

# ALEXANDER JACKSON DOUGLAS

Compiled by Arthur Dawson

Lloyd C. Douglas begins his autobiographical *Time to Remember* with:

My father, Alexander Jackson Douglas, was fifty when I was born. He had lived longer than most men of his years, having been a farmer, a schoolmaster, a college student, a lawyer, a State Senator; and, when we first met, a rural preacher.

Alexander, born in 1827 in Springfield, Richland County, Ohio, was the eldest son of William Douglass, about whom Lloyd Douglas recorded:

Of my grandfather ... I know practically nothing beyond the sad fact that at thirty-six he was suddenly crippled by rheumatism of such severity that he never walked again, though he lived until he was nearly sixty.

Of his father's youth, he writes:

Papa was only twelve when Grandfather Douglas was stricken with rheumatism. A tenant farmer was engaged but was so neglectful of his duties that Papa and his younger brothers were soon doing most of the work; so the lazy tenant was dismissed and the Douglas kids took over. They toiled mightily through spring, summer and fall, attending their country school in winter. Bent on acquiring a good education, Papa read everything available; and at eighteen turned the farm over to his brothers while he set forth, first as a country schoolteacher, then as a student at Ashland Academy [high school], and on to college.

Perhaps inspired by their older brother, the younger sons also pursued professional careers.

[Michael] studied during the winter months, mastering the common branches of English learning, and in the summer season he worked upon the home farm. He taught school for five consecutive seasons, but regarded this as merely an initial step to other professional labor, for it was his desire to become a member of the bar ... (A.J. Baughman. History of Richland County, Ohio from 1808 to 1908. S.J. Clarke. Chicago 1908)

According to *Time to Remember*, Alexander went to Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, "then fighting for its life", as a result of losing a coin toss to a Lutheran "boon companion". I didn't discover in what year he began his studies, but, Stephen Towne's article (see below) says that he left Wittenberg in 1850 and so it might have been in 1846 or 47. According to the college website, it completed its first year of operation in 1846 with 71 male students. In 1848 its first president died of typhoid fever, only 35 years old,

and was succeeded by Samuel Sprecher, who continued in the position for 25 years.

Because he was practically penniless, Papa found a job as hostler, coachman, gardener, dishwasher and errand boy in the home of the college president ... a warmhearted scholar and seer, who was to become his man Friday's idol and hero. ... Although it had been my father's intention to study law, Doctor Sprecher needed only to suggest the ministry as a profession for his young disciple.

However, when he completed his studies, he failed to convince the Examining Committee that he was suited for the Lutheran ministry. He demonstrated weakness on several important points of doctrine, doubting that unbaptized infants went to hell, admitting that he didn't believe in the Devil, and suggesting that Luther's stature would have been improved had he maintained his vow of celibacy.

He therefore returned to his original ambition to become a lawyer. He taught school for two years in Upper Sandusky, Ohio, before spending three years reading law in the Mansfield firm of Samuel J. Kirkwood and Barnabas Burns, passing the Ohio bar in 1855. These must indeed have been "years of toil and study", as described in Stephen Towne's article (see below) because in 1850 he married Mary Jenner, "of a prominent Richland County family", and by 1855 several of the resultant eleven children must have appeared.

The family settled in Columbia City, Whitley County, Indiana, where he established a law practice. He wore several additional hats, teaching at Wartburg Seminary, a short-lived Lutheran college, one of several with that name. He was elected a prosecuting attorney and became a school examiner for the county. He was an effective speaker for the Democratic Party and, in 1858, unsuccessfully offered himself as the party's choice for representative in the state legislature.

In 1861, the Civil War broke out and a phase of his life that was not mentioned in *Time to Remember* is described by Stephen E. Towne in his article, "*Worse than Vallandigham: Governor Oliver P. Morton, Lambdin P. Milligan, and the military arrest and trial of Indiana State Senator Alexander J. Douglas during the civil war.*" (Indiana Magaz Hist. 2010;106(1):1-39).

Although they were a minority of the Democratic Party, there was a group that came to be known as 'Copperheads' or 'butternuts', who were opposed to 'Mr. Lincoln's war'. They objected to the extension of the war's aim from

maintenance of the Union to the abolitionist agenda, and to the bloodshed and military failure of the early battles. Even more, they were angered by the aggressive conscription campaigns and by "military arrests of civilians, suppression of the Democratic press, and other Republican policies." The message of the 'Peace Democrats' was well received in Indiana, as is apparent from this account in *The Indianapolis Star* of August 2, 1862.

