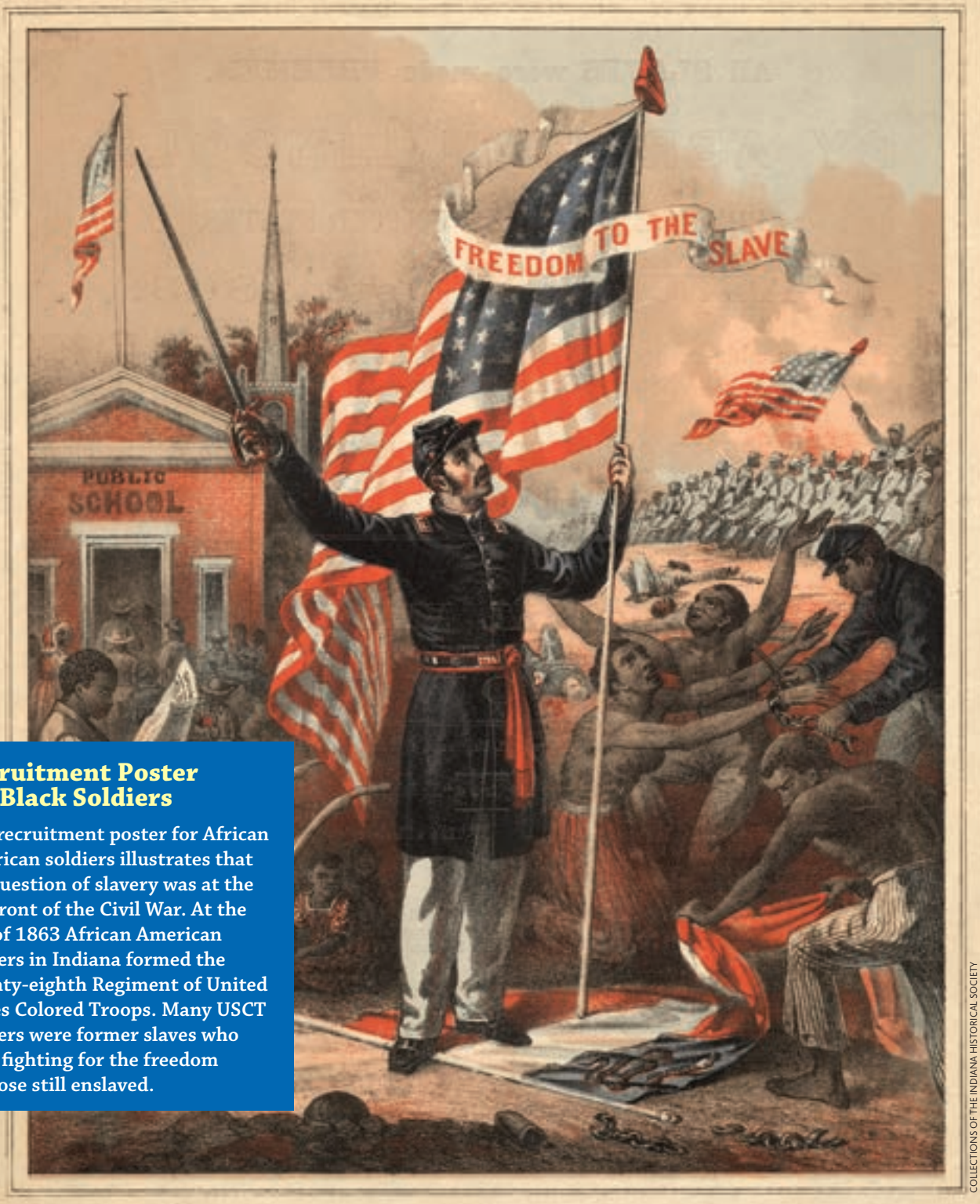


Recruitment Poster for Black Soldiers

This recruitment poster for African American soldiers illustrates that the question of slavery was at the forefront of the Civil War. At the end of 1863 African American soldiers in Indiana formed the Twenty-eighth Regiment of United States Colored Troops. Many USCT soldiers were former slaves who were fighting for the freedom of those still enslaved.

COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

4

Abolition and Civil War

Slavery, the Nation's greatest curse, was wiped from existence after four years of hard service.

— A Hoosier veteran of the Civil War

Slavery was indeed America's greatest curse, and the Civil War its greatest crisis. Before the war, Hoosiers argued long and hard about slavery and race. Could their nation endure half slave and half free? Were blacks worthy of justice and equality? These questions rocked Indiana as they did all states. Eventually war came, a war of great heroism and of great tragedy.

Less Equal Hoosiers

For the most part, Hoosiers were grateful that their Constitution of 1816 prohibited slavery. Most felt slavery was the South's problem, not Indiana's. Many believed, too, that blacks, slave or free, were inferior to whites. Indiana laws denied free black men and women the right to vote, to give testimony in a trial with whites, or to marry a white partner. Whites often permitted blacks to take only the least desirable jobs.

One racial problem in Indiana as in other states was deciding who was black. In 1840 the Indiana legislature officially defined an African American by the one-eighth rule—if a person had one black great-grandparent and seven white great-grandparents, then that person was officially considered to be black. It was a strange genealogy.

Some white Americans even wanted blacks to move to Africa. In 1829 some Hoosiers who believed in this movement, formed the Indiana Colonization Society, which provided aid for emigration. Colonization was a bit like Indian removal—both were designed to get rid of a people whites did not want. Some who supported colonization felt that it would be helpful to ex-slaves. Colonization was voluntary, however. Fewer than a hundred black Hoosiers chose an unknown Africa over Indiana.

The most extreme statement about race came in Indiana's Constitution of 1851. Article XIII stated that "No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the State." Voters overwhelmingly approved closing the state's borders to all but white newcomers. Still, a few spoke against Article XIII. South Bend newspaper editor Schuyler Colfax was one of these people. He predicted that future generations would "burn with shame" at the exclusion provision and argued for "equal and exact justice, regardless of creed, race, or color."

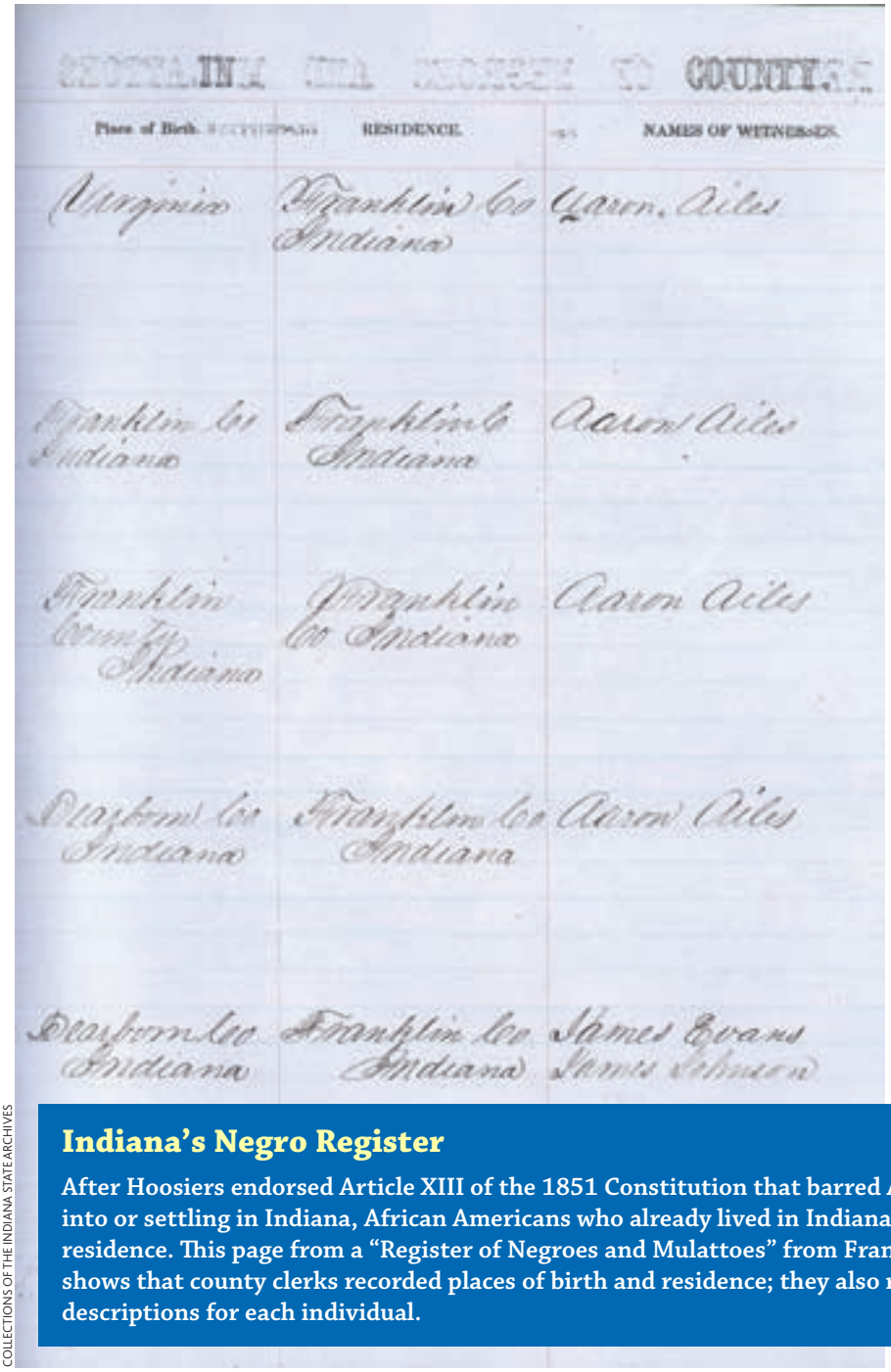
Sometimes there was white violence against African Americans. Most notable was the mob that severely beat black abolitionist Frederick Douglass when he spoke in Pendleton in 1843. African American Hoosiers responded to white prejudice by creating communities of their own. Black settlements in rural Indiana and black neighborhoods in towns offered friendly faces and mutual support. So did churches, particularly the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Hoosiers Debate Slavery

Most white Hoosiers preferred to ignore slavery. Some abhorred slavery but saw no way to end it. A small minority was more radical. They insisted on abolishing the evil institution by whatever means necessary. A Fourth of July orator in Fort Wayne in 1835 pointed to "the gross inconsistency of styling ourselves the friends of the rights of man while we hold within our own borders millions of human beings in absolute and degrading servitude." Events in the 1850s caused many Hoosiers to move toward antislavery positions.

Sparks began to fly with the federal Fugitive Slave Act that was part of the Compromise of 1850, a series of bills dealing with the question of slavery. The compromise defined which new western states could decide to be slave states and which states would be free of slavery, in an attempt to balance the growing country with half slave states and half free states. The Fugitive Slave Act backed slave catchers who tried to capture runaway slaves in both slave and free states. Along with other abolitionists, Hoosiers who assisted escaping slaves were liable to harsh penalties. A writer in a Madison newspaper claimed the new law was "the most tyrannical and unjust enactment that ever disgraced the annals of any country, pagan or Christian."

