TERRE HAUTE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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by
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THESIS APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis of Ronald H. Ridgley, Contribution of the Graduate Division, Indiana State Teachers College, Number 791, under the title --

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is hereby approved as counting toward the completion of the Master's Degree in the amount of 8 hours' credit.

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PREFAJE

This paper is done not so much with the idea of unearthing new evidence, which I have tried to do whenever possible, but to compose a synthesis of as much knowledge of Terre Haute during the Civil War as is possible. To do this I have divided the paper into three parts: physical and social, political, and economic. Each one of these chapters I hope will draw together as much of the information on Terre Haute as will give a clear picture of a robust city prospering throughout the bloodiest of wars and poised on the edge of a great and "hurdy-gurdy" age of United States History.

There is a surprising lack of material on Terre Haute during the period which this paper covers. This is particularly true of newspapers. There is no collection of the Terre Haute Journal, which was the Democratic paper, anywhere in the country. This is an unfortunate and mysterious exclusion of information when dealing with a period so rife with political friction.

Of the primary materials available, the most valuable were the John Ross papers in the Vigo County Historical Society Museum, the files of the Daily Wabash Express at the Indiana State Library and Emeline Fairbanks Memorial
Library; the official reports of the State Auditor, Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and the State Bank of Indiana in the Indiana State Library. Also of great importance was the report of the Indiana Adjutant-General.

Lyman Abbot's Reminiscence provided an important glimpse of Terre Haute life during the Civil War. These appeared in the Outlook magazine during 1914. His chapter on Terre Haute entitled "A Mid-Western Parish during the Civil War" was made more valuable because it was the objective view of a newcomer. Of course, the picture of the social life and the feel of the times was augmented by the Daily Wabash Express.

Excellent secondary sources on Terre Haute were C. C. Oakey's Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County: Closing the First Century's History of City and County, H. C. Bradsby's History of Vigo County with Biographical Selections, and Robert Drummond's "Terre Haute, Indiana: a City of Non-growth."

Secondary material on Indiana during the Civil War was abundant. Mayo Fesler gives a vivid and detailed picture of the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Sons of Liberty in his "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War."\(^1\) Kenneth Stampp's Indiana Politics during the Civil War was very helpful in

\(^1\)Mayo Fesler, "Secret Political Societies in the North During the Civil War," Indiana Magazine of History, XIV (September, 1918), 279.
providing some of the picture of the bitter politics of the
Civil War.

Daniel Voorhees may appear to be slighted in the
paper. If so, this is due to the lack of material. Leonard
Kenworthy's small volume while very good is far from being
the final work. The Congressional Record helped to add
substance to the shadowy figure that is Daniel Voorhees.
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CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL PICTURE

The physical pattern of Terre Haute during the years of the Civil War was, with particular modifications, very similar to that of other small Midwestern cities. The population of the town was 8,594 in 1860, and prospects for continued growth were very good.¹

The streets were laid out in the rectangular manner, so typical of American cities, and generally were dusty in summer and muddy during the winter. The Daily Wabash Express in 1862 mentioned the first snowfall leaving the streets and sidewalks in a "terrible sloppy" condition.² Their appearance was not helped by the various animals such as hogs, mules, and horses which roamed them almost at will. It was not until 1870 that the city council made it illegal for "hogs, boars, sows, barrows, mules, colts, horses, and jacks" to run in the streets.³ In 1863 matters were so bad


²Daily Wabash Express, April 3, 1862. Hereafter referred to as the Daily Express or the Express.

that the Daily Wabash Express printed an editorial against hogs running loose in the municipal thoroughfares. 4

The principal business district was situated around the courthouse square, which was bounded by Wabash Avenue on the north, Second Street on the west, Ohio Street on the south, and Market (now Third Street) on the east. But there were also business establishments as far east as Sixth Street (see map).

Color was added to the scene by the presence of produce markets. One of these markets was around the courthouse square, for it was here that the farmers brought their hay, wood, and watermelons for sale. One-third of all the streets surrounding the courthouse, as measured from the outside curbing, was given over to this purpose. 5 Two other markets, located at Fourth and Walnut and Ninth and Cherry, sold fruits, vegetables, and meats. 6 When Lyman Abbot arrived in 1860 as minister of the Congregational Church, he reported that for the first time these markets were to be opened in the morning. 7

To add to the filth and unattractiveness presented by the streets and probably by the produce markets as well,

4 Daily Wabash Express, April 20, 1863.
5 The Charter and Revised Ordinances . . ., p. 197.
7 Lyman Abbot, "A Mid-Western Parish during the Civil War," The Outlook, CVIII (September 23, 1914), 210.
Terre Haute possessed many unsightly buildings. Lyman Abbot, accustomed to the neatness of New England towns, noted that as soon as a poor newcomer can afford the expense he built some type of habitation which was "the smallest thing for a house that he can live in."  

The accumulation of hay and straw in backyards increased the dilapidated appearance of many of these houses but this practice was declared illegal in 1864. The citizens had, however, mitigated the danger of fire by maintaining three municipal volunteer fire departments. These were supplemented by numerous hose and hook and ladder companies. They obtained water for fire-fighting from wells, rivers, or public cisterns.  

A very likely contribution to the untidy appearance of the city was a slash of brown, muddy water running across the rectangular street pattern. This was the Wabash and Erie Canal. A glance at the map will show that the canal entered Terre Haute from the northwest side along the east bank of the Wabash and ran to Water and Eagle Streets, the location of the turning basin and port. These facilities were very extensive, with the port alone covering nearly three acres. The Indiana Limestone walls and wharves of the turning basin attested to the fact that Terre Hauteans

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8 Ibid., p. 204.
9 The Charter and Revised Ordinances ..., p. 229.
had expected this to be a rather permanent structure. The combination of port and basin stretched to Second and Chestnut Streets, then north to Canal and Third where the canal narrowed again as it ran east to Tenth, and south to approximately Oak Street, and then out of the city in a southeasterly direction.11

There were some spots of beauty in the city. The area occupied by the "best people," as described by Lyman Abbot, was beautiful and surrounded by gardens and orchards. This wealthier residential section of Terre Haute included Fifth and Sixth Streets south from Wabash Avenue about a mile or as far as a rise in the ground which is still referred to by "oldsters" as "Strawberry Hill." A very gracious, almost Southern atmosphere, prevailed here. As Abbot could well vouch, Terre Haute was very hospitable.12

The population of Terre Haute was largely drawn from the South and from the Middle Atlantic states. Lyman Abbot said that there were only two families from New England in the city in 1860; and to be called a "Yankee" was equal to a slap in the face. He also believed the "best people" to be from the Middle Atlantic states.13

13Ibid., 203.
The Germans constituted a very strong and influential minority in the city. In many ways they kept to themselves. They had their own societies such as the Turner Society, The German Maennercher Choir, the Harrugari Order, and the German Beneficial Aid Society. Even the Civil War did not cause them to lose their pride in the old country, for in this conflict they were represented by the German Guard and German Rifles.  

