

INDIANA ARCHIVES

Indiana in the Civil War Era

John M. Glen, Stephen E. Towne, Nancy K. Turner,
Thomas E. Rodgers, and Saundra B. Taylor*

The momentous events and developments of the mid-nineteenth century mark both a period of transition for Indiana and a time when the state's residents established a political, economic, and cultural identity that lasted well into the twentieth century. It should be no wonder, then, that the Civil War era has been intensely studied by Indiana historians of all backgrounds and commands great interest among readers of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. This second installment of the journal's Indiana Archives series seeks to encourage further research into what, therefore, seems at first glance to be an already well-worked field. Contributors survey the rich primary materials currently held by archives, libraries, and historical societies across the state and elsewhere. They also note the particular research challenges that face students of the era: the withholding or actual destruction of letters, diaries, and other personal papers; the documentary impact of the era's bitter political struggles; the scarcity of significant manuscript collections revealing the experiences of women and African Americans; and the dominance of the Civil War itself on the scholarship of the period.

The attention devoted to the Civil War is in part the product of Indiana's disproportionate involvement in the conflict. Second among northern states in terms of relative manpower contribution, Indiana contributed approximately two-thirds of its military-aged men to the Union army. Regiments from the state fought in both the eastern and western campaigns and in many of the war's major battles. Over twenty-five thousand men died, most from disease; many thousands more suffered traumatic losses. The hardships of the war took their toll on the home front as well. The household and labor responsibilities of women expanded; questions regarding the

*John M. Glen, general editor of the Indiana Archives series, is professor of history, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana. Contributors to this installment of the series are Stephen E. Towne, archivist on the staff of the Indiana State Archives, Indiana Commission on Public Records, Indianapolis; Nancy K. Turner, head, Archives and Special Collections, Ball State University; Thomas E. Rodgers, author of "Liberty, Will, and Violence: The Political Ideology of the Democrats of West-Central Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XCII (June, 1996); and Saundra B. Taylor, curator of manuscripts, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

legal and political status of black Indianians attained added importance; and fierce debates over the powers of the state and federal governments helped create one of the most vigorously partisan and evenly divided political systems in the nation.

The drama of the Civil War also took place in the midst of several long-term trends that were gradually moving Indiana beyond its pioneer stage of development toward the challenges posed by a modernizing nation. Between 1850 and 1880 the number of cities and factories in the state increased, farm mechanization accelerated, labor unions started to form, and a broadening railroad network connected Indiana to regional and national markets. Black migrants from the South and immigrants from Europe established their own presence in some towns and cities, resisting racist and nativist hostility with varying degrees of success. These changes, along with those generated by a growing population, prompted some expansion of governmental services and support in areas such as education, though public school improvements came slowly and unevenly. All these transitions occurred within a state whose citizens continued to prize the character and values of a rural and small-town society.

The following essays offer a number of archival avenues to study this complex, sometimes contradictory, yet certainly critical era in Indiana history. Examining primary sources that are available for research in several regions of the state, they are intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Moreover, valuable Civil War-era documents can be found in libraries and archives in other regions of the state, including the Allen County Public Library and the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, also in Fort Wayne. As Stephen E. Towne clearly establishes, however, the starting point for any serious study of the political and military dimensions of the Civil War is the Indiana State Library and Historical Building. Nancy K. Turner reveals the personal importance the Civil War assumed for families, religious groups, and communities in east-central Indiana. Thomas E. Rodgers describes the creativity needed to research west-central Indiana's participation in the Civil War. And Saundra B. Taylor identifies the military, political, and economic connections between Indiana, particularly its southern residents, and national developments. Together these contributors show that if much of the state's mid-nineteenth-century history has been well chronicled, there still exist numerous areas for further exploration.

Civil War-Era Sources in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building

Civil War-era research constitutes approximately 20 percent of the total patronage of the Indiana State Archives. Indeed, the

study of the Civil War attracts enormous numbers of curious minds. Although one might conclude from the large outpouring of publications dealing with the period that all avenues of research have been exhausted, ongoing historical debates and the availability of extensive primary sources mean that much new and significant work remains to be done. Many heretofore untapped sources await serious perusal by scholars; many new questions about the nature of the conflict and its myriad ramifications remain to be addressed.

The three major records repositories currently housed in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building in Indianapolis together constitute an "enterprise zone" for historical researchers studying the Civil War era. The Indiana State Library, the Indiana Historical Society's William Henry Smith Library, and the Indiana State Archives are essential stops for any serious study of Indiana's role in the great national struggle.

Private manuscript collections of participants in the Civil War are especial strengths of the Indiana State Library (ISL) and the Indiana Historical Society (IHS). Both repositories hold numerous collections of letters and diaries of soldiers who fought in the war, most in Indiana volunteer regiments that participated in nearly all of the important campaigns.¹ The collections offer noteworthy eyewitness accounts of battles and other events. Some are quite well known and have been published in books and historical journals.² Given the current increased interest in the publication of Civil War letters and diaries since the recent airing of the Ken Burns Civil War television series, these collections have great potential. Both repositories also have the papers of men and women who remained at home during the period. Two examples are the Allen Hamilton papers (L 62) in the ISL and the Calvin Fletcher papers and diary (M 108) in the IHS. Both men were bankers, active in Indiana politics, and well connected with important state and national political figures. Fletcher's diary is singularly useful, covering over forty

¹ Researchers should consult Eric Pumroy, with Paul Brockman, *A Guide to Manuscript Collections of the Indiana Historical Society and Indiana State Library* (Indianapolis, 1986). Though a second edition update would be helpful, the core collections of both repositories are listed. The guide is well equipped with a detailed index and full annotations for each of the many collections listed. Collection identification numbers found in the guide will be used in this essay. Another useful resource is Ann Turner, *Guide to Indiana Civil War Manuscripts* (Indianapolis, 1965), which lists manuscript collections by unit. This guide is greatly out of date, and a new edition would prove of great worth to researchers.