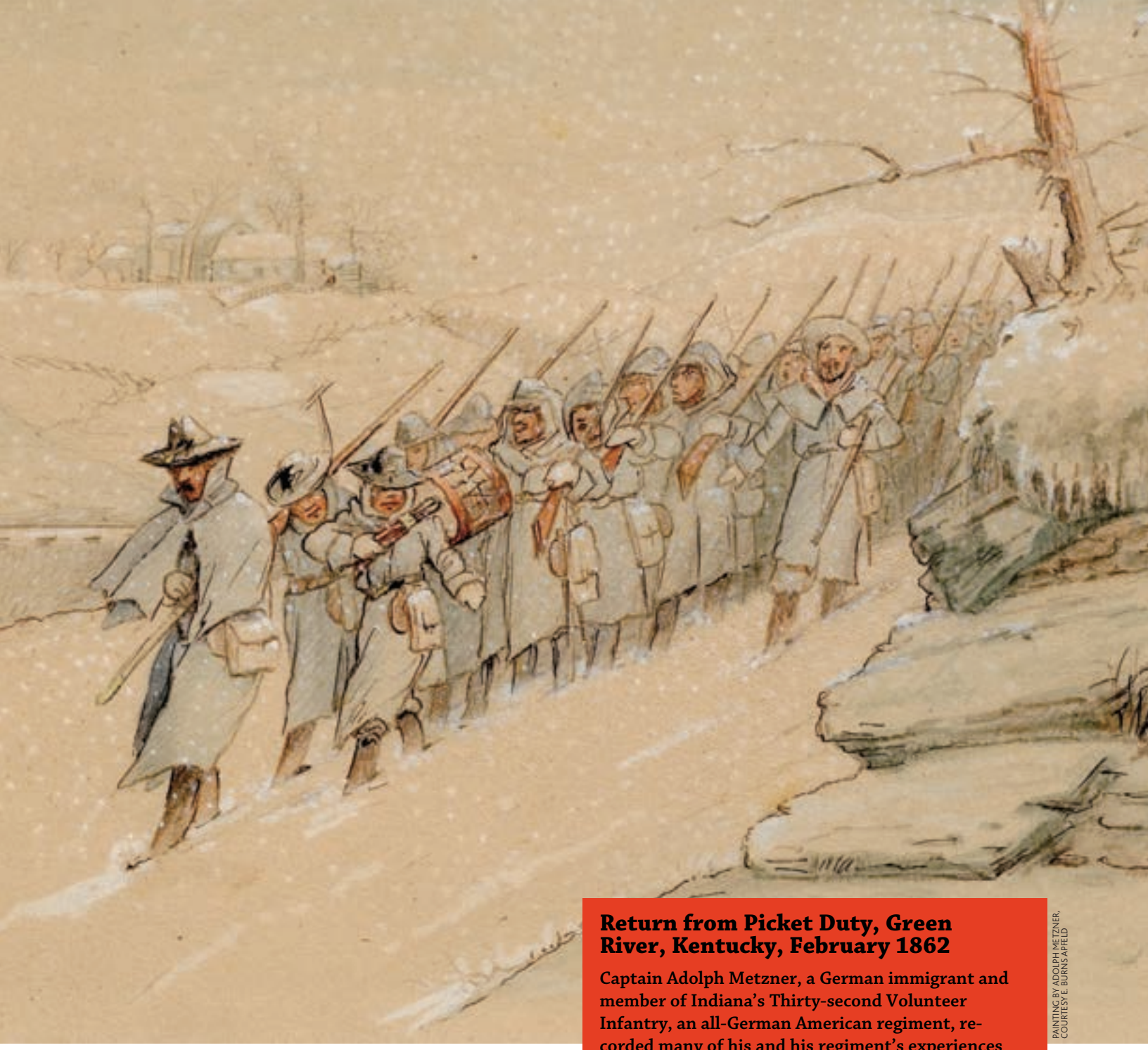
As Hoosiers learned of the plight of fugitive slaves from



COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANA STATE ARCHIVES

Indiana's Negro Register

After Hoosiers endorsed Article XIII of the 1851 Constitution that barred African Americans from coming into or settling in Indiana, African Americans who already lived in Indiana had to register in their county of residence. This page from a "Register of Negroes and Mulattoes" from Franklin County in southeastern Indiana shows that county clerks recorded places of birth and residence; they also recorded names, ages, and physical descriptions for each individual.



Return from Picket Duty, Green River, Kentucky, February 1862

Captain Adolph Metzner, a German immigrant and member of Indiana's Thirty-second Volunteer Infantry, an all-German American regiment, recorded many of his and his regiment's experiences in sketches and paintings. In this painting Metzner illustrates the conditions the soldiers endured, such as the heavy snow shown here. The soldiers of the Thirty-second also endured brutal combat in battles at Shiloh and Missionary Ridge in Tennessee, among others.

PAINTING BY ADOLPH METZNER, COURTESY E. BURNS APFELD

newspaper reports and Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, they became more agitated. Many had been content with the Democratic Party's position to let slavery alone. Now, growing numbers wanted to stand against the Fugitive Slave Law and the evils of slavery. These antislavery Hoosiers joined other Americans to form the new Republican Party.

In the late 1850s Republican strength increased in Indiana. However, few antislavery Republicans were radical abolitionists. Abolitionists believed not only in abolishing slavery but also in ending racial discrimination and segregation. Most Republicans were mainly concerned with ending slavery. They disapproved of violence such as abolitionist John Brown's 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Morgan's Raid

In this illustration General John Hunt Morgan and his raiders are pillaging the town of Salem, Indiana, on July 10, 1863. The raiders burned down the town's depot, cut off their communications, and demanded ransom from merchants. Morgan's Raid was the only significant Confederate attack in Indiana during the Civil War.

Brown and others aimed to steal guns and ammunition from the arsenal and give them to slaves. Few Hoosiers supported abolitionists such as John Brown. Still, one Hendricks County Republican wrote that Brown "is looked upon as a martyr in a cause not legal but just."

Nevertheless, Democrats attacked Republicans as radical abolitionists and champions of racial equality. There was much talk of states' rights (the right for people in a state to choose whether the state legalized slavery or outlawed it) and of economic differences between North and South due to business based on slave labor versus business based on paid labor. At the center of the controversy was slavery. When Republicans carried Indiana and the nation in the 1860 elections—the year Abraham Lincoln was elected president—tensions boiled over and led to war.

War Comes

Soldiers of the southern confederacy fired on American forces at Fort Sumter in South Carolina in 1861, forcing a war few Hoosiers wanted. Once the war began, Indiana joined the Union and fought, sending off a higher percentage of soldiers from the state's population than nearly any other Union state. Hoosiers fought in all major battles, from Antietam (Maryland) and Gettysburg (Pennsylvania) to Vicksburg (Mississippi) and Shiloh (Tennessee).

Among the most honored units was the Nineteenth Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment, part of the famed Iron Brigade. On the first day of battle at Gettysburg, the Nineteenth Indiana, wearing the distinctive tall black hats of the brigade, stood their ground against charging Confederates. The

brigade's heroism that day allowed the Union time to seize the high ground and win victory in the Battle of Gettysburg two days later.

Most had expected a short and easy war; it turned out to be long and bloody. More than 25,000 Hoosiers died from disease and/or wounds. One Owen County family had six men in uniform. Four did not come home.

Most of the men who joined were young and single. Many served alongside friends and neighbors, some in ethnic units such as the Thirty-second Indiana formed of German Americans. Some men deserted; some got into trouble. Nearly all soldiers were homesick and nearly all grumbled about the hardship of war, including "crackers with maggots in them, maybe half a finger long." Despite many hardships, most soldiers continued to fight for their homes and for the Union. Back home in Indiana women took on farm chores and jobs that men had done. Many helped the war effort by establishing aid societies or serving as nurses.

Copperheads Threaten the Union

The Civil War produced the most bitter politics in Indiana's history. On the hot seat was Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's Republican governor. He was among those Union governors most supportive of President Lincoln's strong stand against the Confederacy, viewing it as southern treason. However, a growing number of Hoosiers opposed Morton. Some had ties to the South, the origin of many of Indiana's pioneers (brothers really did fight against brothers in some cases). Some questioned the high cost of war as bodies returned home. Some Democrats charged that Morton and Lincoln were power-hungry dictators. Congressman Daniel Voorhees from Terre Haute compared Lincoln to England's King George III.

Two issues gave Democrats their ammunition. One was the draft. As fewer men volunteered to serve, Indiana began to draft men into the army. Forcing men to fight was not the democratic way, many argued. In several towns anti-draft protesters committed violence, even murder. The second issue was Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which freed slaves in Confederate states. Morton argued that freeing slaves owned by Confederates was a strategy aimed at crippling the Confederacy—just as blockading southern ports and destroying southern crops and railroads was aimed to cripple the Confederacy. Democrats attacked emancipation as unconstitutional and as a threat to white supremacy. Adding insult to the Democrats' perceived injury, Lincoln and Morton began to put black men in Union blue.

Deep divisions erupted. Some communities celebrated the Fourth of July in separate groups, one for pro-war Republicans, the other for anti-war Democrats. The harshest opposition came from Copperheads, the Republican nickname for an outspoken group of anti-war Democrats. Republicans likened them to snakes in the grass, who, in opposing the war effort, would aid the Confederacy.

When a Confederate cavalry unit under John Hunt Morgan invaded southern Indiana in July 1863, some assumed that Copperheads there would join him. But, as the rebels swept north to Corydon and on to Versailles, they drew scorn and resistance, not sympathy. There were indeed some Copperheads in Indiana but fewer than Morton or the Republicans had feared.

Despite Democratic opposition, Hoosiers cast majority votes for Morton and Lincoln in 1864. The state continued its contribution to the war and to the 1865 victory at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia.

Indiana's role in the Civil War was complex and even contradictory. Sometimes labeled the most southern of northern states, Indiana offered strong military support to the Union in the war. While devoted to the nation, Hoosiers divided bitterly over the policies of Morton and Lincoln. Convinced of the racial inferiority of blacks, many still concluded that slavery had to end.

4.1

Antislavery Agents and the Underground Railroad

Our house was always a welcome stopping place for Antislavery speakers as well as for fugitive slaves.

— An Indiana Quaker abolitionist

Many early Hoosiers regarded slavery as a violation of the laws of God and man. At the same time, few whites in pioneer Indiana proposed to interfere in the South's "peculiar institution," as it was called, and fewer still proposed to correct racial inequalities within Indiana.

The Underground Railroad in Indiana

Some Hoosiers did assist slaves fleeing the South on what came to be called the Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a physical railroad, but even today there are people who believe those were its characteristics. Although a few well-known white abolitionists received credit for helping fugitive slaves escape on this "railroad," there are many anonymous unsung heroes—mostly African Americans and Quakers—who did most of the work and took many of the risks. The Underground Railroad did not have maps or signs to follow; it only worked because it was a secret and ever-changing network.

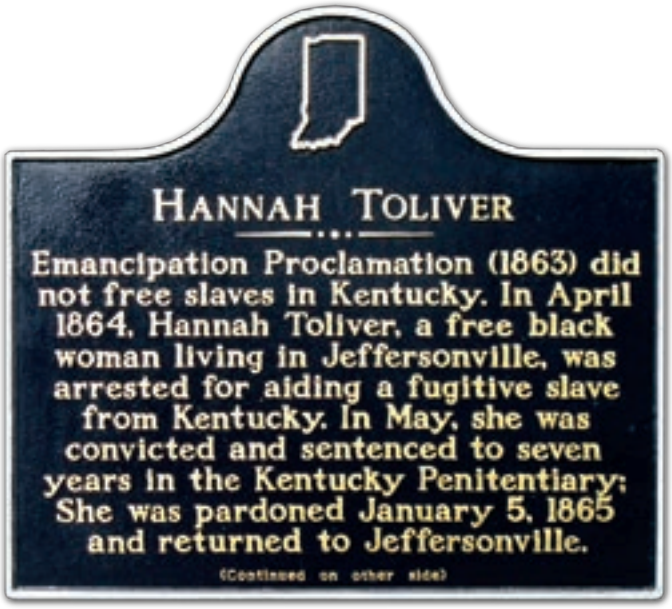
Escaping slaves crossed the Ohio River and passed through Indiana river towns; Madison was the most important. One historian wrote, "Nowhere on the Ohio River was the contest between the forces of freedom and those of slavery more heated—or more violent—than in Madison, Indiana." Fleeing slaves may have met any of a number of free blacks in Madison's Georgetown neighborhood. Elijah Anderson, John Tibbets, George DeBaptiste, and Wilbur H. Siebert are some of the blacks from Georgetown who are known to have helped runaway slaves. As escaped slaves moved north from the river, they headed toward African American and Quaker communities. On the Underground Railroad, risk and courage fueled runaway slaves and those helping them. Armed slave hunters were more than willing to use violence to return slaves—who were considered to be stolen property—back to their southern owners.

