing resolutions nominating Morton for governor and instructing the delegates to the national Republican convention to support Lincoln for another term. The resolutions were adopted with a shout of approval. The Governor addressed the convention, defended his administration, ignored economic issues, and demanded that the state make "no compromise with traitors." The Indiana delegates to the national convention voted for the nomination of Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.⁴⁹

The Democrats were also divided between peace advocates on the left and War Democrats on the right. The conservatives without difficulty assumed control of the state convention when it met on July 12, although the military situation had strengthened the hands of the peace advocates. Joseph E. McDonald, who was nominated for governor and headed a ticket of conservative candidates for the state offices, promised to uphold the state and national constitutions, to support the war, to preserve the Union, and to make peace if the Union could thus be restored according to the Constitution. The platform denounced Morton's usurpation of power, the violations of civil liberty, and the waste of the national administration. In the Democratic national convention, the Indiana delegates supported General McClellan. When he practically repudiated the peace plank of the national platform, which declared the war a failure and demanded a cessation of hostilities in order to restore the Union by peaceful means, he was supported by all except radicals. The peace men obtained very little satisfaction from either the state or national party.⁵⁰

The military situation during the political campaign worried both Republicans and Democrats. The Republicans feared the people might accept the Democratic assertion that the conduct of the war was a failure. The opposition feared

⁴⁹ Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 217-227.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 230-235.

that the lack of victory would stimulate the peace men to greater activity.

On July 1, while Grant was besieging Petersburg, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early with seventeen thousand men to drive federal forces from the Shenandoah Valley and to threaten the national capital, as Lee had done in 1862 and 1863. In eleven days Early was in the outskirts of Washington and might have taken the city had he not delayed his attack overnight. Reinforcements from Grant arrived in time. Not until the latter half of September did General Philip H. Sheridan drive Early from the Valley and then proceed to its devastation. In the meantime the near success of the Confederates pointed up the apparent hopelessness of the war.

As a result of the great losses suffered by Grant in his campaign to take Richmond, on July 18, 1864, Lincoln called for 500,000 additional soldiers, of which Indiana's share was 35,732. This call was very disappointing to Morton, who had tried to arrange matters so that neither a call for more troops nor a draft should come during the political campaign. But to meet such a large quota when enthusiasm was low would likely necessitate conscription. Every possible effort was made to meet the call with volunteers, but 12,474 men had to be drafted. Of this number, substitutes were sent by 4,466; conscientious objectors who were released numbered 623; 97 deserted before reaching the army, which left 7,288 who joined the forces as drafted men.⁵¹

Much of the disorder that greeted conscription was attributed to the Sons of Liberty, an organization which took the place of the earlier Order of American Knights and the Knights of the Golden Circle. Today only estimates of the strength of these associations can be made, for most of the records have disappeared.

After the draft had aroused Morton's fear that a call for troops would be fatal to the Republicans' hope of winning the election, he turned to the Sons of Liberty. In the top hierarchy of this organization was a spy, Felix G. Stidger, whose report was helpful to the governor in arranging another exposé. On July 30, 1864, in the *Indianapolis Journal* information was

⁵¹ Canup, "Conscription and Draft in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, X (June, 1914), 79-83.

published about the order, its ritual, and its constitution. Republican papers represented the Sons of Liberty as an integral part of the Democratic party.

While the agitation was continuing, a foolish scheme of Harrison H. Dodd, state commander of the Sons of Liberty, and a few of his associates was revealed. They planned to free the rebel prisoners at Camp Morton, seize the arsenal, and start a general uprising in order to form a northwestern confederacy or join the South or at least to weaken the Union. When a few Democratic leaders heard of the conspiracy, they induced Dodd to abandon his project, and August 16, the date set for the insurrection, passed without incident. Morton had been informed of the plans on August 3 by Stidger, but he did little about them except to alert and strengthen the militia. On August 20, when he learned of a shipment of arms to Dodd's place of business, the establishment was raided. A membership list of the Sons of Liberty, which included the names of several Democratic candidates for state offices, four hundred revolvers, and ammunition were seized. Sensational use was made of this information by political speakers and the partisan press. Little or no distinction was made between Dodd and his helpers and the Democratic party.⁵²

But the Governor had not finished with the leaders of the Sons of Liberty. Early in September Dodd was arrested and brought before a military court. Within the next thirty days or so, five other leaders were arrested. The strength of the conspiracy or its exact nature were not made clear by the testimony, much of which was given by unreliable persons. A few days before the state election, Dodd managed to escape. His flight was interpreted as a confession that the charges were true.