Mr. Douglas, the nominee for Senator, is a Democrat with back bone enough to proclaim his political sentiments without fear., and ever ready to assert the rights of the Democracy when assailed by the enemies of the Constitution as it is. He is a man of more than ordinary talents, a fair speaker, and will, if elected, do honor to himself and reflect credit upon his district.

Alexander Douglas "handily defeated his Republican opponent" and joined the state legislature as a senator.

Towne's article describes several occasions when Douglas, as a state senator, expressed himself strongly against the war policies of the Republican government.

In February he spoke to amend a resolution from the Committee on Federal Affairs that the Lincoln administration, in possible peace talks with the "seceded States," should not interfere with the rights of the Southern states to protect slavery. Two days later, in a debate on the merits or dangers of arming ex-slaves for service in the Union army, he questioned a Republican senator about the possibility of Lincoln withdrawing the Emancipation Proclamation.

One of the most prominent peace Democrats was Clement Vallandigham, an Ohio member of the House of Representatives, who gave a speech on May 1, 1863 charging that the war was no longer being fought to save the Union, but it had become an attempt to free the slaves by sacrificing the liberty of white Americans to "King Lincoln". On May 5, Vallandigham was arrested as a violator of General Order Number 38 issued by General Ambrose E. Burnside, which stated that "the habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy" would not be tolerated in the Military District of Ohio.

Vallandigham had been due to speak two days later at a Democratic party rally in Crestline, a railroad junction near Mansfield, Ohio, Alexander's home town, where he was visiting with two young daughters to attend the wedding of his brother, Thomas, wounded while fighting in a Union volunteer regiment. Alexander Douglas was invited to speak in his stead. Towne's article describes the events of that day.

On a “dark, dreary and dismal” Thursday afternoon which threatened rain, two days after Vallandigham’s military arrest and the Dayton riot suppressed by martial law, Douglas, local speakers, assembled Democrats, and other onlookers moved the open-air rally indoors and huddled in a large stable on the edge of the town. Democrats in the audience “gave three cheers for Val., and three groans for General Burnside.” According to an eyewitness account of the rally published in the Republican Bucyrus Weekly Journal newspaper, handbills circulated in the town stating that Vallandigham had been killed. The crowd, angry, loud, and boisterous, had been warmed up by two speakers before Douglas. They had been warmed up as well by the “kindly influences of free whisky.” The Democrats directed rude epithets and threats at the Republican onlookers in attendance. Cheers for “Jeff. Davis” and cries of “d——d abolitionist” emanated from the crowd. “Frequently during the speeches, when anything was said by the speakers that was, in the estimation of the secesh [supporter of the Confederacy] sympathizers, severe on the Administration, or any of our Union Generals, a lot of the butternuts would call out—‘That’s what’s the matter, by G-d.’” When it was his turn to speak, according to the report, Douglas

said he did not like the name Copperhead. Some one in the crowd suggested that it was altogether appropriate. He then pronounced a eulogy on Val.; then abused the Administration; then slandered a certain Judge Harris; and then slandered the protestant churches. He never had, and never would support the war policy of the Administration. He, the speaker, advised, though a marshal might be present, the crowd to buy powder and lead and resist military arrests. He called our Government the greatest despotism in the world.

The resolutions passed at the rally included a statement repudiating military arrests of civilians. Several additional speakers addressed the rally before it wrapped up late in the afternoon.

According to a report in the *Bucyrus Weekly Journal*, "It would not have been safe for a Union man to have attempted to report the speeches with pencil and paper, [but] there were men present at the butternut meeting who *did hear* , and who are willing to tell publicly what they heard." Upon being informed of the content of Douglas' disloyal speech, Governor Tod of Ohio, though a lifelong Democrat, directed officers of the U.S. Army to investigate the matter further and, if warranted, to "arrest the party, or parties". The actual investigation was carried out by a junior officer, Lt. J.B. Irwin, who reported his findings to Republican Senator John Sherman, brother of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, and received approval to proceed.

The arrest was carried out on May 13 by Lt. Irwin, "and the troops under his command", while the Indiana Democrat and his young daughters, Alice and Elizabeth, were at the Crestline station, awaiting their homeward train. "The troops carried Douglas away, leaving the two girls at the train station."