The Negro element was another distinct segment of the population. There was a total of 215 free Negroes—ninety-six males and 119 females. They were reduced to doing the more menial tasks about the city. The Negroes had their homes and two churches on South First near Crawford Street.

That all the whites were not of the highest caliber is shown by a little household incident quoted from Lyman Abbot:

One maid I happen to remember whose perpetual surprise furnished us with perpetual amusement. She had come from southern Illinois, popularly dubbed "Egypt". She looked with wonder when my wife rolled the dining-table to one side to sweep for never before had she seen a table "on wheels"; she in dusting the piano keys, struck the wires and some notes were sounded, she expressed her bewilderment by the phrase "Why the critter speaks, doesn't he?" When my wife lighted the gas she fled in terror halfway across the room from the magic which brought a flame of fire from the wall. But the climax came when she asked my wife to lend her a "riding comb". My wife caught her desire for a fine-tooth comb.

14 Terre Haute, City Directory, 1864, p. 36.

and the reason for the name she gave it more quickly than I did.16

The War partially changed the social life of the city. Gay little parties were given for the departing soldiers in the earlier years of the War, and small groups of ladies fashioned and then presented flags to the departing regiments. Terre Haute social life was further affected when in the first year of the War Camp Vigo was established two and one-half miles northeast of the city for regiments organized in this area. Later in the summer of 1862 the camp was moved to east Poplar near Thirtieth Street and renamed Camp Dick Thompson in honor of the Provost Marshal of Vigo County.17 This Company provided a source of young Army officers and men for the delight of the citizens. However, the social responses of the soldiers often took adverse forms such as insulting the citizenry and gambling.18

The care of the poorer families of men in the service gave rise to an organization which still functions socially: The Ladies Aid Society. The good ladies formed their society February 22, 1862.19 They became famous for their festivals and bazaars in which they used local entertainment

16Abbot, The Outlook, CVIII, 208.
18Daily Wabash Express, August 8, 1862.
to procure money. They implemented the work of the Sanitary Commission which raised $1,000 from the city and $5,000 from the county for family and soldier relief. In addition, patriotic groups forwarded to the soldiers food which they had canned and preserved.

The generosity of Terre Hauteans was not confined to Union soldiers alone. This generosity led to 800 Confederate prisoners being kept in Terre Haute for a few months until their paroles came through. The prisoners had been captured at Fort Donelson in February, 1862 and shipped north to Camp Morton, the prison camp at Indianapolis. Some Terre Hauteans, while in Indianapolis, had nursed some of the rebel sick. It is possible that these Terre Hauteans had used some influence to get the Confederates shipped to Terre Haute where the conditions were less crowded. While in Terre Haute the prisoners were kept in the Farrington and William's pork warehouses on South First Street and guarded by recruits of the Sixty-First Regiment.

The citizens of Terre Haute did not let departing troops and Confederate prisoners hamper their own social life. Besides the various German societies, there were the


21 According to the Adjutant-General's Report, $86,184 was spent on war relief in Harrison Township.

22 Indiana Department of the Adjutant-General, Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of Indiana, 1861-1865, I, 457.
Masonic lodges which showed a proclivity for meeting by the light of the full moon, the I.0.0.F., and a now extinct organization known as the Druids. The War gave the sociable "oldsters" of the town a chance to play at war. They formed a quasi-military group with the honest and descriptive title of the "Silver-Grays."

No convivial Terre Hautean was ever far from a saloon. The City Directory for 1863 listed thirty-five saloons and three liquor stores. In these saloons could be found wide selections of beers, wines, whiskies, and liqueurs. Many of the saloons featured oysters as a great attraction throughout the War. These were probably kept in large barrels where the customers could select their own.

For those who cared to try their skill of hand and eye there were two bowling alleys and four billiard rooms. More sedate entertainment was supplied by the troupes of actors and wandering circuses that occasionally stopped in town. Trotting was another interest of Terre Hauteans. There was racing at the fair in 1860 but none was mentioned again until 1865.

A less socially acceptable amusement for the males of the town was prostitution. This probably grew up as a result of the influence of the canal and river men and the

23 City Directory, 1864, p. 41.
24 Daily Wabash Express, July 24, 1862.
25 Ibid., August 26, 1862.
26 Ibid.
number of soldiers at camp in Terre Haute. The City Council did not take recognition of this practice until 1870 when they passed a law making it illegal for any male over twelve years of age to be found "associating with prostitutes in any lane, building, street, alley, common, or field. . . ."

As the law further stated, prostitutes found wandering about Terre Haute or within two miles of the corporate city limits would be fined twenty-five dollars and the cost of prosecution. 27 There is this evidence to show that prostitution probably existed in Terre Haute, but nothing to indicate the extent or location of the practice.

Although the city had its bright social life it also had its health problems. The stagnant water standing in vacant lots was ideal breeding places for mosquitoes. 28 The relatively quiet water of the Wabash and Erie Canal must have contributed its share of mosquitoes. Rabies was a danger to the health of the community. This was alleviated to a degree when the City Council outlawed arranged dog fights during the "dog days" of August. Because of these poor health conditions the seventeen doctors and three dentists listed in the City Directory for 1863 must have found business thriving.

Proud of their city, despite its many shortcomings, many of the citizens were paying attention to the education

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28 Ibid., p. 185.
of the young. In 1860, the school system had been revamped and placed in public hands. The first superintendent of city schools was John More who, in 1862, was replaced by Joseph Abbot. The teachers held their positions under the "County Examiners" Law and had to attend monthly meetings. 29

The education in the lower grades was from the old standbys such as McGuffey's spelling book, Goodrich's readers, and Wilson's Outline of History. The curriculum included a course in German taught at school Number Four. This is good indication of the strong influence of the German population.

The students graduating from high school had to undergo the harrowing experience of oral public tests by the superintendent and any of the leading citizenry who might choose to be present. 30

That Terre Haute youth were indifferent about the fruits of education is evident in the school year of 1863-1864 when an average of eighty-one students per month withdrew. 31 It was claimed there were 2,500 boys and girls of school age in Terre Haute and less than one-half attended school. The Daily Express, noting the many youths in jail

29 Ibid., p. 205. There were four primary schools and generally around nineteen teachers making up the teaching staff.


31 City Directory, 1864, p. 32.
and others escaping education, pleaded for "Mission Sabbath Schools." The first high school class was graduated in 1864. There were six people in this first group.32

For those who wished a more secluded academic education there were four private schools. One was the Terre Haute Female Seminary located south of the center of town at the spot where Saint Anthony's Hospital today stands. The other was Saint Vincent's Academy at Fifth and Ohio Streets. The commercial colleges completed the number of private schools.33

For the older, more aesthetically minded, there were two music teachers and an art gallery; the latter was run by a Mr. E. K. Brown.34

Lending libraries were not absent. There were the McClure and County Library maintained in a law office between Third and Fourth on Ohio and a township library located over W. H. Isaac's shoe store on Wabash Avenue.35

While there was occasion to find sin in Terre Haute, the good folk were not lax in attending their immortal souls. In 1864 there were fourteen churches and one Sabbath school representing the Methodist, German Lutheran, German Reformed, colored Methodist, and Catholic Churches.36

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33 City Directory, 1863, p. 100.
34 Ibid., p. 115.
36 Ibid., p. 36.
CHAPTER II

POLITICS

There was a marked absence of overt excitement in Terre Haute at the news of Fort Sumter. The *Daily Express* merely commented that the war had caused sadness coupled with anger and a feeling that the Southern politicians were mad.