The trials of the other defendants were started shortly before the national election. One of the five men turned state's evidence and was released, four were declared guilty, and three of the latter were sentenced to be hanged. Punishment was delayed while an appeal was made to the federal courts. On April 3, 1866, the Supreme Court in *Ex parte Milligan*

⁵² Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War*, 239-247; Fesler, "Secret Political Societies," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIV (September, 1918), 241-256.

declared that the military commission which conducted the trials had no jurisdiction in the case and that trial of civilians by military courts in regions where civil courts were functioning was illegal. The prisoners were released and were not tried in a civil court. The decision of the Supreme Court has become one of the great bulwarks of American freedom, but the trials were also of great advantage to Union party candidates in the state and national elections.⁵³

Although the capture of Atlanta and Sheridan's destructive march through the Shenandoah Valley gave renewed hope to the North, Morton was still greatly worried about the outcome of the elections. He tried repeatedly to delay the draft until after the people had voted. He insisted that Indiana soldiers be given a furlough so they could reach home in time to vote. He obtained the return of seventy-five hundred of the hundred-day volunteers and about nine thousand wounded veterans, as well as delaying the departure of new recruits for the front.

Morton seems to have been unnecessarily cautious, for on October 11 voters gave the ticket a substantial majority of twenty thousand votes. The new legislature contained a majority of Union men in both houses, and the congressional delegation was divided eight to three in favor of the Union party. A month later Lincoln carried the state by a similar majority.

After the elections, the military situation improved. On November 15, Sherman, having burned the machine shops, left Atlanta and marched across country to Savannah, Georgia. On his way he destroyed everything of use to the Confederacy in a strip of land sixty miles wide from Atlanta to the sea. For one month he was out of communication with the federal government. Many in the North worried about his fate until he took possession of Savannah on December 20.

Meanwhile, General Hood had marched into Tennessee and at Franklin on November 30 attempted to destroy Union General John M. Schofield. On December 15 and 16, however, General Thomas, whose forces had been joined by Schofield,

⁵³ Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Milligan Case and the Election of 1864 in Indiana," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXI (June, 1944), 41-58.

practically destroyed Hood's army at Nashville. In a similar manner Grant's position at Richmond, Virginia, was improved by Sheridan's defeat of Early. Northern forces now possessed Virginia north of the James River, and Lee's prospects were further darkened.

On February 1, 1865, Sherman began a march northward from Savannah across South Carolina and into North Carolina. Joseph E. Johnston, who was placed in command of all the soldiers the Confederate States could raise in this area, tried to check Sherman at Averasborough on March 16. Sherman reached Goldsborough a week later, where he was 160 miles south of Grant. Here he was joined by Schofield, who had come from Tennessee to aid him. This entire Union force would have moved to Grant's assistance if that had been necessary.

Grant, however, had seized the Petersburg and Lynchburg railroad and forced Lee to extend his lines to the west. On April 1, he ordered Sheridan to attack Lee's right. As soon as Sheridan had met some success, Grant ordered a general assault and began an envelopment of the Confederate army. Lee evacuated Richmond and Petersburg on April 3 and marched along the railroad to Danville. Grant pursued rapidly. Soldiers dropped in their tracks whenever they were given an hour or two to rest. On April 9, Grant had troops in front of Lee, and the surrender of Lee followed at Appomattox Court House. The men were paroled and allowed to keep their side arms and any horses that were their own property. This capitulation forecast the end of the war. On April 26 Johnston yielded to Sherman on the same terms as Lee had surrendered to Grant. Lincoln was assassinated on April 14.⁵⁴

The troops were disbanded as quickly as possible. Grant's and Sherman's men were taken to Washington, where they participated on May 20 in a mammoth victory parade before returning to civil life. The One Hundredth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, which had been organized on September 10, 1862, had fought with Grant at Vicksburg, had marched with Sherman to the sea, and had participated in the Washington victory parade, reached Indianapolis on June 14, 1865.

⁵⁴ Channing, *A History of the United States*, VI, 577-579, 612-636.

Peace had been restored to a divided nation, but it was not to be generously shared with the defeated Confederates.

Indiana had furnished 208,367 men, of which 11,718 were re-enlistments. If the average family contained four persons, more than half of the families furnished one of its members to the armed forces. Almost 12 per cent of the soldiers, 24,416, were killed or died during the war. A few over 5 per cent, or 10,846, deserted from the service. Although the deserters were a blot on the state, the military record of Indiana soldiers was otherwise very creditable.⁵⁵

One of the near-casualties of the Civil War years in Indiana was the Democratic party, which had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted series of victories before 1860. Although badly beaten by Governor Morton and associated in the minds of many people with treason, the Democracy staged an early revival in the election of Thomas A. Hendricks to the governorship in 1872. Possibly the Jacksonian wing, which might have furnished liberal leadership, was even less popular than the party. But Jacksonian principles became more popular in the person of "Blue Jeans" James D. Williams, who was elected to succeed Hendricks. The lack of progressive leadership was also revealed in the weakness in Indiana of the Granger movement, which laid the foundations for the state regulation of railroads and utilities in four upper Mississippi Valley states, but did not produce such results in Indiana. Little progressive legislation, aside from that regarding education, was passed until near the end of the century. How much of this conservatism was due to Morton's war on the Democracy and changes which occurred during the war can only be estimated.