² Examples include A. T. Volwiler, ed., "Letters from a Civil War Officer [Samuel Merrill, 70th Indiana Volunteer Infantry]," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (1928), 508-29; "Letters of a Civil War Surgeon [E. W. H. Beck, 3rd Indiana Cavalry]," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXVII (June, 1931), 132-63; Arville L. Funk, ed., "A Hoosier Regiment at Stone's River—an Account by Lt. Col. Daniel F. Griffin [38th Indiana Volunteer Infantry]," *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XXXVII (January, 1963), 24-28; Barbara A. Smith, comp., *The Civil War Letters of Col. Elijah W. H. C. Cavins* [14th Indiana Volunteer Infantry] (Owensboro, Ky., 1981).

years of Indiana's early statehood. His daily observations during the war provide key insights into important events and developments from war excitement in Indiana to disloyalty and fears of insurrection.³ Several collections, including the John Lewis Ketcham papers (M 173) and the Rufus Dooley papers (M 383) at the IHS, document women's war-related duties and participation in the conflict. Regrettably, no significant central Indiana African-American manuscript collections from the Civil War era are currently available.

Broader trends in mid-nineteenth-century politics are well represented in the private manuscript collections of Conrad Baker, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, Henry S. Lane, Robert Dale Owen, Albert G. Porter, and other Hoosier political leaders and their numerous correspondents. Recent interpretations regarding nativism, the collapse of the Whig party, the emergence of the Republican party, and other trends occurring at national, state, and local levels in the 1850s have yet to be applied to Indiana during the period. The origin of the antebellum Democratic conservatism that fed antiwar sentiments in Indiana merits attention, as does the debate on southern Reconstruction following the Civil War.

An interesting, perhaps telling, note is the preponderance of collections of Indiana's Republican politicians over those of their Democratic counterparts. Historians, for example, do not have access to the papers of such important Indiana Democrats as Thomas A. Hendricks, Daniel W. Voorhees, and Jesse D. Bright. This imbalance may be explained by the fact that the Democratic party in Indiana did not fare well during the Civil War. Accusations of disloyalty and party divisions between peace and war factions led to Republican success both during and after the war. Democrats who advocated compromise and peace during the war may have been embarrassed later by their earlier positions. The intentional destruction of private papers by historical figures or their families in order to sanitize their reputations for posterity has been all too frequent.⁴

On the other hand, the newspaper section of the ISL constitutes a gold mine of information on all aspects of Indiana history in the mid-nineteenth century. Hundreds of newspapers of extraordinary variety (political, religious, foreign language) were published in nearly every Indiana county. Some had large circulations, many

³ See Gayle Thornbrough, Dorothy L. Riker, and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher . . .* (9 vols., Indianapolis, 1972-1983). A thorough index allows for quick reference throughout the edition.

⁴ John W. Foster, a Republican attorney from Evansville who later became a leading United States diplomat and statesman, intentionally destroyed his vast personal collection of papers toward the end of his life. See Michael Devine, *John W. Foster: Politics and Diplomacy in the Imperial Era* (Athens, Ohio, 1981), 159-60.

a tiny readership; some survived only briefly. Important and useful data of all sorts can be gleaned from their pages, from county and township political platforms, court news, local agricultural commodity prices, and marriage and death data to social events, commercial news and advertising, railroad schedules, and community gossip. During the Civil War hometown newspapers published countless letters written by soldiers away at the front, letters that often provided startlingly frank accounts. Most of the known surviving Indiana newspapers from the period have been collected at the ISL either in the original or on microfilm.⁵

The ISL and IHS both house large collections of pamphlets dating from the Civil War period, some of which may be lone surviving copies. The collections also include Indiana state government publications and reports. An indispensable source for information on the activities of the Indiana General Assembly is the *Brevier Legislative Reports*.⁶ Published in twenty-four volumes covering legislative sessions from 1858 to 1887, the semi-official *Brevier Reports* constitute the only effort made to record the floor debates in the General Assembly.

Records of the Indiana state government's participation in the Civil War housed in the Indiana State Archives (ISA) are abundant. The organization of these records remained haphazard for many years; however, the ISA staff has worked in recent years to reorganize them and has produced finding aids to facilitate research and microfilmed a number of the more important record groups.

Oliver P. Morton ranks as one of the most important Union leaders during the rebellion. A governor of indefatigable energy and irrepensible talent, if not low cunning, Morton ran the state, controlling all aspects of its war effort. His voice in the halls of power in Washington, D.C., with President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton among others, was no less authoritative. This power and influence is borne out in the records located in the ISA.⁷

⁵The standard source for identifying and finding Indiana newspaper titles is John W. Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography* . . . (Indianapolis, 1982). Miller lists all known newspaper publications by county, provides a brief history of each, and indicates where copies may be read. While significant effort went into the project and the volume remains indispensable, errors abound in the guide. The researcher should exercise some caution when trying to locate extant copies of newspapers.

⁶Ariel E. and William H. Drapier, *Brevier Legislative Reports; Embracing Short-hand Sketches of the Journals and Debates of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana* (24 vols., Indianapolis, 1858-1887). These reports can also be found in a number of other libraries throughout the state.