The initial inertia soon wore off, however, and a citizens' meeting was held at the courthouse on the evening of April 17, 1861. The meeting was enthusiastic in its support of the Lincoln government and adjourned after the adoption of a resolution to maintain the government of the United States.¹

Regardless of what the *Daily Express* might have said, Lyman Abbot reported excitement of a more unsavory type. This was the necessity for guards to protect the Democratic newspaper, *The Journal*, from overzealous patriots.² *The Journal* office was badly damaged by mobs on October 31, 1861.³

¹*Daily Wabash Express*, April 17, 1861.
²Lyman Abbot, "A Mid-Western Parish during the Civil War," *The Outlook*, CVIII (September 23, 1914), 217.
Excitement grew and men flocked to volunteer for what they believed was to be a short war. The guns had just quit firing at Fort Sumter when the "Fort Harrison Guards" and "Vigo Guards" (believed to be the first to volunteer in Indiana) volunteered their services as part of Lew Wallace's Eleventh Regiment of Indiana Infantry. This regiment later became noted as one of the most gallant of the War. 4

Terre Haute's response in men during the conflict was commendable, and never once was Vigo County behind in its quota of men as prescribed under the Militia Act of 1862. 5 However, when the Seventy-First Regiment was raising a company in the city in 1862, ten dollars was given to every recruit as a bounty. 6 This bounty might indicate some reluctance on the part of the young men of Vigo County in entering military life, or it may have merely been an expression of men who could not march away to the fight. The Daily Express took some liberties with history when it stated that soldiers in the War of 1812 had not accepted substitutes and had served their country gladly. 7

4C. C. Oakey, Greater Terre Haute and Vigo County: Closing the First Century's History of City and County (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), p. 293.
6Daily Wabash Express, July 30, 1862.
7Ibid., August 22, 1862. Walter Millis in Arms and Man: A Study of American Military History (Mentor Book Co., 1956), p. 60 states that large bounties and land grants were not enough to lure men into the army during the War of 1812.
It was the desire of the paper that the Terre Haute boys should emulate these worthy predecessors by not accepting either bounties or substitutes. Since the Daily Express kept in close contact with the local situation, it can be assumed that there was less than wild enthusiasm in volunteering for the Army.

Despite these tribulations Harrison Township was one of the few Indiana townships to meet its quota and thus, according to the provisions of the Conscription Act of 1863, had no need to resort to the draft. 8

All in all, Terre Haute contributed men to seven infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments, and one artillery regiment. 9 There were five regiments raised at Terre Haute: the Fourteenth, Thirty-First, Forty-Third, Eighty-Fifth, and Ninety-Seventh Regiments. It is interesting to note that two of these regiments gave Terre Haute a rather dubious honor—they were captured in their entirety. The Seventy-First was captured at Richmond, Kentucky, and the Eighty-Fifth at Thompson's Station, Tennessee.

However, most Terre Haute Regiments performed their duties well. The Fourteenth was mustered on June 7, 1861 and participated in campaigns from West Virginia to Gettysburg. 10 One of the most honorable records was that of the

8Report of the Adjutant-General . . ., I, 204-226. Harrison Township's quota for the various calls under this Act was 753. The township raised 1,341 men.


Thirty-First which served from August, 1861 to December 8, 1865 and was originally commanded by Charles Cruft, publisher of the Daily Express. Cruft later became one of the finest brigadier-generals of the War.\textsuperscript{11} The Forty-Third was commanded by George Steele of Rockville. This regiment spent most of its time moving throughout the west in minor but bloody campaigns.\textsuperscript{12} The Seventy-First Infantry was formed in August of 1862 and was captured at Richmond, Kentucky, August 30 of that year. They were paroled back to Indiana where they were exchanged and converted into the Sixth Cavalry.\textsuperscript{13} The Eighty-Fifth Infantry was mustered in on June 17, 1862 and marched gallantly off just in time to be captured in Rosecrans' Chattanooga campaign of early 1863. After a short sojourn in the infamous Libby Prison in Richmond, they were exchanged and fought throughout the Atlanta Campaign and accompanied Sherman to the sea.\textsuperscript{14} The Ninety-Seventh did not let the fact that it was the last regiment raised in Terre Haute prevent it from making the finest record of all the regiments raised in the city. The Ninety-Seventh was active in some of the most vicious campaigns of the Civil War, including Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, the "March to the Sea," and the march through the Carolinas.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., I, 309. \hfill \textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 429.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., III, 71. \hfill \textsuperscript{14}Ibid., II, 133.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., III, 131.
The turbulence of the War was not all confined to the front, however. In the light of later acrid attacks of the local Republican Party organ, the Daily Express, it is significant to note that the Express chose a course of moderation at the first of the War. On May 9, the Express exhibited its leniency by condemning the assault of a supposedly disloyal Democratic editor in Missouri. The first strong editorial aimed at the South and the Democratic Journal appeared on July 3, 1861. Perhaps the paper was disillusioned by the fact that the War was lasting longer than anticipated.

The Reverend Lyman Abbot had tried to sound the people on their feelings earlier by giving what he called the first political sermon ever heard in this area. All he received for his trouble was the reminder that politics did not belong in the pulpit.

In retrospect, July, 1861 was the decisive month of the dawning of war factionalism in Terre Haute. A good part of this, perhaps, can be traced to the fact that July was the fourth month of a war that was supposed to last only three months. Furthermore, the Northern loss at First Manassas had spread its gloom over Terre Haute as it had over most of the North.

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16 Daily Wabash Express, May 9, 1861.
17 Ibid., July 3, 1861.
19 Daily Wabash Express, July 24, 1861.
After the defeat at Manassas on July 21, 1861, many national leaders wished to see a coalition of all Union men, regardless of party, into one vast organization for the duration of the war. Accordingly, on September 17, 1861, a convention was called at Indianapolis to form such an organization: the Union Party. Although, as mentioned, the party was supposed to contain all Union men it really was the Republican Party by another name. Because of the appellation, the Union Party, members often appeared to believe that they were the only true patriots.

