Edward Eggletson: Sources and Backgrounds of His Novels

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EDWARD LOCKEYSHIN:
SOURCES AND BACKGROUNDS OF HIS NOVELS

BY

ALICE SCOTT HARRIS

A THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

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The greater part of the material for this thesis was obtained from family papers in the possession of Mrs. J. A. Yorks, Vevay, Indiana; from letters of Edward Eggleston to friends and relatives in possession of William Shaw's family, one of whom is a granddaughter, Mrs. Zella Bear, of Vevay, Indiana; and from Edward Eggleston's own articles and those of contemporary writers found in newspapers, magazines, and various collections.

One of the most valuable sources of material on the life of Mr. Eggleston is Edward Eggleston: An Unpublished Journal, by Marian Logan, of Indiana University. This material was copied from the Eggleston Papers in possession of a grandson, Edwin Eggleston Seelye, Joshua's Rock, Lake George, New York. The Journal consists of three separate sections. The first entry is at Vevay, Indiana, June 12, 1854, and the last entry for the first section is at Woodstock, Virginia, February 26, 1855. The second division begins with the caption, "My Journal as an Itinerant Preacher." The first entry of this is at Elizabethtown, Ohio, February 24, 1857, and the final entry is not dated; however, the entry on the previous page is for December 13, 1860. The last division is entitled "My Private Diary," the first entry of which is for February 4, 1855. There is, of course, much overlapping of dates.

In March, 1857, Eggleston wrote on the last pages of the ledger an outline of his life and entitled it "My History."

The First of the Hoosiers, by George Cary Eggleston, has been
used, especially for incidents and anecdotes.

Letters from Mrs. Jane Eggleston Zimmerman, Mr. Eggleston's only sister, and her daughter, Miss Ethel Zimmerman, of Evanston, Illinois, in possession of Miss Julia Knox, Vevay, Indiana, have been used in substantiating facts concerning the Hoosier novels.

I am indebted to the relatives and friends of Edward Eggleston of Vevay, especially to Mrs. J. A. Works, Mrs. A. V. Danner, and Mrs. Zella Bear, for documentary material; and to Mrs. Nora Lewis Dupraz and Miss Julia Knox. I am indebted for their contributions in the matter of local history, as well as that of incidents and anecdotes concerning the basis of Eggleston's novels.

To the Reverend William A. Shaw, of Peoria, Illinois, and Mr. Archibald Shaw, of Helena, Arkansas, sons of Mr. William Shaw of Vevay, who accompanied Edward Eggleston to Minnesota and was with him during the years of Eggleston's ministry there, I owe a debt of gratitude for incidents in Eggleston's life as a minister as well as for those of his boyhood.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Gordon Wilson, Head of the Department of English, Western State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky, for his helpful suggestions in gathering materials and his valuable criticism in the preparation of this manuscript.

Annie Scott Barnes

August, 1935.
INTRODUCTION

Though nourished in the school which made domestic-sentimental-pious romance the dominant type of fiction between 1850 and 1870, Eggleston must yet be considered the pioneer figure in the new realism which succeeded it in the '60's.

As a Methodist on the frontier he was brought up to think novels were instruments of sin, but his broad experience as an itinerant preacher and as an editor and journalist, his wholesome religion and scholarly habits, which later made him a sound historical scholar, lifted him out of these narrow channels of opinion.¹

"When The Hoosier Schoolmaster was in the heyday of its popularity, one of Edward's former mentors, an old clergyman of high intelligence and considerable culture, wrote to him in admiration of the book, ... but wrote him thus: 'The literary life is tempting you. I fear your destruction. In your very success I scent danger for your soul. These things lead away from God. No man can serve two masters. I question if true consecration is compatible with the literary work you are doing."²

Whatever Edward Eggleston's shortcomings may have been in approaching the standards set for a great novelist, he is valuable to the student of literary history, for in his novels of Hoosier life and the one on early Minnesota Eggleston was depicting certain phases of that life in the United States which in later years he chose as his special field of historical research and

¹The Cambridge History of American Literature (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1921), III, 75.

writing. According to Eggleston's own statement, when he was writing fiction, he was not consciously gathering material for his history. But the bond that existed between the works was a coincidence occasioned by the circumstances of his youth and early infancy.  

In a letter from Europe in 1880 Edward Eggleston explains to his brother the elaborate plans of the former for the writing of a History of Life in the United States. He said,

"After all this work will not differ in essentials from what I have been doing hitherto... As I look back over my work in fiction I begin to see clearly that every chapter of it was inspired by the same purpose that actuates me now. My interest has been that of a student intent upon tracing the forces of life in America to their origins and showing how men and women lived and thought and felt, under conditions that existed before those of today came into being. ... I have been writing history all the time in my novels. I am going to write the same kind of history in a somewhat different form."

According to Eggleston, the reading of Taine's Art in the Netherlands inspired him to attempt a realistic story of the Indiana backwoods. Taine suggests that the Dutch painters became great only when they ceased looking abroad for their subjects and began to paint the people and the scenes around them. Eggleston applied this idea to literature, and, when he wrote The Hoosier Schoolmaster, he opened a new field of material for the American novel. The book is famous because of its unique position at the

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3"Formative Influences," Forum, November, 1890.
4The First of the Hoosiers, p. 105.
head of a line of regional novels, or local-color novels, as they were later called in American literature.6

The local color movement had its beginning in the seventies and marked the transition from the older romance to realism. The distinction between local color and realism is not always easy to make. No attempt will be made here to distinguish between the two terms; however, certain characteristics seem to mark the works of the local color writers, which are as follows:

1. The use of dialect with attention to reporting it accurately.
2. An emphasis on environment.
3. A tendency to portray strange and isolated regions and peoples.
4. The introduction of eccentric characters or groups.
5. A tendency to describe externals with little attention to psychological analysis.

The origin of the term "Hoosier" is not yet determined with certainty; it seems probable that his prototype came from the "long-faced, yellow-skinned, sun-bonneted, jeans-clad race that lived and thrived in the South before the war."7 This term has been applied to the inhabitants of Indiana for many years, and, after "Yankee," it is probably the most famous sobriquet applied

6Mark Twain and Bret Harte were well embarked on their careers; but the one was a humorist and the other a romanticist, and neither had undertaken to reproduce local speech accurately. Dr. Eggleston was the pioneer provincial realist." The Hoosiers, p. 155.

to the inhabitant of any part of the country.6 "Hoosier" must have had an accepted meaning in the state before 1830, for John Finley, a pioneer poet, printed in that year, as a New Year's address for the Indianapolis Journal, a poem called "The Hoosier Nest," in which the word occurs several times.9 According to Sulgrove, who was an authority on local history, "Hoosier" had its first literary use in Finley's poem.10 The meaning of the word was probably understood, or it would not have been used in a poem placed before the reading public. Finley was a Virginian, who removed to Indiana in 1823 and had been living in the state seven years when he published "The Hoosier Nest," which is quoted in part here:

"The emigrant is soon located --
In Hoosier Life initiated --
Erects a cabin in the woods,
Wherein he stores his household goods.
Enounced in this, let those who can
Find out a truly happier man.
The little youngsters rise around him,
So numerous that they quite astound him.
I'm told, in riding somewhere west,
A stranger found a Hoosier's nest
And fearing he might be benighted
"He hailed the house," and then alighted.

The Hoosier met him at the door,
The salutations soon were o'er;
He took the stranger's horse aside
And to a sturdy rapling tied.
Then having stripped the saddle off,
He fed him in a sugar trough.


9Lec. cit.

10"History of Indianapolis and Marion County," found in Nicholson, p. 29.
The stranger stooped to enter in
The entrance closing with a pin,
And manifested strong desire
To seat him by the log-heap fire.

Invited shortly to partake
Of venison, milk, and johnny-cake,
The stranger made a hearty meal,
And glances round the room would steal.
One side was lined with divers garments,
The other spread with skins of varmints;
Dried pumpkins overhead were strung,
Where venison horns in plenty hung;
Two rifles placed above the door,
Three dogs lay stretched upon the floor.
In short, the domicile was rife
With specimens of Hoosier life.

Sirelong the cabin disappears,
A spacious mansion next he rears;
His fields seem widening by stealth,
An index of increasing wealth,
And when the lives of Hoosiers swarm,
To each is given a noble farm.

"The term Hoosier dialect is a misnomer. So far as it can be said to have any justification, it is in connection with the southern element of our population. Whatever peculiarity there may be in it is common to one-third of the nation, and a characteristic as common cannot be said to be very singular."

Lowell had made American dialect respectable and had used it as a vehicle for his political gospel, but Eggleston invoked the Hoosier lingua rustica to aid in the portrayal of a type.

Dialect remains in Indiana a matter of observation and opinion.

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There has never been a uniform folk speech peculiar to the people living within the borders of the state. The Hoosier dialect so-called, consisting more of elisions and vulgarized pronunciations than of true idioms, is spoken wherever the Scotch-Irish influence is perceptible in the West Central states, notably in the southern counties of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It is not to be confounded with the cruder speech of the "poor whitey," whose wild strain in the Hoosier blood was believed by Eggleston to be an inheritance of the English bond-slaye. There were many vague and baffling elements in the Ohio Valley speech, but they passed before the specialists of the Dialect Society could note them. It is diverting to have Eggleston's own statement that the Hoosiers he knew in youth were wary of New England provincialisms and that his own father threatened to inflict corporal punishment on his children "if they should ever give peculiar vowel sound heard in some parts of New England in such words as 'roof' and 'root.'"

Since Edward Eggleston's materials for his Hoosier novels are based upon his own experiences and observations, it is necessary to know something of him in his actual environment. To understand how the events and conditions equipped him to be the fictional historian of this part of the Middle West, a survey of his biography is essential.
CHAPTER I

LIFE OF EGGLESTON

Far down in the southeastern corner of Indiana, nestled snugly among the hills overlooking the beautiful Ohio, is the picturesque little town of Vevay, where Edward Eggleston, the famous Hoosier novelist, was born, December 10, 1837.\(^1\) However, Vevay was not a typical town of southern Indiana any more than Edward was a typical Hoosier boy. The town was settled by the Swiss because of its real or fancied resemblance to the town sites of their native country, and it was named for Vevay, Switzerland.\(^2\) The settlement was the center of the grape-growing industry until a series of temperance waves deprived it of its respectability. By 1837 the population numbered between fifteen and eighteen hundred inhabitants, and the Swiss were no longer in the majority, for their numbers were soon surpassed by the influx of Kentuckians, Pennsylvanians, poor whites from the Carolinas, and an occasional New Englander or Virginian.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) The house in which Edward Eggleston was born is a two-story brick on Main Street. It is now in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Carroll Dodd, who purchased the property May 12, 1933. (Vevay) Watchword, November 1, 1925.

\(^2\) George S. Cottman and H. R. Hyman, (Eds.), Centennial History and Handbook of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1915). "Switzerland County was organized formally October 1, 1814, and derived its name from a settlement of Swiss who came within the bounds of the county in 1802 and began the cultivation of grapes;" Vevay was laid out October, 1813, according to Annette Banglaie, "Early Days in Switzerland County," Indiana Magazine of History, June, 1917.

The location of Switzerland County, so near Ohio and Kentucky, made it more cosmopolitan even in early years than the counties of the northern and central parts of the state. Engrafted in the population, descending from the original Swiss settlers in Vevay especially, are emigrants from the sister state across the Ohio. These children of the "dark and bloody ground" impart a peculiar Southern flavor to the civilization of their adopted home. Descendants of the old Scotch settlers and many Germans who came in later years help to make up the population of Vevay. 4

Many descendants of these sturdy pioneers still live in Vevay, and many of the Swiss customs are still retained. For instance, at the time of the departure of the little band from the old country, the aged grandfather of the Dufours, too decrepit to make the voyage, knelt on the bank and prayed for the welfare of those about to depart. They then read the ninetieth Psalm and asked that they meet and read that passage when it was not possible to have "preaching" and to have it read at the funerals of all the family. It is interesting that to this day the custom has been religiously observed. 5

Joseph Cary Eggleston was born in 1812, in Amelia County, Virginia, and at the age of seventeen was graduated from William

4Julia LeGere Knox, "Vevay and Its Oldest Inhabitant," The Indianian, VII (1901).

5Terret Dufour, Swiss Settlement, History of Switzerland County (William Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1925), p. xv.
and Mary College. In 1830 he attended the law school of Judge Tucker, in Winchester, Virginia. Upon completing his course he came to the western frontier, settling at Vevay, Indiana, where he rapidly came into prominence. He was a member of both houses of the legislature in succession and was defeated as candidate for Congress in 1844, when he was thirty-two years old.

The mother of Edward was the daughter of Captain George Craig, of Craig Township, Switzerland County, Indiana, and on her mother's side a granddaughter of Samuel Lowry, a native of Ireland. The ancestors of the Egglesons migrated to Virginia in the seventeenth century. Mr. Eggleston's mother was descended from Lucy Hackley, of King George County, Virginia. She was of Irish descent and was married three times. By her second husband, William Johnson, she had a number of children, one of whom was Elizabeth. The third time the mother married a wealthy Kentuckian, and they removed their family to Stamping Ground, Kentucky. Here Elizabeth married Samuel Lowry and reared her family. Captain Craig was one of the earliest and most conspicuous pioneers of southern Indiana, where he settled in 1799. He built the first block house on the Indiana bank of the Ohio River, and he was one of the leaders of the volunteer

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6 *The First of the Hoosiers*, p. 25.
7 *Loc. cit.*
8 *Family Tree in possession of Mrs. J. A. Works, a cousin of Edward Eggleston.*
companies that broke the power of the Indians in the river region. Jane Craig had not enjoyed the educational advantages of her husband, but what attracted him to her was her intelligent curiosity about matters considered then to be beyond a woman's sphere.9

Thus Edward's home environment was unusual for this section of the country at this time. While his neighbors were thinking of crops and politics, Joseph Cary Eggleston was reading history, philosophy, and belles lettres both in English and French. He was at all times as much of a scholar as a man of affairs.10

When Edward was three years old, in 1841,11 his father, broken in health, moved his family to the old Craig homestead, four miles below the village in Craig Township, where the boy led a life in common with other country boys of the neighborhood until after the father's death in 1846.12 Thus during the years of Edward's residence in an exceedingly rustic environment he had an opportunity to become acquainted with revivals, corn-chuckings, wood-chippings, quilting, log-rolling, spelling matches, and other country amusements which formed the chief diversions of the country people.13

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9The First of the Hoosiers, p. 25.

10Loc. cit.


13In a letter from Mrs. Jane Eggleston.
Impressions made in these early years were to furnish the
ground-work for scenes in his stories on Western life. 14

Mrs. Zimmerman, of Evanston, Illinois, a sister of Edward
Eggleston, writing to Miss Julia LeClere Knox in 1915, says:

"My grandmother, who owned the farm, having died, my father bought out the other
heirs and removed thence, renting the town
house. Here my youngest brother Joseph
William and I were born. My father died
Oct. 21, 1846." 15

The Craig house, built in 1830, is still standing. It is a
substantial rock structure of pioneer days which has stood the
ravages of time. It has thick, heavy walls, old-fashioned doors
and windows, and a five-foot fireplace extending across one end
of the building. The farm is now owned by Mr. Ed. Lamson, but
the Craigs retained the deed for the plot of their family
burying ground across the road. This contains a few graves of
the family, enclosed by a stone wall. The writer crawled through
a wire fence and entered the stone enclosure to look upon the
graves of Edward Eggleston's parents and grandparents. The
enclosed space was carpeted with needles and brown cones of the
great pine tree that stands in the center, whose spreading

14 In 1870, when I began to win attention and favor by
writing novels illustrative of life in the great interior
valley, I was only drawing on the resources which the very
peculiar circumstances of my life had put at my disposal: Is
it Herder who says, 'My whole life is but the interpretation of
the oracles of my childhood'? "Formative Influences," Forum,
November, 1890, pp. 279-290.

15 Logan Esarey, History of Indiana (The Hoosier Press, Fort
Wayne, Indiana, 1924), I, 168-169.
branches provided protection for the graves.16

The circumstances of Edward Eggleston's boyhood placed him in an unusual position. Born in a home of cultural environment, of parents with lofty ideals, whose chief concern was to inculcate the correct principles of living in their children, thrust into the midst of a rude and sparsely settled frontier, where schools were the exception rather than the rule, he seemed incongruous, indeed; yet Eggleston's aloofness from the situation gave him a perspective that perhaps he would not have had if he had been a part of the class instead of the observer that he was.

"Dr. Eggleston had an enviable conjunction of past and present influences at his birth. He stood in vital relations with the heritage of world culture, and he found himself at the same time in the midst of a free unconventional and virile life of a new community."17

Throughout his life Eggleston was worried over the impression of his early environment that came about through the interpretation of some of the critics concerning The Hoosier

16Large marble slabs, lying flat side by side, bore the inscriptions. One had this: "Sacred to the memory of George Craig, who departed this life July 26, 1833, in the fifty-eighth year of his age." On the stone by the side of this was this inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Jane E. Craig, who departed this life June 10, 1840, in the forty-fifth year of her life. She was a tender mother and an orphan's friend; she lived respected and died lamented." Other stones recorded names of other members of the family, two of which were: "Joseph C. Eggleston, born May 3, 1812, died Oct. 21, 1846." By his side on another stone was this: "Mary Jane, relict of J. C. Eggleston and wife of Rev. W. Terrell, died June 15, 1857."

17The Book Buyer, April, 1887.
Schoolmaster. By many it was considered an autobiographical novel. "Few writers of fiction have ever made their work so confessedly autobiographical as did Edward Eggleston." Just before his death he asked his brother to write his biography, correcting the misconception:

"Another thing: in pretty nearly every article that has ever been written concerning me there have been mistakes made and misapprehensions, until many persons who know me only through my writings, actually think I was born in poverty and reared in ignorance like that of the characters in The Hoosier Schoolmaster, an ignorance from which I am supposed to have escaped by my own exertions."20

From the earliest years of his life Edward had to cope with ill health, and for this reason he was handicapped in obtaining an education. What schooling he did have was received intermittently. George Cary says that his first school was a "loud school," kept by a Mr. Bensfield, that is, all the pupils were required to study their lessons aloud in order that the master might be sure that they were studying. But Edward states in "My History" that he was sent to school two months in 1844 to Mrs. Beal in Vevay, where he learned to read. The next year he went two months each to Mrs. Howard and Id Woods, and in 1846 he went three months to Wilson Bensfield in Craig Township.22

18 "Autobiographical Sketch," Forum, November, 1890.
19 New York Times, September 6, 1902.
20 First of the Hoosiers, p. 12.
21 Ibid., p. 33.
22 "My History," p. 2.
family had been living in Craig Township since 1841.23 Here the
nervous child could accomplish little, hampered by the confusion
cauised by the hubbub necessitated by the "loud school" methods.
Although he was able to read when he entered school, he was not
allowed to do so until he had gone through Webster's Spelling
Book five times, which his mother had spelled through nine times
twenty years before in order to be qualified to begin to read
Lindley Murray's English Reader.24 Edward made slow progress in
the country schools, partly because of his weakened physical
condition and partly because of the fault of his teachers. Until
the age of ten he was apparently dull and indifferent to study.25
He was often the object of ridicule by his playmates because of
his absent-mindedness and awkwardness at play.26

In 1846 the father died, and late the next year the family
returned to Vevay.27 Edward states that he received no schooling
that year, but in 1848 he attended the village school for three
months.28 Here under better instructors he soon showed a marked
improvement in interest and achievement, at length taking the

23 Loc. cit.
24 Edward Eggleston, "Some Western Schoolmasters," Scribner's
Monthly, XVII, 747-753 (March, 1879).
25 Loc. cit.
26 "Biographical Sketch of Edward Eggleston," Indianapolis
News, February 8, 1900.
27 Loc. cit.
28 "My History," p. 2.
29 Loc. cit.
lead in his school. The story is told that upon Edward's inquiry for a Latin text, a boy many years his senior retorted, "You'd better go and study your spellin' book." This youth, no doubt like Pete Jones in The Hoosier Schoolmaster, followed the motto: "No lickin'-no larnin'."