⁷Important studies of Oliver P. Morton and his political career that have utilized Morton's gubernatorial papers include William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* . . . (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1899); Kenneth M. Stamp, *Indiana Politics during the Civil War* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXI; Indianapolis, 1949 [reprinted

Extensive documentation of Morton's administration survives. Included are many thousands of letters written to the governor and his staff during the war years in Indiana. Extensive files from the adjutants general of Indiana under Morton also exist. Perhaps central to this group are the seventeen volumes of telegraphic correspondence between Morton, his staff, and important military and political figures throughout the country. These communications, together with wartime telegraphic dispatches to and from the adjutants general of Indiana, constitute nearly thirteen thousand messages. A newly created computer index to the telegrams can currently be found on the ISA's internet world wide web home page: (<http://www.ai.org/acin/icpr/index.html>).

Persons undertaking regimental or unit histories or doing genealogical or biographical research should consult the regimental files on each Indiana volunteer unit. These records include the regimental and battery muster rolls, which list each soldier who served in a unit.

An important tool in this research is the ISA's microfilmed alphabetical list of all troops on the rolls. The files list all the data found on the muster rolls, including when and where the soldier joined the unit and was mustered out or discharged. An entry also notes if the soldier was killed in battle or died of wounds or illness. Depending on the thoroughness of the regimental clerks in filling out the muster roll forms, physical description, place of birth, and occupation are given. Such information is quite useful in learning about enlisted men for whom there are no informative letters of application or recommendation as is the case for the commissioned officers. Thus it can be determined that a private soldier named Ambrose G. Bierce of the Ninth Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment had light hair and blue eyes and was employed as a printer before the war. Regimental records also include extensive files of letters of application and recommendation for the field and staff officers for each unit. Addressed primarily to Governor Morton, who exercised the power to appoint regimental officers, these letters often provide telling details about the activities of the regiment in the absence of battle reports and other after-action documentation. The ISA also has regimental records of the 28th United States Colored Troops, the majority of whom were recruited in Indiana.⁸

Frequently overlooked is the important service of the Indiana Legion, the state militia, during the Civil War. The Legion played

1978)]; Lorna Lutes Sylvester, "Oliver P. Morton and Hoosier Politics during the Civil War," (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Indiana University, 1968); and Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, 1965).

⁸See William Forstchen, "The 28th United States Colored Troops: Indiana's African Americans Go to War, 1863-1865," (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Purdue University, 1994).

an important role in defending the state from rebel raids and guerrilla incursions, especially along the Ohio River. On a few occasions the Legion crossed the state line to fight in Kentucky or to chase fleeing guerrillas. Legion units also acted as provost marshal detachments, patrolling their localities in search of draft dodgers and deserters. The surviving records of the Indiana Legion offer many clues concerning matters on the home front. Included are reports of activities of clandestine groups such as the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Sons of Liberty.⁹

While the Civil War-era documentation found in the Indiana State Library and Historical Building is vast, many more records pertaining to Indiana subjects reside elsewhere. The National Archives at Washington, D.C., and the Archives' regional repository at Chicago, Illinois, where nineteenth-century federal district court records are held, contain many records pertaining to the Indiana Civil War experience. These include post-battle reports written by Indiana commanders, regimental order books, muster rolls, and pension files. The records of the Provost Marshal Bureau, various regional military commands, and Cabinet departments also offer significant information on affairs in the state during the war.¹⁰

Civil War-Era Primary Materials in East-Central Indiana

East-central Indiana in the 1850–1880 era was a region in a period of change. Because of a rising birth rate, an increase in settlers from other states, particularly Ohio, and an influx of immigrants, especially from Ireland and Germany, the population grew rapidly. The area remained primarily rural and agricultural, but the building of a network of railroads across the state set the stage for its entry into the national economy.

The Civil War, with all its bitterness, proved to be the benchmark of the era. Many of the young men from east-central Indiana who enlisted—most of them in the Union army—initially considered the war as something of a lark. As the soldiers were exposed to

⁹A number of scholars have studied the extent of dissent in the North during the Civil War, and a few have focused on Indiana. It appears, however, that none has looked at the records of the Indiana Legion and other recently organized records in the ISA. See three publications by Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1960); "Carrington and the Golden Circle Legend in Indiana during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXI (March, 1965), 31-52; and *Dark Lanterns: Secret Political Societies, Conspiracies, and Treason Trials in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge, 1984), as well as Gilbert R. Tredway, *Democratic Opposition to the Lincoln Administration in Indiana* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XLVIII; Indianapolis, 1973).

¹⁰For information on National Archives holdings, see Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers, *Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War* (Washington, D.C., 1962). See also Michael P. Musick, "Civil War Records: An Introduction and Invitation," *Prologue*, XXVII (Summer, 1995), 145-71, and Musick, "Honorable Reports: Battles, Campaigns, and Skirmishes—Civil War Records and Research," *ibid.*, XXVII (Fall, 1995), 259-77.

the homesickness and the horror of conflict, however, their letters to families and friends reveal a change in tone. Their correspondence reflects the lasting impression the war made on the lives of Hoosiers in the region. Such interesting unpublished materials from the era can be found at public libraries, historical societies, colleges, and universities in Delaware, Jay, Randolph, Henry, Madison, Blackford, Grant, and Wayne counties.