Throughout the war this party held sway in Terre Haute; only the Third Ward resisted its influence. The Daily Express was the party organ; and, if vitriol is any measure of party worth, this paper was indeed important to the party. The Daily Express helped to foster the idea that the Democrats, not including the few "War" Democrats in the Union Party, were Rebels. This is well shown by such comments as this: "But it is certain that those who lead the party (Democrat) and direct its political course are more

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20 Professor Kenneth Stampp says this was after Manassas, but the Daily Express for July 13, 1861 mentioned a meeting to discuss the formation of the local Union Party at Lockport (Riley).


ardently attached to the rebel cause than to the Union. . . .23 The paper made constant reference to the "Butternut" democracy of the Democrats and doubted any patriotic moves on their part.24 Letters appeared at irregular intervals which were signed with obvious nom de plumes condemning the Democrats for lax patriotism.25

The Union Party retained its power throughout the War, in part, by holding political meetings. Such a meeting was the one held at Rockville, Indiana. Joseph A. Wright discussed the War at this meeting. Many Terre Haute Republicans were on hand for the festivities because they had been carried to Rockville by a special train. It was also the Union Party that sponsored Lew Wallace's speech at Terre Haute in August of 1862.26 That these meetings, together with the Daily Express' propaganda, were successful for the Union Party was reflected by the local party's contented feeling. The party remained firmly for Lincoln when many Union Party newspapers in the East blamed him for their election losses.27

23Daily Wabash Express, July 25, 1863.

24When Colonel Cookerly, publisher of the Journal, suggested a donation party for wives of the soldiers, the Daily Wabash Express waxed sarcastic about the "Butternut" democracy. "Quite an effort that he should make in

25Some of the more obvious nom de plumes were "Fanny Fern" and "Morgan Killer."

26Daily Wabash Express, August 21, 1862.

27Ibid., March 14, 1863.
The surrounding rural area remained deaf for a time to the political meetings and the harangues of the Union Party by returning a Democrat, Daniel Voorhees, to Congress in 1862. The stigma of traitor placed upon the Democrats was not peculiar to Terre Haute; it was state and nationwide. Terre Haute was, perhaps, only typical.

The Democrats represented an older, more conservative way of life. If the Republicans could don a wartime sobriquet signifying their desire for the Union, the Democrats would have been equally justified in taking the name "Constitutional." On January 8, 1862, the Indiana Democrats, in convention at Indianapolis, adopted the resolutions opposing the freeing of the slaves and the subjugation of the South, but they did support a war for the "continuance of the Union and the Constitution ..."28 They were anxious to fight the war, but it must be on their own terms of maintaining slavery and strict Constitutionalism. They seemed incapable of realizing that if the Union and the Constitution were to survive it must be by the seemingly paradoxical method of quasi-military and martial law.

The feeling of the Democrats toward the Negro was that he should be treated much as the "poor white" of the South was treated, except that he should remain in slavery.29 It is dangerous to take one incident as repre-

28 Stampp, Indiana Politics . . ., p. 131.
sentative of a large group, but Lyman Abbot commented that
the greatest applause he heard while in Terre Haute was when
a Union Party orator exploded in anger with "I hate a nigger
worse that I hate the devil." This would seem to show
that some citizens, whether Union or Democrat, were in
agreement on the Negro question. But, of course, the Union
Party's dislike of Negroes does not necessarily mean that
the Party was against their emancipation as were the bulk of
the Democrats.

In this area the leading Democrat was Daniel Wolsey
Voorhees, "The Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," and as a con-
sequence he was the object of the bulk of local as well as
state-wide Republican ire. Daniel Voorhees came to Terre
Haute in 1857; he was elected to the House of Represen-
tatives in 1860 and again in 1862, losing in 1864. The at-
tacks on Voorhees became so violent that in 1863 the Journal
warned that if Voorhees should be assassinated the Daily
Express and leaders of the Union Party would be held
accountable.

Exaggeration that this was, it still is indicative
of the agitation caused by the Daily Express. On
October 13, 1862, the Daily Express quoted a letter from a
lieutenant of the Seventy-First Indiana Infantry as follows:

30 Abbot, The Outlook, CVIII, 219.
31 It should be remembered, too, that a good part of
the Terre Hauteans were of Southern extraction.
32 Daily Wabash Express, September 19, 1863.
"If you want to cut off supplies from our noble soldiers, vote for Daniel W. Voorhees for Congress." Again, on August 18, 1862, the Union papers said Voorhees refused to pay $13,000 salvage on a $40,000 steamer brought into Union lines because the person in charge had been a Negro. A more pointed example of Voorhees' anti-Negro feelings was voiced when the United States recognized the Negro republics of Haiti and Liberia. On the floor of the House of Representatives, Voorhees loudly and passionately decried such action as a corruption of our foreign policy. Some have accused Voorhees of being in liaison with the secret Confederate organizations, while others have merely said he expressed sympathy for these organizations.

Voorhees paid scant heed to the charges of traitor hurled at him, but in 1863 he defended his predecessor in Congress from similar charges. James Garfield, a Representative from Ohio and a former Union general, presented a letter which he claimed had been written by John G. Davis of Rockville. The letter was written to the Confederate general John Breckenridge vouching for a Parke County man who wished to join the Confederate forces. Voorhees vehemently

33Ibid., October 13, 1862.
34Ibid., August 18, 1862.
36Mayo Fealer, "Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War," Indiana Magazine of History, XIV (September, 1918), 279.
denied the charges.\textsuperscript{37} He was able to present evidence that the letter had been forged by a Union spy for the purpose of passing through the Confederate lines. Garfield, who had been the Union general in the area where the letter had supposedly been intercepted, denied this and the matter was never settled.\textsuperscript{38} Voorhees' explanation may have been true, but it was clumsy. Supposing the story of the forgery was true, why did the spy believe a letter with Davis' signature would get him through the Confederate lines? This episode undoubtedly left a stain upon the former Congressman's name.

Voorhees was not a deep thinker, but he was a good, typical Democrat. He was a Jacksonian and a firm believer in states' rights, low tariffs, cheap money, and he deplored the idea of the equality of men--so here the Republicans again had grounds for accusing him of being a Negro-hater. Voorhees argued, as most Democrats did, that the war must be fought--but must be fought within the frame of the Constitution.\textsuperscript{39} It was this moderation of the Democratic Party reflected in Voorhees that caused him to be the prime target for the Terre Haute Republicans.