In 1850 he went to school for three months to the Reverend Hiram Wason, who was the original of the Reverend Mr. Whittaker in Roxy. All that summer he suffered from an illness which finally developed into pulmonary tuberculosis and which was to be the determining factor in the course his life should take.

In 1850, when Edward was twelve years old, the mother took her family to the home of an uncle, Captain Lowry, in Decatur County, in the hope that a change of climate would benefit the health of her invalid son. Here during their brief stay Edward had an opportunity to observe "Hoosier life" in its most primitive stage. George Cary describes the region as follows:

"At the time of our stay there, Decatur County was completely and typically a 'backwoods' region. Only a small part of the scattered population had attended even such schools as existed in the country districts of Southern Indiana. Only here and there chiefly in Greensburg, the county seat, was there a young man who had spent a year in boarding school. The majority of the men and women in that primitive and sparsely settled

31 Loc. cit.
32 The First of the Hoosiers, p. 261.
33 "My History," p. 5.
34 The First of the Hoosiers, p. 73.
country were illiterate, or very nearly so, not so much by any fault of their own as because they had lacked opportunity. The only schoolhouse I can now remember in all the region round about, was one which our great-uncle had built on the outskirts of his own farm, to be used rent free by any schoolmaster who might succeed in securing 'scholars' enough to justify him in keeping school. This happened only occasionally."

Edward did not remain at the farm long but went to work as clerk in a store at Clifty, or Milford, as it is now called, under the instruction of another clerk who had had some educational advantages in the East. The experiences of this period left a lasting impression on the boy's mind, and later in life he incorporated them in his stories.

Mrs. Zimmerman says in a letter that Mrs. Eggleston, while in Decatur County, was asked to take charge of a school at Milford. While the family was here, a very important event occurred, which was to influence the life of Edward for many years. His mother married the Reverend Williamson Terrell, a Methodist minister of Bartholomew County, December 25, 1850. Joseph William, the youngest son, was present at the wedding, about which he made the following remark: "The greatest impression on my childish mind was seeing my mother dressed in white

35 Ibid., p. 83.
36 Ibid., p. 108.
37 Letter to the Indianapolis Star, July 7, 1929.
38 Marriage Records of Decatur County at Greensburg.
for the first time. "39 This change brought about a broader horizon for the boys, for the stepfather's duties led the family to New Albany, 40 where the boys attended the "Collegiate Institute." After a brief stay of six months Dr. Terrell was appointed pastor at Wesley Chapel at Madison, 41 and the family went there.

The appointment to Wesley Chapel was justly regarded as financially, socially, and in other ways the very best within the gift of the bishop who presided over that conference; there were not many ministers willing to accept it. 42

The Reverend Mr. Terrell had a number of children, and the Eggleston and Terrell children made a happy combination. The Misses Goode, of Madison, played with these children, and in their reminiscences they like to emphasize the good times they had with the Eggleston cousins and the Terrells. 43

Edward

39 Letter from Dr. Joseph William Eggleston, of Richmond, Virginia, to the editor of the (Greensburg) Standard, February 28, 1916.


41 Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. I. Minutes in the hands of Mrs. Zella Barnett Bear, Vevay, Indiana.

42 The First of the Hoosiers, p. 116.

43 Miss Goode, conversation with the writer.
showed his loyalty to his stepbrother by coming all the way from New York when one of them was in trouble in Covington, Kentucky. Edward's mother had two little girls by the Reverend Mr. Terrell, Colladine and Eliza Terrell. 45

According to a daughter, Miss Mary Terrell Wells of Evansville, Indiana, Elizabeth Terrell, daughter of the Reverend Williamson Terrell, married William D. Wells, of Evansville. In a letter to the Indianapolis Star, June 17, 1931, Miss Wells writes:

"Mother told me that she always loved Mother Eggleston very much. She was a most particular mother and brought up the two sets of children most beautifully. She must have been ahead of the times in many ways. For one thing she did not believe that children should have too much candy, and instead kept a large box of figs in her closet which she gave them from time to time."

Henceforth Madison was to play an important part in the life of Edward and his brother Cary. At the time the family moved there Madison was in many respects the most important city in Indiana. It had a population of more than 8000. 46 In wealth and commercial importance it surpassed all other cities in the state, because of its advantageous location on the Ohio River, at first the only route of travel, and to the fact that it was the terminus of the first railroad line in Indiana, which extended to Indianapolis. Improved transportation facilities and

44 Mrs. Dupras, conversation with the writer.

45 Family Tree.

46 Esarey, History of Indiana, pp. 319-320.
connections with the rich interior gave an impetus to business enterprises of all kinds, and the city of Madison became a center for trade and manufacturing. But erelong the factor contributing so much to its greatness dealt its deathblow, for the advent of railroads marked the beginning of a decline that was to destroy every vestige of its former splendor. This process was well advanced when the Terrells and Egglestons came to their new home.

Though Madison had ceased to be a thriving seat of commerce and industry, it continued to be the chief center of the culture, the intellectual activity, and the social refinement of southern Indiana. The Madison influences were an impetus to Edward Eggleston's scholarly impulses. Guilford Dudley Eggleston, a relative who had been educated in the best schools of the East, came to be Edward's ideal of manhood, and, as a result of this influence he won his first literary honor, an essay prize offered by the editor of the Madison Courier. When Colonel Michael C. Garber, editor of the Madison Courier, offered a prize for the best essay that might be submitted to him for publication, Edward easily secured the award and immediately set himself down to read alone the poems of William Cullen Bryant, a good edition of which constituted the prize that he had won.

When Dr. Terrell received an appointment in 1855 from the American Bible Society that required him to spend much of his time in travel, the family moved back to their old home in Vevay.

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47 The First of the Hoosiers, pp. 129 ff.
48 Ibid., p. 142.
The town high school was at this time under the direction of Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, for many years one of the most famous educators of the West, and she exerted a most wholesome influence upon Edward Eggleston. Eggleston is said to have made rapid progress under the special tutelage of Mrs. Dumont, who made the prediction that he was destined to become an author.

"She lovingly saw the best in every one. A dull but industrious pupil was praised for diligence, a bright pupil for ability, a good one for general excellence."  

In the summer of 1854 Edward and his sister, four years his junior, went to Virginia to visit their father's relatives. Here they experienced the luxuries of plantation life and saw the vices of human slavery practiced, very much to the distaste of Edward. He spent most of his time at the home of Chastain Cocke, an uncle by marriage, who was a man of unusual ability and extraordinary character. He was a scholar as well as a statesman, and his library furnished Edward an opportunity to read extensively.  

Edward attended Amelia Academy for five months, a boarding school conducted by Mr. W. H. Harrison, and here he became proficient in

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49 Forum, X, 283.

50 W. A. Venable. The Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, p. 277. Note on Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, who "was the first woman who achieved reputation as a writer in the Ohio valley. . . . She was a preceptress of Dr. Eggleston, whose grateful pen has honored her by merited praise. Mrs. Dumont died in 1857."

51 "My History," p. 4.

Latin, French, geometry, and algebra and laid a secure foundation for Greek, upon which he later built by self-directed study. However, he was not happy in this school, for his environment was not desirable from a spiritual standpoint, as the following excerpt indicates:

"The boys are decidedly a 'hard set,' such as can be seen nowhere but in a Southern boarding school. I am the only professor of religion in the school, except my cousin, a small boy." 54

Edward's uncle was eager to give the lad a thorough education and offered to send him to one of the best colleges of the day and then to give him a European finish. But after Edward had been in the South a few months, long enough to see something of the inside conditions of the slavery evil, he refused to consider his uncle's offer, because he would not accept money or assistance from funds wrought from unpaid labor. He told his uncle that instead he would return to Indiana and enter the conference of the Methodist church and try to make his own way. 55

In August, 1855, Edward returned home, broken in health from strenuous study, and was never able to attend school again; but as long as he lived, he continued to be a student under his own efficient guidance. Edward Eggleston says:

"All the schooling I ever got was only

53 Loc. cit.
54 Letter from Edward Eggleston from Woodstock, Virginia, February 3, 1855, to William Shaw, Vevay, Indiana.
about 2½ years. All I received after ten years of age, mostly in broken doses, only amounted to about 20 months. I thank God for this, for my ill health prevented my becoming one of those book worms, which look like they were all cut off the same piece. This fact has made me improve my time better at home."56

According to his own statement he attempted to teach that fall, but he held his position only three weeks, when he was forced to give it up on account of ill health.57 According to Mrs. Eggleston, his second wife, this was at Fulton Avenue School in Madison, Indiana, and was the only teaching experience that he ever had.58 Mrs. Siebenthal, who says she has conversed with Mr. Eggleston on the subject, states that he taught at Long Run, Switzerland County, seven miles from Vevay, in the direction of Hoosier. This statement is further substantiated by the fact that the Switzerland County Historical Society has in its possession a piece of a log from the remains of the old building in which Mr. Eggleston taught at Long Run.

According to Mr. Shaw, in whose father's home the boys worked in summer, Eggleston entered the ministry in September after he returned from Virginia in 1855. Mr. Shaw says:

"He was assigned to the Hardentown circuit as the Junior preacher with a minister named Brookway as the Senior preacher in charge, but he only served

56"My History," p. 5.
57Loc. cit.
58Statement from Mrs. Frances Goode Eggleston in an interview with Amos Baren, Crestwood, April 28, 1930, Evansville College.
the circuit until the following spring, when he was forced to give it up on account of ill health."59

The writer was not able to find out when Eggleston was ordained. It seems, however, that from Mr. Logan's find Eggleston began preaching in 1856:

"Edward Eggleston is hereby authorized to exercise his gifts as a Local Preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, so long as his faith and practice accord with the doctrines and discipline of said church.

"Signed in behalf of the Quarterly Conference of Wesley Chapel Madison - Madison District L. E. Ind. Conference held Aug. 23, 1856.

Thomas H. Lynch
F. E. #60

The two brothers were very companionable and enjoyed the great out-of-doors and, with pockets stuffed with bacon and cornbread, would often set out on extended hikes and exploring expeditions in the surrounding regions, camping out in the open at night. These boys were interested in nature, which was unusual under frontier conditions.

"Edward Eggleston and his brother, Cary, were observers of the pioneer life in the neighborhood of their home and especially of the rough 'river rats,' while other boys were grubbing sprouts in the 'new ground,' they were feasting on the exquisite beauty of nature along the banks of the Ohio."61


60Harlan Logan, unpublished thesis. "This entry was copied from a piece of note paper found among the Eggleston letters. It was not a printed form and contained no official seal or stamp."

61Seeley, op. cit., p. 1117.
To the average individuals of that period there was no time to enjoy the woods and hills around them. They were a practical-minded people and regarded nature from a utilitarian standpoint. The timber must be cleared away and destroyed in order that the pioneers could eke out an existence.

After their reading, Bayard Taylor's series of articles on Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, an impulse seized the Eggleston boys to see the great wonder of the world. They swam the river and pushed their clothes across in front of them on two rails. As they went trudging along on the Kentucky side, they were suddenly arrested on the charge of aiding the escape of a run-away slave. When the supposed escaped slave was found drunk in a barn, the boys were released with the admonition that Hoosiers were not wanted south of the river. Later in the summer they saved enough money to pay their passage by steamer to Louisville and walked the rest of the way to the cave.

The region around Madison was a rich mine for the student of geology, especially since the engineers had left exposed cuts from 150 to 200 feet deep in the process of railroad building, and Edward was intensely interested in science. His brother suggests this was due to his intimate personal contact with Dr. Josiah Clark Nott, author of several works on ethnology.\(^{62}\) Whatever the influence was, a new field was open to the boy. He read

The Old Red Sandstone. 63 The Testimony of the Rocks. 64 and the Testi-
ges of Creation 65 and found it very difficult to reconcile theology and
gology, even though he pitted against these such
works as those of Theodore Parker 66 and Ellery Channing. 67
Theology won out for the time being, but his new scientific
ideas tended to destroy his religious belief in later years.
This scientific attitude of mind was to make him one of the most
accurate historians in the country.

"It is very doubtful whether any other
American historical scholar of his time had an
equally minute knowledge, extending over so
wide a field. The present writer once had
occasion to consult Dr. Eggleston on one
small subdivision of colonial history, in
which his own studies had lain, and was simply
appalled by the historian's minute knowledge
of the province, the accuracy of which
knowledge he was in some measure able to
check."68

Before the boys were old enough to go to college, the mother
had purchased a perpetual scholarship at Asbury College, and,

63Hugh Miller, The Old Red Sandstone or New Walks in an Old
Field (Boston, 1851).

64Hugh Miller, The Testimony of the Rocks: on Geology in
Its Bearings on the two Theologies, Natural and Revealed (Boston,
1857).

65Robert Chambers, Vestiges of the Natural History of
Creation (New York, 1844).

66Author of The Bible: What it is and what it is not, A Dis-
course of Matters Pertaining to Religion, Ten Sermons of Religion,
and numerous sermons and discourses.

67Author of Address on Temperance, The Church, A Discourse,
Religion A Social Principle, Treatises on Self-Culture, Immor-
tality and the Future Life, and Numerous Sermons and Addresses.

68New York Times, September 6, 1902, unsigned article.
since Edward's health would not permit his entering the school, it was decided to send George Cary. To enter this institution it was necessary to pass a rather rigid examination. Edward took upon himself the responsibility of preparing his brother, and so difficult was the course of study that he outlined and so thorough was the training that Edward gave that George passed the examination easily and entered Asbury, which became DePauw University in 1884.

The year after Edward's return from Virginia (1856) all his bodily ailments culminated in a cough that threatened to end his life; even the doctors had given him up "to die of consumption." As a last resort his mother took him on a voyage to St. Louis, thinking perhaps he might be benefited. On the way he met a number of people, affected with lung trouble as he was, on their way to Minnesota, the new land of promise for tubercular patients. Aroused to new hope by their good reports, he decided to join their ranks. The steamboat captain begged Edward to take the next boat returning and go home to die. Edward assured him that, if he stayed, he could do no more than die. It is interesting that in later years, when the young patient had become a circuit rider, the same captain refused to charge him for his passage, saying that it was not his custom to charge for

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69 The First of the Hoosiers, pp. 261-262.
70 Edward Eggleston, "Formative Influences."
71 The First of the Hoosiers, p. 265.
72 Outlook, February 10, 1897.
corpses; for years before he had said that Eggleston would die in less than a month; therefore Eggleston was dead. He said that he never allowed a preacher to call him a liar.

Refusing all assistance, Edward Eggleston threw himself at eighteen into the tempestuous current of frontier life, hoping to conquer invalidism by plunging desperately into the rough and tumble of it all. He took upon himself the hardest tasks he could find. He carried chains in a surveying party for awhile, suffering all kinds of hardships and exposures. At one time he was hired to drive three yoke of oxen in a great breaking plow, and at another time he took the agency for a soap-making recipe and peddled it over the country. Sometimes he took daguerreotypes. At length he grew strong under the kill-or-cure process.73

His health improved to such an extent that he resolved to return home, but just at this time the whole country was stirred by the stories of the struggle that was going on in Kansas over the slavery situation. The youth's imagination was fired to enter the conflict for the antislavery cause, and, not having any money, he set out for Kansas on foot.74 After many weeks of toil and hardships in trudging a desolate and desert region, with many a weary night spent in the comfortless pioneer cabin, he learned to his dismay, or perhaps to his relief, that it would be impossible for a free-state man to enter Kansas from the north. He grew sick at heart and longed for friends and for

73Edward Eggleston, "Formative Influences."

74Letter from Edward Eggleston to his mother from Canon City July 30, 1856.
culture and refinement. With empty pockets, he turned his steps toward home and friends just as any normal boy of his age would have done under similar circumstances. After walking 365 miles, he borrowed two dollars from a stranger to take him to his stepbrother in Lafayette, Indiana.75

During the Civil War, which was precipitated by the Kansas struggle and other questions pertinent to slavery, Edward, with his hatred for slavery, remained loyal to the North. He made two attempts to join the Northern ranks, but never succeeded in getting in because of his health. The two younger brothers, George Cary and Joseph William, served during the Civil War in the Confederate Army. They were with Lee in Eastern Virginia.76

After his return from Minnesota it was found that on account of a constantly recurring illness all thought of a college education must be abandoned, for the nature of the disease would forbid close confinement for the sufferer. So he says:

"According to Methodist usage, I was put astride a horse with my wardrobe in a pair of saddle bags and sent to ride a four weeks' circuit with ten preaching places among the rough Ohio river hills of Dearborn county, Indiana."77

For six months he "rode the circuit,"78 spending the greater part of his days on horseback and eating and sleeping wherever he

75The First of the Hoosiers, p. 263.
76Archibald Shaw, letter to the writer, May 17, 1935.
77"Formative Influences."
78He was on the Lawrenceburg circuit. "My History," p. 5.
might be invited.79 He tried to carry on his studies, but every family with whom he stayed seemed obsessed by the idea that their duty was to entertain the preacher. In order to overcome this obstacle, he purchased an old horse with an exceedingly slow gait so that his time for study would be increased in going from one post to another. This was managed in such a way that his followers knew very little about his program of study, and, therefore, he escaped criticism. He divided his time among the Latin and Greek classics, Wesley, Whitefield, and Thomas a Kempis.

At the end of the six months of zealous preaching his health was seriously impaired, and in 185780 he returned to Minnesota, where he remained for nine years.81 This period is one of hardships and sufferings from ill health.82

While Eggleston was ill in Minnesota, he was nursed by Mrs. Elizabeth Snyder, a widow, from New York, several years his senior. He says: "We talked and cried and prayed together and then we decided to get married."83 The marriage occurred

79The First of the Hoosiers, p. 271. Edward Eggleston preached in Laidson. The church was where the opera house now stands, and the parsonage was behind it. Statement from Miss Goode, of Laidson, a sister-in-law of Edward Eggleston.

80Ibid., p. 305.

81Ibid., p. 316.

82The Journal gives an account of the years he spent in Minnesota.

83Indianapolis News, September 3, 1902.
March 18, 1858. During his years of residence here he had charge of various pastorates. His being a fluent speaker, his ability to meet emergencies, and his intimate knowledge of human life in its rudimentary conditions were assets to him in the new land, and because of his efficiency he was put in charge of the Bible Agency for the American Bible Society in 1858. Life in Minnesota was strenuous, and the work of preaching and of Bible agent was perhaps even more exacting. Repeatedly Eggleston would have given down under the strain except for sheer will power. Various entries in the Journal will bear out this statement.

During this time Eggleston read, not only along the lines of his profession, but in general literature, and at this time he was attracted to poetry. By 1860 he was writing for The Ladies Repository.

All of his life two impulses struggled within him for supremacy. From his father he inherited a love for literature

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84 Scrap Book in the hands of the Misses Goode of Madison, sisters of the second Mrs. Eggleston, who made her home with her sisters after her husband's death, in 1902, until she died in the summer of 1933.


86 In a letter to Mrs. Eggleston from her husband at St. Paul, April 16, 1858, he makes this statement.

87 *Journal*, pp. 51, 58, 59, 63, 71, 73.

88 Ibid., p. 103.
and writing, and from his stepfather, whom he loved and esteemed, he was influenced toward religion and encouraged and inspired to preach.