Today, guides at historic Indiana sites proudly point out rooms and cellars that once possibly sheltered fugitive slaves. This public recognition of the clandestine enterprise makes it easy to forget how subversive the Underground Railroad actually was. Harboring and helping escaped slaves was an illegal response to slavery, a form of civil disobedience against the prevailing white attitudes of the time. Most whites

Historic Georgetown District in Madison, Indiana

COURTESY OF THE INDIANA DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Georgetown was an African American neighborhood in Madison, Indiana, established by free blacks in the 1820s. The brick house on the right was home to William Anderson, one of several known black conductors for the Underground Railroad. Anderson wrote, "My two wagons, and carriage, and five horses were always at the command of the liberty-seeking fugitive." At one point Anderson was arrested for helping runaways, and although the court released him, he had to sell this house to pay for the trial's costs. The building on the left is the African Methodist Episcopal Church that Anderson helped to found. Today, a majority of the buildings dating from 1830–65 still remain as part of the Georgetown Historic District.



COURTESY OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL BUREAU

Hannah Toliver Marker

This historical marker commemorates Hannah Toliver, who risked her freedom to help fugitive slaves, despite the dangers it presented. Toliver was one of a group of forty-four individuals sentenced to the Kentucky Penitentiary for aiding slaves. The Indiana Historical Bureau placed this marker in Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 2008. It is one of several such markers across the state commemorating the Underground Railroad.

disapproved of the Underground Railroad and the extreme approach to abolishing slavery it embodied. One activist regretted that "'nine out of every ten men I would meete would condem me for such conduct.'"[10]

Levi and Catharine Coffin

Among white Hoosiers, Quakers took the leading role in aiding slaves fleeing north on the Underground Railroad, often stepping in after African Americans provided assistance. The Quaker humanitarian Levi Coffin was among the most well-known "conductors" on the line. From Coffin's home at Newport (today Fountain City) in Wayne County, he and his wife Catharine (White) Coffin assisted nearly two thousand fugitives traveling through the Midwest to freedom in Canada. Legend has it that a frustrated slave catcher once called Coffin the "president of the Underground Railroad" because of his success helping runaway slaves, and the nickname stuck.

One of seven children and the only son, Coffin was born into an abolitionist Quaker family in North Carolina on October 28, 1798. According to his published memoir *Reminiscences*, Coffin became aware of slavery around age seven, when he saw a gang of black men chained together and learned that they had been taken away from their wives and children. Seventy years after that incident, he wrote, "As I listened, the thought arose in my mind 'How terribly we should feel if father were taken from us.'" He became an abolitionist on the spot. At age 15, he assisted a free African American who had been kidnapped and sold into slavery to regain his freedom by encouraging other abolitionists, including his parents, to take up the case in court.

By the 1820s the North Carolina legislature had blocked nearly every avenue Quaker antislavery activists used to help slaves to freedom. Like many others in the Friends neighborhood where he lived, Coffin decided to leave the state and head to the Ohio Valley region. In 1826 he settled with Catharine, his wife of two years, and their infant son in Newport, a Quaker community in Indiana.

Coffin established a successful dry goods store in Newport. His business also branched off into hog butchering and linseed oil production. He was soon one of the town's most respected citizens, and his home was one of the busiest stops on the Underground Railroad. Most of the Coffins' neighbors were unwilling to get involved with the risky business, but some eventually pitched in to help. In his *Reminiscences,* Coffin explained, "Friends in the neighborhood, who had formerly stood aloof from the work, fearful of the penalty of the law, were encouraged to engage in it when they saw the fearless manner in which I acted, and the success that attended my efforts. . . . Some seemed really glad to see the work go on, if somebody else would do it."

Coffin's position as a Newport civic leader and prominent businessman helped deflect attention from his subversive activity. He was thankful that his businesses were profitable enough to cover the considerable expenses incurred by his Underground Railroad work.

Levi and Catharine were always ready to spring into action when fugitive slaves came to them for help. Catharine was just as committed as her husband. She

worked tirelessly mending clothes for the many runaway slaves that came to their home with nothing but rags on their backs. Seldom would a week pass without a knock on their door in the middle of the night. "Outside in the cold or rain there would be a two-horse wagon loaded with fugitives, perhaps the greater part of them women and children."

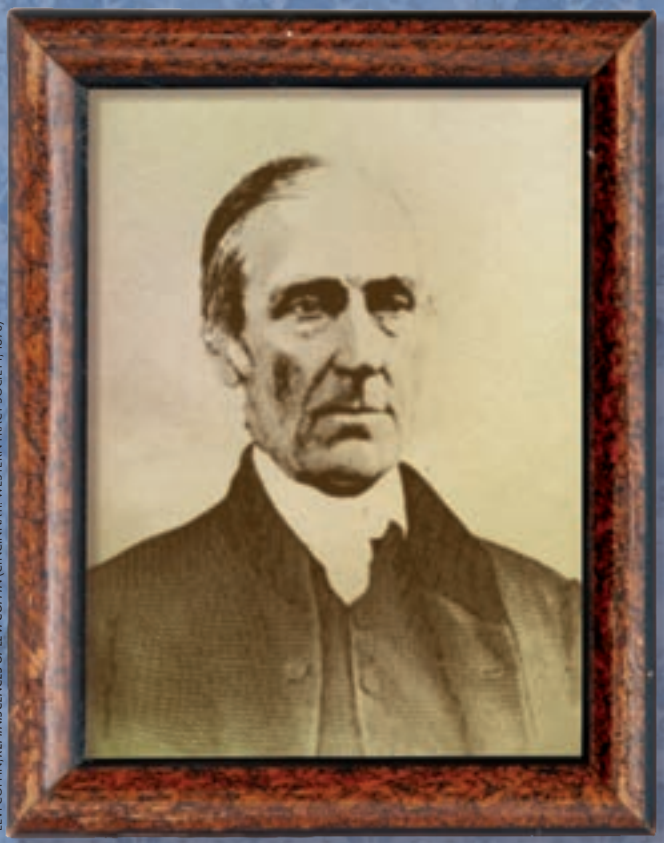
In addition to helping many escaped slaves, the Coffins also helped start schools for children of African American families that settled in the area. Prominent abolitionists passing through Indiana sought the Coffins out, including Frederick Douglass, who stayed with them several days. The Coffins' reputation was so extensive that some scholars believe the couple was the inspiration for the courageous abolitionist couple the Hallidays in Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

In 1847, at the urging of other antislavery activists, Coffin moved to Cincinnati where he opened a warehouse that handled cotton goods, sugar, and other products produced by free labor. He had leased his Newport house and planned to return to Indiana once he got the new business established. The Coffins' large Cincinnati home became a major center for the Underground Railroad in that city. Fugitive slaves sometimes hid there in plain sight. Catharine cleverly created costumes disguising many of them as servants or even as Quaker women.

During the Civil War, although the Coffins were Quakers, a Christian sect that believed in pacifism and non-violence, they supported the Union cause. They volunteered at Cincinnati's war hospital, helping to care for wounded soldiers; and they moved many of the soldiers into their home to recuperate. Coffin

Levi and Catharine Coffin

Levi and Catharine Coffin helped hundreds of slaves to freedom from their homes in Newport (Fountain City), Indiana, and Cincinnati, Ohio.



LEVI COFFIN, *REMINISCENCES OF LEVI COFFIN* (CINCINNATI: WESTERN TRACT SOCIETY, 1876)

was also a leader of the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, which raised money to provide food, clothing, money, and other assistance to newly freed slaves. In one year, having traveled to England and other European countries to speak with antislavery sympathizers, Coffin raised more than $100,000 for this cause.

PHOTO BY EARL CONN

Wagon at the Levi Coffin House

At the Levi Coffin House Museum visitors can see this false-bottomed wagon. Wagons such as these carried many fugitive slaves northward. This photo illustrates how slaves were hidden in a concealed compartment by piling cargo around them. Approximately seven slaves could fit into this cramped space at one time. Today visitors can tour the Levi Coffin House, a National Historic Landmark, in Fountain City, Indiana.

With the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, granting African American men the right to vote, Coffin wrote, "I resigned my office and declared the operations of the Underground Railroad at an end." In September 1877, one year after the publication of *Reminiscences*, Coffin died at his Ohio home. At the time of his death, Coffin was not a wealthy man, but he was always willing to give his last dime to the abolitionist cause. The crowd at his funeral at the Cincinnati Friends Meeting House was so huge that many had to wait outside. Four of Coffin's eight pallbearers were African Americans. In 1902 the African American community of Cincinnati erected a six-foot-tall monument at Coffin's grave in the city's Spring Grove Cemetery.

In 1967 the State of Indiana purchased and restored the Coffin house, an eight-room Federal-style brick home in Newport (Fountain City), Indiana. The house's second floor bedroom has a small hidden door leading to a crawlspace where as many as fourteen fugitive slaves once hid. The house is a National Historic Landmark and is open to the public.

4.2

Hoosier Attitudes toward Slavery

No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the State.

— 1851 Indiana State Constitution

At the beginning of the 1850s, people in Indiana held less militant antislavery views than people in most northern states, reflecting the state's large southern-born population. Few Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, including abolitionists, believed in racial equality; and many Hoosiers had little sympathy for African Americans in general. In 1851 a great majority of white males in Indiana voted according to their prejudices.

Article XIII of the Indiana State Constitution of 1851 prohibited African Americans from moving to and settling in the state. Although a handful of delegates at the 1851 constitutional convention spoke against Article XIII, it passed by a 93 to 40 vote. Then the Indiana electorate voted on Article XIII; 113,828 voted in favor of exclusion and 21,873 voted against it. The exclusion act was linked to the colonization act, which sought to send blacks already living in Indiana to Africa. So enthusiastic was the Indiana General Assembly that it appropriated funds to encourage African American colonization. Few black Hoosiers showed interest in the scheme as they had been born in the United States, some in Indiana, and had lived here their entire lives.

The Divided Democrats

In the early 1850s the Democratic Party dominated Indiana politics. The party strongly believed in states' rights, the right for people in a state to choose whether the state legalized slavery or outlawed it. Democrats supported the Compromise of 1850, which defined which new western states could decide to be slave states and which states would be free of slavery, in an attempt to balance the growing country with half slave and half free states. They also supported the Fugitive Slave Act that made assisting an escaping slave a crime and gave power to the slave catchers in the North.

As the decade progressed, Indiana's Democrats split into two factions, weakening the party and allowing for the rise of the Republican Party in the state. The smaller faction of the Democrats organized around Joseph A. Wright, Indiana's governor from 1849 to 1857. Jesse D. Bright, U.S. Senator from Indiana from 1845 to 1862, led the other, larger faction. Wright was a moderate who claimed that Indiana "knew no North, no South." Bright, on the other hand, was a vigorous defender of slavery.

Jesse D. Bright, States' Rights Democrat

Born in 1812 in New York, Jesse David Bright moved with his family to Madison, Indiana, at age eight. He married Mary Turpin of Kentucky and became a lawyer and politician. Propelled by the sheer force of his personality and large physical stature, Bright's career was on the fast track by the time he was in his twenties.