Evidence shows that secret societies and pro-Southern sympathizers did exist to a certain extent in this

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37}U.S. Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 1st Session, 1863, p. 1734.
\item \textsuperscript{38}Ibid., pp. 2090-95.
\item \textsuperscript{39}Stampp, Indiana Magazine . . ., XXXVIII, 533-48.
\end{itemize}
area. In the Adjutant-General's report for the Civil War, there were reports of rebel sympathizers who burned the farms of their Union neighbors in Sullivan County. To the north in Parke County, there was a history of "Copperhead" activities which had at least twice terminated in armed conflicts. The Daily Wabash Express sometimes felt it had to be the guardian of the public loyalties against infiltration from the surrounding "infected" areas. The paper reported two men from Parke County were arrested for wearing the butternut symbol of the Confederacy. The paper also reported that the Journal attacked the arresting officers for this bit of business. A street fight resulted when two men from Fairbanks, in Sullivan County, were attacked for saying they would not fight in a "damned abolition war."

During the summer of 1861, Isaac Brown of Terre Haute wrote a letter to Governor Morton. In this letter he complained that two brothers, Carey and Wolsey Barbour, in the middle of May, 1861, tried to sail two flat-boats loaded with foodstuffs from Terre Haute to New Orleans which was in

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42 Daily Wabash Express, May 4, 1863.
43 Ibid., July 22, 1862.
Confederate territory. For this cargo they had been allegedly advanced $2,000 by the Southerners. Upon hearing of this, some of the local citizenry seized the oars, and according to Brown, offered to pay them $2,000 for the load. Ten days later the boats slipped away at night. Although the crew later claimed that they had only taken the goods to Cairo, Brown said he could offer proof that the cargo, while not reaching New Orleans, had at least reached Memphis.

It is a matter of record that in the Fall of 1864 there was a group of armed and desperate Confederates under the command of Captain Thomas Henry Hines in Terre Haute. The group had just returned from burning steamboats at St. Louis. The group was to break up and travel separately to Sullivan, Indiana, where it was to meet with the leaders of the Indiana Copperheads. Captain John Castlemen, one of Hines' aides, was captured and taken to Terre Haute from where he was to be sent to Indianapolis. Captain Hines and his men gave chase and, upon finding Castlemen at Terre Haute, planned to rescue him by killing his guards as he boarded the train for Indianapolis. Castlemen was surrounded by curious Terre Hauteans who were excited by the neatness of such a dangerous Rebel. But this crowd did not stop Captain Hines from attempting the rescue. He was in

the process of deploying his men when, unobserved by him, a
train pulled in and discharged a company of soldiers.
Castlemen sacrificed his own chance of escape to warn Hines
of the danger. The strange thing about the whole affair was
the method by which Castlemen delivered his warning. He
used the services of an elderly, perhaps senile, man who had
been a part of the crowd surrounding Castlemen to convey the
message to Hines. Hines was able to make his escape without
Terre Hauteans realizing that they had nearly participated
in a skirmish of the War.45

Indiana was one of the centers of the secret organi-
ization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle. C. E.
Dunn, second in command of the Knights in Missouri, swore
under oath in 1860 that there were 125,000 Knights in
Indiana, 40,000 in Ohio, 100,000 in Illinois, and 20,000 to
25,000 in Michigan.46 There is no definite information that
the Knights were as highly organized in this county as in,
say, Sullivan County. Matters must have been rather touchy,
however, for in March, 1863, Provost Marshal Dick Thompson
had to issue General Order No. 13 which made it illegal for
any private citizen to carry guns in Vigo County.47 The
Knights of the Golden Circle came to an end as a result of

45 James D. Horan, Confederate Agent: A Discovery in

46 Fesler, Indiana Magazine ..., XIV, 189.

47 Daily Wabash Express, March 13, 1863.
the combined impacts of the Pogue's Run disaster, Union victories, and Morgan's Raid. 48

The State Council of the Order of American Knights was organized at Terre Haute about August 27, 1863. The founder of the national society, Phineas C. Wright, a lawyer from Missouri, was present at the meeting. William H. Harrison of Terre Haute was Grand Secretary of the "Order" in Indiana. 49 Clement Vallandigham, the Ohio Copperhead, estimated there were 50,000 members of this group in Indiana. The name seemed undemocratic to the members, and in 1863 they changed the title to the "Sons of Liberty." 50

This secret organization may have had something to do with the 800 armed men in 1863 who were reported south of Terre Haute. Their intention was supposed to be that of hanging Provost-Marshal Thompson. 51 If this report was true, the men were probably incensed by the Provost-Marshal's unpleasant duty of drafting men.

The politics of this period, as during most times of civil strife, were excited by war hysteria. In Terre Haute this hysteria could almost be seen gradually developing until it had reached a full wartime tempo in the latter years of the conflict. Kenneth Stampp correctly places the

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49 Ibid., p. 230. 50 Ibid., pp. 231-35.
51 Charles Roll, Colonel Dick Thompson (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1949), p. 187. Voorhees is supposed to have intervened for Thompson on this occasion.
blame for the Indiana war hysteria. He ascribes part of the war excitement as due to "men whose political ends were served by inoculating the community with tales of domestic treason ... "52

The Democrats generally bore the brunt of the attacks because they were out of step with the times. Their policy of constitutionalism and anti-abolitionism drew to them the animosities and distrust which the people, unnerved and excited by the war, placed upon those persons whom the press and the politicians caused them to understand were active Confederate sympathizers.

True, there were secret organizations, but no trace has ever been found to prove that any leading Democrat was a member of such a group. Even though there were secret organizations in Vigo County there is still no proof to show that they openly supported the Confederacy.

52Stampp, Indiana Magazine . . ., XXXVIII, 13.
CHAPTER III

ECONOMICS

Terre Haute in the 1860's was but a few years, relatively speaking, removed from the pioneer stage. Yet Terre Hauteans could point with pride to a city which was growing and gave every impression of continued growth. Within the dusty confines of the city limits there could be found one hundred retail stores, seven large drug stores, and twenty clothing stores. These stores did not sell solely the essentials of a pioneer life but also stocked many other items.

Terre Haute had long had a reputation as a commercial center, but the citizens were now looking with optimism toward the growth of manufacturing. For example, there was a belief that Terre Haute had great prospects with iron ore. The iron ore would be supplied locally from shafts, such as the one just across the river from Terre Haute, in which ore had been discovered.

In 1859, Indiana had five charcoal iron furnaces with one each in Greene and Vigo Counties, but from 1860 to 1867 there was apparently no activity in this industry in

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1City Directory, 1864, p. 20.
2Ibid., p. 19.
Indiana.\(^3\) However, the furnace in Terre Haute in 1859 had been using native ore mixed with ore from Missouri. One authority does give Terre Haute credit for having iron smelting in 1865, but he agrees that the iron smelting industry ceased operating in Terre Haute for the duration of the War with the closing of the Richland furnace in 1860.\(^4\)

Terre Haute's most prosperous industry of the pre-Civil War days was pork packing, and such it was to remain until 1879. Throughout the Civil War there were five main pork packers in Terre Haute, and in the first three years of the War their combined output was:

\[
\begin{align*}
1861 & \text{-- 60,768 hogs packed} \\
1862 & \text{-- 80,593 hogs packed} \\
1863 & \text{-- 49,674 hogs packed}\end{align*}
\]

These figures may be questioned because they were used in the foreward for the City Directory of 1864 describing the virtues of Terre Haute. The Daily Express gave a figure of 60,268 for 1862 which may seem to fit better with the figures for 1861 and 1863 than does the one mentioned in the City Directory. The figures of the Directory give no explanation for the great rise and fall of production in the space of one year.