One significant focal point of research in this area is the Archives & Special Collections in the A. M. Bracken Library at Ball State University, Muncie. The nucleus of the archives' current holdings for the mid-nineteenth century are government records rescued by a Ball State professor of history, Dr. Althea Stoeckel, when the old county courthouse was torn down in 1966. These include veterans' enrollment records; regimental records, including mustering-in certificates; militia records; and papers dealing with relief for soldiers' families. Also available are marriage and deed records from the beginning of the county; tax duplicate records; and will packets, probate records, and a variety of civil court records. Other government records of interest for those researching the time period include inventory and sales lists, as well as naturalization records.

Family papers, diaries, and church records from the Civil War era are also located in the Stoeckel Archives. The Fred and Penny Prow Family Collection (Mss 158) contains the papers of seven generations of one Delaware County family and includes family correspondence from the 1820s through the Civil War period, with interesting references to life on the home front. The Cassidy-Nelson Family Papers (Mss 23) include correspondence, account books, photographs, and the Civil War letters of D. W. (Derastus) Nelson. Featured in the papers of the Stradling, Ryan, and Tuhey families (Mss 127 and OVB9) are the Civil War letters of John Stradling. The Buckles Family Papers (OVA 32), which were found in the wall of a Muncie home, reveal the family's Delaware County roots.

F. E. Putnam, a local merchant who also served in various county offices, made daily entries in a diary (Mss 2) that he began in 1842 and continued until just before his death sixty years later. The diary is an invaluable source as there were no newspapers for the time period. Thomas Neely moved to Muncie in 1839 and opened a blacksmith shop. He served six years as member of the board of commissioners and later opened Muncie's first photography studio. Neely was another important local diarist (Mss 105) who commented on many aspects of community life. He began his entries in 1860 and continued them until his death in 1901.

One of the earliest churches in the area was the Unitarian Universalist Church. Known in the nineteenth century as the Universalist Church, its collection (Mss 101) includes board minutes starting in 1859 and the diary of Marion Crosley, local minister of

the church, who kept a diary (part of Mss 101) between 1855 and 1865. Part of the Church of the Brethren (Mississinewa, Union Grove, Shideler) Records, 1850–1965 (Mss 30) shows the membership, baptisms, and transfers from 1850 to 1897. The photocopied records of the First Baptist Church (Mss 81) include minutes of meetings and membership rolls, with a concentration of records from the 1859–1874 period.

Earlham College, founded in 1847 and located at Richmond, Indiana, is known for its extensive coverage of the Society of Friends. Probably the two largest collections of interest are the records of Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings of Friends. These contain the transactions of the monthly meetings, the basic business unit of the Society of Friends. The carefully kept records of births, deaths, and marriages, along with the minutes of business meetings, are the most complete materials for any denomination in Indiana. Although the monthly meetings were mainly concerned with disciplinary matters, there are often records of dealings with Friends who had enlisted in the Union army or who attempted to aid freedpeople in the South. Several monthly meetings made up the quarterly meetings, which were supposed to maintain a Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color. These records are often an invaluable resource for black history in Indiana. The same can be said for the records of Indiana Yearly Meeting's Freedman's Aid Committee.

A variety of personal papers from the Civil War era are in the Earlham collections. The diaries of Oliver Albertson, a Quaker nurseryman of Washington County, Indiana, cover the years from 1846 to 1874 and are a rich source for information on Quaker family life in southern Indiana in that period. Elijah Coffin, the father of Charles F. Coffin, was a Richmond banker and clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends from 1827 to 1857. The centerpiece of his collection is his diary for the period 1848–1862, with considerable information on religious and political affairs. The 1866 diary of Lizzie Edwards, a Friend who lived in Spiceland, Indiana, includes the time she spent teaching in a freedmen's school near Vicksburg, Mississippi. The diary of Margaret Jones, a Quaker who lived in Rush and Howard counties, is an often moving account of the life of a single woman from 1845 to 1893. Quaker artist Marcus Mote, best known for his portraits and painting of *Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1844*, completed numerous diaries containing his reflections on local and national events. The collection of Francis W. Thomas, a prominent Quaker minister who lived in Wayne and Henry counties, includes a diary for the period 1861–1865 with considerable comment on public events.

Complementing these diaries are family papers. The Charles F. and Rhoda M. Coffin Collection provides basic information con-

cerning the response of Indiana Quakers to the Civil War and the reform and philanthropic work of Charles F. Coffin (1823–1916), a Richmond banker and clerk, or presiding officer, of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends from 1857 to 1884, and his wife Rhoda M. (Johnson) Coffin (1826–1909). The Hill-Hudelson Papers include the correspondence and business papers of Henry B. Hill (1804–1874) of Carthage, Indiana, and his son William Penn Hill (1830–1894) of Knightstown, Indiana. Although a Quaker, Henry B. Hill served as a colonel in the Union army. Also included in the collection are a number of letters written by William Penn Hill's sister-in-law, Jane M. Hudelson (1832–1904) while she was teaching in a freedmen's campus in Mississippi in the 1860s. The Huff Family Papers consist largely of material relating to the life of Daniel Huff (1816–1899) and his wife, Emily Jane (Nixon) Huff (1821–1889), Quakers of Fountain City (formerly Newport), Indiana. The collection is rich in material on politics, antislavery, and abolition. The large Eli and Mahalah Jay Collection contains extensive materials on the response of Indiana Quakers to the Civil War. The Carpenter-Wright Family Collection includes considerable correspondence with family members for the 1850–1870 period.

Other collections at Earlham include the papers of Levi Coffin (1798–1877), a Fountain City merchant and abolitionist known as the "President of the Underground Railroad"; the collection of Job Hadley (1816–1895), a Friend living in Hendricks County, Indiana, who left a long reminiscence about slavery in North Carolina and his work among the freedpeople in Mississippi and Tennessee in the 1860s; and the Dublin, Indiana, Good Templars Minute Book covering the activities of this temperance organization from 1863 to 1868.