Adamantly proslavery and a believer in states' rights, Bright represented the majority of Indiana's Democrats in 1850. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act that year catalyzed, or sped up, a split in the party with Bright and his proslavery colleagues on one side and more moderate Democrats on the other. In the U.S. Senate, Bright supported the Compromise of 1850. Hoosier sentiment was mostly behind the compromise; however, an increasing number of people in Indiana disagreed with the Fugitive Slave Act. By the late 1850s Bright's political luster had dimmed for several

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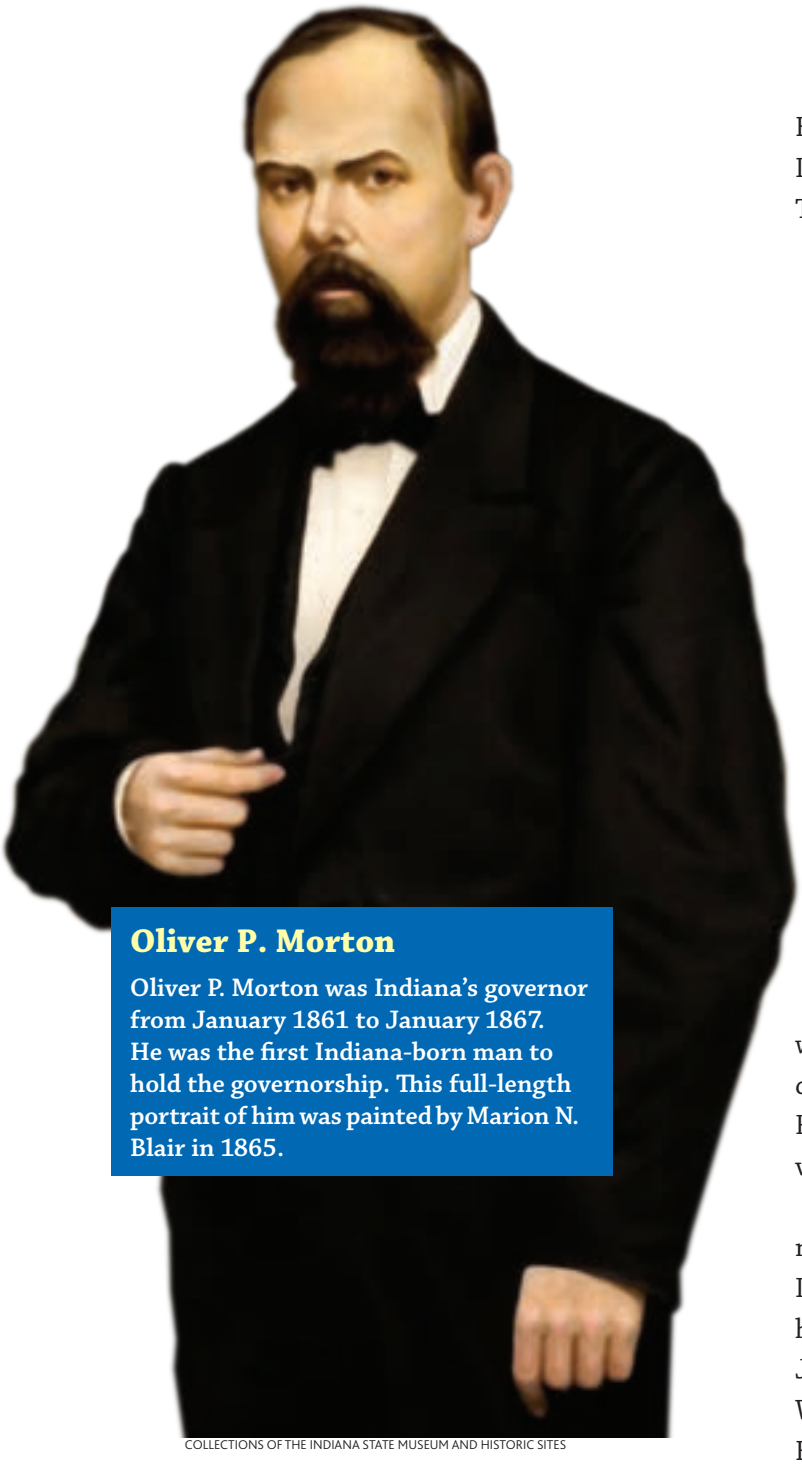
Jesse D. Bright

Jesse D. Bright, a Democrat from Indiana, served as a United States Senator from 1845 to 1862.



Oliver P. Morton

Oliver P. Morton was Indiana's governor from January 1861 to January 1867. He was the first Indiana-born man to hold the governorship. This full-length portrait of him was painted by Marion N. Blair in 1865.

COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANA STATE MUSEUM AND HISTORIC SITES

reasons, including the fact that more Hoosiers were gravitating toward an antislavery stance.

In 1860 Bright owned twenty-one slaves on his farm in Gallatin County, Kentucky. He opposed the Civil War on the grounds that it was a form of coercion and should not be used to keep the states unified. As if that position was not unpopular enough with a pro-Union Congress, Bright committed a blunder in 1861 that ultimately ruined his political career in Indiana. He wrote a letter to Confederate president Jefferson Davis on behalf of a friend who was an arms dealer. The letter reads as follows:

Washington, March 1, 1861

MY DEAR SIR: Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend Thomas B. Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your capital mainly to dispose of what he regards a great improvement in fire-arms. I recommend him to your favorable consideration as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.

Very truly, yours,

JESSE D. BRIGHT

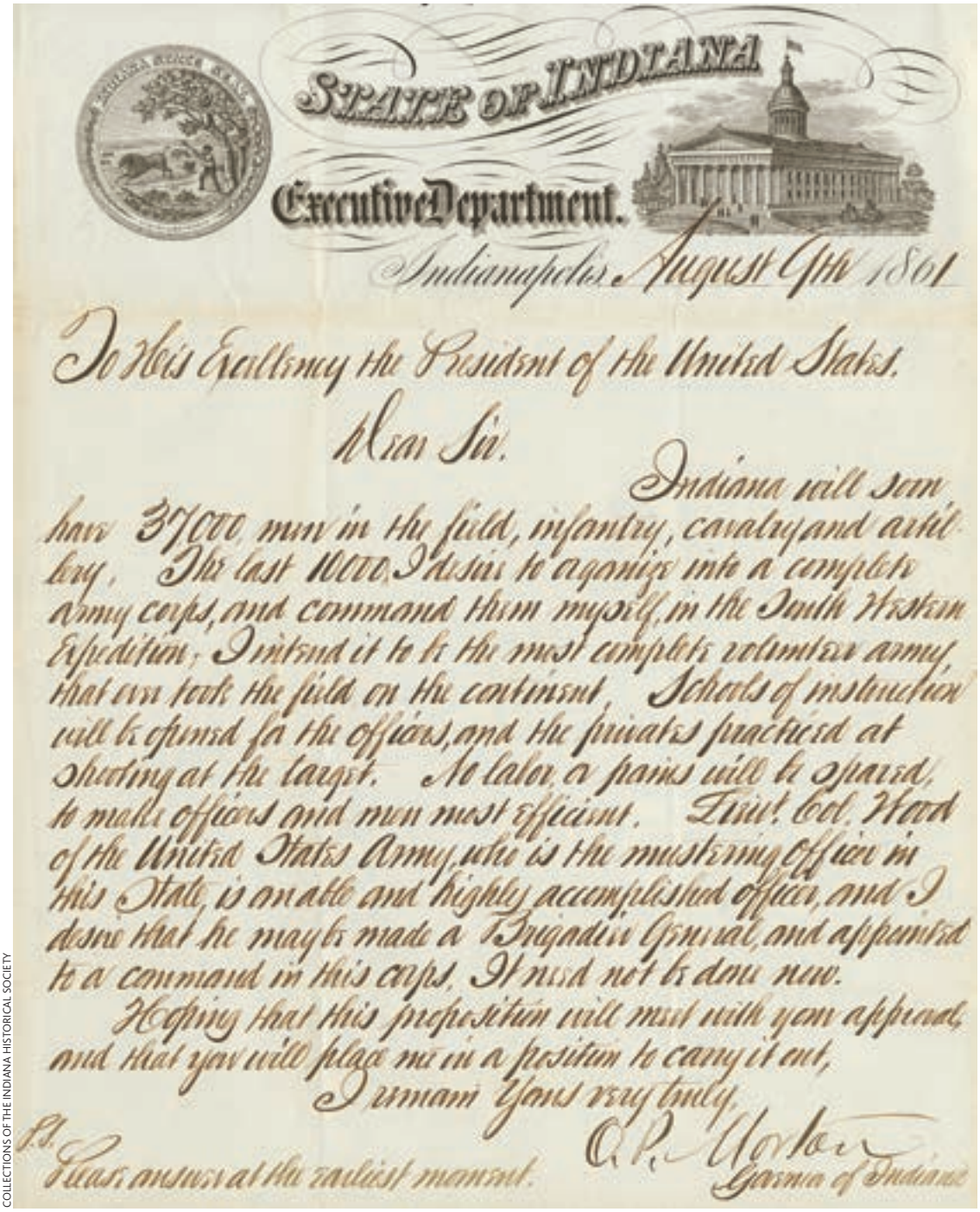
To His Excellency JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President of the Confederation of States.

When this letter surfaced, the U.S. Senate accused Bright of disloyalty. During the hearing, Bright spoke in his own defense and explained that he did not realize that war was imminent at the time he wrote the letter, nor did he recognize Davis's presidency, in spite of how the letter addressed Davis. On February 5, 1862, the U.S. Senate expelled Bright by a vote of thirty-two to fourteen.

After his expulsion, Bright realized that he had no hope of being re-elected in Republican-dominated Indiana. He settled back on his farm in Kentucky, and his land near Jefferson, Indiana, became the home for Jefferson General Hospital, one of the largest Civil War hospitals in the Union. Bright was elected to the Kentucky state legislature. He died in Baltimore in 1875.

Oliver P. Morton and the Rise of Republicans

Slavery rose to the top of several issues that attracted Hoosiers to the Republican Party. Those who joined the new party were increasingly certain that the expansion of slavery was wrong and that Congress had the obligation to bar it from America's western territories. Those who would become Republicans emerged in


STATE OF INDIANA

Executive Department.

Indianapolis August 8th 1861

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

Dear Sir.

Indiana will soon have 37000 men in the field, infantry, cavalry and artillery. The last 10000 I desire to organize into a complete army corps, and command them myself, in the South Western Expedition. I intend it to be the most complete volunteer army that ever took the field on the continent. Schools of instruction will be opened for the officers, and the privates practiced at shooting at the target. No labor & pains will be spared, to make officers and men most efficient. Lieut. Col. Hood of the United States Army, who is the mustering officer in this State, is an able and highly accomplished officer, and I desire that he may be made a Brigadier General, and assigned to a command in this corps. It need not be done now.

Hoping that this proposition will meet with your approval, and that you will place me in a position to carry it out,

I remain Yours very truly,

O. P. Morton

Governor of Indiana

P.S. Please answer at the earliest moment.

COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Morton Letter to Lincoln

On August 8, 1861, Governor Oliver P. Morton sent a letter to President Abraham Lincoln concerning Indiana's manpower contribution to the Union war effort. In the letter Morton wrote, *"Indiana will soon have 37000 men in the field, infantry, cavalry and artillery. The last 10000 I desire to organize into a complete army corps, and command them myself, in the South Western Expedition. I intend it to be the most complete volunteer army that ever took the field on the continent."*

fiery opposition to the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854, and formed the People's Party. The Kansas–Nebraska Act gave the power to decide whether or not slavery would be permitted in new territories to the citizens of the territories, rather than dictating a balance of slave to free states. That year, the new party won nine of Indiana's eleven U.S. congressional seats. Democratic congressmen from the state's southernmost districts won the other two seats. By 1856 the People's Party had transformed into the Republican Party.

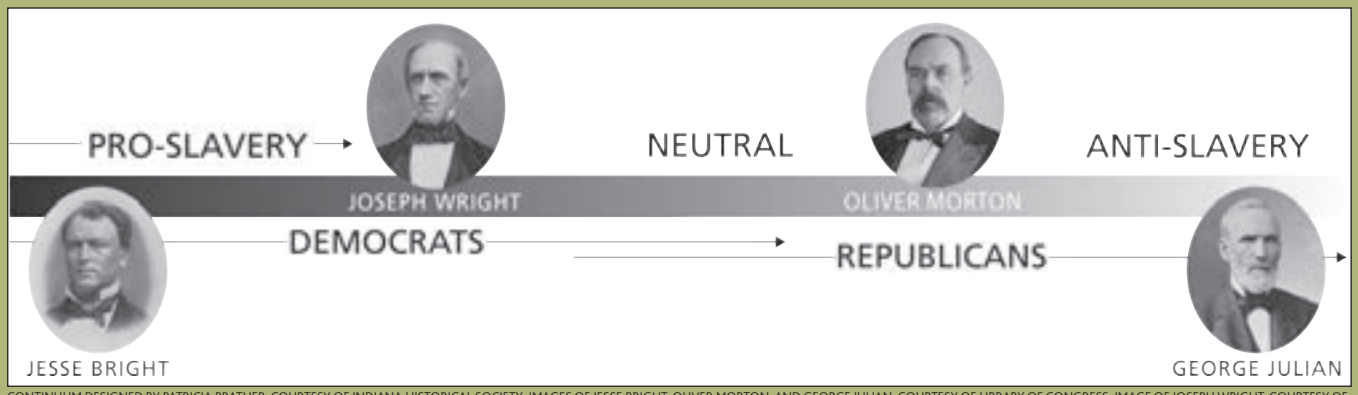
Among the new Republicans was Oliver P. Morton, who would rise to become one of the most important governors in Indiana history. Once a Democrat, Morton switched to the Republican side because of his growing antislavery beliefs. This lawyer from Centerville had superb political and leadership skills that helped him become governor in 1861.