In 1866 he moved to Evanston, Illinois. Indeed, this was the turning point in his life, for it was at this time that he gave up the ministry for journalism. He published a series of articles at this time in The Little Corporal and other periodicals of the West that gained him sufficient prestige to make him associate editor of The Little Corporal.

He had not, however, lost interest in religious affairs and in his church work, and in 1867 he renewed his connection with it by becoming editor of The National Sunday School Teacher. But in 1870 he left that position and became literary editor of the New York Independent, and his success in this capacity secured for him the position of superintending editor.

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89 "My History," p. 3.

90 Article by Clive Sanway in the Indianapolis News, April 3, 1899. While at Evanston, Edward Eggleston lost his only son. He also had three girls, Elizabeth, who married Edwin Seely; Allegra, never married; and Blanch, who married Herbert Watson. Family tree in possession of Mrs. Works.

91 The Sunday School Teacher

took him to Brooklyn.\textsuperscript{93} He resigned this position in July, 1871, to become editor of the \textit{Hearth and Home}. It was in an effort to revive the dwindling circulation that \textit{The Hoosier Schoolmaster} (1871), \textit{The End of the World} (1872), and \textit{The Mystery of Metropolisville} (1873) were written. In 1872 he gave up his editorship, and in 1874 \textit{The Circuit Rider} was published.

During the years from 1874 to 1879 Eggleston conscientiously attempted, for the last time in his life, to combine writing and preaching. He reorganized the Dutch Reformed Church and founded the Church of Christian Endeavor. When he was offered the pastorate of the Lee Avenue Church, Brooklyn, New York, he accepted it only on condition that the church sever its connection with all other bodies and that it abolish all formal creeds. His liberal ideas drew large numbers of independents to his church.\textsuperscript{94} It was indeed the "Church of Best Licks," of \textit{The Hoosier Schoolmaster}, slightly conventionalized. Here among the Sunday School students the first Christian Endeavor Society in the country was organized.\textsuperscript{95} Eggleston served as pastor of this church as long as he felt that he could stand before his congregation and preach without playing the hypocrite.\textsuperscript{96}

Throughout Eggleston's mature years there was little manifestation of that almost fanatical faith that held him in

\textsuperscript{93}\textit{Loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{94}\textit{The First of the Hoosiers}, p. 327.

\textsuperscript{95}\textit{Edward Eggleston: Preacher, Editor, and Novelist.}

\textsuperscript{96}\textit{The First of the Hoosiers}, p. 356.
bondage during his youth, that faith which guided and directed him in every act. Eggleston in speaking of the long and painful struggle for emancipation from theological dogma says:

"The starting point of the change with me was the reading of the works of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, whose writings were great favorites with me in the early years of my life as a minister."97

Some time before he resigned as pastor of the Christian Endeavor Church, he had severed his connection with the Methodist church, and it is said that he no longer accepted any part of that faith.

His labors in the pulpit and with the pen undermined his health to such an extent that in obedience to the directions of his physician, he sought rest and health in France and Italy. While in Venice he wrote The Nocturnal Schoolboy (1883) and The Graysons (1887).

After several months abroad he returned much improved in health and retired to his country home, "The Owl's Nest," on Lake George, New York, where he continued to study and write.

Mr. Eggleston's first wife, Lizzie Snyder, died in 1889, and about two years later, on September 14, 1891,98 he was married for the second time, this time to Frances Goode, daughter of Dr. Samuel Goode, and granddaughter of Judge Miles Cary Eggleston. From this time on he spent much time in Madison, the home of his

97Edward Eggleston, "Books That Have Helped Me."

98New York Times, September 15, 1891.
He always surrounded himself with books wherever he stayed, for his writings occupied most of his time. He had an apartment at Madison to which he had only to apply his latch key in order to set the household in motion. He spent much time on his tricycle bought in England, the only vehicle of its kind seen around Madison. But Eggleston's real home was on Dunham's Bay, Lake George, New York. Here he amassed a great library of some 10,000 volumes, which he spent a quarter of a century and a great sum of money in collecting; in Europe and America. His books are in all languages, for in his youth, having made himself master of Greek, Latin, and French by his own instruction, he entered upon a compact with himself that no matter in what language he should find anything that he wished to read, he would read it, and he kept that compact ever after. He was an active participant in the fight to obtain a more efficient copyright law; and when the contest ended in their favor, Eggleston was honored by being asked by his associates to

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99 Madison has honored Eggleston by naming a school for him. H. C. Garber, editor of the Madison Courier and brother-in-law of Mr. Eggleston, delivered an address upon the occasion. Indianapolis News, May 9, 1907.


101 While abroad, Eggleston lived at one time in a hotel with Kepling and became very fond of him. Article by Clive Sanxay in the Indianapolis News, April 3, 1899.

102 Indianapolis News, September 3, 1902.

103 C. Auringer, "Edward Eggleston at Home," Critic, November, 1887.
enter his last novel, *The Faith Doctor* (1891), as the first book under the new law.

In 1889 Eggleston had a stroke of apoplexy which caused the loss of the sight of one eye. Another stroke caused his death, September 3, 1902. By his own request his body was buried on the shore of Lake George, overlooking the blue waters of the lake. 104

104 *Indianapolis News*, September 3, 1902.
CHAPTER II
THE HOOSIER SCHOOLMASTER

The Hoosier Schoolmaster is not an autobiographical novel, as has been supposed by many, but it was suggested to the author by the experiences of his brother, George Cary, in the school at Riker's Ridge.¹

The Hoosier Schoolmaster was written for the purpose of reviving the fast-waning circulation of the Hearth and Home. The author had no intention of making more than a three-number story, and he wrote the first installment with very little, if any, notion of what was to follow. But that first installment achieved instant and astonishing success. New subscriptions began, and many newspapers of the West secured permission to publish the story, publishing each installment two weeks after its appearance in the Hearth and Home.²

The success of The Hoosier Schoolmaster was so great in winning circulation to the Hearth and Home that the publishers besought the author to go on writing Western stories. When the serial publication was ended, it was decided to bring the story out in book form. The popularity of the book was instantaneous, its sales running up to 50,000 copies in a few months and

¹While the original impulse to write The Hoosier Schoolmaster grew out of my boyish experiences as a schoolmaster on Riker's Ridge, the story is indebted to these experiences for nothing more than the vague suggestion, but is altogether an original creation. Riker's Ridge was not Flat Creek, nor did it in any important way resemble Flat Creek. "The First of the Hoosiers," p. 308.

²The First of the Hoosiers, p. 298.
continuing high year after year. It has been translated into Dutch, Danish, French and German. 3

The story depicts Indiana in its darkest days. According to the census of 1830, the percentage of illiteracy in the state was 14.52%, while in the neighboring state of Ohio it was 5.54%. The "no lickin'-no learnin" period which Eggleston describes is a matter of statistics; but before the story was written, the old order had passed and a new era was dawning. Caleb Mills, a graduate of Dartmouth, had come from New England to lead the Hoosiers out of darkness into the light of free schools. 5

Edward Eggleston says of the period of his boyhood:

"The illiteracy of the up-country was very great, and during the six years which my father, on account of declining health passed in a country place, our experience with country schools was not a happy one. In all the period of darkness and insufficient schools that preceded my childhood there were here and there good teachers in some of the villages, and to the lucky village that had a good master came boys, and girls came from near and far—sometimes from fifty miles away. There was never a period of indifference to education in the Ohio River region."

"So great was the desire for education in Indiana, even at this early date, that before my memory of the place our old town of Vevay was adorned by a 'county seminary.' It was proposed to educate by counties, and a seminary was built at the county's expense; but the old jealousy between town and country flamed up. The people of the country were not going to pay taxes to build a seminary in town, so the seminary was built outside the corporation line in a commanding

3Ibid., p. 304.
4The Provincial American, p. 43.
position on the top of a steep hill at least 300 feet high. For one or two winters the village youth and the country children boarding in the town walked a mile, then scrambled up the hill. The old brick seminary was soon abandoned for the better schools in town."

In *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* Mr. Eggleston drew somewhat upon Switzerland County scenery, with some reference to the people with whom he associated in early life. One of his earliest schoolmasters was Mr. Benefiel, who taught at Bethel in Craig Township, and that little schoolhouse, near the Craig farm, is sometimes referred to as the schoolhouse in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. But Mrs. Zimmerman says:

"The claim concerning the schoolhouse is a myth . . . that the famous story was constructed, not as a photograph of any one locality or characters, but a composite of two or possibly more groups of people, places, and incidents."

The incident of the boy's setting a trap with a loose board and falling into a pool by his own snare occurred in the same schoolhouse when Mr. Eggleston's mother was a pupil.

The scene in which Hannah spells down the master was suggested by a tussle the author had when he was recognized as the best speller in the old lower schoolhouse in Vevay. He had spelled down a whole side when little Joanna Roberts, the last chosen on the other side, popped up and held him spellbound for half an hour."

Some of the events, however, are a product of the author's

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7 *History of Dearborn, Ohio, and Switzerland Counties, Indians*, p. 1060.
imagination.

"Dr. Eggleston told me, when I asked him, that his account of the device by which the schoolmaster drove out the boys who had barred the door against him was imaginary. But it is a curious fact that Horace Greeley, in his Recollections tells exactly the same thing as actually happening in his boyhood. I believe Dr. Eggleston had not read his Recollections." 8

There are in Indiana at least two localities which claim the distinction of being the scene of The Hoosier Schoolmster. but the people of Decatur County, and particularly the residents, past and present, of Milford, feel that they have indisputable proof of their right to claim this distinction.

Charles T. Fowler, a former resident of Milford, where his childhood and youth were spent, for many years a teacher in the county and one who had made local history a study, wrote to Edward Eggleston about the disputed site and received a satisfactory reply. The Clifty of his boyhood peregrinations, along whose banks he had whiled away many happy hours, is the same portion of Clifty near which Bud Means and the "Flat Creekers" lived in fiction, and but a few miles away flows Big Flat Rock, and "Flat Creek Deenstrict" is accounted for.

The home of Bud Means still stood at this time on the public highway to the village. At the left of the house and a few steps up the road is the spring where Ralph Hartsook and Hannah stood on that eventful night of the spelling school.

Milford, the quiet little town nestling among the hills on

the banks of the beautiful little stream, is a restful spot. On either side of Clifty for miles of its length are the bluffs which gave it its name.

After many windings the stream bends abruptly, and here is disclosed a high bluff, known as Clifty Springs. From a cleft in the face of the cliff, which is perhaps thirty feet high, issues the water of the spring, known in the story as Spring-in-the-Rock. Here the old soldier, and later the schoolmaster, hid in time of danger beneath the overhanging ledge, where many a picnic party has taken shelter from the rain and drunk the pure water of the spring at the bottom of the cleft. No doubt this is the place where the schoolmaster swung himself out of sight of his pursuers.9

William Byron Forbush, a lecturer at a teachers' institute at Columbus, Indiana, published an article in the Boston Transcript,10 September, 1905, in which he says that the schoolhouse described by Eggleston in The Hoosier Schoolmaster was about ten miles north of Columbus between Haw Creek, in a region called "Haw Patch," and the "clashes," near a railroad station now called Eggleston.11 He also says that Columbus was the Lewisburg of the story.

In an article written fourteen years later by Ruby Thompson

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9Scrap Book, Greensburg Public Library.
10Cottman, Indiana Scrap Book, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.
11Loc. cit.
Clause, she says that *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* is associated with a section in Indiana about ten miles square, touched by the northeastern part of Bartholomew County, the northwestern part of Decatur County, and the southern part of Shelby County, and that the village of St. Louis, ten miles west of Clifty, is the Lewisburg of the story. She advances the theory that Lewisburg may have been coined from Lewis Creek, a nearby settlement, or it may have come from the name of St. Louis, spelled once in German Ludwig, and later Lewis or Louis.12

In this area Dr. Small practiced his quackery, from Milford to St. Louis. The latter place, then a stirring little village, humming with industry, must have been looked upon as fruitful territory to the adroit Dr. Small. It possessed a busy shoe shop, a saddlery, a saw-mill, a pump factory, two blacksmith shops, a tan yard, two wagon shops, and a general store of groceries and dry goods, while today it has only that one all-important place of business, a filling station, as a reminder of its former importance.13

Mr. Forbush states that he called on Miranda on her eightieth birthday, that she was then living in Columbus. She was "Mirandy, the weak-hearted wood nymph." Her father kept the

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13 "In this shop eight shoemakers kept busy. This was the rendezvous for the settlers for miles around... To this shop Dr. Small would come in order to learn the town gossip, thus feeling his way into the settlement."
Half-Way Tavern at Columbus, the middle station between Madison and Indianapolis, where Eggleston was often a guest. She had known Mrs. Julia L. Dumont. Mirandy was during her life evidently as unruly as her prototype was in the novel; at least, that was the impression she gave her visitor. She was of the "poor whitey" stock which Eggleston is so fond of picturing in his novels. Her uncle was murdered in the streets of Columbus by a gang of Kanawha salt miners from Virginia. There is still standing west of Columbus a jail that may answer for that of the story. Its construction is peculiar: a log cabin was first built, then another was constructed around the first one, with six inches intervening between the walls of the first and second building. The space between was filled by pounding logs down perpendicularly, making a solid wooden wall two feet thick. It has one room.

She said that she had been married to two physicians who had both died early, each of whom made all his visits on horseback and carried his generous doses in saddlebags. Her most interesting reminiscence was of the day when she and her father escorted Miss Dorothy Dix to the poorhouse, which in the story was kept by the infamous "Bill Jones." She remembered seeing a maniac chained to the floor in the log cabin and hearing Miss Dix say as she turned to her father with streaming eyes, "Now, sir, you can see why I have made it my life work to relieve such

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14Cottman, Indiana Screen Book.
15Loc. cit.
About 1914 The Greensburg News published a letter, written by a relative of Edward Eggleston's, containing the statement that Decatur County was not the scene of The Hoosier Schoolmaster. But the incidents of the story were too true to the life of some of the people connected with the history of the county, and the characters drawn from real life in Decatur County were too strongly depicted for the old residents and their descendants to give up their claim. One writer stated that the names of the characters with the exception of "Jeems Phillips," and he was a resident of Switzerland County, were real; but facts were uncovered which furnished conclusive proof that Decatur was justly claiming the honor of being the scene of much of the famous book. Files in the Greensburg library settled many heated arguments concerning the matter.

Jane Eggleston Zimmerman, a sister of Edward, has had much to do with substantiating Decatur County's claim. A letter from her contains the following:

"My cousin, Mrs. S. N. Pleasants, of Vevay has written me asking confirmation or denial of the impression prevalent in Decatur County that much of the scene of The Hoosier Schoolmaster was laid in your locality.

"Our mother went to visit her uncle, Captain Lowry, in the autumn of 1850, taking her four children with her. While visiting, she was asked to take charge of a school in Milford. . . . Edward, only thirteen years of age, had some sort of position in the village store. . . . He had no opportunity for coming into contact with that robust, native life of the backwoods while he lived . . .

Lco. cit."
in Vevay and Madison. People were more cultured, and polite, and for that reason the backwoods life, then he did see it, made a profound impression. 17

"Some of these incidents in the novel occurred a few miles north of Madison neighborhood. The neighborhood was at that time the most primitive one in that region, though it lay so close to the chief city of Southern Indiana.

"The people were partly Pennsylvania Dutch and partly Hoosiers. They were good and kindly people, but scantily educated."18

Some of the scenes are located near Greensburg, and that city lays claim to having furnished two interesting characters: Herrett C. Welsh, the storekeeper at Clifty; and Orville Welsh, a soldier and good citizen of Milford, was immortalized as "Shacky,"19 according to Greensburg people. However, Switzerland County justly claims the original of Shacky according to the family of the author:

"Shacky's real name was Ebenezer Ledgerwood, but he was then called 'Needy.' He was a student at Riker's Ridge when George Cary taught there,20 and his teacher says of him:

'Much that was humorous occurred in the conduct of the school, particularly the old doings and sayings of "Needy" Ledgerwood, who afterwards served Edward as a model in his portraiture of Shacky in The Hoosier Schoolmaster."21

18Loc. cit.
19Frank N. Hchenberger, "Discussions over the Scenes of The Hoosier Schoolmaster, written in 1871, Seems to be a Composite Picture," Indianapolis Star, July 7, 1929.
20Mrs. Zimmerman's letter.
21The First of the Hoosiers, p. 239.
"Shacky" died at his old home on Riker's Ridge. He was seventy-one years old and a life-long resident of the community in which he died. For many years he had made his home with Mr. and Mrs. William Ledgerwood, where he died. "Shacky" was never married. He is survived by one brother, Daniel Ledgerwood, and a sister, Mrs. Sarah Hamilton, both of whom live on Riker's Ridge. 22

George Cary Eggleston, in his book The First of the Hoosiers, which is a biography of Edward Eggleston, makes the following statement:

"At the time of Edward Eggleston's stay in Decatur County there survived in that region a band of outlaws with whose doings Edward became acquainted through the arrest and trial of the thieves.

"During the Eggleston's stay in Milford or Clifty, as the little village in Decatur County is called in the story, the band was reorganized for predatory purposes by a man of considerable education, and to all appearances, a blameless life. Its headquarters had originally been located in Ripley County but, since the new master lived at Clifty, under his direction its operations were carried on in the main in Decatur County. This highly moral leader was the original of Dr. Small in The Hoosier Schoolmaster." 23

In the preface of the library edition of the book the author verifies the impression that the villain of the book, Dr. Small, was drawn in the main from life. He says:

"Dr. Small is a rather unrealistic villain. I knew him well and respected him in my boyish heart for a most exemplary Christian at the very time, according to

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22Madison Courier, date unknown. Found in Scrap Book in the possession of Mrs. Danner.

testimony afterward given, that he was
diversifying a few miles from his pursuits
as a practicing physician by leading a gang
of burglars. Not dreaming that the story
would reach beyond the Hearth and Home, I
used the names of the people in Switzerland
and Decatur Counties, Indiana, almost with-
out being aware of it."24

Colonel Merritt C. Welsh was born near Napoleon in 1825 and
removed with his parents in 1828 to a place near Milford. He
was a first cousin to Edward Eggleston's mother, and the two boys
often played about the Welsh grocery. Colonel Welsh served in
both the Mexican and Civil Wars. He was the constable who
figured in the trial of the schoolmaster for the robbery of the
Dutchman's house, committed by Dr. Small and his gang. Colonel
Welsh, by the hard detective work that he was capable of,
trailed the robbers and brought them to trial after a search of
three months, in which he was led over several states. For
Welsh's opening a trunk of Dr. Henry E. Smalley without a warrant
the doctor filed suit against him in the Bartholomew County
Court, securing a judgment of one cent.25

The following facts were furnished by Colonel Welsh in 1908:

"Fifty-six years ago there occurred in
Clifty and vicinity the series of incidents
which formed the framework of The Hoosier
Schoolmaster. Being asked for some personal
recollections, I will say that living there
at the time and participating to some extent
in that rustic drama, I recall both scenes
and events vividly. . . . The times were
prosperous and lawlessness was very common.
All the parties, I believe, who were involved

24 Preface to The Hoosier Schoolmaster.

25 "Colonel M. C. Welsh recalls some of the incidents portrayed
in The Hoosier Schoolmaster," Indianapolis Star, September 6, 1908.
in the celebrated Starks robbery belonged to good families, excepting Daniel Ricketts and Green B. Harrison. Of the latter I had no knowledge until sent to arrest him. He had come from the north part of the state and was studying medicine with Dr. Smalley at old St. Louis, a little village some ten miles from Clifty. There was another character, Staggs, of whom little is said. He was sent by Smalley and Harrison to Terre Haute, where he exchanged $400 of paper money from the Lawrenceburg bank for gold. This was part of the money taken from the Starks home. Staggs made the exchange and returned to Clifty. He was a large man with a great deal of boldness and self-importance. With others he made up one of the composite characters in Eggleston’s story."