The Daily Express again disagrees with the City Directory for 1863 and gives the number of hogs packed as:

\[
\begin{align*}
1861 & \text{-- 60,768 hogs packed} \\
1862 & \text{-- 80,593 hogs packed} \\
1863 & \text{-- 49,674 hogs packed}\end{align*}
\]

\(^3\)Alden Cutshall, "Terre Haute Iron and Steel: A Declining Industry," Indiana Magazine of History, XXXVIII (September, 1941), 238.


\(^5\)City Directory, 1864, p. 21.
Evidently these were still booming days for the pork industry in Terre Haute, but they were numbered. By 1868, the individual packers were wise enough to advertise themselves as beef and pork packers. That more hogs were not butchered and packed in the first year of the War may be due to episodes such as revealed in a letter to John Ross, a Terre Haute merchant. A farmer, writing from Sullivan County, said that since pork had dropped to a point that was too small to pay for the feed, he would wait until prices went up.

The railroads were more and more taking over the transportation service formerly provided by the Wabash river boats in the pork industry. Dressed hogs were being sent by railroads from Lafayette, Terre Haute, and Evansville to Eastern packers, particularly in Cleveland, who would then pack the pork and return it in barrels and tierces.

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6Daily Wabash Express, March 14, 1863.
7City Directory, 1868, p. 85.
was changing the function of the packers to that of slaughterhouses and middlemen.

To show how shipping prices increased, John Ross had said that he had forty-four barrels of rump pork and two casks of bacon shoulders for sixty-five cents per barrel on August 21, 1861. Only three months later on November 21, 1861 two hundred and forty-six barrels of pork were shipped for $1.05 per barrel.\(^{10}\)

One writer says that after 1850 the second largest industry in Terre Haute was brewing and distilling.\(^{11}\) A glance at Table 1 will show this place to be occupied by the machinery and steam engine industry. The Terre Haute and Alton repair shops made up most of this last industry.

However, the brewing and distilling industry was of great importance, especially because it could use the produce of the farmers. By 1863 there were three breweries and one distillery. The distillery alone produced 767,000 gallons of corn whisky in the years 1861-1863.\(^{12}\)

This industry was closely related to flour milling which was the third largest industry in Terre Haute.\(^{13}\) There were four mills in Terre Haute at this time which received the fine quality Wabash Valley grains. The grain handled by the hard-working millers amounted to the following:

\(^{10}\)Ross Papers. An unidentified Bill of Lading.
\(^{11}\)Drummond, "Terre Haute . . .", p. 51.
\(^{12}\)City Directory, 1864, p. 24.
\(^{13}\)Drummond, "Terre Haute . . .", p. 51.
### TABLE 1

**TERRE HAUTE INDUSTRIES, 1860**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Capital Invested</th>
<th>Cost of Raw Material</th>
<th>No. of Hands Employed Male--Female</th>
<th>Cost of Labor Per Year</th>
<th>Value of Product Per Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brick Works</td>
<td>$10,700</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>$6,876</td>
<td>$15,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Carriages</td>
<td>$8,800</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>$11,856</td>
<td>$25,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cigars</td>
<td>$3,600</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$1,932</td>
<td>$12,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>$2,600</td>
<td>$3,900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$2,168</td>
<td>$9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cooperage</td>
<td>$10,830</td>
<td>$6,300</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>$13,644</td>
<td>$31,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$1,415</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$600</td>
<td>$2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Flour &amp; Meal</td>
<td>$975,000</td>
<td>$272,739</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>$11,040</td>
<td>$327,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>$8,700</td>
<td>$3,050</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>$5,100</td>
<td>$11,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Iron Castings</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>$5,615</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>$6,912</td>
<td>$21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Distillery</td>
<td>$26,000</td>
<td>$33,500</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>$3,600</td>
<td>$47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lumber Sawed</td>
<td>$28,000</td>
<td>$22,117</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>$8,076</td>
<td>$45,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Machinery, Steam Engines</td>
<td>$32,000</td>
<td>$22,007</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$14,400</td>
<td>$60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$3,300</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$1,200</td>
<td>$5,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tin, Copper &amp; Sheet Iron</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$14,590</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>$20,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Woolen Goods</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$11,500</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>$5,400</td>
<td>$24,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


32
Wheat-----Bushels produced -----800,000
Corn-----: " ---597,000
Rye------: " " ------48,000
Oats------: " " ------45,000
Flax seed- " " ------33,000
Flour-----Barrels ground -----124,000.
Whisky-----Gallons distilled-----767,000

It can be seen that three of the main industries were dependent upon agriculture. Terre Haute was ideally situated in the center of a large and prosperous agricultural area. Vigo County alone, in 1860, had 95,737 acres of improved farms upon which 30,891 swine, 179,159 bushels of wheat, and 1,284,532 bushels of oats were produced.15

This agricultural and manufacturing wealth would have been of little avail in Terre Haute without the benefit of a diverse and well-developed transportation system.

The Wabash River had been the first avenue of transportation for Terre Haute, but by the Civil War the uncertainty of the water flow had caused a decided decline in the river traffic. The papers of a prominent merchant, who had consistently used steamboats prior to 1860, do not mention a steamboat after that year.16 The City Directory in 1864 took cognizance of this decline: "Since completion of the canal and railway, however, the business of the river has ceased to be of so much importance."17

16A list of steamboats compiled by Professor Waldo Mitchell and mentioned in the Ross Papers.
17City Directory, 1864, p. 25. It is possible that
Other than Indian trails, the first man-made avenue of transportation through Terre Haute was the National Road. This road was of great importance because it gave the City the impetus and wealth that enabled it to pass and overcome nearby cities.\(^\text{18}\) By 1860, the road was in a poor condition (it had never been, west of Indianapolis, much more than a trail), and the road was being kept up by the counties through which it passed.\(^\text{19}\)

Passage on the National Road over the Wabash at Terre Haute had been hampered for a long time by the low grounds to the west of the River. This had been remedied by the building of the graded road in 1857.\(^\text{20}\) The old open bridge at the foot of Ohio Street was replaced by a new drawbridge at the foot of Wabash Avenue in 1864.\(^\text{21}\)

The Wabash and Erie Canal had been constructed to Terre Haute in 1843 and had experienced its greatest prosperity in the years 1847-1856, but by the time of the Civil War the canal was experiencing great difficulty from the competition of the railroads. The trustees' report to the

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\(^\text{18}\) Drummond, "Terre Haute . . .," p. 32.