Governor Morton became one of President Lincoln's strongest war supporters. His energy and intelligence made him very successful at raising troops and supporting soldiers in the field. His political intensity caused him to stand firm against the Democratic opposition. Even when Democrats had a majority in the state legislature, Morton was able to outmaneuver them and enact the policies he wanted.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Indiana made an enormous contribution to the Union side. This might not have been the case if a Democrat such as Bright had been controlling the state in 1861. Governor Morton answered Lincoln's call for troops by immediately sending ten thousand Hoosier men, and he responded to all other calls by filling or exceeding the quota. Indiana ranked second among the northern states in relative size of manpower contribution. Nearly two-thirds of the state's slightly more than 300,000 men of military age served. Indiana regiments mainly fought in the eastern and western campaigns and served with distinction in many of the War's major battles, including Bull Run (Virginia), Antietam (Maryland), Vicksburg (Mississippi), Gettysburg (Pennsylvania), and the Confederate surrender at Appomattox Courthouse (Virginia).

After the war Morton served in the U.S. Senate and became a strong supporter of constitutional rights for African Americans embodied in the national Reconstruction laws and constitutional amendments. His intense dislike of the Democratic Party by this time led him to characterize it as treasonous.

Indiana, a Microcosm of America on Slavery Issue



CONTINUUM DESIGNED BY PATRICIA PRATHER, COURTESY OF INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; IMAGES OF JESSE BRIGHT, OLIVER MORTON, AND GEORGE JULIAN, COURTESY OF LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; IMAGE OF JOSEPH WRIGHT, COURTESY OF INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Hoosiers argued passionately about slavery. Some continued to remain neutral even after the Civil War began. Even Republicans disagreed. Some were reluctant to go as far as Morton, but he was a moderate compared to Congressman George Julian, a fervent abolitionist. Although Julian was not a Quaker, he represented the heavily Quaker-populated area of the Whitewater Valley in eastern Indiana and always wanted to move faster toward emancipation than most of his fellow Hoosiers.

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, Indiana's population reflected the wide range of opinions on slavery that existed in the thirty-four United States, from proslavery represented by Jesse Bright, to Julian's radical abolitionism. Most Hoosiers were somewhere in the middle of the spectrum, agreeing with moderate Democrat Joseph Wright. Over time, many, like Morton, shifted their position to move toward an antislavery stance, although few became as militantly abolitionist as Julian.

4.3

Indiana's Black Civil War Regiment

We left our wives and little ones to follow the stars and stripes from the Lakes to the Gulf, with a determination never to turn back until it should be proclaimed from Washington that the flag of the Union waved over a nation of freemen.

— Chaplain Garland H. White, Twenty-eighth USCT

President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, which freed slaves in the Confederate states, unleashed heated outrage among many Hoosiers. Here was the most extreme threat to white supremacy the state and nation had ever faced. By contrast, Hoosier soldiers were increasingly inclined to accept emancipation. Marching through the South, they saw firsthand the reality of slavery and the arrogance of slaveholders. Hoosier troops also witnessed the eagerness of freed slaves to help the Union cause and even, on occasion, their humanity. One Indiana soldier wrote this single-sentence entry in his diary in 1862: "The negro question is the question."

Creation of the Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT

Black men were not allowed to enlist in the United States Army until May 1863 when the War Department issued General Order 143, creating the United States Colored Troops. African American Hoosiers began helping the Union by enlisting for military service in other states because Indiana had no black regiment. In a letter dated November 30, 1863, the War Department authorized Governor Oliver P. Morton to organize a black regiment. The Twenty-eighth Regiment United States Colored Troops was officially formed in Indiana on December 24, 1863.

At first Congress set the pay of black soldiers at "ten dollars per month and one ration, three dollars of which monthly pay may be in clothing." White soldiers were paid "$13 per month, and an allowance of clothing of $3.50 per month, and one ration each." In June 1864 Congress equalized the pay for blacks and whites.

In Indianapolis, several men took the lead in recruiting Indiana's only black regiment: Calvin Fletcher, an antislavery city leader and friend of Governor Morton, Reverend Willis R. Revels, pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Church, and Garland White, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) pastor who became the Twenty-eighth regiment's chaplain. Together they recruited more than five hundred men, forming six companies. Most officers of these regiments were white; Garland White, with the rank of captain, was a rare exception.

The Twenty-eighth regiment trained at Camp Fremont in Indianapolis. Captain Charles S. Russell, who had fought valiantly at Antietam (Maryland, September 1862), Chancellorsville (Virginia, April–May 1863), and Gettysburg (Pennsylvania, July 1863), was in charge of drilling the troops. In April 1864 Russell received orders to take the regiment to the East Coast where it was to serve with other black troops under Major General Ambrose E. Burnside. Four days before they departed, the troops paraded through the streets of Indianapolis, creating an impressive spectacle. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* reported:

> *Their marching, carriage of arms, &c., were features very creditable to their officers and instructors, and were, indeed, as good as is generally seen in old troops. They walk erect, and bear themselves as men who have rights and dare to maintain them. Captain Russell is quite popular with the battalion, and will soon lead them to the field.*

Chaplain Garland H. White

Born into slavery around 1829 in Virginia, Garland H. White became the property of Robert Toombs, a lawyer from Georgia, when he was a young man. Toombs, a proslavery Democrat, took White to Washington, DC, as his personal valet. While in the nation's capital, White acquired some rudimentary reading and writing skills. He also made the acquaintance of other politicians, some of them abolitionists. White escaped

from bondage and made his way to Canada where he lived in a black community of former slaves. While living there he furthered his education and became a minister of the AME Church.

White had been a pastor in Toledo, Ohio, and an army recruiter before he traveled to Indianapolis to enlist in the Twenty-eighth UCST in 1863. He also worked to recruit other African Americans to the unit and became the regiment's chaplain in September 1864. As chaplain, he was an officer with the rank of captain and one of only fourteen black chaplains in the Union's 149 black regiments.

While serving with the Twenty-eighth, White wrote a series of letters to the *Christian Recorder*, an AME newspaper. The letters contain a wealth of information that details the regiment's wartime experiences, both in everyday life and on the battlefield. They are among the few eyewitness accounts by black soldiers in existence. White was an excellent writer. His letters include clear, emotionally-wrenching descriptions of the Battle of the Crater (Petersburg, Virginia, July 1864), the fall of Richmond (Virginia, April 1865), and the Twenty-eighth Regiment's ordeal in southern Texas. In one especially moving letter, White describes the events in Richmond shortly after it fell in defeat. The Twenty-eighth was among the first Union troops to enter Richmond. The officers and men of the Twenty-eighth asked White to give a speech there in the street, and he "proclaimed for the first time in that city freedom to all mankind." Immediately afterward, White states, "The doors of all the slave pens were thrown open, and thousands came out shouting and praising God and father or master Abe, as they termed him."

In the newspaper article, White speaks of yet another miracle that awaited him that day:

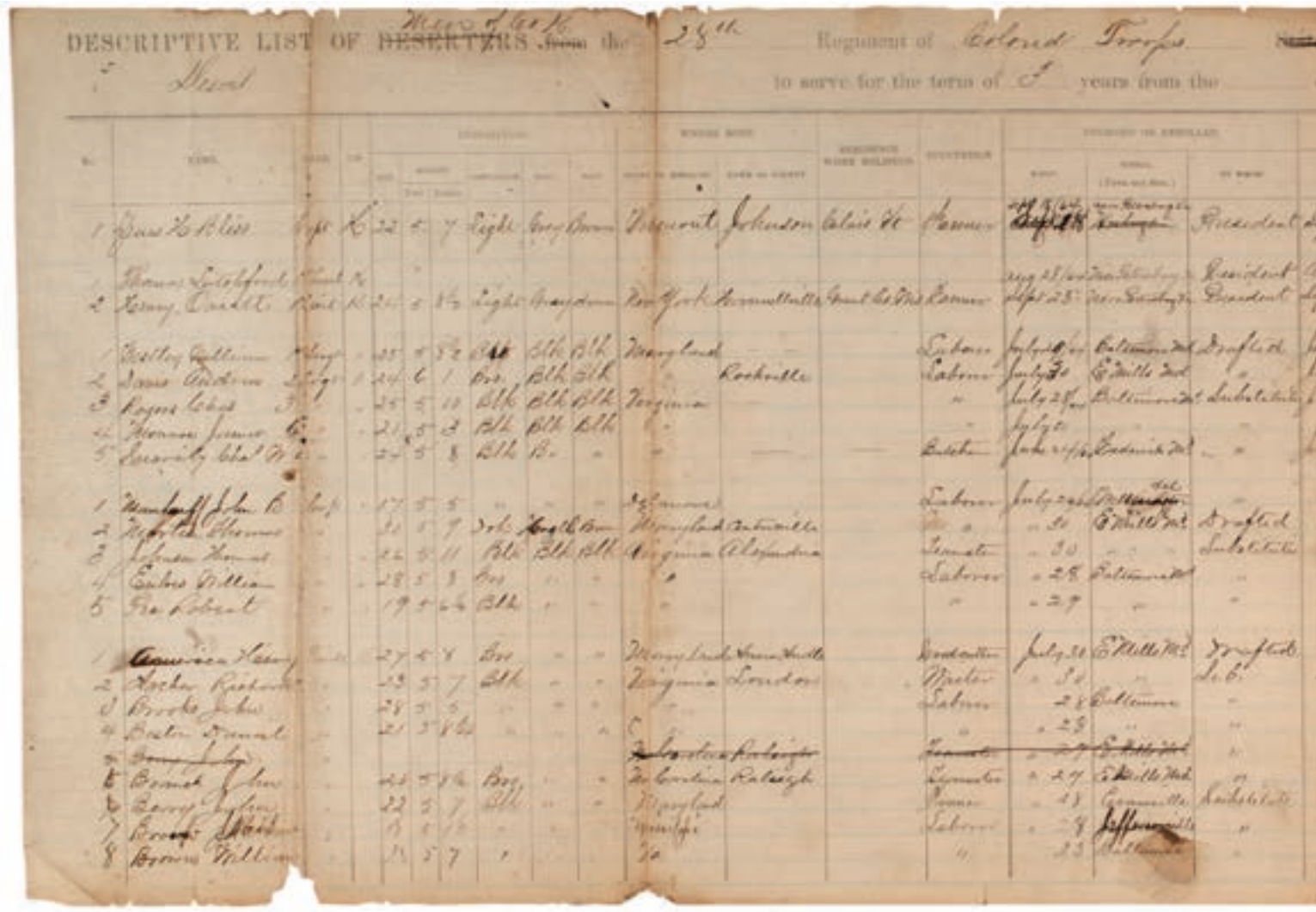
> *Among the many broken-hearted mothers looking for their children who had been sold into Georgia and elsewhere, was an aged woman, passing through the vast crowd of colored people, inquiring for a man by the name of Garland White, who had been sold from her when a small boy. . . . Some of the boys . . . soon found me, and said: "Chaplain, here is a lady that wishes to see you." . . . "This is your mother, Garland, whom you are talking to, who has spent twenty years of grief about her son." I cannot express the joy I felt at this happy meeting of my mother and other friends. . . . I have witnessed several such scenes among the other colored regiments.*

On January 8, 1866, White spoke proudly at the public ceremony in Indianapolis honoring the Twenty-eighth USCT. He returned to his family in Ohio after the war.

Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida

Isom Ampey

Isom Ampey was born in Wayne County, Indiana, and served in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment USCT with his brother Thomas Ampey. The two brothers mustered into the unit in May 1863—seven months before Indiana formed the Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT. Their younger brother George enlisted in the Twenty-eighth Regiment in December 1863. Of the three brothers, Isom and George survived the war. Thomas was killed at a battle at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in July 1863.



Twenty-eighth USCT Muster List

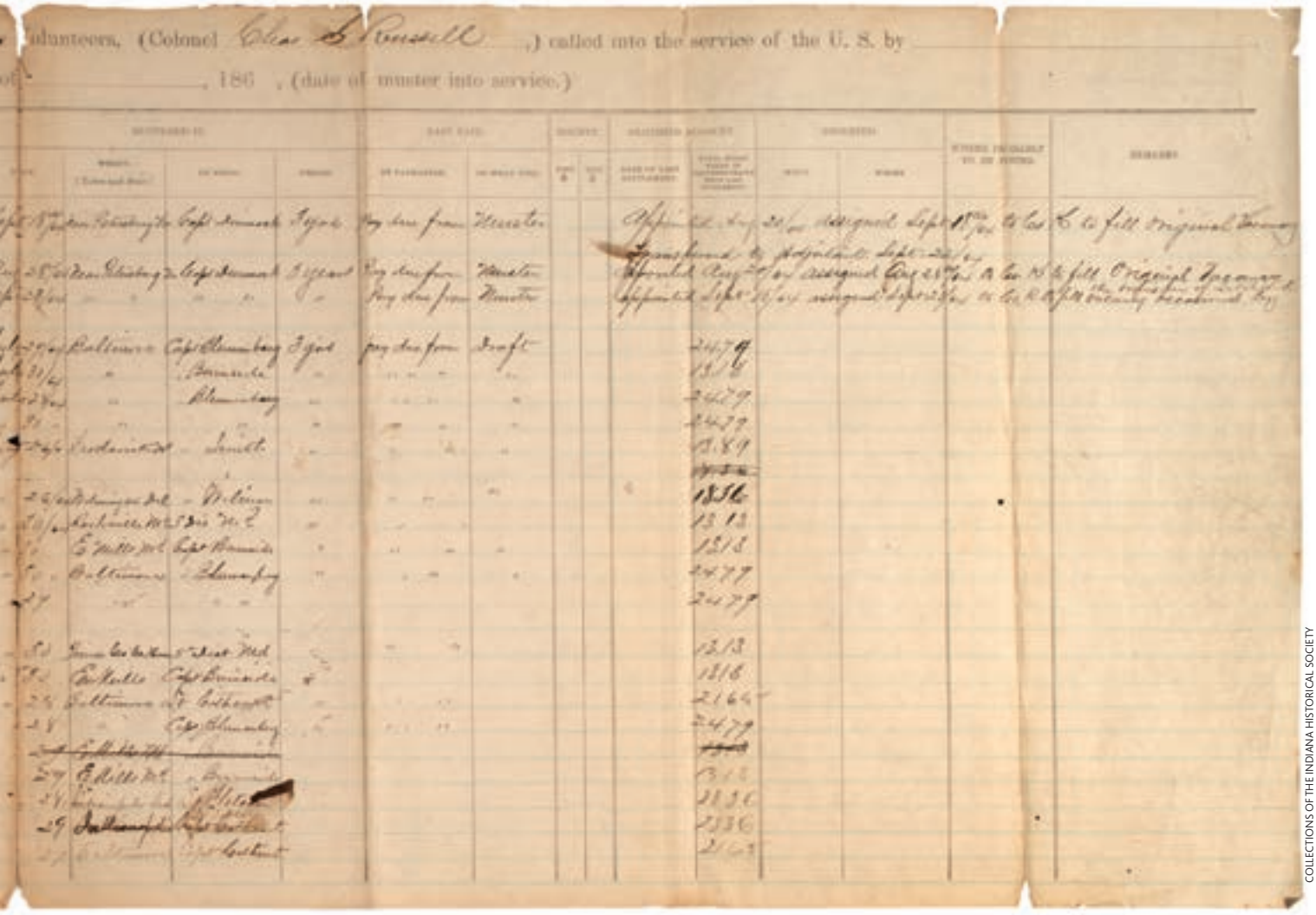
This is part of one of several muster lists for Indiana's Twenty-eighth Regiment. This and other muster lists provide a record of each soldier enlisted in a regiment and include categories for name, place of birth, occupation, enlistment location, and other descriptive information.

The Siege of Petersburg and the Battle of the Crater

[The] earth began to shake, as though the hand of God intended a reversal in the laws of nature. This grand convulsion sent both soil and souls to inhabit the air for awhile, and then return to be commingled forever with each other.

— Chaplain Garland H. White, August 8, 1864, describing the Battle of the Crater

After leaving Indianapolis, the Twenty-eighth USCT went to Washington, DC, and then on to Alexandria, Virginia, for further training. They headed southeast from Alexandria and began engaging in fierce combat, suffering many losses. From July 1864 to April 1865, they participated in the Siege of Petersburg, as part of General Burnside's Ninth Army Corps.



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Men of the Twenty-eighth participated in a daring plot that had tragic consequences. Directed by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pleasants, Union officer and engineer, they tunneled 585.8 feet to place dynamite under a Confederate fortification near Petersburg. The theory was that a controlled explosion would destroy the fort and give the Union troops a clear path to Richmond, the Confederate capital.

The explosion took place, but not as planned. A faulty fuse delayed the explosion for an hour. When the blast finally occurred, it killed 278 Confederates and created confusion among the Union troops. Attempting to take the fort, Union leaders ordered their men to charge forward, causing the soldiers to rush forward into the crater. Confederate troops rallied and began to shoot into the pit, slaughtering the men of the Ninth Corps. Captain Russell's black troops suffered terrible losses in what came to be known as the Battle of the Crater. Total casualties (killed, wounded, captured, or missing) numbered 3,798 for the Union and 1,491 for the Confederates.

President Lincoln ordered an investigation to determine the cause of the tragedy. Seventeen days of testimony concluded that it was the result of defective leadership and planning. Captain Russell told the court that the botched plan cost him almost half of his men and seven out of eleven officers. General Burnside took the brunt of the blame, even though he was acting on orders from his superior, Major General George G. Meade. Burnside was relieved of his command and was not called to duty for the rest of the war. Congress eventually exonerated Burnside and blamed Meade for the debacle.

The failed plan at the Battle of the Crater delayed the capture of Richmond, Virginia, by almost nine months. Finally, on April 3, 1865, the Union army,

which included troops from the Twenty-eighth Regiment, took the city. After Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant, the Twenty-eighth Regiment was assigned to guard Confederate prisoners at two large facilities, one in Virginia the other in Maryland. One Confederate prisoner wrote that being guarded by black troops made the prisoners' "Southern blood boil."

The Twenty-eighth USCT in Texas

Although April 9, 1865, marked the official end of the war, there were many "hot spots" in the country, especially in Texas, where there were still Confederate strongholds. The Twenty-eighth USCT and more than twenty-five other African American regiments received orders to help restore peace in Texas.

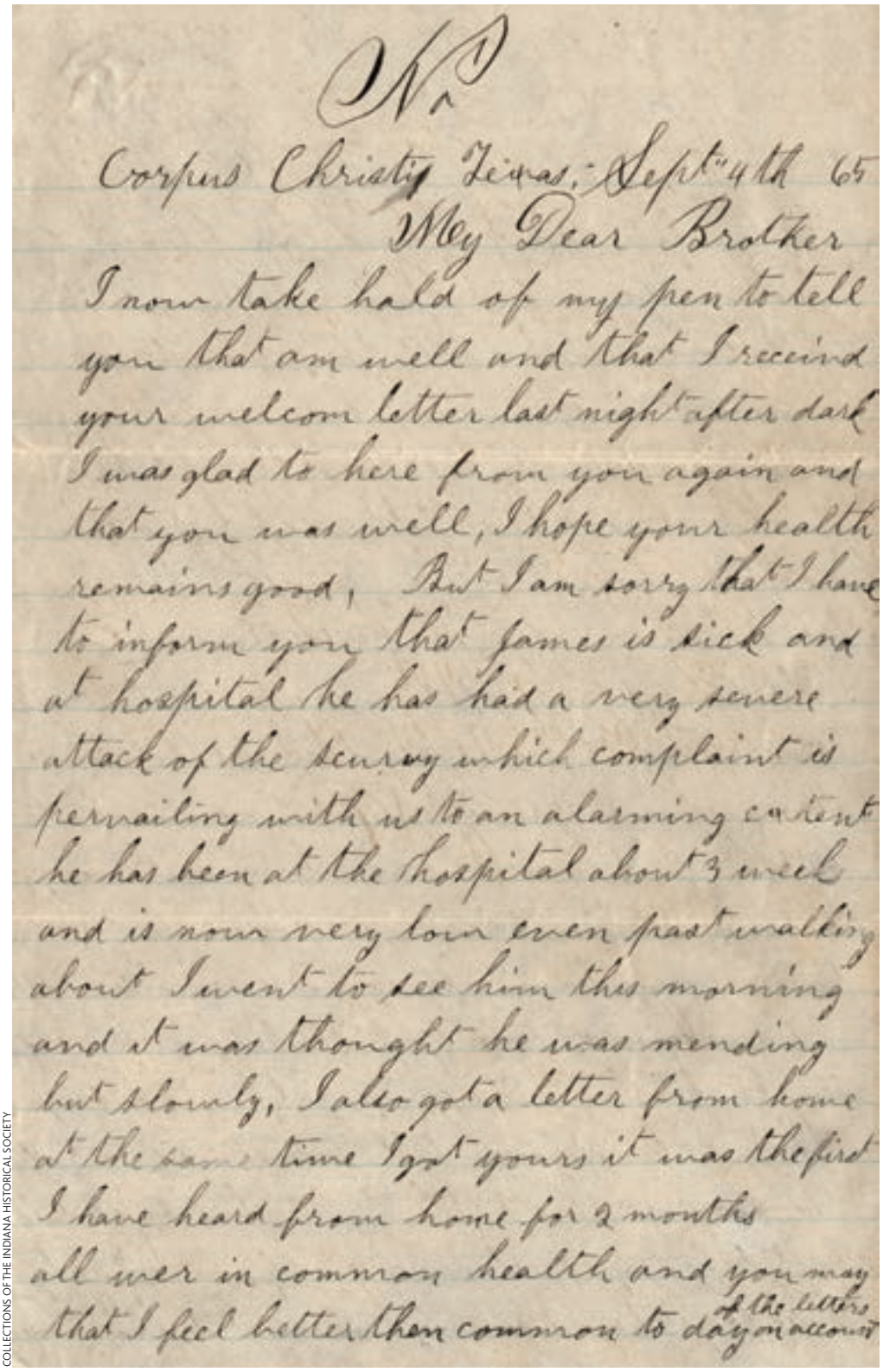
The troops were psychologically and physically unprepared for what awaited them along the Rio Grande–Mexico border. After fighting so long and bravely to unite the nation, they expected to return to their families. Instead they found themselves in deadly summer heat with inadequate provisions. Some men of the USCT died of disease. Fifteen soldiers who survived the Battle of the Crater died in Texas before the end of 1865. The *Christian Recorder* printed a letter from Chaplain White on October 21, 1865, describing the harsh conditions the troops endured:

> *No set of men in any country ever suffered more severely than we in Texas. Death has made fearful gaps in every regiment. Going to the grave with the dead is as common to me as going to bed. . . . I have spent a great portion of my time at the hospitals, and I never witnessed such fearful mortality in all my life. I have not seen a lemon, peach, apple or pear, nor corn enough over all that part of the country through which we have passed, to fatten a six months' pig.*

The Twenty-eighth Regiment left Texas in November 1865 and headed home by river boats on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. On January 6, 1866, the regiment of 950 men and 33 officers arrived in Indianapolis. Two days later they were honored at a public ceremony acknowledging their heroism and contribution to the war effort. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* summarized the event as a pleasant occasion and "a large nail in the great platform of equal justice." The men of the Twenty-eighth Regiment then returned to their civilian lives, perhaps glimpsing that collectively and individually they were standard bearers for a long march toward civil rights.