Taylor University, founded in 1846 and located at Upland, Indiana, also serves as a repository for some Civil War correspondence. The Bernie Smith Collection contains letters of civilians during the Civil War period, including one from James A. Garfield to Joseph Knight, Esq. In addition, the university archives at Taylor also hold the muster-out roll of Captain Nathan Walkens, Company D, 5th Maine Infantry, and materials from the 1855–1890 era under the school's former name of Fort Wayne College.

The Minnetrista Cultural Center in Muncie, Indiana, has only been open since 1987, but it, too, is acquiring family papers that contain references to this turbulent era in Indiana's history. The W. W. Cline Papers, covering the 1850–1860 period, primarily document the life of W. W. Cline of Hartford City, Indiana. Cline was a teacher, justice of the peace, temperance advocate, secretary of the local Young Men's Christian Association, and director of the Hartford City brass band. The Civil War is covered in letters to Cline's future wife, Harriet Chaffee, from her brothers during the years

1861–1863, in which the siege of Vicksburg is discussed as well as what is happening to other members of the Hartford City, Indiana, volunteer regiment. Muncie native Thomas Jefferson Brady served as a general during the Civil War. His letters to his parents span the years 1860–1865; other letters cover General Brady's term as United States consul to St. Thomas, 1872–1873. The Minnetrista Center also has several other collections with smaller pieces of Civil War documentation, including tintypes, letters, and discharge papers.

Local historical societies have long played a significant role in the gathering, preserving, and cataloguing of historical materials. Many times families are more willing to share their memorabilia with these community-oriented and volunteer-staffed organizations than to donate them to state or federal agencies. For example, the Delaware County Historical Alliance owns a significant collection of Civil War-era materials at the Moore-Youse Museum, built around 1849 and home to three generations of the same middle-class family. The museum's Civil War-era correspondence is centered around three family collections. The Pittenger/Shroyer Collection includes Civil War correspondence and the diary of Absalom Shroyer, as well as deeds for the purchase of land by Anthony Shroyer. The Poland Collection contains the Civil War letters of John W. Poland and various funeral notices of the time period, and the Davis Civil War Papers are centered around the Davis family of Mooreland, Indiana, especially the correspondence of Lucinda Clapper.

Another local historical society holding Civil War-era materials is the Henry County Historical Society in New Castle. Founded in 1887, the society continues to collect materials relating to the area's history. Among its materials are the diaries of Cyrus Van Matre, a first lieutenant in Company E, 8th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. The diaries begin on January 1, 1864, and continue through the year until Van Matre's return home in November. They contain daily accounts, monetary transactions, poetry, and a list of persons who wrote him letters. Other Henry County materials include an autobiographical account written November 23, 1878, by Dr. John Rea, a physician born in Virginia in 1819, who was a volunteer physician during the Civil War; a letter by George W. Rader, Company E, 8th Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment, and three from his sister to him; and numerous Civil War discharge papers and legal letters and a handbill written by a local poet on the occasion of the passing of Lincoln's funeral train on April 30, 1865.

The members of the Blackford County Historical Society at Hartford City also strive to preserve the history of their area. A sampling of their holdings for the 1850–1870 era includes the 1854–1880 diaries of Joseph Van Cleve, who with his brother Asher was an early Blackford County pioneer. Van Cleve, owner of a gen-

eral store located on the southwest corner of the courthouse square and known as "The Old Fort," was a strong Union supporter. He was also a large property owner and served as a banker of sorts before any other local banking institutions existed. Also available are the official war records of 916 Blackford County Civil War veterans obtained from the Indiana adjutant general's office; they are indexed from Samuel Arnold to Jacob Yoder.

Public libraries in the east-central Indiana area usually contain only copies of historical records, but the Anderson Public Library holds some diaries and correspondence from the 1850–1870 period. There are typescript copies of the 1863 diary of DeWitt Markle of Adams Township; the 1864–1865 diary of Hugh D. Galliker, 35th Regiment; and the undated but contemporary diary of James Henry Harris of Jefferson County. Original documents at the library include the diary of James Reed, the letters of Elizabeth and Benjamin Gage, who served in the 68th Indiana Infantry, and Isaiah Hutchinson, a member of the 120th Regiment.

Civil War-Era Primary Materials for West-Central Indiana

West-central Indiana, as defined in this article, stretches from Lafayette in the north to Vincennes in the south and at its center from the Illinois border on the west to Putnam County on the east. The Civil War-era primary sources available for the region are many and varied and are located in a variety of places within the area and in some archives outside of it. Three good places within west-central Indiana to begin a search for materials are Terre Haute, Greencastle, and Crawfordsville.

The primary materials available at the Vigo County Public Library include original manuscripts, copies of materials that are privately owned or are in other archives, and some printed materials from the mid-nineteenth century. While many of these items concern Vigo County, there are also materials from nearby counties. Many of the letters and diaries are those of Civil War soldiers, but there are also some of local businessmen. Other items of note are local church records; the general Civil War folders; and the records of the Ladies' Aid Society, which began during the Civil War and then continued as a women's welfare organization after the war. The library holds society records only as far back as 1870.

Civil War-era materials in Greencastle are all currently housed in the DePauw University Archives. Many of the Civil War letters relating to Putnam and nearby counties, however, will eventually be moved to the new public library building that is currently under construction. Most of the soldier letters and diaries at the archives are by Putnam County men, but there are also some by DePauw alumni from other parts of the state. The archives also contain a large number of local church records (most but not all are

Methodist) and the records of the two Methodist conferences in Indiana during the mid-nineteenth century.