Colonel Welch further says:

"There was a great deal said about my breaking into Harrison’s trunk in order to secure some evidence against the robbers. The case, which was tried in Bartholomew Circuit Court, excited much interest at the time. It involved some fine points of law. I was fined one cent, and the costs were thrown on the plaintiff. Martin H. Ray of Shelbyville was my lawyer."

A copy of the bond is as follows:

"We, Henry B. Smalley, Reuben R. Cobb, James Morgan, Peyton H. Barclay, and Robert Smith, owe the state of Indiana two thousand dollars, to be levied on our property. The condition of the above bond is, that said Henry B. Smalley shall personally be before the Decatur Circuit Court on the first day of the next term, there to answer to a charge of receiving and concealing stolen property, and abide the order of the court and not to depart thence without leave. Then this recognizance to be void; else to remain in full force.

Henry B. Smalley
Reuben R. Cobb
James Morgan
Peyton H. Barclay
Robert Smith

26 loc. cit."
"Taken and approved by me this 29th
day of August, 1853.

"John Imlay, Sheriff."27

In the same records is found a similar bond for the appearance of Greenwood Harrison, filed August 30, 1853, signed by Greenwood Harrison, M. C. Welsh, William Armington, Willet H. Stark, Elijah Markland, John Drongerber, J. Q. A. Harrison, Thomas Harwood, James Cary, and Robert Smith. These were the men who signed the first bond.

Henry B. Smalley was the son of a wealthy and influential farmer, living at that time five miles west of Greensburg and three miles east of the village of Milford. He had been educated as a physician and was then a young man practicing at St. Louis, a village on Flat Rock Creek, in Bartholomew County, twelve miles distant from his father's home, to which he made frequent visits. He left Indiana soon after signing these bonds and lived a turbulent life on the frontier, which terminated tragically in a disreputable affray in Kansas in 1890.28

The other signers were among the most influential business men and politicians of Greensburg.

James Morgan served as sheriff of Decatur County from 1833 to 1837, as treasurer in 1860, and at this time was a candidate for the state legislature, having previously served in the state

27Records of Samuel Bryan, a justice of the peace in Decatur County, compiled by Professor C. T. Powner.

28C. T. Powner, "Historical Facts Which Form the Basis of The Hoosier Schoolmaster." Scrap Book, Greensburg Public Library.
For political reasons his friends asked him not to sign this bond, as public sentiment was strongly against young Smalley. Mr. Morgan, however, gave a decisive answer. He said that at a time when bankruptcy seemed inevitable and could possibly be averted only by securing endorsements from men of means, Smalley's father, fully comprehending the risk he was incurring, endorsed notes which carried him safely past the danger point. He now had an opportunity to reciprocate the favor, as Smalley's father had requested Morgan to secure the release of young Smalley. He was determined to do so even though the result would mean financial and political disaster. Such was the character of the men who placed their names on the first bond.

Greenwood Harrison was a young medical student in the office of Henry B. Smalley of St. Louis. John Dronberger was a German merchant in the same village. Caleb Stark was a farmer living just across the road from Smalley's father. His name appears on the elegant court house at Greensburg as a county commissioner at the time it was built. Merritt C. Welsh was a merchant, tavern-keeper, and constable living in Milford, three miles west of the Stark and Smalley farms and nine miles east of St. Louis. He was a soldier in the Mexican War and later served as sheriff of the county. He was captain in the Seventh and colonel of the 146th Indiana Volunteers in the Civil War, and later was a member of the city council. He was an ardent worker in the

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29 Loc. Cit.
A few weeks before the signing of these bonds John Drenberger had suffered a loss of one thousand dollars by robbery, as may be evidenced by the filing of an affidavit in the same court July 28, 1853, charging George B. Douglas, Daniel Ricketts, and Henry B. Smalley with the crime.

On August 7, 1853, Caleb Stark filed a similar affidavit against Henry B. Smalley before Justice Isaac W. Fugit.

Caleb Stark had lost about nine hundred dollars in a similar manner. A remarkable incident in regard to the Stark robbery was the fact that a bureau drawer of three compartments containing, respectively, money, private papers, and public documents, was unlocked in the dark and the money taken. The money was largely in bills of the Lawrenceburg branch of the Indiana State Bank. The room was occupied on the night of the robbery by one or more members of the Stark family, who were sleeping there.

Henry B. Smalley's father was a man of irreproachable character. He had long been known for his veracity and integrity. He was an extensive stock dealer, and he would occasionally have unexpected opportunities for making deals when he did not have sufficient cash on hand. Upon such an occasion he would either go or send one of his sons to his neighbor, Caleb Stark, for the necessary funds. Mr. Stark would take the money from the bureau drawer, neither receiving nor desiring note or receipt.

A short time before the robbery, while on a visit to his father's home, Henry B. Smalley called on the Stark family to borrow some keys, explaining that he had lost the one belonging
to his trunk. Having no trunk keys, it was suggested that bureau keys might answer the purpose. Of these the Stark family had one, which young Smalley borrowed, returning it the same day, saying that it did not fit.

A few days after the robbery at Stark's house Greenwood Harrison, the medical student in Smalley's office, started ostensibly on a visit to his brother at Monticello, Indiana. Instead, however, he went to Martinoville, where lived a worthy young lady, to whom he was engaged to be married. He informed her that he was clerking in Bronberger's store at St. Louis. He again started, presumably to his brother's but in reality to Terre Haute, where he exchanged four hundred dollars in bank bills for gold. On his return to Indianapolis he was arrested by Herritt C. Welsh, John Bronberger, and a son of Caleb Stark, to whom on the overland journey homeward he made a full confession of his part in the recent robberies and gave as names of his accomplices Henry B. Smalley and Daniel Rickets.

At the time of these robberies Rickets was living six miles south of Greensburg, twelve miles distant from Caleb Stark, and twenty miles from St. Louis. He was arrested by Herritt C. Welsh for complicity in the Stark robbery and brought before A. L. Underwood, a justice of the peace at Hilford, from whom he secured a change of venue; hence the appearance of these papers in the office of Samuel Bryan of Greensburg. Smalley and Rickets both appeared in court and demanded trial, but owing to the disappearance of the prosecuting witness, Greenwood Harrison, the cases against them were dismissed.
The following year John Smalley filed a complaint for slander against Caleb Stark demanding $3000. Hendricks, Scoby, and Cumback were the attorneys for the plaintiff, a jury found for the defendant, and later the supreme court reversed the decision.

It was a common practice for thrifty and well-to-do people of that time to adopt the children of their poorer neighbors and bring them up as members of their own families. Often destitute orphans were taken as "bound boys" or "bound girls" into a house of this kind instead of being sent to the poorhouse. These unfortunates were legally bound to service, but in reality they were considered a part of the family and were given the same privileges that the children of the family enjoyed. They were expected to work, but so was every other member of the family, for that matter. No servile obligation was usually involved or implied; however, "Hannah" had no enviable position with old Mrs. Means.

Eggleston's grandfather Craig often adopted more children, especially those who displayed ability, and gave them the best education that the country schools afforded.30

The original of "Jeems" Phillips, the champion speller, lived at Vevay. His real name was James Phillips. He was born in 1821, married Miss Marie Hall, July 22, 1854, and died May 3,

30The First of the Hoosiers, p. 23: "Sam Parker, one of George Craig's adopted children, became the most distinguished lawyer of his time in Indiana and a state of more than ordinary influence."
1901, at the age of eighty. 31

It is said that while the story was being published in the
Hearth and Home, the original of "Jeems" Phillips, when he
learned that he had been put into the papers, threatened to
"lick" the editor of the Vevay Reveille. 32 The Hoosier School
master had also appeared in the home paper, and "Jeems" thought
the editor was the responsible author. When the latter explained
that the real author lived in far-away New York, and that he
should feel honored to have his name appear in the paper as the
champion speller, his wrath was appeased, and he was afterward
proud of the distinction. 33

When "Jeems" Phillips was well-advanced in years, he
married, and at the wedding he wore a gorgeous red-and-yellow
flowered waistcoat. He gave it out that this highly impressive
garment had been sent to him as a wedding present by the author
of The Hoosier Schoolmaster. When he had pretty well worn it out,
he cut the cloth into bits and sold them as souvenirs to his
admirign friends, who firmly believed the story of the waist-
cot's origin. 34

Another interesting incident that shows the character of
Phillips was his experience with the "Campbellite" preacher, which
is told by citizens of Vevay who know the story to be true. A

31 Family Bible, according to Mrs. Danner.


33 The Watchword, November 1, 1925, Vevay, Indiana.

34 The First of the Hoosiers, pp. 49-50.
preacher from Australia, the Reverend Mr. Anderson, baptized the wife of Mr. Phillips into the Christian Church, whereupon the enraged husband started on a rampage over the town to get to "lick the preacher that ducked his wife." When the Reverend Mr. Anderson heard of this boasting remark, he called at the Phillips home and asked to see the master of the house. Mrs. Phillips warned him that it would not be safe for him to meet her husband, but the minister refused to leave until he had had the desired interview. The wife, almost trembling with fear, led the way out into the yard, where "Jeems" Phillips lay under the shade of a tree. Mr. Anderson proceeded to take off his coat and roll up his sleeves, after which he told Phillips that he had heard that he wanted to "lick the preacher," and now he had the opportunity. Evidently the champion speller did not feel equal to the task, for he backed down at once and went to church that night.35

The Reverend Henry Banta was the original of the Reverend Mr. Bosaw, the Hardshell preacher in The Hoosier Schoolmaster.36 He and John Graham conducted one of the earliest revivals in Craig township, preaching at the home of Mr. Thiebaud frequently.37

This was the era for religious revivals in southern Indiana.

35Mrs. Dupraz related the incident to the writer.

36Mr. Eggleston vouches for the exactness and correctness with which he reproduces the words of the preacher in the sermon. Edward Eggleston, "Some Western Schoolmasters," p. 45.

particularly among the Methodists. 38

There has been much argument about whether "Bud Means" belonged to the Leases of Switzerland or Decatur County. In each of these places theories have been advanced that would substantiate the claims.

In 1916 The Greensburg Standard published an article claiming several of Eggleston's characters and gave the following paragraph concerning Bud Means:

"Three years after the story was published (1871) a man giving his name as Bud Means ordered a monument made at Stout and Beicourt Monument Firm, on which was to be carved the name of 'Martha Hawkins Means.' It was delivered to the husband and has never since been seen. Dr. Wright, who saw the stone in the shop, has visited many cemeteries searching for her grave, but has never found it. Whether the stone would have come up to Martha Hawkins's idea of the way the stones were carved 'to Boating' is a matter of conjecture." 39

A brick with the supposed footprint of Bud Means from the home of Bud Means, with the imprint of a small child's foot pressed into the wet clay before the brick was burned in 1822, was given the museum at Vevay by Lesers. Peter Holzer and Thomas Faulkner of Osgood, Indiana. 40

There were several Means families in the St. Louis-Clifty community, one in St. Louis and one in Clifty, besides others. 41

38 In 1840 at a Methodist camp meeting, held in Switzerland County, 150 were received into the church on probation during a two-weeks' duration. Loc. cit.

39 Reveille, Vevay, Indiana, September 21, 1932.

40 Loc. cit.

41 Ruby Thompson Clause, Indianapolis Sunday Star, 1929.
According to the marriage records of Decatur County a marriage license was issued to James B. Means and Zerelda Marsh June 9, 1864. At the time of the issuing of this license James B. Means was a widower with a large family, between Flat Creek and Clifty.

There are several Means families living near Vevay now which the writer heard mention of while in that town last summer.

George Cary Eggleston says that Charley Grebe was the original of Bud Means. He was the pupil in Cary's school at Riker's Ridge who had won distinction by "lickin" the last three masters, although gentler of disposition than Bud was. But Charley Grebe's reputation was such that it was predicted by trustees, by the school, and by all the neighborhood that the young "Samson" would make short work of the seventeen-year-old schoolmaster inside of a week's time. Cary acknowledges his gratitude to this young man when he says:

"It was only through Charley Grebe's willing assistance that I was able to govern the unruly school at all. Of course, it was a somewhat selfish impulse that prompted Charley's action. He had reached manhood and his ambition was aroused to become a ship carpenter and to do this he must have the master's time and services to teach him.

43. L. C. Welsh, "Recollections of Some Incidents Portrayed in The Hoosier Schoolmaster," found in a scrap book in Greensburg Public Library. A copy of the marriage license is given here.

44. Loc. cit.

45. The First of the Hoosiers, p. 280.
the necessary mathematics for his calling."

According to the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, more than one person has been pointed out as the original "Bud" Means, and there are one or two men each of whom flatters himself that he posed for the figure of the first disciple of the "Church of the Best Licks." He further says that "Bud is made up of elements found in some of his race but not in any one man."

Be it as it may, Charles Grebe, of Brocksburg, the original teacher-taming "Bud Means," spoken of by George Cary Eggleston in his memorable school at Riker's Ridge, is the only "Bud" Means claimant who has had a poem dedicated to him.

The following quotation from an editorial review in the *Atlantic Monthly* will show what the world understood from Eggleston's writings:

"In *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* we are made acquainted with the rudeness and ugliness of the intermediate West, after the days of pioneering, and before the days of civilization—the West of the horse-thief gangs and of mobs, of protracted meetings and of extended sprees, of ignorance, drawn slowly through religious fervors towards the desire to knowledge and decency in this world. The scene is Hoopool County, Indiana, a locality settled, apparently, by poor whites from Virginia, Kentucky, sordid Pennsylvania Dutchmen, and a sprinkling of

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45 Loc. cit.


47 "Charley Grebe and 'Needy' Ledgerwood did in some remote degree suggest 'Bud Means' and 'Shacky,' as Edward always believed, but in neither case is the resemblance close enough to suggest the most distant portraiture, or even a close drawing from a model." *The First of the Hoosiers*, p. 304.

Professor Esarey says:

"These reviewers knew as much about pioneer life in Indiana as they did about the mound builders, certainly not more."50

Mr. Eggleston received much adverse criticism after the publication of The Hoosier Schoolmaster; especially did the people of southern Indiana resent the interpretation the literary world put upon the novel as a portrayal of early Hoosier life. People of Switzerland County were hardly willing to forgive the author for creating such an unfavorable impression of their section until the appearance of Bony (1878). Mrs. Siebenthal, of Vevay, told Mr. Eggleston during one of his later visits to his home town that he owed Switzerland County a book picturing it as it was then. He promised to write the book.51

Mr. Eggleston was only trying to portray the people of the soil and never made any claim that the book contains any descriptions of the better class of Hoosiers who were living in southern Indiana at the time of which he writes. The author has been criticised for not guarding the latter class against prevalent erroneous impressions outside the state, when he took precautions to vindicate his own origin from the suspicion of

49Atlantic Monthly, XXIX, 363 (March, 1872).
50Esarey, op. cit., p. 1119.
51Mrs. Siebenthal, conversation with the writer. Mrs. Siebenthal is now eighty-one years old and has spent most of her life in Vevay.
common birth and low associations in prefaces to later editions and autobiographical articles.52

CHAPTER III
THE END OF THE WORLD

The scene of this story is in southern Indiana, and much of it in Switzerland County. It was concerning a period when religious fanaticism was sweeping the whole country.\(^1\) It describes vividly the extravagant belief of the Millerites,\(^2\) who in 1842-43 believed that by scriptural proof the world's doom was at hand. Vast numbers of good people believed this, and probably most of those who had not been won over to the new belief had a vague fear that it might be so. This was the case of the lovers in the story, and to be prepared for all emergencies, they ended their tribulations by getting married on the very night that the world was to be consumed.

When Mr. Eggleston records with what fanatic faith people accepted the guess interpretations about the prophecies of Daniel, how the women toiled to get their ascension robes ready in time, how recklessly people gave up their work and disposed of their property in anticipation of the coming Day of Judgment, he was merely drawing upon his childhood memories.

It is rather surprising that the author takes the attitude that he does in adapting this to literary use, for as a boy five

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\(^1\)History of Dearborn, Chio, and Switzerland Counties, Indiana, p. 1082.

\(^2\)This movement was started by Miller, a Baptist farmer of Vermont, in 1831. On the basis of calculations from the Book of Daniel he arrived at the conclusion that the world would come to an end in 1843. The Provincial American, p. 46.

"The End of the World gives a striking picture of the Millerite delusion and of the terrific scenes enacted on the day when half the people of the West believed that the world was coming to an end." The Hookman, October, 1902, p. 100.
or six years old he heard nothing but contempt and ridicule for the Millerites. His father would not allow the subject discussed in his home. He says in the preface to The End of the World:

"If any man think I have offended against his religion, I must believe that his religion is not what it should be. If anybody shall imagine that this is a work of religious controversy leveled at the Adventists, he will have wholly mistaken my meaning. Literalism and fanaticism are not vices confined to any one sect. They are uniformly pretty widely distributed."

The love story of Julia Anderson and August Wehle, the "Dutchman," are projected against this background of hysteria. Property was sold for a trifle; the white ascension robes were prepared and kept ready for departure from terra firma when the signal should be given on that last day. Numerous sharpers took advantage of the excitement among all classes and bought the property of the deluded owners for a mere song. Not very many were left unshaken by the impressive piles of evidence that the elder used to prove his point:

"'If I can't do it by subtraction I'll do it by long division,' says he. And if this 'arithmetical preacher can't make a finishent of his sublunar speer by addition, he'll do it by multiplyin'. They's only one answer in his book. Gim him any sum you please, and it all comes out 1843."3

The appointed day came, and all was bustle and excitement, as is described by the author, who records his own observations:

"The sun of the eleventh of August rose gloriously. People pointed to it with trembling, and said it would rise no more. Soon after sunrise there were crimson clouds stretching above and below it, and popular terror seized upon this

3The End of the World, p. 59.
as a sign. But the sun mounted with a scorching heat, which showed that at least his shining power was not impaired. Then men said, 'Behold the beginning of the fervent heat that is to melt the elements.' Night drew on, and every 'shooting-star' was a new sign of the end...

"A large bald hill overlooking the Ohio was to be the mount of ascension. Here gathered Elder Hawkins' flock with that comfortable assurance of being the elect that only a narrow bigotry can give. And here came others of all denominations, consoling themselves that they were just as well off if they were Christians as if they had made all this fuss about the millennium." 4

One of the many jokes leveled at these credulous and deluded folk was performed by the engineer of the little ferry boat that operated between Cincinnati and Dayton, Kentucky. This clever contriver was to try out his invention, the mockingbird whistle, on the very day that the world was to come to an end. It had its effect. When the hills reverberated as the big whistle sounded all the mockingbird notes, and some which the mockingbird had never heard of,

"The believers on the roofs of the city and encircling hills raised their arms above their heads and were quite sure in their minds that the angel, Gabriel, was blowing his trumpet for the grand entry. ... There they stood with faces upturned toward the smiling skies and their arms uplifted to the drifting little clouds for fully fifteen minutes, until their necks and their arms

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4 According to Mrs. Siebenthal Mr. Isaac McKay, the son of Billy McKay, at Lamb, was a child in the crowd that went out upon the hill to wait for the end of the world. This event occurred on the Cotton place, a few miles from Vevay. The End of the World, pp. 256-257.
got tired, then they lowered them.\(^5\)

The funny part of it was the effect that the mockingbird whistle had on skeptics who had been ridiculing their fanatical brothers and sisters. When the first odd note of the whistle came to their ears, they began to think that, after all, there might be something in that end-of-the-world stuff, and they rushed pell mell from their homes out in the east end and began to cover ground in circles, firmly convinced that the ground was getting hotter under their feet on every circle they made. There were any number of deathbed conversions made in a few minutes thereafter, and some of the latter "took," so that numerous men and women led godly lives thereafter.