Flag of the Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT

On the battlefield it was the job of a few soldiers to carry the regiment's flag into battle. Battle flags were used to keep regiments together, and regiments took pride in their flag and rallied around it. Many of Indiana's Civil War battle flags are preserved today at the Indiana War Memorial Museum in Indianapolis.



Corpus Christi Texas. Sept 4th 65

My Dear Brother

I now take hald of my pen to tell you that am well and that I receind your welcom letter last night after dark I was glad to here from you again and that you was well, I hope your health remains good, But I am sorry that I have to inform you that James is sick and at hospital he has had a very severe attack of the scurvy which complaint is pervailing with us to an alarming extent he has been at the hospital about 3 week and is now very low even past walking about I went to see him this morning and it was thought he was mending but slowly, I also got a letter from home at the same time I got yours it was the first I have heard from home for 2 months all wer in common health and you may that I feel better then common to day on account of the letters

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Trail Brothers Correspondence

Many families with able-bodied sons and husbands contributed more than one soldier to the war effort. In this letter William Trail Jr. writes to his brother David. William was a soldier in Indiana's Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT while David served in Tennessee's Fourteenth Regiment USCT. When William wrote this letter in September 1865, the Twenty-eighth was stationed in Texas, and the Fourteenth in Tennessee. In the letter William talks about his family, reports on news and conditions in Texas, and sends greetings. At one point he writes, *"It has been the camp talk all along that we wer[e] going to be mustered out of service in a little while but such talk dont take any effect on me anymore[.] I only hope to get home when my time is out."* William did return home to Henry County in a few months and later owned a farm in Greensboro, Indiana. Although William and David both survived the war, two other Trail brothers who had fought in the Twenty-eighth Regiment did not. Benjamin F. Trail was killed at Petersburg, Virginia, on July 30, 1864; and James Trail died at Corpus Christi, Texas, September 24, 1865—twenty days after William's letter, which states that James was suffering from scurvy and could no longer walk.

4.4

Hoosier Officers and Ordinary Soldiers

The dead & wounded lay So thick that we could not help Steping on them.

— Hoosier soldier Joshua Jones in a letter to his wife, 1862

Hoosier soldiers of all stripes and stars experienced the Civil War in searing, visceral ways. Officer and infantryman alike saw men bayonetted or blown to bits. A general sitting in his polished saddle knew he was ordering his troops into enemy fire, which meant certain death for many. The average Hoosier farm boy who enlisted suffered the hardships of war every minute he managed to survive—from maggot-riddled food, to wet blankets, to long marches. Indiana sacrificed 25,028 men during the Civil War. Deaths from battle numbered 7,243, while 17,785 Hoosier soldiers died of disease, a bleak commentary on sanitary and medical conditions in military camps and on battlefields.

Stories of three Hoosier Civil War heroes—one officer and two common soldiers—illustrate the war they endured.

Lew Wallace (1827–1905)—Officer, Politician, Author

In the nature of things Freedom and Slavery cannot be coexistent. . . . I could not bring myself to defend the institution of slavery . . . my sympathies would side with the fugitive against his master. In all nature there was nothing more natural than the yearning for freedom.

— Lew Wallace, from his autobiography

Lewis "Lew" Wallace was born into a prominent, upper-middle class family on April 10, 1827, in Brookville, Indiana. When Lew was ten, his father David Wallace was elected the sixth governor of Indiana, and the family moved to Indianapolis. Like other boys of his social class, Wallace received a good education, although he did not show much interest in school. He was interested in the military, however. In 1846, at age nineteen, Wallace raised a volunteer regiment to serve under Zachary Taylor in the Mexican–American War. After the war, he earned a law degree, met Abraham Lincoln, and met and married Susan Elston in Crawfordsville in 1852. Wallace's first foray into politics was in 1856, when he was elected to the state senate on the Democratic Party ticket. Later, like many others in a split Democratic Party, he moved to the Republican Party.

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General Lew Wallace

Colonel Lew Wallace commanded the Eleventh Indiana Infantry Regiment, known as the Zouaves, from the beginning of the Civil War until he was promoted to brigadier general in September 1861. After the war he had a long political and diplomatic career. Today he is best-known as the author of *Ben-Hur*, his second of three novels. After a stint as ambassador to Turkey (1881–85), Wallace returned to Crawfordsville, Indiana, and built a study on his property that was completed in 1898. There he read and wrote until he died on February 15, 1905, at the age of seventy-seven. He is buried in Crawfordsville Oak Hill Cemetery. The study still stands and is home to the General Lew Wallace Study and Museum, which is open to the public.

When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Governor Oliver P. Morton appointed Wallace to organize the first six Indiana regiments. A smart, cool-headed commander on the battlefield, he rose quickly through the ranks to the position of major general. On April 6 and 7, 1862, Wallace led the Third Division, Army of the Tennessee, in the Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee, under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant. A mishap occurred at that battle that haunted Wallace the rest of his life. On the first day of fighting, Grant sent an aide to Wallace with written orders, instructing him to move his troops to support General William Tecumseh Sherman's division. However, due to miscommunication in the orders, Wallace's division arrived at its position after the fighting was nearly over. The Union suffered terrible casualties that day, but ultimately won the battle with ample support from Wallace's division on the second day. The Shiloh fiasco humiliated Wallace and besmirched his otherwise impeccable service record. Today Civil War buffs and historians still debate what happened at Shiloh on April 6, 1862.

Wallace continued to serve after Shiloh, most significantly at the Battle of Monocacy in Maryland, when his troops saved Washington, DC, from being invaded by Confederate troops. He was also appointed by President Andrew Johnson as a member of the commission that tried the conspirators who assassinated Abraham Lincoln.

After the Civil War, Wallace returned to Indiana and built a large house in Crawfordsville. He began to devote more time to writing fiction and continued to serve his country in politics and as a diplomat. He completed his most famous novel *Ben-Hur* while serving as Governor of the New Mexico Territory (1878–81). Published in 1880, *Ben-Hur* was the best-selling novel of the nineteenth century, selling more copies than Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Wallace garnered as much, if not more, fame for his novel than for his Civil War record.

Ambrose Bierce (1842–1913?)—Soldier, Author

According to degree of exposure, their faces were bloated and black or yellow and shrunken. The contraction of muscles which had given them claws for hands had cursed each countenance with a hideous grin. Faugh! I cannot catalogue the charms of these gallant gentlemen who had got what they enlisted for.

— from "What I Saw of Shiloh" by Ambrose Bierce

Like Lew Wallace, Ambrose Bierce became a famous author after the Civil War, but that is about all the two men have in common. Born on June 24, 1842, in the Western Reserve of Ohio, Bierce was the youngest of ten children in an impoverished family. When Bierce was around six years old his family moved to Warsaw, Indiana, where they had a hardscrabble farm—with little money and poor soil. Although Bierce's parents were poor, they valued education and had books at home. Intelligent and headstrong, Bierce became the apprentice of an abolitionist newspaper editor when he was fifteen.

COLLECTIONS OF THE ELKHART COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BRISTOL, INDIANA. COLLECTION ON LOAN FROM D. W. STRAUSS ESTATE; PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY OF TROYER STUDIOS

Ambrose Bierce

Ambrose Bierce was a Civil War soldier, journalist, and short-story writer who disappeared in 1913 while on his way to report on the Mexican Civil War.

Bierce was living in Elkhart when the Civil War broke out. He enlisted with Elkhart's Company C, Ninth Indiana Volunteers. By the end

of the war, Bierce, who had reenlisted several times, attained the rank of major. He fought in a half dozen key battles, including Shiloh and Missionary Ridge in Tennessee, and Pickett's Mill in Georgia. In 1864 he was shot in the head at the battle of Kennesaw Mountain, Georgia. The wound plagued him for the rest of his life.

The massive carnage Bierce experienced at Shiloh as part of the Ninth Indiana deeply traumatized him. Today, he might be diagnosed with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The stories based on his Civil War experiences (and nightmares) are considered among the finest of their type in American literature. Hoosier author Kurt Vonnegut, a World War II veteran and author of *Slaughterhouse Five*, wrote, "I consider anybody a twerp who hasn't read the greatest American short story which is '[An] Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge,' by Ambrose Bierce. . . . It is a flawless example of American genius."

After the Civil War, Bierce was a journalist, newspaper columnist, and wrote in many literary genres, but he could not manage to live a stable life. As one historian wrote, "Bierce never seemed able to locate a place for himself in the world outside of war." His marriage ended and two of his three children died before him. In 1913, after the publication of his *Collected Works*, Bierce packed his bags and toured the Civil War battlefields he had fought on fifty years earlier. In the fall of that year he headed to Mexico, intending to imbed himself in Pancho Villa's army as an observer/reporter of the Mexican Civil War. After posting a letter on December 26, 1913, Ambrose Bierce vanished without a trace. A century later his disappearance remains an unsolved mystery.

COURTESY OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

Hardee Hat

Members of Indiana's Nineteenth Regiment Volunteer Infantry—part of the famed Iron Brigade—wore these tall, dark hats called Hardee Hats instead of the more common blue or grey kepis, caps with flat tops and horizontal brims.

Joshua Jones (1838–1862)—Farmer, soldier

Though details about Joshua Jones's life before his service in the Civil War are not clear, he may have grown up on a farm near Muncie, Indiana. In March 1859, when he was twenty-one, Jones married Celia Gibson. Their only child, George, was born a year later.

When the Civil War began, Jones, like thousands of other Hoosier men and boys, enlisted to fight for the Union. Jones joined the Nineteenth Indiana Volunteer Infantry on July 29, 1861, and served with the regiment until his death on September 30, 1862. The Nineteenth Indiana was part of the Iron Brigade, one of the most celebrated units of the Civil War. What little historians know about the lives of enlisted men in the Iron Brigade they owe to the letters and diaries written by Jones and a handful of other ordinary soldiers.

Jones wrote most of his letters to Celia. In intimate detail, with shaky spelling and grammar, Jones writes about his wartime experiences and feelings—homesickness, boredom, discomfort, fear, and

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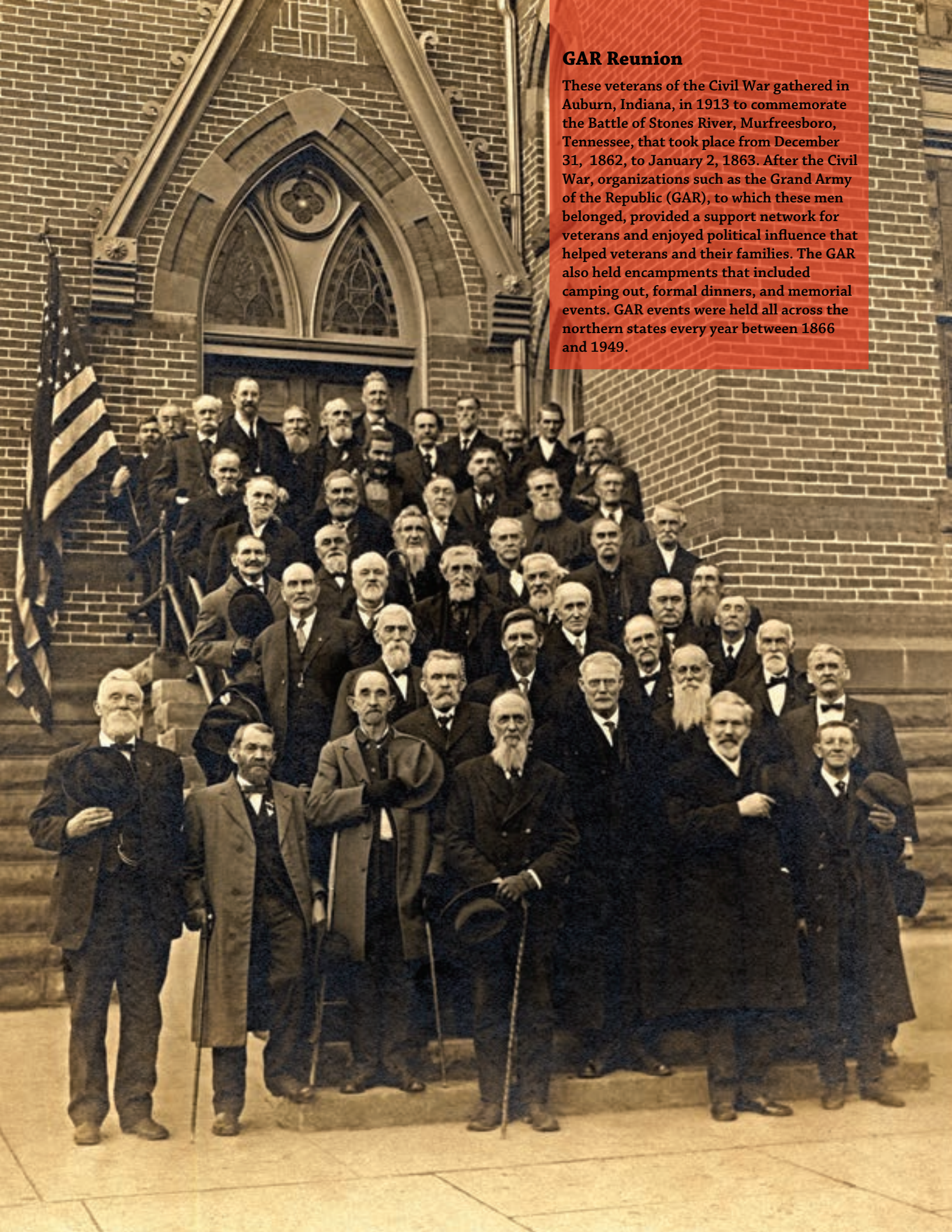