Primary sources in Crawfordsville are located at Wabash College's Robert T. Ramsey, Jr., Archival Center and at the Crawfordsville Public Library. The archives have a few sets of Civil War letters of alumni from west-central Indiana. Also of interest are the letters of Edmund O. Hovey, the founder of Wabash and for many years a trustee of the college. Some of Hovey's letters are at the Indiana State Library, but most are at Wabash. An unusual primary source at the archives is the *Wabash Magazine*, a literary magazine whose stories, essays, biographies, and poems were written by local residents and Wabash students, many of whom were from west-central Indiana.

Most of the extant newspapers of west-central Indiana for the Civil War era are available at the Newspaper Division of the Indiana State Library. Notable exceptions are the two Crawfordsville newspapers (one Republican and one Democratic) that are available at the Crawfordsville Public Library. In addition to these two newspapers, the library has copies of a few letters and diaries from the period.

One can also find useful primary sources in Lafayette, Vincennes, and Bloomfield. The Tippecanoe County Historical Society's collection contains a few sets of Civil War letters and a local farmer's diary from the mid-nineteenth century. The Byron R. Lewis Historical Library at Vincennes University has a few sets of Civil War soldier letters (some originals and some copies), a number of businessmen's letters and records, and a variety of county records. Many of these sources relate to Knox County, but a number of them come from the other counties of Illinois and Indiana in the Vincennes area. The Greene County *Southern Indianan*, one of the few extant Democratic newspapers from the region, has not yet been microfilmed and is available only at the county recorder's office in Bloomfield. Its outspoken anti-Lincoln and anti-Morton stands make it well worth the trip to the Greene County Courthouse.

Almost all county libraries in the region have materials that can be of use to researchers. Among such items are locally produced county indices to the manuscript federal censuses, copies of and indices to some local government records, locally published histories related to the Civil War era, copies of letters and diaries held by the Indiana Historical Society or other archives, and cemetery records.

In addition to the manuscripts held in archives in the region, it is very probable that a large number of Civil War-era diaries and letters are currently in the possession of descendants in west-central Indiana and elsewhere in the nation. No one knows how many private collections exist, but some idea of how large a number there might be is illustrated by a collection of such materials from Owen County recently assembled by local historian Vivian Zollinger. She

has discovered nearly two dozen different privately held collections of Civil War soldier letters in the county.¹¹

There is no sure way to locate privately held manuscripts, but a researcher who is beginning a search for such items in any given county should check the acknowledgments and bibliographies of any locally written and published books on the Civil War in the county library. One should also attempt to identify, through the library or local historical society, the most knowledgeable genealogist in the county. Almost every county has one or a few individuals who are extremely well versed in their county's history. They will often know "who has what" within the county and will frequently know, probably as a result of genealogical inquiries, about privately held sets of letters that are in other parts of the country.

Of course, many important primary materials relating to important regional political figures are located in major archives outside of west-central Indiana. The papers of Godlove S. Orth, a major Know Nothing and Republican politician, and Joseph A. Wright, an antebellum Democratic governor and a wartime Republican United States senator and an ambassador, are at the Indiana State Library. Richard Thompson, an important Whig, Know Nothing, and Republican politician, has left a voluminous correspondence that is spread about several archives, including Indiana University's Lilly Library, the Indiana State Library, the Vigo County Public Library, the Lincoln Library in Fort Wayne, and the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Library in Fremont, Ohio. The collections at the Lincoln Library contain an especially large number of letters from political figures around the region and the state. The papers of Henry S. Lane, a major Whig and Republican leader, are at Indiana University's Lilly Library and the Indiana Historical Society. The papers of John P. Usher, Republican politician and secretary of the interior, are at the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. John Givan Davis, a Democratic congressman, whose huge correspondence reveals a great deal about the workings of politics in the 1850s, has papers at the Indiana Historical Society and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. Daniel W. Voorhees, the major wartime Democratic figure in the region, did not leave a collection of his own, but a number of letters written by or to him are in the Davis Papers in Wisconsin and the Carrington Family Papers at Yale University, New Haven. The Indiana State Library has a number of pamphlets containing his speeches. Lyman Abbott, a wartime Terre Haute pastor and Republican activist, has material relating to this period at the Bowdoin College

¹¹ Transcriptions of these sources will eventually be available at the Owen County Public Library in Spencer, and selections from the collection are scheduled for publication in the June, 1997, issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

Library in Brunswick, Maine, and in his published reminiscences of wartime Indiana in *Outlook* magazine (1914).

The Indiana State Library and Indiana Historical Society have a number of the diaries and letters of soldiers from west-central Indiana. The large collections are listed in Pumroy's *A Guide to Manuscript Collections*, but for the smaller manuscript collections one must consult the *Guide to Indiana Civil War Manuscripts*. While most of the material in such collections concern conditions and events at the battlefield, it should be noted that a significant amount of information about the home front can be gleaned from them. This is especially true of collections that contain large numbers of letters from friends and relatives back home or letters of soldiers who wrote instructions to their wives on how to run the farm. Such collections as the Rufus Dooley Papers (IHS), the Ransom Hawley Papers (ISL), and the recently acquired Alford Papers (IHS) contain information on politics, the operation of the draft, farming techniques, work routines on farms, women's work, women's war-related activities, religion, agricultural marketing procedures and conditions, attitudes on childrearing, and much more. In short, a great deal of social, political, gender, and economic history can be distilled from the correspondence of Civil War soldiers.