\(^\text{20}\) Drummond, "Terre Haute . . .," p. 37.

\(^\text{21}\) *City Directory*, 1864, p. 20.
State Legislature for 1862 contained this complaint: "The season of 1861 was devoted to securing as large a share of the shipping interests as possible. That of 1861 to the destruction of the boating interests." 22

The contract for the maintenance of the canal north from Terre Haute to the Ohio line was let in 1863 for a ten-year period. Previous to this the contract had been let for the first time in 1859. The holders of the new contract were Pliny Hoagland, Hugh McCullough, and Alfred P. Edgerton. 23 They were to receive tolls and water rents. 24 The anxiety of Terre Haute for the success of the canal is evinced by the clause in the contract which provided that Hoagland and Company would receive $1,000 a year from the City of Terre Haute. 25

There seemed to be a slight uplift in the prosperity of the canal in 1862, due to a pick up in freight and a lessening of rail competition. 26 This led the contractors to invest in repairs on the Otter Creek aqueduct and the river bluff near Terre Haute. 27

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22 Indiana, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal for the Year 1861, p. 391.
23 Ibid., p. 395.
24 Primarily industries along the canal paid rents to use the water as a source of power.
27 Ibid., p. 468.
A daily line of canal boats, also, was to run from Terre Haute to Toledo. H. B. Smith was contracted to carry freight from New York by way of the canal. However, in 1863, the revenue from the Canal was less than anticipated.

Terre Haute had less dealings with the canal than any other port along the muddy ditch.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1863</th>
<th>1864</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>$1,714.74</td>
<td>$3,258.64</td>
<td>$607.77</td>
<td>$4,75.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>13,575.85</td>
<td>13,826.06</td>
<td>11,747.03</td>
<td>12,784.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>14,971.44</td>
<td>19,495.89</td>
<td>11,688.85</td>
<td>7,133.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logansport</td>
<td>7,086.07</td>
<td>7,410.47</td>
<td>4,899.01</td>
<td>6,511.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largo</td>
<td>6,767.74</td>
<td>9,613.45</td>
<td>7,939.21</td>
<td>10,357.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Wayne</td>
<td>14,013.30</td>
<td>17,888.98</td>
<td>14,429.79</td>
<td>14,038.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Terre Haute's lack of dealing with the canal was due to the fact that the navigation south from Terre Haute had been almost abandoned by 1862. Some attempt by citizens south of the city was made to keep the canal in condition at least as*

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28 Daily Wabash Express, March 3, 1862.

29 Benton, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXI, 76. Revenues of $500,000 were expected throughout the Civil War, but none ever reached that mark.
far as Worthington, Indiana. This lack of commerce feeding from the south caused the trustees to complain of little traffic between Terre Haute and Montezuma. This absence of traffic was further attributed to the lack of water from the Bel River feeder dam and two large breaks in the canal bank north of Terre Haute, one of which was believed to have been deliberately cut. 30

The mode of transportation which augured best for the future of Terre Haute was the railroad. There were three lines through Terre Haute in the years of the Civil War. They were the Terre Haute and Richmond; the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis; the Evansville and Crawfordsville (this line ran an extension to Rockville). 31

More and more merchants began to use these railroads. In 1861, the Terre Haute and Richmond line's net earnings were $216,183.95 which represented a drop of $1,197.60 from 1860's $217,381.55. This did not alarm the directors of the railroad because they had anticipated such a drop as a result of the War. They were sure that business would pick up because of the conflict. Further convincing proof was the fact that new coal mines were opening near Brazil which many believed would be a new Pittsburgh. 32

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31 Daily Wabash Express, July 21, 1863.
Their judgment proved to be correct, for in 1862 the road netted $36,272.66.\textsuperscript{33}

In 1863, the offices of the Terre Haute and Richmond Railroad were moved to Terre Haute probably as the result of the election to the Board of Directors of Chauncey Rose, Demas Deming, and Henry Ross.\textsuperscript{34} The gross revenue was $597,797.11 with a June dividend of 5 per cent amounting to $64,222.50. The railroad was able to add two engines, and thereby increase their total to twenty-one.\textsuperscript{35} In 1864, net earnings were up to $521,254.40.\textsuperscript{36}

Chauncey Rose built a Union Station on the east side of town at Tenth and One-half and Chestnut Streets in 1858.\textsuperscript{37}

Further encouragement was given to the merchants by the fact that it was widely advertised that they could ship their goods through to the East as easily as they themselves could purchase through tickets to the East. Further assurance of good connections was given by the fact that eight trains left Terre Haute each day. The Terre Haute and Richmond handled the bulk of the traffic.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., 1862, p. 80.

\textsuperscript{34}Daily Wabash Express, January 7, 1863.

\textsuperscript{35}Annual Report of the Terre Haute and Richmond Railroad, 1863, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., 1864, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{37}Juliet Peddle, "Early Terre Haute Houses and Buildings." Unpublished manuscript on microfilm in Emeline Fairbanks Library.
### TABLE 3
TIMETABLE OF TRAINS

#### Terre Haute and Richmond Railroad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Mail</th>
<th>Express</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaves:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>12:50 A.M.</td>
<td>7:35 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives:</td>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>3:40 A.M.</td>
<td>11:00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaves:</td>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>9:20 A.M.</td>
<td>1:50 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>12:25 P.M.</td>
<td>5:10 P.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Express</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaves:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>1:40 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives:</td>
<td></td>
<td>12:40 P.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Evansville and Crawfordsville

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mail</th>
<th>Mail Accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaves:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>2:25 P.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>3:35 P.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Rockville Extension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mail Accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaves:</td>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*This timetable remained stable throughout the War and may be checked in any issue of the Daily Wabash Express or the City Directories for 1863 or 1864.*
The Terre Haute and Alton Railroad for a time tapped the rich and fertile valley of central Illinois, but with the development of the Illinois Central Railroad the produce of this area began to flow to Chicago, hurting both St. Louis and Terre Haute. 38

It was only natural that with agricultural, manufacturing, and transportation services Terre Haute should be somewhat of a financial center. There were five banks in Terre Haute during the Civil War that contributed to this function.

The Southern Bank and the Prairie City Bank were free banks under the Free Banking Law of March 9, 1861. This meant that they must have $105 of State of Indiana stock for every $100 in circulation. To encourage holding Indiana stocks $110 of the stock of other states had to be held as security for every hundred dollars in circulation.

Just in case that this was not enough encouragement, a clause was written into the law which stated that by January 1, 1863 the banks holding non-Indiana stock must exchange it for Indiana stocks (See Table 4). 39

The third, and last, public bank was a branch of the State Bank of Indiana. The William P. McKeen Bank and the Patrick Shannon Bank were the two private banks, the former


being the larger. 40

TABLE 4

PRAIRIE CITY BANK SECURITY HOLDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1861a</th>
<th>1864b</th>
<th>1865c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indiana war 6% bonds</td>
<td>$14,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana 5% bonds</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana 2½% bonds</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri 6%</td>
<td>$26,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>$51,664</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
<td>$5,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After 1865 the Prairie City Bank ceased to exist.