GAR Reunion

These veterans of the Civil War gathered in Auburn, Indiana, in 1913 to commemorate the Battle of Stones River, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, that took place from December 31, 1862, to January 2, 1863. After the Civil War, organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), to which these men belonged, provided a support network for veterans and enjoyed political influence that helped veterans and their families. The GAR also held encampments that included camping out, formal dinners, and memorial events. GAR events were held all across the northern states every year between 1866 and 1949.

patriotism. He also tries to lift Celia's spirits and advise her as she struggles to run their farm and take care of their baby son. Along with photographs and locks of his hair, he sends Celia the promise of "a Sweet time when I get home."

By 1862 Jones's letters take on a more pessimistic tone. He frequently mentions the possibility of dying. In a letter to Celia on September 6, 1862, Jones expresses frustration about not receiving a letter from other friends and relatives for a long time. "Can it be possible that they have all forgotten me," he asks his wife. Continuing, Jones tells Celia, "While you was going about the house or in your bed aSleep I was Either laying on the Battle field in the Raine or Seting up anodding[.] it Rained three days[.] you have no Idea what we have to go through."

Two weeks later, at Antietam in Maryland, a Confederate musket ball shattered Jones's ankle. He lay behind enemy lines without medical attention for two days. A few days later he died. Celia, now a young widow, subsequently received a letter from a surgeon in the Nineteenth Indiana offering her this meager comfort, "His remains were decently buried in a cemetry near by & a board placue at his head with his name & regt engraved upon it."

Celia remained in the Muncie area for the rest of her life and remarried when she was sixty-five years old. After she was widowed for the second time, she lived with her son and daughter-in-law. Celia had kept all of Jones's Civil War letters and left them to her son and grandchildren when she died.

A Nation Reunited but Forever Changed

Memories of the nation's most tragic war would endure. On Monument Circle in Indianapolis stands the majestic Soldiers and Sailors Monument. In towns and cemeteries across the state, other memorials and statues mark the tragedy. As times changed, many Hoosiers began to honor the war's great achievement of ending the nation's greatest curse—slavery. Many began to see the necessity of justice and equality for all.

At Gettysburg, a little town in Pennsylvania where Hoosiers in tall dark hats had fought and fallen alongside their Iron Brigade compatriots during early July 1863, the president who grew up in southern Indiana gave a speech to dedicate the cemetery built for all the Union soldiers who had died during the battle. In all, some 51,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were wounded, missing, or dead after that battle. In his southern Indiana accent, President Lincoln gave a short but memorable speech about the war, which would rage on for another year and a half. His speech gave meaning to the many lives that had been sacrificed and powerful meaning to the war—resolving that "these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

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Essential Questions

1. In what ways did Hoosiers try to keep African Americans out of Indiana in the few decades prior to the Civil War?*
2. How did African American Hoosiers respond to this systematic racism?
3. What factors contributed to the rise of the antislavery Republican Party and the decline of the Democrats in Indiana in the 1850s?
4. What actions did some Hoosiers take to show their opposition to slavery? Name some prominent Hoosier abolitionists.
5. Other than slavery and states' rights, what issues caused political division between Indiana Republicans and Democrats during the Civil War?
6. What contributions did the Twenty-eighth United States Colored Troops (USCT) make to the Union cause?*
7. Describe the experience of war like for Indiana Civil War soldiers?

**See student activities related to this question.*

Indiana Before and During the Civil War

In this chapter, you read about the many complexities and contradictions apparent in Civil War Indiana. Chief among the contradictions is the fact that a state that had actually tried to bar African Americans from settling within its borders in its 1851 Constitution contributed so many soldiers and resources to the fight to abolish slavery and defend the Union. While most Hoosiers remained deeply convinced of the inferiority of African Americans, they also came to see slavery as an evil that had to be stopped. Many Hoosiers did not agree with President Abraham Lincoln's decision to allow African Americans to fight as Union soldiers; nonetheless, the state sent more than five hundred free black men to battle as part of the Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT. Despite the treatment they received from many white Hoosiers, black soldiers fought valiantly to defend the Union and abolish the institution of slavery.

In the following two activities, you will consider the complexities of Civil War-era race relations in Indiana in greater detail. As you do so, think about how Indiana evolved from a state banning African Americans in 1851 to one that, albeit reluctantly, commissioned and armed black Hoosiers to defend Indiana and the nation.

Activity 1: Article XIII of the 1851 Indiana State Constitution

Introduction: Article XIII of the 1851 Indiana State Constitution stated, "No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the State, after the adoption of this Constitution." To our modern sensibilities, this article seems preposterous. However, many Hoosiers in 1851 had a fear of the two races mixing, and tension over the issue of slavery ran high. This article enjoyed wide public support and passed by a vote of 113,828 to 21,873 when the changes to the constitution were put to a vote. (Vanderstel)

▶ **Consider the following arguments favoring the ban on black immigration into Indiana that prefaced Article XIII when it was presented to Indiana's voting public:**

A majority of the convention were of opinion, that the true interests alike of the white citizens of this State and of its colored inhabitants, demanded the ultimate separation of the races; and that, as the Negro cannot obtain, among us, equal social and political rights, it is greatly to be desired that he should find a free home in other lands, where public opinion imposes upon color neither social disabilities nor political disfranchisement. (Indiana Constitutional Convention, 971)

Next, consider an opposing viewpoint from Schuyler Colfax, a Whig newspaperman from South Bend and delegate to the state's constitutional convention:

The slave States drive the free negroes from their borders, and the free States declare they shall not come within their limits. Where shall the negro go? He has not the means to transport himself to his native land, or rather the land of his ancestors, whence . . . let us remember—we must remember—he came not of his own will. The lust and avarice of the white man stole them from their homes, herded them in the slave factories, doomed them to the horrors of the "middle passage," and landed them on our shores to live the bondman's life of unrequited toil. He was dragged from his home, and now by the accidents of life a portion of the race find themselves free but ordered off the earth by constitutional provisions, like the one now before this Convention. Where shall the negro go? Into the Ohio River! . . . Let us not adopt such measures as we shall hate to look back upon, from the future; such provisions as we shall burn with shame to see inscribed on the first page of our organic law. Let us do equal and exact justice, regardless of creed, race, or color. If we value liberty let us not step beyond the Declaration of Independence and declare its sublime truths a living lie. (Fowler, 458)

With a partner, discuss the following questions:

1. How did the supporters of Article XIII claim that barring the settlement of African Americans in Indiana was a benevolent (good-hearted) move?
2. Why do you think they gave that reasoning for the inclusion of Article XIII?
3. Do you think that Colfax's appeal is emotional, logical, or both?
4. Colfax's statement, "Let us not adopt such measures as we will hate to look back upon, from the future; such provisions as we will burn with shame to see inscribed on the first page of our organic law," provides food for thought. Does Article XIII cause you to "burn with shame" that Hoosiers in 1851 thought it necessary and good to bar African Americans from the state?
5. On your own, imagine and write a Facebook post reporting the passage of Article XIII of the 1851 Constitution. Write responses to this post that might come from Colfax, African American Hoosiers, white pioneers, or delegates supporting the article. In doing so, accurately express the arguments given above, and perhaps offer others, in simple, everyday language.

Activity 2: The Twenty-eighth USCT

Introduction: The Trail family sent four brothers to fight in the USCT. William Trail Jr., Benjamin, and James served in Indiana's Twenty-eighth Regiment USCT, while David served in Tennessee's Fourteenth Regiment USCT. All four brothers fought valiantly for the Union cause, but only William and David returned from the war. A letter dated September 4, 1865, from William, who was then stationed in Texas, to his brother David, stationed in Tennessee, offers a glimpse into the life of an African American Civil War soldier. It is among the few documents in existence today that was written from the perspective of an enlisted black soldier. Read the following excerpt of the letter, the first page of which appears on page 103 (spelling and grammar are from original; punctuation added for clarity):

> *I was glad to here from you again and that you was well, I hope your health remains good, But I am sorry that I have to inform you that James is sick and at hospital[.] he has had a very severe attack of the scurvy which complaint is pervailing with us to an alarming extent[.] he has been at the hospital about 3 weeks and is now very low even past walking about[.] I went to see him this morning and it was thought he was mending but slowly. . . .*
>
> *We left Indianola on the 10th of Aug" and got here on the 12th[.] we are some better situated here[.] we can [get] plenty of water to drink and of a better quality[.] My company has left the camp of the regiment and mooved close up to town to do provost duty[.] we have been at this since the middle of last week but we have not had to kill any rebel yet[.] what few remain about here are perfectly sivel[.] There are plenty of rumers that the pay master will be along this week but we always have plenty of good newse but little of it comes to pass[.] I am not caring very much whither I get payed until my time is out[.] I am getting used to doing without money and it don't go so hard as it used to. It has been the camp talk all along that we wer going to be mustered out of the service in a little while but such talk don't take any effect on me any more[.] I only hope to get home when my time is out, it is now over half out.* (Trail)

- **As a class, discuss the conditions under which William is serving in Texas (consider availability of food and drink, medical care, payment, and so forth). Keep in mind that the letter is written more than four months after the Civil War has officially ended.**

Later on in his letter, William writes, *"I tell you this is an out of the way place[.] I havent seen a news paper since I"ve been in Texas and except just what I see I know as little about what is going on in the US as I do about what is going on in the moon."*

- **Imagine that David has mustered out, or finished his military service, and has returned home to Henry County, Indiana, to farm. Using library books, journal articles, and reliable Internet sources, such as the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University website (http://chnm.gmu.edu/), the Civil War@Smithsonian website (http://www.civilwar.si.edu/), and the PBS website (http://www.pbs.org/), gather information about the events of late 1865:**

1. President Andrew Johnson's presentation of his plans for "Reconstruction"
2. The passage of the Mississippi "Black Code"
3. The election of Benjamin Butler, radical Republican, to Congress
4. The establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee
5. The establishment of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction

- **Write a return letter from David to his brother William describing the current events in the United States in the fall of 1865. With the Civil War officially at an end, what do you think David found or experienced upon his return to Indiana? Do you think he felt gratitude from white Hoosiers for his service? Might he have experienced racism and discrimination upon his return? How would he have described this to William? How would you go about determining if your hypotheses are correct concerning post-Civil War race relations in Indiana?**

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