A duplicate whistle was later put on an Ohio and Mississippi River packet.\(^6\)

The dramatic element is prominent in this story. Amid the settling up of earthly affairs and final preparations of the elect for their departure on the Day of Judgment appear less worthy classes, the gamblers, the cheaters, and the skeptics.

The tantrums of the shrewish Mrs. Anderson present many ludicrous situations. Her mortification over her daughter's "being in love with a Dutchman"\(^7\) and the resulting persecution of

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\(^6\) I.e.c. cit.

\(^7\) All foreigners whose mother tongue was other than English were "Dutchmen." George Cary Eggleston. Recollections of A Varied Life (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1910), p. 3.
the lovers by her show the prejudice that existed in that section of the country against the German element, derived mostly from Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, and the dislike for other foreigners. Her attempt at the promotion of Julia's marriage with Mr. Humphreys, a river-gambler in the guise of a singing master, was in keeping with her foolish vanity. Even though she is one of the elect, she is aggressive to the last.

Andrew Anderson, the "backwoods philosopher," is a new type of character, the literary student, who was more idealistic than practical. As is the case in backwoods communities concerning a bookish person, Anderson was considered very eccentric. This jilted lover, however, found solace, not in writing poetry or romance, but in living them in his lovely log-built "castle" in the woods. He may be true to life, but he is not very tangible.

August Wehle has manly qualities and acts naturally, while Julia Anderson is probably more of a woman than a heroine.

The minor characters are rather realistic: Dr. Ketchup, the steam doctor, who had been a blacksmith; the gamblers on the river steamboat; the mud clerk, noted for his cool humor; the pious young clergyman, who advised against

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8The singing school was of great social importance. The local "singing master" with tuning fork in hand and without any accompaniment, trained the whole neighborhood in reading "buckwheat notes," and singing the hymns from the Sacred Melodies or the Missouri Harmony. Julia Henderson Levering, Historic Indiana (G. P. Putman's Sons, 1910), pp. 76-77.

9Andrew Anderson had always been regarded as an oddity; a man with a good share of ideality and literary taste, placed against the dull background of the society of a Western neighborhood in the former half of the century would necessarily appear odd." End of the World, p. 48.
Cynthia Ann's marrying Jonas because he was New Light. All of these, though slightly sketched, are recognizable as belonging to the population from which the author chose his characters in The Hoosier Schoolmaster.10

For a long time novelists and poets have left the impression that the Western pioneer enjoyed almost perfect health, but in checking up on contemporary accounts, it is surprising that one finds the reverse to be true. The miasma of the forests and the malarial mosquitoes menaced civilization for more than the savage Indian.

The period prior to 1830 seems to have been the worst, for there were few physicians, and they were so overworked that they soon fell victims of the diseases which they treated.11 The roads and streams prevented them from reaching the patient before the disease had done its fatal work. During the sultry summer the settlers were shaking with ague or burning with fever, and in winter exposure brought on its train of resultant diseases.

"Occasionally there was an unbroken family circle, but in most cases half the children died in infancy, and it is not far from the fact to say that half the children had lost one or both parents before they reached the age of fourteen.

"Such diseases as small pox, cholera, yellow fever, milk sickness, and typhoid fever were beyond medical skill and ran their mysterious course unmolested. The friends of the sufferers sat


11 "From the best information that we can obtain Charles Muret seems to have been the only physician in the colony prior to 1813. The chief ailments were fever and ague." History of Dearborn, Ohio, and Switzerland Counties, Indiana, p. 1063.
patiently with them through the long watch of the
day and night, and sorrowfully buried them after
death. The hand of Providence was often seen in
these afflictions, and public fast days were some-
times ordered by the General Assembly."12

The "steam-doctor,"13 described in The End of the World, was
Dr. Joseph Cole, of the Bennington vicinity, Switzerland County.

"Dr. Phillips, who located at Bennington as
early as 1848, was a disciple of a botanic school,
and depended altogether upon 'roots' and 'yarks'
for remedies."14

Our early doctors were not men of eminent scientific skill
or training. In fact, few of them had diplomas from medical
colleges. At this time there were not many of such institutions.
The pioneer doctors learned all they knew by reading, obser-
vation, and instruction under established practitioners. They
learned and were guided by actual practice more than by theories,
or formulas laid down in what few books they were fortunate
even to get hold of. Each doctor carried his own remedial
agents in his saddlebags,15 and they were usually very generous
in their prescriptions. Dr. Ketchup's "corn sweats" and "waffer-
ash tea" for Mrs. Anderson were very mild as compared with many
of the common remedies, some of which are as follows:

*Tincture of Lobelia.
Fill a jar with the green herb, well bruised

12Reading's in Indiana History, p. 344.

13The mother of Mrs. Danner frequently called this steam-
doctor to administer to her children, according to a statement by
Mrs. Danner to the writer.

14History of Dearborn, Ohio, and Switzerland Countics,
Indiana, p. 1068.

15The End of the World, p. 140.
and pressed, and for every quart which the jar will contain add three or four pods of common red pepper, then pour on good whisky enough to cover the herb, and let it stand for use. The longer it stands the stronger it becomes. This forms an excellent remedy for phthisic, croup, whooping cough, bad colds, and all catarrhal affections, and it is perfectly safe in its effects on all ages and conditions of persons."

"For Yellow Jaundice"

Take a double handful of wild cherry tree bark, of the roots, the same quantity of yellow poplar bark, of the roots; of sarsaparilla roots, of the bark of the red sumach roots; half the quantity of bitter root. Boil these ingredients in two gallons of water until it is reduced to half a gallon; pour and strain the liquid. Then boil or simmer down to one pint; add this to one gallon of hard cider; shake it well; then add two ounces of garden madder, or the madder of the shops. Commence with half a wine glassesful three times a day, increasing the dose gradually to half a teacupful, or even more in bad cases. When you have drunk half, add another half gallon of cider."17

Calomel was the one main remedy for the fever. It was extraordinary for the physician to treat any form of disease without the generous use of large doses of calomel, and not to salivate a person seemed to be regarded as almost allowing him to go to the grave without a saving effort.

A patient sick of fever must also be freely bled in the manner shown in the following case:

"When called during the fever and wild delirium, we seated the patient on the side of the bed and held him there, by the aid of assistants if necessary, opened a vein in his arm by making as large an orifice as practicable and allowed the blood to flow until his pulse became


17Loc. cit.
soft and less resisting, or until syncope supervened. We relied more on the effect produced than on the quantity of blood extracted, our object being to produce a decided impression on the heart's action. Our patient being in a sitting posture and the blood escaping from a free opening, it did not require a great length of time to produce the required effect. Often within ten or twenty minutes after faintness or sickness occurred the subject of this mode of treatment would become bathed in a copious perspiration, and the violent fever or delirium existing a short time before would have entirely passed away.\(^\text{18}\)

The "shiveree" described in *The End of the World* was typical of what usually occurred when a young couple were married in those days. However, the attitude that the "backwoods philosopher" took toward the affair was similar to that of Edward Eggleston's Grandfather Craig when one of his "bound girls" was to be married:

"It was rumored that a 'shiveree' -- Hoosier for charivari -- was to mark the event. My father, whose Virginian reverence for womanhood and marriage and personal dignity was prompt to resent that sort of an insult, went to a neighbor and borrowed two shot guns. As he carried them homeward through the main street of the village, on the morning before the wedding, he encountered the ruffian who had planned the 'shiveree,' and was arranging to carry it out. The man asked him in surprise, for my father was a studious recluse in his habits, if he were going out after game.

"'No,' my father replied, 'it is only that a very young woman, a member of my family is to be married at my house tonight. I hear that certain lewd fellows of the baser sort are planning to insult her and me and my family with what they call a 'shiveree.' If they do anything of the kind, I am going to fire four charges of buck-shot into the crowd.' As my father was known to

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\(^{18}\)From Kemper's *Medical History of Indiana*, p. 54; account by Dr. Joel Pennington, 1873. Found in *Readings of Indiana History*, p. 350.
be a man who inflexibly kept his word, there was no 'chiveree' that night."  

Whether this incident in The End of the World was based on the one recorded in the foregoing lines or not, the writer was not able to ascertain, but certainly it is a parallel case.

If we stop to consider that those hardy frontiersmen who live in a restricted environment cling to their traditions, customs, and institutions, through generations, we may understand why they permit superstitious fears to grasp their minds. The sensational appeals to them, for it is a bright spot against a drab background. Anything that would tend to break the monotony in their lives would be hailed with rejoicing. What would be considered by the present generation as utter folly was accepted by them as a grave and vital matter. The following passage will illustrate:

"Now in all the region round about Sugar Grove schoolhouse there was a great dearth of sensation. The people liked the prospect of the end of the world because it would be a spectacle, something to relieve the fearful monotony of their lives. Funerals and weddings were commonplace, and nothing could have been so interesting to them as the coming of the end of the world, as described by Elder Hawkins, unless it had been a first class circus (with two camels and a cage of monkeys attached, so that scrupulous people might attend from a laudable desire to see the menagerie!) A murder would have been delightful to the people of Clark Township. It would have given them something to talk about. Into this still pool Elder Hawkins threw the vials, the trumpets, the thunders, the beast with ten horns, the he-goat, and all other apocalyptic symbols

\[19\] Recollections of a Varied Life, p. 16.
understood in an absurdly literal way. The world was to come to an end in the following August. Here was an excitement, something worth living for.  

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20 The End of the World, p. 59.
CHAPTER IV
THE CIRCUIT RIDER

To understand and appreciate The Circuit Rider it is necessary to know something of the social life of the West in the early part of the nineteenth century. In fact to one who is not familiar with conditions of the time of which Eggleston is writing there would appear to be many exaggerations in the story, but the author says in the very beginning: "Whatever is incredible in this story is true." He also says that it is the solemn obligation of the novelist to tell the truth; therefore, he presents the rude side of Methodism as well as the heroic struggle of the early circuit preachers.

Eggleston was associated from childhood with the kind of circuit riders that he describes, and many of the incidents which he relates are those he heard about in his boyhood. He speaks of these in terms of admiration:

"How do I remember the torn and weather-beaten visages of the old preachers, whose constitutions had conquered starvation and exposure—who had survived swamps, alligators, Indians, highway robbers, and bilious fevers! How was my boyish soul tickled with their anecdotes of rude experience—how was my imagination wrought upon by the recital of their hair-breadth escapes! How was my heart set afire by their contagious religious enthusiasm, so that at eighteen years of age I bestrode the saddle-bags myself and laid upon a feeble frame the heavy burden of emulating their toils."

With all the hardships and privations of those who went in

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2 Ibid., p. vi.
the van of civilization there were some sources of enjoyment which those of a later generation can hardly appreciate. Common interests united these primitive people in the strongest bonds of friendship and neighborliness. In this period of preparation everything was temporary. The home was a temporary affair, as were the churches, the schools, the teachers, the preachers, and the physicians. There was no time to go at anything systematically until people got settled. Even with all the handicap that served to arrest the progress of these early settlers, there was something fascinating about the wildness and freedom of the life in the wilderness that has an appeal to nature lovers today.

The social customs of these people are understood in the light of their history. They are traditional. The charivari, the Christmas shooting, the maltreating of the schoolmaster, the drinking and gambling, the tavern, the shooting match, the election day, the wedding and infaire, the log-rolling, the quilting, the camping. All of these social events smack of the "old South" and "Merrie England."  

It must be borne in mind that social pleasures were largely associated with neighborhood tasks of the people, and each of these was an occasion for a feast and a visit. The isolated households came together for the much-needed companionship. After the hard work was over, these rugged laborers were still equal to wrestling

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4 Scarey, op. cit., p. 450.  
5 Levering, op. cit., p. 76.
matches, shooting for a prize, pitching quoits, or any of the
tests of strength or skill on which the frontiersman prided him-
self. Even in the work itself they "chose sides," as they did at
the corn husking at Captain Lunsden's, and there was a spirited
contest to see which side could win. Bert Goodwin's side won in
The Circuit Rider.

Though the Methodist itinerant preachers have been the
subject of ridicule, they were the men who first threaded the
Indian traces, swam the swollen streams, slept in the woods alone
at night, among the wild beasts and savage men, in order to carry
the glad tidings of salvation to the first settlers. The first
preaching was done in the homes of the church members or some-
times in a bar-room before the erection of churches.

The gospel was preached to saints and sinners alike. There
was no compromising with sin. The law was fulminated from
Sinai's blazing top. Hell with its sulphurous flames and the
graves of the damned were portrayed in burning words. The worship
among the first settlers was real, spiritual, soul worship, as is
described in The Circuit Rider. Some of these ministers who first
planted the gospel standard were truly eloquent and could hold
spell-bound the listening crowds that attended their services.

On one occasion John Strange was preaching on Sunday at a

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6 W. C. Smith, Indiana Miscellany (Cincinnati, Poe and
Hitchcock, 1887), pp. 45-50.
7 Smith, op. cit., p. 63.
8 Ibid., p. 47.
camp meeting in Wayne County. The tide of feeling rose higher and higher, and in the midst of his sermon he took one of his flights of eloquence, which raised a great shout from the congregation and lifted the people from their seats. Hearing the shouting, the people on the outside of the meeting place rushed in; and as they came pouring down the center aisle, Strange, rising on his toes and throwing himself a little back, with his right arm extended, pointing with his finger directly toward the young men coming in, screamed, "Here they come now, my Lord! Shoot them as they come!" One of the young men who was among those coming states that he sank down in the nearest seat unable to move until the sermon was finished.

Another forceful character was Peter Cartwright, who preached in what is now Clark County, Indiana in 1804. He rendered a great service to the cause of religion in Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and various other places. His circuits were like lines of battle, continually in excitement, if not commotion. Some of the quarterly meetings were not only scenes of spiritual conflict, but of hand-to-hand fights with the rabble, and he was usually victorious.

The first Methodist preacher to have charge of a church in Indiana was Nathan Robertson, who moved from Kentucky to

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9 W. G. Smith, "John Strange at Camp Meeting," Western Christian Advocate, June 23, 1858.
10 Cartwright preached in the homes of the Robertson and Prathers near Charleston, Indiana.
Charleston, in Clark County, in 1799. Three years later a small class was organized at Cassoway, near Charleston, in Clark County. The first chapel of the denomination in the state still stands about two miles from Charleston; it was made of hewed logs.

Peter Cartwright grew up in Kentucky thoroughly seasoned with Western hardihood, but saved from many of the vices prevalent around him by the teachings of his good mother. In his sixteenth year, after dancing at a wedding, he went home with an awakened conscience and spent much of the night on his knees with his praying mother. At some time afterward he was converted at a camp meeting. In his nineteenth year, urged by his mother but opposed by his father, he went out as a circuit preacher under the presiding elder. To enumerate his subsequent appointments would cover pages. In Tennessee, in Kentucky, and in almost every part of the Northwestern Territory he fought courageously the battles of his church, not only with his voice, but also with his big, stout fists when necessary. Being a frontiersman himself, he knew the perils and necessities of a frontier life; and when his appeals to the conscience of his sometimes half-savage hearers could not prevail, he resorted to physical strength and made the mob recoil.

The asceticism which Eggleston emphasizes in *The Circuit Rider* was characteristic of Western Methodism. Perhaps it was

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13 Ibid., p. 37.
incident to frontier conditions and necessary to the success of these ardent workers. The many books of biography and reminiscences which preserve the memory of the period justify what the author has recorded.

Eggleston was born and reared in a strict Methodist environment, where extremes of religious observance were rampant. It was considered very sinful to take a bath on Sunday, to shave, or to brush one's shoes. The cooking for the next day must be done on Saturday. Another example of narrow views was the attitude toward ornament of any kind. Anything that appealed to the senses out of the spiritual sphere was regarded as sinful. The preachers were especially down on the wearing of jewelry and ornaments, as artificial flowers on hats.

"I remember with what bitterness the clergyman, under whose ministrations we sat in our early boyhood, denounced the putting on of gold and costly apparel, even exhorting wives and widows to strip their wedding rings as shakels that would bind them to the devil."

Although Eggleston from his cultural experiences in Madison and his association with broad-minded people gained a broader vision of life and more liberal views, his early strict Methodist teaching remained with him. Edward's conscience was burdened by his own sins or those of others, especially by those of George Cary. The community was one in which he could not have easily laid aside his beliefs had he chosen to do so. It seems that from an early period he was expected to become a preacher. A young man of such brilliant promise would be of great assistance in the cause of religion. So he became a circuit rider, covering

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The First of the Hoosiers, p. 120.
a four-weeks' circuit, with ten preaching places, in the bottom lands of the Ohio River. He probably received instruction for the ministry in the manner in which Horton received his:

"It used to be said that the Methodist preachers were educated by the old ones telling the young ones all they knew; but besides this oral instruction Horton carried in his saddle-bags John Wesley's simple solid sermons, Charles Wesley's hymns, and a Bible."16

In addition Eggleston carried a book of Latin or French, or perhaps Greek.

The story of Eggleston's which is most clearly autobiographical is The Circuit Rider. Many of Edward Eggleston's experiences both as a boy and as a Methodist preacher are expressed in those of Mike Lunsden. It would seem to me, after reading the Journal and other autobiographical articles of Mr. Eggleston's, that he might have been consciously drawing the character of Mike in his own image throughout the book.

Mr. Harlan Logan, who made a comparative study of The Circuit Rider and the Journal, found a number of interesting parallels and reached the following conclusion:

"Mike's life from the time of his conversion until his death is almost identical to Eggleston's life from November, 1857, to March, 1858."17

Mike is a young convert, untrained for his work as a minister, but fired with zeal and determination to become a circuit rider. He is put in charge of one of the most difficult circuits from

15 The Circuit Rider, p. 185.
16 Logan, unpublished thesis, p. XXVI.
the standpoint of accessibility and healthfulness. His frail constitution can not withstand the strenuous work and exposure, and his health breaks down completely, but Mike's conscience bids him struggle on. Though a victim of lung trouble, he continues in the ministry, for he believes:

"There's something more important than our ease or happiness. We were not made to seek comfort, but to give ourselves to the work of Christ, and see! Your head is already blossoming for eternity, and yet you talk as if this world were all."

Mike is assigned as a junior preacher to a "circuit in the wilderness of Michigan," but his failing strength forces him to abandon his charge, and he becomes a patient in the house of Dr. Morgan, where more than once he has been tenderly cared for during his illness.

The description in The Circuit Rider of Mike's first sermon and that in the Journal of Eggleston's "maiden speech" before a temperance mass meeting are similar. In The Circuit Rider Mike's feelings are described thus:

"The house, the yard, the fences, were full of people. Mike was seized with a tremor. He did not feel able to run the gauntlet of such a throng. He made a detour and crept in at the back door like a criminal. For stage fright—this fear of human presence—is not a thing to be overcome by the will. Susceptible natures are always liable to it, and neither moral nor physical courage can avert it.

"A chair had been placed in the front door of the log house for Mike that he might preach to the congregation indoors and the much larger one outdoors. Mr. Magruder, much battered up, sat on a wooden bench just outside. Mike crept into the

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empty chair in the doorway with the feeling of one who intrudes where he does not belong."18

In the Journal Eggleston says:

"I made my maiden speech today before a temperance mass-meeting. I was placed in a strange predicament. In the first place I rode some distance which wearied me. My fellow orator insisted that I should speak first. We were paraded through the procession twice as 'speakers of the occasion' all hats being donned to us. I felt more like a culprit going to execution than a 'speaker of the occasion.' One member of the committee of arrangements introduced me, and another requested me to sit down until they opened with prayer. Finally however I got through much relieved."19

Eggleston is probably drawing on more than his imagination when he tells how entreaties of his family and friends set forth for the distant Pottawotomie Creek Circuit. He is recording rather accurately a description of his own leave-taking when he made his second trip to Minnesota. Perhaps he was thinking more of his own life than that of Kike when he wrote:

"Was Kike unhappy when he made his way to the distant Pottawotomie Creek circuit?