The arrest of Douglas at Crestline created a furor among the town’s Democrats. Ohio

newspapers reported that Democrats “threatened to tear up the railroad,” “burn the town,” and “mob the Union men,” but the squad of seventeen troops sent from Columbus on Governor Tod’s suggestion quelled the disturbance. The newspapers reported that Douglas had “advised resistance to the conscription,” and was arrested for violating General Orders Number 38.

The prisoner was turned over to General Burnside and was imprisoned in Kemper Barracks in Cincinnati, which housed many of those arrested under Burnside's orders, including Vollandigham. He was to be tried by the same military commission that had heard Vollandigham's case. For his defence, Douglas secured the services of Lambdin P. Milligan, known as an outspoken Copperhead and an experienced trial attorney, though he had no previous participation in courts martial or military commissions.

The trial, which began May 29, is described in detail in Towne's article. Douglas was charged with with violating General Orders Number 38 by expressing sympathy for the rebels and “declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful Rebellion.” He was ably defended by Milligan, but the commission found him guilty of "uttering words considered an incitement to violent resistance to authority." The two incriminating statements were "I thank God that I have not, by word, or act, assisted to support the administration", and "When next you go to the ballot-box carry your cartridge box with you". Nevertheless, the officers on the commission returned a verdict of "not guilty" to the overall charge and dismissed the case. "Even more surprising, ... the military commission adjourned *sine die*, never to reconvene." (Towne)

It seems that President Lincoln and his cabinet were becoming increasingly aware that the heavy-handed tactics and intrusion in civil matters of General Burnside were threatening his support throughout 'the Old Northwest'. Some of his advisors recommended that Lincoln sack the general, who had already been relieved of his command after his disastrous defeat at the battle of Fredericksburg. However, Burnside remained popular with many Republicans, "who relished [his] get-tough edict", and the president evidently chose to avoid the political embarrassment of a second removal. It was not until May 29, the day of Douglas' trial, that General Burnside was informed that "president and his cabinet did not support the general’s actions in the Vollandigham arrest or his general policy of arrests under General Orders Number 38."

[Lincoln’s disapproval ... had forced Burnside to dismantle part of his apparatus to](#)

control disloyalty. The general reviewed the findings of the commission and ordered Douglas to be released from Kemper Barracks prison. Douglas went free on June 3.

On June 5, Douglas triumphantly returned to Columbia City.

The reception given to the Hon Alexander J. Douglas ... was one of the most imposing impromptu demonstrations ever given to a public man. The gathering was exceedingly large, considering that no previous notice being given [sic], and could not have numbered less than one thousand persons. The day was beautiful, and everything portended a glorious termination. Long before the 2:30 train was due, the Democracy formed into procession in front of the Court House, and from thence, headed by Columbia City Brass Band in their magnificent band wagon, drawn by four horses, marched to the railroad depot under the direction of Marshal J.B. Edwards. amid the firing of cannons and the shouting of freemen, in carriages and wagons, on horseback and on foot, forming one grand cavalcade to welcome back into our midst Senator A.J. Douglas from his "military campaign", in the Lincoln Bastille near Cincinnati.

Arrived at the depot, every eye was strained in the direction from whence the train was approaching. When it hove in sight the air reverberated with the shouts of freemen, the cannon thundered forth its salute of welcome, and the brass band commenced playing an appropriate tune. When [Douglas] descended from the cars he was surrounded by his friends and borne away to a carriage in waiting for him. The procession then formed in line and marched back into the city, and, after parading through some of the principal streets, halted in front of the Court house, where speaking was announced.

Hon. John S. Cotton, in a brief but pithy speech, welcomed [Douglas] back among his friends. His denunciation of the arbitrary minions commanding these arrests was scathing and well deserved, and was received with thunders of applause by the audience. ... Senator Douglas' response was an eloquent effort. He gave a complete history of his imprisonment, from the day he was ruthlessly torn away from his children, until he was discharged. He was unsparing in his condemnation of the dastardly wretches who attempt to stifle the freedom of debate. He devoted particular attention to the infamous and treasonable Union Leagues, and contended that these midnight organizations were instrumental in causing the suppression of Democratic newspapers and the arrest of Democratic speakers. He denounced the 'Republican' in unmeasured terms, and posted the editor there of for vilifying him during his imprisonment as "a pusillanimous coward and a liar". He administered a severe castigation to the reverend gentleman who, when he heard of his arrest, was overjoyed at the dastardly deed and expressed himself in language unbecoming his station. The speaker fairly burned with indignation when he alluded to these things. The speech was unquestionably the grandest effort he ever made, and perfectly electrified the assemblage, which, now and then, would burst out in thunders of applause. (Columbia City News, quoted in Indiana State Sentinel, Indianapolis June 22, 1863).