Economic changes of the war period also tended to diminish the influence of the old Democratic areas. The river interests were injured by the closure of the Mississippi, the destruction of southern markets, and the competition of railroads. Serious reductions were recorded in the building of steamboats, the sale of agricultural products to the South, and the distribution of goods by merchants of river towns. In general, counties south of the Wisconsin Moraine con-

⁵⁵ Indiana, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (8 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1865-1869), I, Appendix, 5.

tinued to grow, but at a slower rate than northern and central counties. The southern area in 1860 contained 45 per cent of the total population of the state, but five years after the close of the war the percentage had declined to 39 per cent.

On the positive side, the prosperity that accompanied the war and the rise of the new industrial order paved the way for the acceptance of the changes. During the war the Republican administration had enacted the National Banking Act of February 25, 1863, and repeatedly raised the tariff. Aided by war contracts, the tariff, and railroad transportation, a new economy in which manufacturing assumed an increasingly important role began to achieve significance. The new national banks, some of which replaced former state banks, also became a part of the new order. Railroads enlarged the markets that were available for Indiana farmers, while the feeding of the soldiers required vast quantities of supplies from western states. High prices raised considerably the standard of living in rural areas and small towns, where many new houses were built. These homes were in part made possible by the prices received from raising wheat. Whatever remained of frontier self-sufficiency disappeared along navigable streams and railroads. A less frugal way of life developed. Labor, too, gained, for recruitment of men for the armies produced a shortage of manpower. Towns and cities grew more rapidly.

Although Indianapolis, Indiana's largest city, was not typical of other communities, its growth illustrates the forces which were at work. Property values increased so rapidly as to astonish the people of that time. Although business buildings and many houses were constructed, housing seemed difficult for newcomers to find. By the end of 1862 a vast inflation had occurred. Prices were higher than the elder citizens could remember, but they were to rise still more. Coins passed out of circulation; "shin plasters" and greenbacks became current money.

The general condition of the country as well as the depreciation in the value of the currency had by now [the end of 1862] vastly increased the cost of living. Prices had risen to unheard of figures and the question of living costs had become a very serious matter to the most of the people. Business men who were making more money than ever before might stand it, but there were scores and hundreds whose

means had not increased much or were fixed. On these fell a burden that could not be lightened and they were forced to economies that often amounted to privation.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, luxurious living and ostentation increased. The theater was packed nightly. Great joy over the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg was expressed in bonfires, fireworks, and speeches. The city was often brilliantly illuminated. The street railway was started by the spring of 1865; "the first street-car . . . 'with cushioned seats affording ample room for sixteen passengers' " began to serve the public in August. Kingan & Company, packers and millers, founded in July, 1863, gave added employment opportunities to the laborers of the city.

Although Evansville was an important port on the Ohio River in the trade between North and South, business "came to a virtual standstill and men were out of work" shortly after the beginning of the war. Lack of the southern market and the closure of the Mississippi seemed to be chiefly responsible. Recovery came quickly with the advance of the Union armies, the letting of government contracts, and the use of the steamboats by the armed forces. Braxton Bragg's invasion of Kentucky was possibly a more serious blow to business than to the military. From early in 1863 to the end of the war, however, steamboat traffic on the Ohio River was flourishing, great fortunes were made by wholesale merchants, the trade area of Evansville tripled, and steamboat interests doubled. The experiences of other cities showed local variations, but at the end of the war Indiana was less a rural state than at the beginning.

A conflict which lasted four years and involved so many people, either directly as members of the armed forces or indirectly as civilians who supported the armies, could not possibly have left the nation unchanged. The early promises, demanded by the Democrats and so readily given by the Republicans, that the nation should be preserved as it was appeared at the end of the war to resemble the early notion that

⁵⁶ John H. Holliday, *Indianapolis and the Civil War* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. IV, No. 9; Indianapolis, Ind., 1911), 523-595, see 576 for quotation; Jeannette C. Nolan, *Hoosier City: The Story of Indianapolis* (New York, 1943), 138-166.

the conflict would last only a few weeks. In addition to the casualties, the handicap placed upon the Democratic party, the growth of cities, the increase in manufacturing, and sectional fears and animosities had effected a breach in the mental and spiritual life of the nation that could not be healed quickly. The Union had been preserved, but at a terrible price! The questions of the nature of the Union and the right of secession had been answered. Although the guns became silent and the soldiers came home, politicians were unable to make peace with defeated fellow citizens for ten additional years. The reconstruction which followed the fighting was not a separate process, but the time required to check the forces released by the firing on Fort Sumter.