

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 230-235.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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