Political sentiment continued to run high in Columbia City, as we can see from these two accounts of an event that occurred in mid-July. The first,



from the Indiana State Sentinel of August 3rd, quoted the Columbia City News of July 21st.

We reluctantly chronicle the terrible and disgusting spectacle that transpired in Columbia City on Friday afternoon. ... Captain Hiram Iddings ... made his appearance ... with a company of home guards and a number of mounted bushwhackers ... to vindicate the majesty of the conscript law, alleged to have been violated on Independence Day. ... They arrested Wm. Bender, charged with resisting Provost Marshall C.W. Hughes, in arresting a deserter on Independence Day. ... When the soldiers had breakfasted it was evident that trouble was brewing. ... Many declared that they would shoot anyone avowing himself a Vallandigham man. ... No disturbance amounting to anything had occurred up to this time, the Democrats carefully avoiding political controversies, and it was hoped that everything would pass off without further trouble. The order was given by the commander of the soldiery for their departure, and they accordingly made preparations to that effect. ... A large crowd of women, children and men had, in the mean time, gathered on the sidewalk to watch the soldiery and witness the departure of the prisoners. Someone in the crowd proposed three cheers for Vallandigham. Three rousing cheers were given, in which many of the soldiers unintentionally joined, not knowing, according to Republican authority, whom they were cheering. When they discovered their mistake, their rage and exasperation knew no bounds, and many of them broke ranks, and with drawn revolvers, went in search of Vallandighamers, threatening them with death, cursing like pirates, and endangering the lives of spectators. The crowd had now gathered in front of Steingeld & Kramer's store, when some one hurrahed for Vallandigham, which was the signal for an attack in that direction. A rush was made by the soldiery. Hon. A.J. Douglas was trying to extricate himself from the crowd, and they, thinking him the man, made immediately for him, and laid their hands upon him. Mr. Eli W. Brown interposed, and a struggle ensued. Four shots were fired by one of the soldiers, in rapid succession, at Mr. Brown, one ball grazing him slightly on the side, and the others, with the exception of clipping off a finger of one of their own men, were wasted. Both Mr. Douglas and Mr. Brown were dragged off to a wagon, forced into the same at the point of the bayonet, and threatened with instant death if they showed any resistance. They were both released after being kept there a short time.

If the above might be considered the *Huffington Post* view of the event, we get what might be called the *Fox News* version, from the *Columbia City Republican* as quoted in *The Weekly Republican* of Plymouth, Indiana, on July 30th. I have preserved the quaint punctuation of the article.

After making the arrest in town, and getting their breakfast, [the soldiers] left for Kendallville with their prisoners. A sad and sorry looking set too were the prisoners. The tools and dupes of designing and wicked men, who had counseled and taught them to pursue the course that had thus involved them. The arrests were all made quietly and the soldiers conducted themselves with the utmost propriety and good order, until just as they were starting home a very unfortunate occurrence took place, not resulting seriously, but creating for a time great excitement.

Just before the troops started ... someone proposed three cheers for the Union—for General Grant and Gen. Meade, which were given with a hearty good will. As they ceased this, and were about to start a half witted dutchman, evidently at the instigation of some Copperhead cheered for Vallandigham. Some of the soldiers immediately cried, bring him out! bring him out! and started towards the crowd where he was standing, in front of Steinfield & Kramer's store. The dutchman broke and run through the store room, going out at the north end of the building. When the poor scared dutchman started to run, the distinguished butternut Senator, for the counties of Whitley and Huntington, A.J. Douglas, who happened to be in the crowd, also broke and ran through the store like a quarter horse.— His flight is evidently to be accounted for on no other ground than the scripture truth, "that the wicked flee when no man pursueth."