"Do you think the Jesuit missionaries who traversed the wilds of America at the call of duty as they heard it, were unhappy men? The highest happiness comes not from the satisfaction of our desires, but from the denial of them for the sake of a high purpose. I doubt not the happiest man that ever sailed through Levantine seas, or climbed Cappadociam mountains, was Paul of Tarsus. Do you think that he envied the volupturies of Cyprus, or the rich merchants of Corinth? Can you believe that...

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18 The Circuit Rider, p. 126.
one of the idlers in the Epicurean gardens, or one of the Stoic loafers in the covered sidewalks of Athens, could imagine the joy that tidied the soul of Paul over all tribulations? For there is a sort of awful delight in self-sacrifice, and Kike defied the storms of a northern winter, and all the difficulties and dangers of the wilderness, and all the hardships of his lonely lot, with one saying often on his lips: 'O Lord, I have kept back nothing!'

"I have heard that about this time young Lumaden was accustomed to electrify his audiences by fervent preaching upon the Christian duty of Glorifying in Tribulation, and that shrewd old country women would nod their heads one to another as they went home afterward, and say: 'He's seed a mighty sight o' trouble in his time, I 'low, for a young man.' 'Yes; but he's got the victory; and how powerful sweet he talks about it! I never heard the beat in all my born days.'"

Eglleston's puritanical ideas and ideals are reflected in more than one instance in his characterization of Kike. He, like Kike, found "a sort of awful delight in self-sacrifice," "defied the storms of a Northern winter and all the difficulties and dangers of the wilderness and all the hardships of his lonely lot with one saying often on his lips," and had this dominant thought before him, "to lay the foundation of a work that shall only be known in revelations of eternity."

During Kike's convalescence at Dr. Morgan's he fell in love with the doctor's daughter, Nettie. After serious contemplation he obeyed the dictates of his conscience by denying this love and returning to work as a circuit rider. Later during his last

20 The Circuit Rider, pp. 210, 211.
21 The Journal, p. 56.
illness he declared his love and married Kettie Morgan in his dying moments.

Those who know the circumstances of Eggleston's first marriage will readily see that there is a close parallel between the experience of Kike and that of the author, except the ending is different in the latter case.

When Eggleston met Lizzie Snyder, he was in wretched health. She was his nurse while he was in Minnesota. Soon the invalid minister knew that he felt more than a friendly or professional interest in Lizzie, but he banished love and marriage from his mind. Later he found out that Lizzie returned his affection, and he seriously considered declaring his love. Fate intervened. His health became worse, on Saturday he prayed for guidance, but by Monday he felt that he was dying. Lizzie was alone with him, and he felt that he should tell her of his great affection for her before his death.

"Must I die, thought I, and not tell her of my love? After praying over it I felt it my duty, my privilege to tell her. I did so—but enough over that plighting."22

Eggleston recovered, and within a short time after his marriage he wrote: "We are perhaps the happiest mortals alive 23
Glory to God in the highest."

There was a very definite reason why Kike and Edward Eggleston as well as other Methodist circuit riders, should hesitate even to think of marriage. It was a matter which they were not allowed to

22 Logan, op. cit.
23 Loc. cit.
decide alone, nor was it to be considered except under certain circumstances. It was a rule of the Methodist church, "as inexorable as death," that no man, no matter what his age or circumstances, should marry until he had traveled four years. This rule was doubtless a wise one when it was adopted, but when the extreme frontier conditions had passed, as was true in Indiana by 1832, the enforcement of the rule led to both injustice to candidates for the ministry and a great loss to the church itself.

Another rule of the church which made marriage for the young itinerant very difficult and romantic love affairs next to impossible was the rule which required the unmarried minister to consult his brethren on the subject before he mentioned love or marriage to the young lady. Every circuit seemed to have some pious young sister who was qualified in every way to become a preacher's wife. Apparently "Sister Ann Eliza Lee Cham" was one of this class, but in reality she was a "flapper," if we may use the anachronism to describe her.

The presiding elder was usually the one to be consulted about marriage. This sometimes brought about embarrassing situations. Upon one occasion in the early thirties three young preachers were favorably impressed by an accomplished young lady, in whose home they had been entertained at their appointments. Each of these young men was secretly determined to take the first opportunity of consulting the presiding elder on the subject of matrimony. Accordingly all three went to a camp meeting, which was held near the center of the district, in which they all had circuits. Neither knew why the others were there. One obtained an early interview and began by telling the elder that his four years of celibacy was
up, that he had been making the matter of marriage a subject of prayer, and that the Lord had indicated to him that he ought to marry. When the elder inquired who the happy girl was, he was informed that it was Cora. The elder answered, "Cora is a splendid girl and will make any man a good wife." Soon the young preacher was on his faithful horse speeding toward Cora's home to begin his courtship. A little later number two arrived and told of his desire to marry Cora. As soon as this preacher left, number three made his appearance. He made a similar speech to the elder, winding up with Cora, as the others had done. To him the elder replied,

"Now see here, my young brother, there must be some mistake somewhere. Cora is a splendid girl, but you are the third man who has today said that the Lord had indicated her for a wife. Somebody must have misunderstood the Lord." 24

Horton's arrest as a horse thief was an example of what often happened on the frontier. 25 As horses were the most necessary possession of the new settler, the loss of an animal meant great hardship and was desperately resented. Until well past the middle of the last century farmers in outlying districts suffered frequently from depredations of horse thieves. The marauders often went in gangs, rode away with the best horses in the neighborhood, and divided the plunder among themselves. Stringent laws were passed for their punishment. The code was that a man who was guilty of stealing a horse should be whipped fifty to one hundred

25 The Circuit Rider, pp. 141-152.
lashes; for a second offense, hanging was the penalty. Receiving stolen horses was a crime punishable by death. Very often the thief was whipped and then drummed out of the country.

During the early days when courts were few and distant, the people often took the law into their own hands and were organized into "Regulators." These hunted down marauders and often held court and punished the offenders. This was effective in protecting the settlers.

The incident of Horton Goodwin's quelling a band of disorderly ruffians at a quarterly meeting at Salt Creek is borrowed. It is almost identical with the experience of Peter Cartwright at a meeting of the kind on the Scioto Circuit in 1805, which was also held in the woods.

The mob, led by two champions who bore loaded whips, invaded it. Cartwright called from the stand upon two magistrates in the assembly to arrest the leaders, but they replied that it was impossible; whereupon the indignant preacher came down and took matters in his own hands, but the assistants struck him. The greatest tumult ensued. He seized one after another of the rioters and threw them to the earth, including the drunken magistrate, who had taken sides with them.

"Just at this moment the ringleader of the mob and I met. He made three passes at me, by force of his own efforts intending to knock me down. The last time he struck at me, by force of his own effort he threw the side of his face toward me. It seemed at that moment I had not

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26 Levering, op. cit., p. 185.
power to resist temptation, and I struck him a blow in the turk of his car, which felled him to the earth. Our friends now rushed by the hundreds on the mot, knocking them down in every direction. In a few minutes the place became too strait for them, and they wheeled and fled; but we secured about thirty prisoners, marched them off to a vacant tent, and put them under guard till Monday morning, when they were tried, and every man was fined to the utmost limits of the law. They fined my old drunkon magistrate twenty dollars, returned him to court, and he was cashiered of his office. On Sunday, when we had vanquished the mot, the whole encampment was filled with mourning; and although there was no attempt to resume preaching till evening, yet, such was our confused state, there was not then a single preacher on the ground willing to preach, from the presiding elder, John Dale, down. Seeing we had fallen on evil times, my spirit was stirred within me. I said to the elder, 'I feel a clear conscience, for under the necessity of circumstances we have done right, and now I ask you to let me preach.'

The elder insisted on his preaching, for there was no one else who could do so.

"The encampment was lighted up, the trumpet blown, I rose in the stand and required every soul to leave the tents and come into the congregation. There was a general rush to the stand. I requested the brethren, if ever they prayed in all their lives, to pray now. My voice was strong and clear, and my preaching was more of an exhortation and encouragement than anything else. My text was 'The gates of hell shall not prevail.' In about thirty minutes the power of God fell on the congregation in such a manner as is seldom seen. The people fell in every direction, right and left, front and rear. It was supposed that not less than three hundred fell like dead men in battle, and there was no need of calling mourners, for they were strewn all over the camp ground. Our meeting lasted all night, and Monday and Monday night; and when we closed on Tuesday there were about 200 who had professed religion, and about that many joined the church."26

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26 Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 90-93.
"There were two bitterly hostile classes in our pioneer society. One of these was made up largely of criminals from the east, and others, of criminal tendencies, who found the restraints of law disagreeable. The other class was made up of clean, conscientious persons who came west for economic reasons, or in some cases to escape vicious customs in the old society. These two classes had many a furious fight. The first had its headquarters in the tavern, the second gathered round the church. Every camp-meeting had its gang of rowdies who delighted in hectoring the preachers. On the other hand every circuit rider had a chip on his shoulder for the tavern bully. They were sworn enemies. The early churches had a great work to do, and it is greatly to their credit and to our gain that they did it well."

The Circuit Rider is not so entertaining as Henny, but it is important because it gives a vivid impression of a period noted for the heroism and sacrifice of the Methodist evangelists. It also serves as a chapter in the life of Edward Eggleston, for it pictures the devoted members of a religious fraternity of which Eggleston himself was once a member. For several years he was an active minister in the Methodist church, traveling the prairies and preaching at the new settlements to the whites and Indians.

This is said to be the most informing novel that he wrote. It is very convincing, as Mr. Earley says:

"Even where in his fidelity to violent frontier conditions his incidents seem melodramatic, the handling is sure and direct."

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29 Reading in Indiana History, p. 294.
30 The Circuit Rider was published in the Christian Union, November 12, 1873—March 10, 1874.
31 Earley, op. cit., p. 492.
The type of ministers that Eggleston portrays are for the most part drawn from himself and his acquaintances and colleagues in the Indiana Conference, even though it is not probable that he was consciously gathering material for his novels. The following quotation will evidence that fact:

"The years of my ministry brought me into acquaintance with frontier preachers, and it is a privilege of a lifetime to have known a company of men so sincere."
CHAPTER V

ROXY

To the people of Vevay Roxy means more than any other of Eggleston's novels, for the author communicates to his pages charmingly the atmosphere of his native village. He portrays characters whom they have known personally or by tradition; he points scenes with which they are familiar, the broad-flowing Ohio with its novelty and mystery, the towering green hills on either side, the quiet streets, the old-fashioned gardens, and the Swiss interiors. All these he pictures faithfully.

The author touches intimately upon questions that held the attention of the people at that time, the political campaigns, the religious enthusiasms, and the village gossip.

It is true the descriptions are of the Vevay in the time of the girlhood of Mr. Eggleston's mother; yet he who knows "Luzerne" will recognize a familiar friend when he now sets foot on the streets of Vevay. The rudeness which he describes has long since disappeared, for one of the most striking things about Vevay is the culture one observes there today.

In Roxy the characters are fresher and more spontaneous than in any of the rest of Eggleston's novels. They are depicted even more vividly than they are in The Hoosier Schoolmaster. Eggleston was past forty when he wrote Roxy and had been in New York eight years. His years of experience had developed his

1Indianapolis News, September 3, 1902.
natural instinct for character. Here the characters are of a firmer fiber, and the note of human passion is deeper than in former stories.

The plot is based on an actual occurrence, this time the heroine being a wife who forgives both the erring husband and his paramour; but in the background Eggleston has introduced the people and customs of his native village.

The dramatic quality appears strongly in this story, which is in "moral relation a kind of Western Scarlet Letter," but is treated with extreme delicacy.

It is an interesting fact, with which few of the readers of Roxy are familiar, that all of the characters of that famous book were portrayals of Vevay or Switzerland County people. The following list was compiled by Mrs. James Knox, now deceased, and is in possession of her daughter, Miss Julia LeClere Knox, of Vevay, Indiana:

Roxy Adams ............... Harriet Dufour
Mark Bonamy ............... Aurelius Dumont
Flem Ciddings ............... Flem Jones
Cash Jones ............... Steve Jones
Rev. Whittaker ............... Rev. Wason
Henrietta Hanks ............... Amanda Dufour
Bobo Hanks ............... Ringold Dufour

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2 The Hoosiers, pp. 149-150.
3 The Hoosier Schoolmaster, Preface.
4 The Hoosiers, p. 150.
Roxy Adams was the maiden name of Roxy LeClerc, companion of Eggleston's mother. The character was ideal with the author. The real Roxy was Harriet Dufour, granddaughter of John James Dufour, one of the first Swiss settlers of the county and the eldest of the Dufour brothers who founded Vevay. 5

Harriet was an attractive, accomplished girl who was educated in a girls' school. At an early age she married Aurelius Dumont, son of Julia L. Dumont, the famous pioneer schoolmistress. Aurelius was a well-educated young man and a competent lawyer and orator of some prominence. He often made political campaign speeches in and around Vevay, such as those spoken of in the

5Mrs. Dupraz, conversation with the writer.
Harriet adopted the baby girl whose sad story is related in *Roxy*. However, neither the foster mother nor the child was destined to live long, for Harriet contracted tuberculosis, whereupon she returned the child to its own mother. Little is known of the subsequent years of the innocent little girl except that she lived to be only about ten years old. Perhaps it is well that she died without realizing the shame that overshadowed her life.

Stephen Jones, caretaker of the Pleasant house, is the only living character of Eggleston’s novels. He was the Wash Jones, the drunkard in the political rally in *Roxy*, but he has since reformed. The Reverend Hiram Wasson, the Reverend Mr. Whittaker of the story, was a Presbyterian minister from New England. He and his wife taught school in Vevay. He got the consent of Mr. Eghbury and other trustees to use the church and invented the desk described in *Roxy* by setting a writing desk to the back of each pew, so that it could be dropped down out of the way in church time.7

Edward and George Cary attended this school, and the latter gives a very complimentary description of his instructor:

“Mr. Hiram Wasson possessed the gift of making his pupils like him as well as respect

6 *Loc. cit.*

7 Statement from Mrs. A. V. Danner, President of Switzerland County Historical Society, Vevay, Indiana.
him. He had a gentle sunny nature with a
spice of pleasant humor. Mr. Wason never
flogged... He invented a number of devices
by which to punish when punishment was necessary.
These devices were always good-natured, and
usually there was a touch of humor in them, so
that they amused and interested the school
instead of offending.*8

Amanda Dufour, wife of Oliver Dufour, son of John Francis
Dufour, was a poet of more than local renown. Her writings were
printed in many different publications. Much of her work
consisted of acrostics and lines beginning "Fair Maiden," as was
the style in her day, though some of her poems should rank high
in true poetic insight and beauty of expression. Many literary
friends visited her, among whom were George D. Prentice and
Robert Dale Owen. In one of the books of the latter he mentions
an incident that occurred at the "Ferry House"9 one night while
he was a visitor there. The story is told as follows:

"It was a beautiful moonlight night and
guests were assembled to meet Mr. Owen and all
were on the lower porch overlooking the river,
awaiting the return of Mr. Dufour on the night
boat from Cincinnati. Mrs. Dufour excused her-
self and went upstairs to look after the children
in their beds. Seeing that they were all right,
she stepped out upon the upper porch, and there
she saw plainly in the moonlight her husband
advancing toward her with outstretched hands.
She called his name and expressed surprise that
the boat had landed without her knowledge, and she
attempted to place her hands upon his shoulders,
when in an instant he had vanished in thin air.
Of course, she screamed, the company below rushed
to her and tried to comfort her, though each
thought in his own heart that some terrible
accident had befallen the husband. But in a short
time the boat arrived, bearing Mr. Dufour safe

8The First of the Hoosiers, pp. 59-60.
9Julia LeClere Knox, conversation with the writer.
and well.

"To Mr. Owen, however, the incident was proof of his theory, that the soul, or spirit, can travel through space while yet in flesh, and he contended that Mrs. Dufour actually saw her husband. She, in after years, held that it was but the trick of the moonbeams."10

The "Ferry House" on the river front was in the process of building when the first steamboat passed down the Ohio River in 1811. The people came from miles around to see this wonder of steam power and gathered around the foundation of this house, erected by John Francis Dufour, who laid out Vevay. Theodore Roosevelt's great uncle, Nicholas Roosevelt, was one of the company that built this steamer, and he and his wife were passengers on the first trip.

Only two families have occupied this house. Since the Dufours have passed away, the Grahams have through several generations lived here and operated the ferry.11

The original of Bobo, Ringold Dufour, became a general in the Mexican War.12

Nancy Kirtley and Jim McGowan represent the "poor whitey" race, which has called into existence such colloquial expressions as the following:

"Tar heel" in North Carolina, 'sand-hillers' in South Carolina, 'corncrackers' in Kentucky.

10Mrs. Dupraz, op. cit.

11The son of the famous speller in The Hoosier Schoolmaster, "Jeems" Phillips, married Miss Maggie Graham, who lived here. Miss Eva Graham, conversation with the writer.

12Mrs. A. V. Danner, op. cit.
'yahoo' in Mississippi, and in California 'pike.' They never continue in one stay, but are the half-gypsies of America, seeking by shiftless removals from one region to another to better their wretched fortunes, or more likely, to gratify a restless love of change and adventure. They are the Hoosiers of the dark regions of Indiana, and the Egyptians of southern Illinois. Always in a half-barbarous stage; it is among them that lynchings most prevail. Their love of excitement drives them into a daring life, and often into crime. From them come the Kentucky frontiersmen, the Texas rangers, the Murrell highwaymen, the Arkansas regulators, the ancient keelboatmen, the more modern flatboatmen and raftsmen, and roustabouts, and this race furnished perhaps more than its share of 'road agents' that infest the territories. Brave and generous men are found among them, but they are never able to rise above the Daniel Boone and the Simon Kents.13

Daniel Kelso was of Irish descent and was the son of Robert Kelso, born in 1799. Daniel was the eldest of eleven children. The family genealogy states that he married Margaret Ricketts of Dearborn County and afterwards Belle Kinnear. The Switzerland County records show that a Daniel Kelso was married to Nancy Cox on August 2, 1830, but a member of the family states that this is wrong, or is not the one in whom we are interested. He had a meager education, but taught school. His reputation as a criminal lawyer spread all over southern Indiana, and his practice became very extensive. He entered politics as a Whig and was a successful candidate for various offices in his state during succeeding years. He served in the House of Representatives in 1833 and 1834 and again in 1848. He was the state senator from Switzerland County in 1842. In the nineteenth session of the

13Roxy, p. 183.
legislature he was a member of the Judiciary, Education, and Military Affairs Committees. In 1850 he was a delegate to the state constitutional convention and was an important member of it. He served as prosecuting attorney from November 7, 1854, to November 7, 1856.14

According to tradition, Mrs. Hendenhall lived up to her reputation of being proficient in handling the gossip in the village. Her most important duty seemed to be the gathering and distributing of news punctually. Citizens relate many incidents about her hailing passersby for the purpose of obtaining information or of communicating some pressing bit of news. Mrs. Hendenhall's daughter, Martha, a friend of the Works family in Vevay, married a Dr. Baxter of Louisville, Kentucky.