Most sources of federal, state, and local government information are fairly well known, but a few observations should be included here. Access to and availability of local government records vary from place to place. Most exemplary perhaps is Owen County, where local historian Roger A. Peterson has begun an extensive indexing of local government materials from the nineteenth century. Rarely used federal sources of information are the Civil War federal income tax returns (available on microfilm at the Indiana University main library). In these returns one will find annual income figures for well-to-do citizens, luxury items owned by local residents, and information on professionals and businesses that had to pay licensing fees. Other rarely used federal sources are the reports of the district provost marshals available on microfilm from the National Archives. Many of these reports, which were prepared for each draft district at the end of the war, are perfunctory, but the reports for the Seventh and Eighth districts in west-central Indiana are quite informative about drafting procedures, draft resistance, and so forth. Finally, disputed elections can be interesting sources of information. The records of the disputed Voorhees congressional election of 1864, for instance, contain lists of Republican voters in four different townships and other useful information.

Much useful primary information can also be found in the accounts of travelers who passed through west-central Indiana during the period. Many such works can be located at the ISL, the IHS, and the libraries of Indiana University. One good example of such a

source is the English traveler J. Richard Beste's *The Wabash* (2 vols., 1855). This book contains many interesting observations on the people of Vigo and Putnam counties, an election in Vigo County, transportation by land and canal, and the unsuccessful medical efforts to save the life of his daughter.

There are relatively few primary sources for the women of west-central Indiana. Occasionally, one finds letters from one woman to another, such as Mary Hovey's letters to her daughter Helen in the Hovey papers at Wabash, that provide a glimpse into the everyday world of women. There are also some records of Ladies' Aid societies and of the nursing duties carried out by the nuns of St. Mary-of-the-Woods. Much of the information that is available about the region's women, however, has to be extracted from letters written by or to mothers, wives, sisters, and girl friends in the soldiers' letter collections.

There are no significant collections of letters or other primary items for black Hoosiers living in west-central Indiana during the Civil War period. Given the small size of the region's black population and the exclusion of black males from the region's military companies during the war and from voting and officeholding before 1869, it is perhaps not surprising that black sources are so sparse. Still, both Knox and Vigo counties had unusually large concentrations of black population by Indiana standards, and it is to be hoped that some significant black primary sources will be discovered in these or other counties of the region.

Civil War-Era Primary Materials in Indiana University's Lilly Library

For the last several years one of the most frequently researched subjects in the Lilly Library at Indiana University has been the United States Civil War and Civil War era. While much of the increased interest may be attributed to the Ken Burns public television series first broadcast in 1989, that hardly accounts for the long-standing, continued interest in and use of the library's Civil War collections. Indeed, when the Lilly Library came into being in 1960, Indiana University already had substantial holdings relating to the war, documenting not only Indiana but also national activities and participation.¹² The library has continued to build on these collections, so that presently a scholar, researcher, or even Civil War re-enactor has access to more than sixty different collections that will be of interest. Everything from muster lists; clothing and equipment issues; pay accounts and disbursements; discharge papers; diaries; individual letters to family, sweethearts, and politi-

¹² See Turner, *Guide to Indiana Civil War Manuscripts*, for descriptions of fifty-nine items and/or collections in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington.

cians; and much, much more may be found relating to forty-six Indiana regiments; five Ohio regiments or companies; soldiers in Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York regiments; and even regiments of the Confederate States of America.¹³ Most of the Hoosier participants present in these collections are representative of Gibson, Hamilton, La Porte, Marion, Monroe, and Owen counties, and the professions include those of chaplain (Eli P. Farmer), nurse (Elizabeth A. Tuttle), physician (George Washington Bryan, William Baldwin Fletcher, Nathan Kimball, Edwin McGann, and Ira Noris Noland), and surgeon (James Bradbridge Hunter and Joseph Goodwin Rogers).

Of these "participant" collections the Lilly Library's most recent acquisition is that of William Allen Clark's letters to his family from August, 1862, through the first part of 1865. Published in the 1995 issues of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, these letters were donated to the library by Mrs. August F. Voss, Jr., of Webster Groves, Missouri. Consisting of more than eighty letters written during the marches and battles of the war, it is one of the largest such collections in the library. Smaller collections and individual diaries present in larger, often family collections are of equal interest and research value. One particularly notable, albeit small, file is that of Eduard Ochsner's letters. Written in Old German script and containing just five items, it sets down in some detail and passion the reasons why a recent immigrant working in a Wisconsin mill would take up arms against one group of Americans in support of the Union cause. Ochsner also provides a vivid comparison of Union and Confederate military equipment on the western front, specifically Arkansas and Missouri, in 1862.

Five collections help document activities on the national scene and the federal administration during the war. The Abraham Lincoln collections consist of letters and documents signed by President Lincoln, an extensive group of photographs of Civil War officers, politicians, and Lincoln family and friends, and copies of most of the documents, broadsides, and newspaper articles produced during the late 1850s through Lincoln's death and well into the Andrew Johnson administration. Montgomery Blair's papers include items dealing with the 1860 election, Cabinet changes before and during the war years, the economic effects of the war, Robert E. Lee's surrender, and Lincoln's assassination. A strong opponent of slavery, Blair left the Democratic party to join the newly formed Republican party, was a delegate to both the 1856 and 1860 Republican National Conventions, served as chief counsel in the Dred Scott case, and was a member of the defense team during the trial of John Brown. Blair was appointed postmaster gener-

¹³ See Appendix, p. 273, for a list of regiments represented in the Lilly Library's holdings.

al in Lincoln's Cabinet as a reward for his unstinting party service. The papers of Hugh McCulloch, a Fort Wayne banker, United States comptroller of the currency, and later secretary of the treasury in the Lincoln and Johnson administrations, provide a particularly fine cache of information about financial dealings in Indiana and at the national level before, during, and after the war, while the correspondence of Indiana congressman James Addison Cravens from 1861 to 1865 relates to national and state politics, the progress of the war, army hospitals, and prisoners of war. At least half of the small collection of the papers of Henry Smith Lane, governor of Indiana and later a congressman and a member of the United States Senate from 1861 to 1867, detail both national and state politics during the Civil War era.