When the soldiers reached the door of Steinfield & Kramers' store, they, not knowing who it was that had made the cheer for Vallandigham, inquired where the man was. They were told he had just ran through the store. They ran through the store in pursuit, and as they emerged from the building, discovered poor little Dug, running for dear life. The dutchman had turned down the alley a little in advance of "ye butternut Senator," and was out of sight of the pursuers. As soon as he came to K.B. Miller's hog pen, he jumped into it and crouched down in one corner out of sight. Poor Dug looked in as he reached the pen but finding there was no room for him, ran a few steps further and sprang over and hid his head in the currant bushes, somewhat after the manner of an ostrich, hiding his head in the sand to prevent capture. Unfortunately for his Senatorial dignity, the soldiers discovered him and hustled him over the fence, and took him trembling and pale as a sheet into the presence of the company marshaled on the street in front of the store.

When they got up into the crowd, Eli Brown attempted to rescue Douglas, and a muss ensued at once. One of the soldiers rashly fired several shots at Brown, but with no intention of injuring him as friends of the soldier aver. This version of the case seems borne out by the fact that no injury was done, and the soldier is said to be one of the best shots with a pistol in the State ... The firing scattered the crowd like a flock of pigeons, and poor Dug was hoisted into one of the wagons, looking as though he thought his last hour had come. As soon as an explanation could be made and the boys were assured that he was not the man who had cheered for Vallandigham, he was released and sent about his business, an awfully scared man, but no wiser. For holy writ declares that "as a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly." ... We deeply regret the unfortunate occurrence on the street that we have detailed, and denounced it at the time as all out of place and the firing as criminal. — Up to the time of the firing however, it was rather a matter of sport than otherwise. There was no intention to do anything more than scare the copperhead who had made the objectionable cheers for the purpose of insulting the soldiers. If A.J. Douglas had not been the poor pusillanimous coward that he is, none of the serious parts of the transaction would have occurred. If he had quietly remained where he was, nobody would have touched him. But the guilt stricken coward commenced running, and the soldiers in pursuit supposed he was the man who had done the cheering, and arrested him as stated.

Stephen Townes' essay summarizes Douglas' subsequent career as follows.



Alexander Douglas's political career wound down after he served out the remainder of his term in the state Senate. He practiced law in Columbia City and continued to serve as a school examiner for Whitley County. He gradually retreated from public affairs and increasingly turned to filling Lutheran church pulpits in Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. By the time his son, well-known pastor and best-selling novelist Lloyd C. Douglas (born in 1877), was old enough to be cognizant of his "papa," the elder man was living a quiet, bucolic existence as a country parson. If the writer was ever aware of his father's arrest and imprisonment for treasonous speech during the Civil War, his gentle and loving portrait of his father failed to disclose it. He wrote of his father, "How dearly did this kind hearted old man love peace!"

*Time to Remember* doesn't provide much information about the period from the end of the War between the States to his second marriage to Jennie Cassel.

On my desk, as I write, there's a copy of a "whosis" entitled Representative Men of Indiana (1880) containing the log of Papa's rather rugged journey, teaching part time in an Ohio academy while reading law, of his marriage to the youthful Mary Jenner, of his migration to Columbia City, Indiana, where he was progressively a Prosecuting Attorney, a State Senator; and, to fill a vacancy, Superintendent of the Whitley county Schools. After a while this was made a permanent position. Papa seems to have traveled far and wide visiting schools. The Lutheran Church in Columbia City, temporarily without a minister, asked him to preach for them until they found a regular pastor. Apparently they didn't hunt for one with any zeal, for Papa continued as their Sunday preacher while attending to his duties in the county schools. He must have been a busy man.

I was able to find what was probably the source he mentions with the title, *A Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of the State of Indiana*. Here is the relevant section.

From 1866 to 1868 he represented [Huntington and Whitley Counties] in the House of Representatives. In 1867, after the close of the biennial session, he again began the practice of law with a determination to make that his business for life, but, in 1869, having been unanimously elected, by the school board of the corporation, superintendent of the Columbia City school, he decided to follow his tastes and the will of the people. Since then he has held that position. In 1870 he was elected school examiner for Whitley County, and when that office was abolished and that of county superintendent substituted, Mr. Douglas was chosen for the position, which he still holds ... The first Sunday in January, 1870, he joined the Lutheran Church of Columbia City. The pastor of the Church resigning, in April following, Mr. Douglas was prevailed upon to discharge the duties of a minister until another could be secured. He did so, and after serving four months, was unanimously elected by the Church as their pastor. He continued in that capacity two years ... His duties to the Church and schools, being more than one man could in justice perform, Mr. Douglas, on account of ill health, resigned as pastor and devoted his time to his school duties, although very few Sabbaths pass without his preaching at least one sermon.