The "house of the Lombardy poplars," spoken of so often in the novel, the home to which Mark Twain took his bride, Roxy, is the Julia L. Dumont home. It was built by John Dumont over one hundred years ago, and here Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, the famous pioneer schoolmistress, did her great work as an efficient and inspiring instructor of the children of three generations.15 The people of the community wherein she wielded such an influence in the cultural development revere her memory today. Old residents speak with pride when they say to a visiting stranger in their town, "my mother" or "my father went to school to Julia L.

14Samuel Cade, "Daniel Kelso," The Indiana Freeman, Franklin, Indiana, June, 1934, pp. 2-5.

15Mrs. Duprez, op. cit., p. 5.
Dumont." The great teacher has been honored by having a club named for her in Vevay, and there is also an Eggleston club. They are both still active.

Mrs. Dumont was the teacher of George Cary and Edward Eggleston, and the latter has paid her the following tribute: "As a schoolmistress she deserves immortality, and she was an ideal teacher because she succeeded in forming character." When she was past sixty years old, an addition was built to her home, and this was used for a school with study rooms built off the main room. The room in which she taught is on an upper floor and is now divided into several rooms. The outer stair by which it was reached has been torn away. This old brick building presents a dignified appearance and is a substantial structure despite its age. It is approached by a long winding path, but the "Lombardy poplars" and the "chestnut grove" have long since disappeared. The place is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Leop.

One of the most interesting originals used by Eggleston in his book portrays is that of "Aunt Lucy" Detraz. She is the most beloved of all by the people of Vevay. Her remarkable personality, her kind and loving disposition, her charitable deeds for the sick and needy, and her broad outlook on life in general has endeared her to all who knew her. "Aunt Lucy" was born in Vevay in 1806 of Swiss parentage, the fifth child born in that locality. Her family have always used the French language,


17 Julia LeClerc Knox, "Vevay and Its Oldest Inhabitant."
and she spoke the language fluently. Her educational opportunities were limited, but when she was seventeen, she attended school in Louisville, Kentucky, for eight months. She was married at twenty to Benjamin Detraz, a carpenter, with whom she lived forty-one years, when he was killed by a fall. She was a devoted member of the Presbyterian church and a zealous reader of her French Bible. She impressed one as a woman of knowledge and culture. She remembered well the War of 1812 and often told of her fright on seeing a band of Indians in war paint approach the house, but when they found that the family could speak French, they were friendly and assured them that no harm should befall them. The Indians came often afterward and brought their squaws with them. "Aunt Lucy" was recognized as the best authority on local history in the neighborhood, as she had lived all her life in Vevay and was well up in the nineties when she died. It is an interesting fact that she was present at the birth of Edward Eggleson and put the first clothes on him. People of Vevay say that the picture he paints of the noble woman as the mother of Twonnet is true to life.

The home of "Aunt Lucy" figures in Roxy also, for it is the one in which the Reverend Mr. Whittaker boarded while in Vevay as minister and teacher. The house is on Market Street and presents

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18 nec. cit.

19Senior Class of 1913, Vevay High School, History of Switzerland County (pamphlet), p. 9.

20Mrs. A. V. Danner, conversation with the writer. Her grandmother was also present.
a rather romantic appearance. It is a queer, rambling old
structure with a picturesque two-story veranda facing the river.
There is a dormer window overlooking the porch, from which the
mischief-loving Twonnet played numerous pranks on the ever-sedate
Reverend Mr. Whittaker. 21 This little window is pointed out to
the visitor as the very place from which the paper balls descended
mercilessly upon the head of the love-lorn Whittaker as he sat in
reverie on the lower porch on that eventful day the unhappiest of
unhappy men.

"Whittaker was leaning thus out of the
window, and dreamily gazing on the pale green
sycamores that will grow nowhere but fast by
the rivers of waters, when there lighted on
his head, with a sudden blow, a paper ball.
He started looking upward. There was nothing
to be seen but the garret window in the gable
above. But he had hardly looked away before
another ball descended upon him. He knew very
well what sprite had thrown them. He looked
away again, this time with a smile; then
turning his eyes upward, he caught the third
paper missile full on his nose, and got sight
of the mischiefful face of Twonnet, just as
it was disappearing, with a sharp little cry
of "Oh!" at seeing where the ball had struck." 22

It is said that Eggleston on his last visit to Yevav, while
standing on the porch of this house, looked up at the window and
laughingly recounted the pranks of the real Twonnet, whom he had
known so well in his youth. 23

It is said by those who knew the real Twonnet that her

21Mrs. Dupraz, op. cit., conversation with the writer.
22Roxy, p. 240.
23Mrs. Dupraz, op. cit., p. 6.
character is faithfully portrayed in the beautiful and charming
girl, pictured for us in the pages of Roxy. She is thus
described by one who knew her well:

"She was slender and graceful, with laughing
blue eyes, and beautiful features; her mouth, which
was small, was mobile, and very expressive. She
was lively and witty, never sarcastic, but always
kindly."24

A picture of the original Twonnet hangs in the library at Vevay,
and it answers in every way the above description.

Most of Eggleston's characters are composite, made up from
taking a trait from this one and a trait from that one, but
Twonnet shares the distinction with Aunt Lucy Detraz and James
Phillips in being true to life.25 But Twonnet is a type that is
not found elsewhere in his works. She is not lacking in strength
of character, as his women are usually. Outside of this novel
Eggleston's women are quiet and sober, but not so with the
impulsive Twonnet, whose French characteristics are revealed in
her every act. The author pictured a girl whom he had known in
his boyhood.26 Certainly the versatile Twonnet stands out in
marked contrast to the sober, saintly Roxy. Twonnet married Mr.
J. H. Titus, June 28, 1853, and died within a year after her
marriage. The funeral notice, printed on blue paper, as was the
custom, is dated March 4, 1854.27

24 Statement from Margaret Patton Lewis to her daughter, Mrs.
Dupraz, according to the latter in conversing with the writer.
25 Scrap Book, Vevay Public Library.
26 Mrs. Dupraz, conversation with the writer.
27 Mrs. Danner, conversation with the writer.
The original of Mr. Highbury, Ferret Dufour, was the author of the *History of Switzerland County* and was a deacon in the Presbyterian church. Mr. Edgar was a deacon in the same church and was a member of the committee to build the church in 1859. 23

The steamboat explosion described in *Roxy* actually occurred on Easter Sunday, April, 1852, at Gaines Landing, Kentucky, five miles below Vevay. The "Redstone" and the "Lady Pike" were racing, and the former exploded. Many people lost their lives either by the explosion or were swallowed up by the swirling waters of the river amid the wreckage. The story is told that a bride and bridegroom were going on board when the disaster came, and they were never seen afterwards. 29

A vivid description of the tragedy is given in *Roxy* as follows:

"The 'Red Rock,' an opposite packet boat, trying to keep ahead of the 'Lady Pike' of the regular line, had put on a full head of steam and was making a landing on the Kentucky side when she had been blown in-shore by the wind. The engineer was quite unwilling for any of the steam to escape; it had been made by a prodigious expenditure of tar and soap fat and other inflammables thrown into the furnaces. In vain the pilot tried to back out, they drove the stern of the boat ashore, in vain he tried to run ahead. The steamer had as yet no steering gear and the bow lay against the sandy bottom. At last poles and spars were resorted to, the steam still carefully hoarded. The passengers stood on guard, a young Baptist minister, who with his bride had just come aboard, stood half way up the stairs, waving his handkerchief to the friends on shore, when in an instant the

28 *Loc. cit.*

29 *Scrap Book* in possession of Mrs. Danner.
boat flew into a thousand pieces. People were hurled into the air, dropped into the water, on the bank, everywhere. They were scalded, drowned, destroyed, torn to atoms. It was told that a piece of the boiler crossed the river and cut down a black locust tree six inches in diameter. The first clerk went into the air, fell feet foremost into deep water and swam ashore. The bar-keeper landed on the inverted roof of his bar in the stream and was saved. The young Baptist minister and his wife were never found. A mile away from the place of explosion, in a tree-top, there was found a coat-collar, which his friends thought belonged to him.

"As all this happened but four miles below the town, Luzerne was thrown into a state of agitation such as only a village can know. Many in the village had friends and acquaintances on the boat. The passengers hurt were brought to Luzerne to be cared for. The firemen, standing near the boiler, were all killed, and but one of the roustabouts, Bob Olcott, was laid, bruised and mauled, in the village hotel. In a few days he was able to sit in the bar-room and regale the stock company of loafers with a full account of what he saw and heard and felt of the explosion, though in fact he knew nothing about it until he found himself lying bruised and stunned, in the sand of the shore, some minutes after the boilers had burst. But as the story grew in wonderfulness, many resorted to the bar-room to talk with 'the feller that had been blown up.' And as nearly every stranger who came felt bound to 'stand treat' after the story was ended, the roustabout did not take especial pains to keep it strictly limited to observations of his own. In truth, Bob Olcott embroidered the account of the explosion of the 'Red Rock' off Craig's Bar with various incidents, real and imaginary, taken from other explosions in the great river system of the West."

In this book the author contrasts the Hoosiers with the Swiss people of the village. The characters are well drawn. The Bonnavy, father and son, the lurking figure of Nancy, the sedate

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30 Roxy, pp. 146-147.
and pious Roxy, the mischievous Twonnet, are new types and make an interesting study. The author introduces rather unobtrusively the religious problems that held the attention of the community. One may easily detect the discord that existed between Methodism and Presbyterianism. The plot is one of the best he created, and the threads are woven together with power and skill.
CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS NOVELS

The Mystery of Metropolisville

In addition to the novels already discussed Eggleston wrote several minor ones, and of this group only The Hoosier Schoolboy concerns Hoosier life. The Mystery of Metropolisville is based on Eggleston's years spent in Minnesota. The theme is the wild speculation on land in 1856, when "money was worth five and six per cent a month on bond and mortgage, when corner lots doubled in value overnight, when everybody was frantically trying to swindle everybody else." Against the background of the land booming period he illustrates in a convincing way the dangers and temptations encountered by the pioneers of Minnesota.

During Eggleston's first trip to Minnesota he picked up the secret of the divine Daguerre and took, perhaps, not only in his mind's eye, but also in his photographer's camera, the portraits of Mr. Flausaby and the Superior Being. Very much of what he knows about Metropolisville was obtained in this brief sojourn in Minnesota. The fury of speculation was just then raging through the state, and the mysteries of the land grabbers were fully unveiled to his keen vision.

In addition to ambitious young men who at that time went to Minnesota territory to make their fortunes by honest labor and "grow up with the country," there was a great company of land

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2Scribner's Monthly, Vol. 562 (September, 1873).
speculators who expected to grow rich without much muscular exertion on their own part. In other words, their purpose was to be accomplished by starting what has since been called "boom towns" and reaping a great harvest of wealth from land speculation. These mapped out paper cities with pretentious names, put forth alluring prospectuses, and sold corner lots out on the unbroken prairie at fabulous prices to over-confiding newcomers.

A little while earlier the total population of that entire region had been less than 100,000 souls. At the rate of immigration then prevailing, it was confidently predicted that Minnesota would become a populous state within an incredibly brief time.

"It was easy to show the newcomer how certainly vast wealth must be his in a year or two if he had sense enough to invest what money he had in lots in this or that projected 'city,' for the present covered with prairie grass, but destined almost immediately to rival St. Louis and Chicago in population, wealth, and business."3

Some of these projectors of "cities" were honest visionaries, deluded by their own imaginings; but the greater number of them were mere gamblers upon the credulity of others.

"Curiously enough, as Edward used to point out, in the midst of a vast and universal speculation which partook largely of the nature of gambling, and often of "crooked" gambling at that, there was never any presence of actual recognized gambling, such as constituted a leading feature of early fortune-hunting settlements elsewhere in the West. Saloons were not prominent in the towns. Drunkenness was rare, and it was never the habit of men there to make walking arsenals of themselves and to go about

3The First of the Hoosiers, p. 310.
playing the role of braggarts and ruffians. Crimes were no more frequent in that newly peopling region than in old and well-ordered communities."4

These conditions are faithfully reflected in the one novel, The Mystery of Metropolisville, devoted to the early life in Minnesota, and his explanation of them was partly by reference to the character of the immigration in Minnesota, coming as it did largely from New England and the older states of the Middle West, and partly by the suggestion that the lawlessness and violence have been greatly exaggerated by those who have written about them. Yet in the Minnesota of that time the young Methodist preacher found need enough for his ministry and occasion enough for all his zeal, as might be expected in the remote regions along the Minnesota River, "the frontier of the frontier," he called it, where his congregation was made up about equally of Indians, white settlers, hunters, trappers, and half-breed voyageurs. His circuit covered a vast area, over which he traveled on foot, winter and summer, shod in Indian moccasins and living out of doors almost as continuously as the Indians did. His zeal in the work was such that it attracted the attention of the church authorities, and his abilities very strongly commended him to them.5

"While Edward Eggleston was in Minnesota, he made several trips back home, and he always came out to the home of my parents for several days' visit. I recall his being there, it seems to me to have been about 1859, and narrating his experience visiting a village of Sioux Indians that were

4Ibid., pp. 310-311.
5Ibid., pp. 312-314.
located at New Ulm. His stories of their peculiar customs were, of course, interesting to me a lad of ten or twelve."

Eggleston's bitter experience with the extreme weather conditions of Minnesota are shown in the story of the brother and sister who are lost in a terrible storm one night in an open buggy. After being exposed to torrents of rain most of the night, the brother ties the horse to a tree, leaves his sister in the buggy, and by the aid of a fence across the stream and poles gets to the other side, where he finds a settler's cabin. This is the home of the lone Hoosier poet, who takes the young man and his sister in and makes them as comfortable as he can with what he has in his humble home. The inhabitant then crosses the stream and gets the dry clothes from the buggy.

This incident is a close parallel to the following letter from Mr. Eggleston to his wife:

"Near Leroy, Minn. June 24, '58.

My sweet darling,

I am weather-bound, or rather water bound. I was on the prairie until 11 o'clock last night in a terrible storm all alone (except my Heavenly Father). I reached here at 11 but could not cross the creek it being swollen by the rain. I came near drowning Hiawatha and perhaps myself in trying it; and had to give it up. I did not find a house in 9 miles before coming to the creek and there was no house on that side of it. After two or three attempts to cross and after hollering till I was hoarse to awaken those in the house on the opposite side. I went back and tied my horse and then groping my way guided by the terrific lightning I partly waded and climbed on a fence until I got over. Led by the lightning which my Heavenly Father granted me I found the house roused the inmates who invited

6Archibald Shaw, letter to the writer, May 17, 1935."
me to stay. After going and tying Hiawatha I
got a dry shirt and socks and recrossed the
creek in the pitchy darkness and before midnight
shivering with cold I wrapped myself snugly in
bed thanking my Heavenly Father for delivering
me. This morning I put on my wet clothes again
crossed the creek to get dry pants. I am waiting
until the water falls."

The following poem also shows the effect of a storm on
Eggleston:

"Homesick in a Storm
Written while a storm prevailed at 15 degrees
below zero.

The bitter the freezing night wind
This howling round the door
In frightful gusts it sweeps the snow
With horrible meanings to and fro
And chills my heart to the core.

Fearful oh fearful's the night without
And fearful within in my heart
When I think of the loved ones God has given
And think of myself by destiny driven
Forth from those loved ones to part.

O who will preserve my darlings
(Mark to that horrible wind!)"n
O would I were with them this terrible night
Then might I comfort with loves cheering light
And joy with them I would find.

O why my poor heart tremble so
(That fearful north wind! Hiss!)"n
The God of the night wind ruleth above
The God of the night wind's the God of love
He holds the wild wind in his fist.

Hear me God of the night wind
(It fearfully rages without)
Keep I pray thee my darlings tonight
Scattered their darkness, Spirit of Light!
Then Lord encamp round about.

Though the night be fearfully dark
Though the pithecus night wind mean

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7Harlan Logan, unpublished thesis.
Yet will I trust on the Father above
And commit my dear ones to Infinite Love
Till we meet round the Great White Throne.

Inscribed to my darlings by
their Loving Husband, Uncle, Father
Edward Eggleston.

This novel is inferior to the stories on Hoosier life, but it is readable. While the plot is well developed, it is tawdry and melodramatic. The author has made use of Dickens's method in his humorous character portrayals. The characters are nothing more than type figures, and they go through their parts very much as the figures in a puppet show. The heroine is too sweet and unsuspecting in her ability to judge human nature. Eggleston's characters are either too good or too bad.

There is much that is tragic in the story. Katy seems to be a victim of circumstances. Eggleston shows that he has not forgotten those people whom he had known in the country along the Ohio by introducing the Hoosier poet who had left his native home in Posey County, because his poetical gifts were not appreciated at home, and who went to Minnesota and came a trapper and land speculator. The poet is a pathetic figure, for he seems half-demented; however, he is redeemed before the close of the book.

As a matter of history, the book is perhaps what Eggleston wanted it to be, for he says:

"It has been objected that I have copied life too closely, but it seems to me that the work to be done just now is to represent the forms and spirit of our own life, and thus free ourselves from habitual imitation of that which is foreign. I have wished to make my stories

8Loc. cit.
of value as a contribution to the history of civilization in America."9

Even though the story does not come up to the novels on Hoosier life, it serves as a record of an important chapter in American history.

The Hoosier Schoolboy

The Hoosier Schoolboy is not so readable as The Hoosier Schoolmaster. The characters are not very well drawn, and the story is flat and tame. The workmanship is far superior to that of his first Hoosier novel, but during his long absence from Indiana he had lost touch either with the soil or with youth or with both. Perhaps the most outstanding thing about the book is that the incidents are interesting and entertaining to children. Of course, we can readily see why it appeals to them. It is limited to the schoolboy's point of view.

Mr. Eggleston gives a very vivid description of the old type of school and the cruel masters with whom the pupils had to contend. Mr. Fall's school is very similar to the one conducted by Mr. Fenofiel in Craig Township during the boyhood of the Eggleston boys. They attended this school, and George Cary describes it thus:

"The discipline in the days of the Hoosier Schoolboy took the form of physical chastisement rather than moral persuasion. The master cut and trimmed eight or ten stout beechen "switches." . . . They were about five feet long and of goodly diameter. These he placed on two pegs in the wall just over his desk—all of them but one. That one he kept always on his desk or in his strong

9 Preface to The Mystery of Metropolisville.
right hand for instant use when needed. Thus armed for the day's work, the master felt himself equipped to compel good behavior and a due advancement of learning on part of his 'scholars,' for the words 'teacher' and 'pupil' were not in school use at that time. It was always the 'master' and the 'scholars.'

"The belligerent method of instruction extended to every matter that required correction or any encouragement to endeavor. If a boy misspelled a word, he instantly received a sharp cut from the master's switch. If he failed to get the right answer to his 'sum,' he was encouraged to try harder by two or three stinging blows. If he whispered to a neighbor without first saying to the master, 'Please may I speak to Johnny?' the fault was treated with the same severity as a grave moral delinquency and punished by at least half a dozen lashes.

"In the case of more serious offenses, involving real moral delinquency, the offender was summoned to the open space in front of the master's desk, where he was required to remove his coat, if he had one, and there he was severely flogged. Not in Mr. Benefiel's school, but another which Edward and I attended some years later in the little city of Madison I several times saw shirts deeply stained with blood when these castigations were over."10

Greenbank was the name Eggleston applied to Vevay in The Hoosier Schoolboy, and he used this term because of the verdure of the banks along the Ohio River at Vevay. The lane out of which the schoolboys made their famous fox chase remained as it had been in Eggleston's childhood until his death in 1902.11

Port William, often mentioned in the story of The Hoosier Schoolboy, was eight miles below Vevay on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, and now bears the name of Carrollton. This is now a very

10The First of the Hoosiers, p. 39.
11Indianapolis News, February 1, 1902.
pretty little river town.