Several Hoosier family collections include Civil War-era letters and documents relating both to Indiana and to other states of the union. John Barron Niles of La Porte, Indiana, was a lawyer, judge, delegate to the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851, member of the state Senate from 1864 to 1868, and one of the organizers of the First National Bank of La Porte in 1864. The Niles Family Papers of more than 32,000 items contain correspondence and records relative to all these activities, including many legal, mostly railroad, cases dating from the 1850s through 1870, as well as correspondence from son William, who served in Company B of the 138th Indiana Volunteer Infantry in 1864. Niles's son-in-law, Emmet Hoyt Scott, who grew up and was educated in New York state, moved west during the war while involved with railroad construction. The Scott family papers detail first Emmet's efforts to raise his own volunteer New York regiment, then his determination to avoid the draft in 1863 by taking employment outside the state. Meanwhile, two of his brothers did serve in local regiments, and letters from both of them describing campaign actions and camp activities are present in the collection, as well as letters from a third brother who lived in West Virginia in 1859 and witnessed firsthand much of the activity around, and after, John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.

Business archives are also important sources of information about the Civil War era. The Cannelton Cotton Mills collection documents a unique cooperation between southern and northern capital and between cotton planters and Yankee industrialists, cooperation that came to an end with the firing on Fort Sumter. A smaller but closely related collection consists of the personal and business papers of Hamilton Smith, one of the organizers of the Cannelton Mills. In his papers can be found letters and other materials relating to the American Cannel Coal Company between the 1850s and 1870, tariffs on cotton between 1850 and 1869, and emigration from the eastern states to Cannelton, Indiana, in the years just before the war.

Another Ohio River business of significance during this period was the Howard Ship Yards of Jeffersonville. A very large collection dating from the late 1840s through 1950, it includes several hundred letters, orders for boats, cash books, and account journals covering the Civil War period. Also involved with boats during the war itself was Thomas Gaff of Aurora, Indiana, who furnished steamboats and supplies for the Union cause. He and his brother James owned the steamboat *Forest Queen*, which successfully ran the blockade at Vicksburg. Papers relating to these activities as well as to Gaff's war claims against the United States government after the war are in the Gaff collection.

Looking to the "other side" in the war, the Lilly Library has three collections of Confederate participants. Major Flavel C. Barber of Tennessee began a retrospective diary while a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island in Sandusky, Ohio. After being "exchanged," he returned to the front and continued his diary until his death in battle in 1864. The four volumes here have been edited by Professor Emeritus Robert H. Ferrell and were recently published by Kent State University Press.

Joseph Lane was an Indiana state legislator from the 1820s to the 1840s, territorial governor of Oregon and later United States senator from that state, and a southern sympathizer. His papers include correspondence from one of his sons who left West Point to fight for the Confederacy, as well as materials relating to his own campaign for vice-president on the John C. Breckinridge ticket in 1860 and his proslavery and secessionist sentiments. A small collection of John Archibald Smith, who served in the 3rd regiment of the Confederate army, 1864–1865, and the more extensive files of the law firm of Hughes, Denver, and Peck, which handled many Confederate claims before the United States Court of Claims for the return or reimbursement of property seized or destroyed during the war, round out the War of Rebellion documentation in the Lilly Library.

Appendix

Civil War Regiments Represented in Holdings of Lilly Library

UNION STATES

INDIANA*
6th
7th, Co. I
9th
12th
13th, Co. A
14th
17th, Co. B
18th, Co. H
19th, Co. K
21st, Co. G
22nd, Co. C
23rd, Co. E
24th, Co. K
26th, Co. A
27th, Co. A, E, G, and H
29th, Co. D and G
30th
31st, Co. G
32nd
33rd, Co. E
34th, Co. G
36th, Co. H
37th, Co. A
39th (Eighth Cavalry), Co. L
43rd
49th, Co. D
57th, Co. H
58th
60th
67th
68th, Co. B
70th, Co. F
72nd, Co. E
75th
82nd, Co. D and H
84th
87th, Co. D
90th (Fifth Cavalry), Co. E
93rd
99th, Co. K
100th, Co. B and K
117th, Co. I
121st (Ninth Cavalry)
130th, Co. F
133rd
138th, Co. B

ILLINOIS
Cavalry: 12th regt.
Infantry: 99th regt., Co. B
105th
MICHIGAN
Cavalry: 3rd regt.
4th, Co. H
5th
8th
Infantry: 19th regt.
NEW YORK
Infantry: 27th regt., Co. D
64th, Co. C
OHIO
Heavy Artillery: 2nd regt.
Infantry: 17th regt.
39th, Co. H
40th, Co. B
111th, Co. K
WISCONSIN
Cavalry: 1st regt.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

TENNESSEE
Infantry: 3rd regt.
33rd

*All are infantry unless otherwise noted