The Southern Bank was the largest public bank in Terre Haute. The number of stockholders amounted to only seven with Joseph H. Williams, President and founder, holding $95,000 of the bank's shares (950 shares) out of the total of $100,000. 41

When the National Banking Act was passed in 1863, Williams associated himself with the prominent Terre Hauteans--Henry Ross, Blackford B. Moffet, Henry Musgrove, James Bell, and John H. Barr--to apply for a National Bank charter. After officially becoming the forty-seventh

40 *City Directory*, 1863, p. 113.
National Bank, the institution became known as the First National Bank of Terre Haute.

To help the far-flung activities of the merchants of the area they opened accounts with the First National Bank of Chicago and the First National Bank of New York. The president of the fledgling, National Bank of Terre Haute, was, very naturally, Joseph Williams; the cashier was his son, Francis S. Williams. For the first three years the bank had some difficulty. President Williams had promised Henry Ross a set percentage of the bank’s profits if he would come into the new merger. When the anticipated profits failed to appear Joseph Williams paid him, from his own pocket, for three years.\textsuperscript{42}

The State Bank of Indiana was located on Wabash between Second and Third Streets. The President was L. G. Warren and the cashier was Preston Hussey. In 1865, it too became a National Bank. While the salary of its officials might not be too large, as compared to the other bankers of the city, the bank itself was an important factor in the community’s economy.\textsuperscript{43} In 1862, the Terre Haute State Bank had $291,925 in state bank notes in circulation.\textsuperscript{44} In 1864, the notes amounted to $76,723 and the deposits amounted to

\textsuperscript{42} This is based on an unidentified manuscript in the Emeline Fairbanks Library.

\textsuperscript{43} Indiana, Report of the Bank of the State of Indiana, 1863, p. 494.

\textsuperscript{44} Indiana, Annual Report of the Auditor, 1863, p. 511.
A drop in circulation in 1864 was common in all Indiana Branch State Banks:

Owing to the large currency issues and heavy disbursements of government and enhanced prices the demand for loans, except at the most commercial spots has diminished, hence many banks found more capital than needed.46

Also, no bank could have a capital reduction beyond the legal minimum of $100,000.47 That Terre Haute was one of those "commercial spots" is shown in Table 5.

**Table 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch Bank</th>
<th>Reduction</th>
<th>Remaining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evansville</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logansport</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laporte</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bend</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrenceburg</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


its circulation. The reason given was that the National Banking Act functioned so well that greenbacks were becoming commonly accepted and maintaining some stability.48

Rising prices were a problem in Terre Haute as they were in most places in the North during the years of the Civil War. The War had caused price increases which hurt fixed incomes. Particularly injured by inflation were soldiers who attempted to support families on thirteen dollars per month.49 As can be seen from the prices in Table 6, there was a general rise in the price of all commodities with the exception of green apples and flour. Unfortunately no such list of prices could be found beyond the first three years of the War.

It is interesting to note that the prices for 1863, which was a victorious year for the North, were higher than those of 1862 which was a year of bloody defeats. This shows the snowballing nature of the inflation was not necessarily influenced by the winning or losing of battles.

The lack of increases in price in flour and apples and the small increase in pork can probably be explained in terms of a bountiful local supply. Since dried fish and leather were in demand for the Army, this may have led to a shortage on the home market and have been the reason why there was no quotation for these items.

48Ibid., 1865, p. 173.
49Stampp, Indiana Magazine of History, XXXVIII, 5.
TABLE 6

COMMODITY PRICESa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Per</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1862</th>
<th>1863</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef (Fresh)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef (dried)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.12\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples (green)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles (Tallow)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.12,6</td>
<td>.12\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese (Western Reserve)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.12\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.12\frac{1}{4}</td>
<td>.13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>(doz.)</td>
<td>.08\frac{1}{4}</td>
<td>.08\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.09.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish (Mackerel)</td>
<td>(each)</td>
<td>.12\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee (Rio)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather (sole)</td>
<td>(lb.)</td>
<td>.27\frac{1}{4}</td>
<td>.27\frac{1}{4}</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt (Ohio River)</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar (Crushed)</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>.11\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.11\frac{1}{2}</td>
<td>.20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar (Maple)</td>
<td>(bu.)</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These prices are averages taken from the Daily Wabash Express for the years indicated.

Prices continued to rise in Terre Haute, as well as throughout the rest of the nation. A large part of this inflation was due to the fact that when the greenbacks went into circulation in 1863 gold and silver were also left in circulation. Gresham's Law began to operate and silver and gold were soon driven out of circulation. This meant that the greenbacks decreased in value as compared to the less plentiful species causing an upward spiral in prices. Conditions became so bad that fractional coins disappeared and the government was forced to issue a fractional currency.50

A writer complained to John Ross that he had not been able to find fractional currency even after a "thorough search through the streets." 51

To offset a shortage of money occurring, Ross had adopted the cash and carry system in 1862, but evidently he failed to adhere strictly to the system. 52 Lack of money put Ross in arrears to his creditors several times causing one merchant to write: "... beyond that, owing to the strange condition of mercantile affairs, we can only accept orders, to be delivered as soon as possible, at market prices at time of delivery." 53 Ross evidently found money so scarce that one merchant complained that Ross's slowness in paying was playing "smash" with his economy. 54

Despite this rise in prices and the occasional squeeze put on merchants, like Ross, keeping them from collecting their debts, Terre Haute grew. The land values shown in Table 7 will show the period of expansion through which Terre Haute passed.

51 Ross Papers, A partially mutilated and unidentified letter to John Ross, November 17, 1862.

52 Ibid., Letter to John Ross from S. M. Stewart, February 19, 1864.

53 Ibid., Letter to John Ross from Cuming and Son, July 14, 1864. Because greenbacks fluctuated so this merchant was careful to state the price would be that "at time of delivery."

54 Ibid., Letter to John Ross from Converse, Harding and Company, September 1, 1862.
TABLE 7

VALUE OF TOWN LOTS AND IMPROVEMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>$201,930a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>2,879,305b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>2,982,359c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>not given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>6,298,990d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^b Ibid., 1862, p. 398.
^c Ibid., 1863, p. 162.
^d Ibid., 1865, p. 125.

Industries were growing, and while there were blemishes on the general scene, such as the canal, Terre Hauteans were confident in the future growth and prosperity of their city.

The papers often almost buried the War news amidst an avalanche of advertisements for every commodity obtainable in the 1860's. Certainly Terre Haute was almost unanimous for the Union, and proud of her soldiers, but it was sometimes difficult to remember there was a war being fought.
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