My mother maintained that her grandfather abandoned his secular career to become a full-time clergyman on the insistence of the extremely devout Jennie Cassel. Lloyd Douglas provided another explanation in a close-up article about his own life published in *Life Magazine*.

In *Magnificent Obsession* Douglas argues the supernatural advantages of doing good deeds secretly. It seems likely that the miracle in his own career sprang from a sort of expiation of the conduct of his father, which was the reverse of his own. Alexander Jackson Douglas studied for the ministry at Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio but, rejected for the liberalism of his theological views, took up the law which he practiced for more than a quarter of a century, climaxed by a term in the state legislature. One day A.J. Douglas' office janitor persuaded him to go to a church service in Columbia City. The officiating minister had chosen that day for a sermon on repentance. When he left the church Douglas Sr. had not only decided that he himself would immediately become a man of God but also that his next child, whose birth was imminent, would if possible make up for lost time by becoming a minister also. (Noel F. Busch in *Life Magazine*, 27 May 1946.)

I found no information on whether Douglas abandoned his erroneous views on Satan and the fate of the unbaptized stillborn, or if the elders of his congregation simply chose to ignore his deviant beliefs.

Alexander's first wife, Mary Jenner, died of tuberculosis in April 1875, less than a month after giving birth to baby girl, Bibdie, who also died in September of that year. Alexander had sired eleven offspring, eight of them surviving when he took a new wife after slightly more than a year of widowhood. From *Time to Remember* we learn that

This peace-loving man, whose motto was "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," gave his family no hint of the happy event until he drove his team of frisky bay Hamiltonians up to the door and introduced his young bride.

Six of the brood were still in residence but two of them were also carried off by consumption before long and the others, with the exception of the youngest, Lura, left home within a few years. The US census of 1880 lists only two children of the first marriage, Franklin, age 16, and Lura, age 8. The former, according to *Time to Remember*, ran away and joined a circus at age sixteen.

The remainder of Alexander's life passed relatively quietly, devoted to his family and to his duties and a country minister. His son wrote, "How dearly did this kind-hearted old man love peace", a description that not even his friends would be likely to have applied to him in 1863. In 1893 "he suffered

the first stroke of paralysis" from which he almost completely recovered, according to "an unidentified news clip" (<http://whitleycountyin.org/obits/obits-d2.htm>). A second, in 1903, "deprived him of the use of his lower limbs", and he succumbed to the third in March 1905. Curiously, this obituary gives some details about his time as a lawyer and as a school superintendent but makes no mention of his service in the Indiana state senate and legislature. A brief obituary in the Huntington Daily News-Democrat of 24 March 1905 reads:

In 1862 he was elected for a four-year term as senator from Whitley and Huntington counties in the state legislature. In 1866 he was chosen representative from the same counties. In 1862 [sic] he was the victim of a political arrest at Crestline, Ohio, being held a prisoner two or three days. Thirty years or more following his legal practice and political career he was a minister in the Lutheran church. In early days he was a hard drinker but in later years was a consistent temperance advocate.

It is hard to believe that Lloyd Douglas was unaware of the story of his father's arrest and trial in 1863, and it seems likely that it was air brushed out of the family narrative. I can't imagine that my mother wouldn't have shared such an intriguing story if she knew anything about it. By the later years of the nineteenth century, most Americans living north of the Mason-Dixon line must have considered the 'Peace Democrats' at best, on the wrong side of history, with their objections to "Mr. Lincoln's war". Alexander's association with Lambdin P. Milligan must have become an embarrassment by the end of the war. In 1864, the latter was credibly accused of inciting armed insurrection and of plans to join with Confederate forces to invade Indiana and other states. He was sentenced to hang, though his execution was postponed, and he was released from prison in 1866. After the assassination and subsequent apotheosis of Lincoln, opposition to the late president and to the Emancipation Proclamation, would have been about as popular in the North as endorsement of Hitler in the 1930s would have been in postwar Britain.