During Eggleston's youth, when he was forced to spend much time in the country because of ill health, he often frequented the place just opposite Carrollton, where he dug into the old Indian mounds. The river also held much attraction for him, for in addition to his enjoying the natural scenery, he found much interest and pleasure in watching the old flatboats that lazily plied its waters. These childhood experiences are reflected in the pages of *The Hoosier Schoolboy*.

Edward Eggleston has this to say of the old-type schools which he himself had attended:

"To a nervous child the old discipline was indeed terrible. The long beech switches hanging on hooks against the wall haunted me night and day from the time I entered one of the old schools. Whenever there came an outburst between master and pupil, the thoughtless child often got the beating that should have fallen upon the malicious mischief-maker. As the master was quick to fly into a passion, the fun-loving boys were always happy to stir him up. It was an exciting sport, like bull-baiting or like poking sticks through a fence at a cross-dog."  

This was the attitude that Riley and Ben Berry took when they put the powder in the stove because they were severely whipped for playing "hookey" in order to watch the flight of wild pigeons that memorable Monday.

The old schoolhouse on Flat Creek is out of town a few miles on the Moorfield Pike. The old schoolhouse, like the one Whittier wrote about in "The Barefoot Boy," stands beside the

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road deep-coated with dust. Three windows pierce the walls at right and left. The rear wall has its center door, and to the right and left of this are hat pegs. A curious hanging box is divided into pigeon holes, each with some pupil's name, in which spelling papers and such things are kept. Off the front, on the other hand, is an ancient blackboard, a section of wall painted over in black. In the center of the room is a stove, the one into which perhaps the youngsters had thrown the gunpowder on that memorable morning, described in the story. Facing the stove and the rear door a long bench awaits the teacher's favorites. At the opposite side of the stove there are two benches for the still more elect, while at the right and left a row of six benches, each for two students, serves to fill the body of the room. The front of each desk supports the back of the bench before it.

Just beyond the schoolhouse there is a United Brethren Church, and next to this is the cemetery. An occasional visitor may drop in before Sunday School on Sunday afternoons; otherwise the little schoolhouse sleeps away its long vacation, and the farmers passing by are totally oblivious of the hundreds of boys and girls who have been delighted by the stories of this little place of learning.

The scene changes, and any reader of The Hoosier Schoolboy recalls how Egleston told of it:

"The village schoolhouse was a long one, built of red brick. It had taken the place of the old log institution, in which one generation of Greenbank children had learned reading, writing, and Webster's Spelling book. There were long continuous writing tables down the sides of the room with backless benches, so
arranged that when the pupil was writing, his face was turned toward the wall. There was a door at each end, and a box stove stood in the middle of the room, surrounded by four backless benches. These benches were for the little fellows who did not write and for others when the cold would drive them nearer the stove.

"The very worshipful master sat at the east end of the room, on one side of the door, and there was a blackboard—a new fangled notion in 1850—at the other side of the door. Some of the older pupils who could afford private desks with lids to them suitable for concealing smuggled apples and maple sugar, had places at the other end of the room from the master. This arrangement was convenient for quiet study, for talking on the fingers, for munching apples or gingerbread, and for passing little notes between the boys and girls.

"When the school had settled a little, the master struck a sharp blow on his desk for silence and looked fiercely around the room, eager to find a culprit on whom to wreak his ill humor.

"Mr. Fall was one of those old-fashioned teachers, who gave the impression that he had rather beat a boy than not, and would even like to eat one if he could find a good excuse."

The influence of Eggleston's early training under the guidance of Mrs. Julia L. Dumont clung to him throughout his life.

In later years when he was in Venice and separated by many miles and many years from the scenes of his boyhood, he wrote the story of The Hoosier Schoolboy. In this he makes use of the incidents in those early years. In one case, especially, he transfers the entire incident from an experience of his own with Mrs. Dumont to Jack Dudley and the tyrannical Mr. Fall. One afternoon, when the boys were much interested in their games and in watching the

13 The Hoosier Schoolboy, p. 228.
steamboats on the river, they were late in returning at recess. As a result the punishment that was meted out to the boys was that they should be deprived of their recesses. This made them rebellious, for they had not meant to play truant and were not given a chance to explain. Eggleston (Jack Dudley) was given the task of wording their written protest to be presented the next day. By the time the twenty-four hours had elapsed, the boys had come to Mrs. Dumont’s point of view and had written an apology, which she accepted with much commendation.14

Little Christopher Columbus George Washington de Lafayette Riedall was in real life "Lummy" Steepleton.15 He was a pathetic character, for his mother died when he was a small boy, and the little fellow led a deplorable boyhood.16 Perhaps his lot was even worse in real life than it is represented in the story.

The villain is Julius Dufour, who lived in Vevay. His daughter still lives in Chicago. Julius was a grandson of John Francis Dufour, one of the first members of the Swiss settlement in Switzerland County.17

In the story Jack Dudley (Edward Eggleston) was the "champion speller."

14Ibid., p. 231.

15History of Dearborn, Ohio, and Switzerland Counties, Indiana, p. 1062.

16At birth he was given the name Christopher Columbus George Washington de Lafayette. Mrs. Danner’s grandmother, Mrs. Polly Poteman, was present when he was named, according to Mrs. Danner. Mrs. Danner, statement to writer.

17Miss Julia Knox, conversation with the writer.
"It was the rule that the one who stood at the head of the great spelling class on Friday evenings should go to the foot on Monday and so work his way up again. There was a great strife between Sarah Weathervane and Jack to see which should go to the foot the oftener during the term and thus win a little prize which Mr. Williams had offered to the best speller in the school, as neither of them ever missed a word in the lesson. Thus far they had held the head alternately on Fridays. In this way the contest bade fair to be a tie, but Sarah meant to win the prize by fair means or foul.

"One Friday morning before school time the boys and girls were talking about the relative merit of the two spellers, Joanna maintaining that Sarah was the better and the other that Jack could spell better than Sarah. 'Oh,' said Sarah Weathervane, 'Jack is the best speller in school. I study till my head aches to get my lesson, but it is all the same to Jack whether he studies or not. He has a natural gift for spelling, and spends nearly all of his time on arithmetic and Latin.'"

This pleased Jack very much. He had stood at the head of his class all week, and spelling did seem to him the easiest thing in the world. That afternoon he hardly looked at his lesson. It was nice to think he could beat Sarah Weathervane with his left hand, so to speak.

"When the great spelling class was called, he spelled the words given to him as usual, and Sarah saw no chance to get the coveted opportunity to stand at the head, go down and spell her way up again. But the very last word given to Jack was 'sacrilege,' and not having studied the lesson, he spelled it with an e in the second syllable and an i in the last. Sarah gave the letters correctly, and, when Jack saw the smile of triumph on her face, he guessed why she had flattered him that morning. Hereafter he would not depend on his natural genius for spelling."

The Hossier Schoolboy furnishes an interesting chapter in
the history of the public school system of Indiana and also
furnishes a new frontier for the literary artist, which may
replace that of the "hardskull schoolmaster who beat the backs
of children from the days of John Adams and Andrew Jackson to
those of Grover Cleveland." With the coming of younger and more
enlightened teachers this latter educational frontier passed
almost entirely from the scene. It is an excellent picture of
the transition which marks the passing of the old institution,
the district school, to the more modern system of education with
its highly-trained teachers, improved methods of instruction,
and better equipment. It anticipates the coming of a new era in
the study of child life, which we have been able in a large
measure to realize in the last few decades.

Since the time of Edward Eggleston both the romantic and the
realistic treatment of the country school has been on the
decline.19 Perhaps one reason for this is the passing of the
one-room school from the rural sections.

The Graysens

The story concerns the accusation of murder against a poor
lad in Illinois and his defense by Abraham Lincoln. In the story
the author displays a remarkable knowledge of human nature. None
of those subtle laws which govern the relation between a man's
nature and his actions have been broken even for the author to

19Richard Allen Foster, op. cit., p. 179.
enforce a dramatic point. Another notable thing about the book, which is perhaps not surprising when we remember the author’s purpose was to reproduce faithfully these primitive people in relation to their environment, is that the dogged struggle with the brute forces of nature has made them independent and aggressive. The exulting readiness and three attempts of half the townspeople to lynch the accused boy before his trial shocks the sensibilities of a civilization that believes in retarding punishment rather than precipitating it. Although the youthful lawyer Lincoln is not introduced until the plot is well under way, he is used at the crucial moment, and then allowed to pass off the scene without encumbering the reader with subsequent achievements.

Again Eggleston returns to his favorite subject, presenting Hoosier life of a younger generation. Like The Circuit Rider, this story is not, geographically speaking, of Indiana, but it is, nevertheless, of that broader Hoosierdom which embraced southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

It is obvious that in his later works Eggleston had been deeply interested in the local color movement of the period preceding the publication of The Cravens, and its preciseness he had emulated in the opening paragraph of the novel:

20The Critic, X, 231 (November, 1888).

21“Dr. Eggleston introduced the incident with an inadvertence that enhances its interest and increases its suggestiveness.” The Courier, p. 152.

22Ibid., p. 151.
"The place of the beginning of the story was a country neighborhood on a shore, you may call it so, that divided a forest and prairie in central Illinois. The time was nearly a life time ago. An orange-colored sun going down behind the thrifty orchard of young apple trees on John Albaugh's farm, put into shadow the front of a dwelling which had stood in wind and weather long enough to have its tints so softened that it had become a part of the circumjacent landscape. The phoebe bird, locally known as the pewee, had just finished calling from the top of the large barn, and a belated harvest-fly or singing locust, as the people call them, was yet filling the warm air with the most summery notes that seem to be felt as well as heard, pushing one another faster and yet faster through the quivering atmosphere and then dying away by degrees into the languishing, long-drawn, and at last hardly audible vibrations."

The camp meeting described here is typical of those held all over the country during the religious revival, beginning in the early part of the century. The first camp meeting ever held was in July, 1800, at Gaspar River, Logan County, Kentucky. The circumstances which gave rise to it were as follows: a family who had first arrived in the country from one of the Carolinas were desirous of attending one of Mr. McGready's meetings, which was too far away. One of the girls suggested that as they had camped on the journey from the Carolinas, they might camp long enough to attend the meeting. They accordingly took their wagons and provisions and camped near the church. At the next meeting several families followed the example and were likewise blessed. This was a good omen and suggested to Mr. McGready the idea of a camp meeting at Gasper River, and he announced that the people would be expected to camp on the ground. For shelter they used

23The Graysens, pp. 1 ff.
their wagon sheets and cloth tents. The first camp meeting held from Friday until the next Tuesday and resulted in forty-five conversions. 24

From this beginning camp meetings spread all over the United States and still survive in some places in our own country.

The Graveona is based on an actual happening in the life of Abraham Lincoln which enhances the interest of the readers. The author states in the preface to The Graveona that he has made no attempt whatever to verify the story. He could not have done so had he chosen, for it was while he was in Nervi, Italy, that he transferred to the pages of his novel the story he had heard twenty years before. However, during the appearance of the novel in serial form he "received many letters from people acquainted in one way or another with the actors and sufferers in the events, of which these here related are the ideal counterparts." 25 The author considered these letters of such importance that he planned to have them inserted in the appendix of a later edition of the book. 26

One of the most famous cases in which Lincoln engaged, while he was a lawyer in Illinois, was that of William Armstrong for the murder of James P. Metzger in May, 1858, at Beardstown, Illinois. In this case Lincoln secured the acquittal of the defendant and scored one of the gratifying triumphs in his career as a lawyer.

James was the son of Jack and Hannah Armstrong, of New Salem.

25 Preface to The Graveona.
26 Loc. cit.
and was the child when Lincoln had rocked in the cradle while Mrs. Armstrong attended to her other household duties. Jack Armstrong was an early friend of Lincoln, whom he had beaten in a wrestling match on his first arrival in New Salem. He and his wife had from that time treated the youth with the utmost kindness, giving him a home when he was out of work and showing him every kindness it was in their power to offer. Lincoln never forgot his debt of gratitude to these kindly people; and when Hannah, then a widow, wrote to him of the peril her boy was in and besought his help in their trouble, he replied promptly that he would do what he could. The circumstances were unusual. In the summer of 1857, at a camp meeting in Mason County, Illinois, a man by the name of Metzger was most brutally murdered. The affray took place about half a mile from the place of worship, near some wagons loaded with liquor and provisions. James H. Norris was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to the penitentiary for a term of eight years. Of course, this made the popular feeling high against William D. Armstrong in Mason County; so he took a change of venue to Cass County. In the following spring (1858) he was tried at Beardstown.

Hitherto Armstrong had had the service of two of the most able counselors available, and now their efforts were supplemented by a most determined and zealous young lawyer, who, like his colleagues, seemed able to do very little, as the case was so clear against the accused that defense seemed almost useless. The strongest evidence was that of a man who swore that at eleven o'clock at night he saw Armstrong strike the deceased on the head;
that the moon was shining brightly, and was nearly full; that its position in the sky was just about that of the sun at ten o'clock in the morning; and by it he saw Armstrong give the mortal blow. This was fatal unless the effect could be broken by contradiction or impeachment. Lincoln quietly looked up an almanac and found that at the time the witness declared the moon to have been shining with full light, there was no moon at all.

Mr. Walker, one of the counsel associated with Lincoln gives the following account of the trial:

"Lincoln made the closing argument. At first he spoke very slowly and carefully, receiving the testimony and pointing out its contradictions, discrepancies, and impossibilities. When he had thus prepared the way, he called for an almanac and showed that at the hour at which the principal witness swore he had seen by the light of the full moon the mortal blow given, there was no moon. The last fifteen minutes of his speech were as eloquent as I ever heard; and such were the power and earnestness with which he spoke to that jury that all sat as if entranced, and when he was through, found relief in a gush of tears."

One of the prosecutors said:

"He took the jury by storm. There were tears in Mr. Lincoln's eyes while he spoke, but they were genuine. His sympathies were fully enlisted in favor of the young man. And his terrible sincerity could not help but arouse the same passion in the jury. The sight of his tall quivering frame and the particulars of the story he so pathetically told, moved the jury to tears, also, and they forgot the guilt of the defendant in their admiration of his advocate. It was the most touching scene I ever witnessed."

According to Mr. Shaw, one of the associates of the prosecution, Armstrong was cleared, not for the want of testimony

against him but by the irresistible appeal of Lincoln in his favor. 23 The old mother of Armstrong, who sat near during Lincoln's appeal, received the comforting words from him:

"Hannah, your son will be cleared before sun down," and he was. Lincoln did not charge Hannah a cent for his services. He later wrote her about a piece of land which some men were trying to take away from her:

"Hannah, they can't get your land. Let them try it in the Circuit Court, then you appeal it; bring it to the Supreme Court, and I and Herndon will attend to it for nothing." 29

The Graysons deserves to share with Roxy the honor of being Eggleston's best fiction. 30 In fact, it is considered one of the best American novels. 31 Here, as in Roxy and The Faith Doctor, one recognizes the stroke of the master hand. The backgrounds are often skimmed, but the characters are real and the plot is well-developed. The climax, though simple, is well-sustained. The dialect in this tale is more critical than in any other of Eggleston's Western series, because of the fact that a scientific study of American folk speech had not been undertaken before his earlier novels. The love story is not of much consequence. Rachel Albaugh is seemingly rather shallow. The important thing

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29 Statement from Hannah Armstrong, November 24, 1865. Herndon and Weik, op. cit.

30 The First of the Hoosiers, pp. 151-152.

31 "Here and in The Faith Doctor, a novel of metropolitan life, which followed three years later, the surer stroke of maturity is perceptible." The Provincial American, p. 45.
is the trial for the murder. As in his other stories the hero becomes involved in one of the commonest vices of the frontier, gambling, but he is redeemed as usual.

**The Faith Doctor**

Superstitions were quite common among the back country people of Indiana as well as in other parts of the country during the period about which Eggleston writes. The physicians found often times very successful rivals in ignorant old persons like Granny Sanders, "whose simples gathered at the right time in the moon were believed to work miraculous cures."52 Still more prominent were those who were supposed to possess certain occult powers. George Cary Eggleston gives an interesting story about the success of one of these in curing diseases without being present.

A man in chopping wood had split his foot nearly in two; and the physicians, unable to stop the flow of the blood, had said the man must bleed to death, whereupon a messenger was sent at midnight to awaken the occult healer and invoke his assistance. The man of the mysterious power, without rising from his bed, bade the messenger return that the bleeding was now stopped. It was found that it did cease at precisely the time of the healer's declaration of the fact.53

We cannot afford to look upon the credulities of the unlearned people with too critical an attitude, for even in our own time, in an age of scientific enlightenment, and even among the educated class in our most advanced communities there are those who hold

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32 The *First of the Hoosiers*, p. 88.
just as absurd beliefs as those of the primitive people of the Western frontier. The writer could cite numerous instances where this is true.

In The Faith Doctor Eggleston is criticizing, or, rather, satirizing, the enthusiasm for Christian Science among the socially ambitious in New York. The idea was borrowed, but the occasion was Eggleston's desire to attack the prevailing interest in mind cure, faith cure, Christian Science, and similar therapeutic theories. Even though the preacher-artist, which he confessed himself to be, claims that his purpose in the treatment of the subject is artistic rather than polemical, one can hardly fail to detect an element of the latter. But if the story is marred a little by a defense of the author's thoroughly rationalism, it has, as George Cary Eggleston has pointed out in his brother's biography, an element of enlightening autobiography in its analysis of that "lust for perfection" which tortured Eggleston's own youth. 34 Edward Eggleston makes this confession:

"Ill, sensitive, and susceptible, I was tossed about like a shuttle-cock between two enthusiasms that for intellectual acquirement and that for religious devotion... Western Methodism was almost as rigorous as Puritanism, and tenfold more ardent. It probably saved me from the vices of village life—more insidious than those of the city—and it gave me a prevailing serious view of life and stimulated the highest moral aspirations; but it did me harm also, since the scrupulosity which it bred impaired my health and for a time narrowed the range of my intellectual development." 35

34 Century, February-October, 1891.
35 "Formative Influences."
The "scrupulosity" that he mentions caused him to go days without uttering more than mere laconic expressions from fear of incurring the Biblical judgment against every idle word spoken. This was the thing that held him enthralled when he so craved self-expression in science and literature during his youth. It caused him to destroy all of his writings at one time. He in time, however, became philosopher enough to discover some compensation in such illiberal influences, as is shown by the following passage:

"Out of the austerity of the Middle Ages came the renaissance; out of New England Puritanism came the literary productivity of the unitarian reaction. . . . However misdirected and disproportionate some of the fervid aspirations of my days of religious enthusiasm may have been I cannot conceive that such experiences were not of use in subserving the moral nature. And I also had my period of renaissance—that exhilaration and exultation which the liberal mind feels in the rebound from constraint and which carries it for a time to higher levels that it might not otherwise have attained." 36

The age of Eggleston's mature years was a different one from that of his boyhood. The narrow teachings which had encumbered his youth had passed, and the harsh rigidity of life had relaxed. New trends in science were developing and more liberal ideas were being advanced. It was only natural that Eggleston, always a good student and thinker, should grow more liberal in his theology and unsettled in his beliefs and finally renounce all dogmatism. There is evidence of this change occasionally in his works. In 1858 Eggleston wrote in the Journal:

36 Ibid.
"I was once greatly exercised upon the subject of... ceaseless prayer. Was it to be taken literally?... I prayed for guidance and opening my Bible I read this text the first my eye fell upon 'Continue in prayer and rejoice in the same with thanksgiving.' That was what I needed."37

In 1872 in The End of the World he writes:

"There is a strange superstition among certain pietists which lead them to pray for a text to guide them, and they take any chance passage as a divine direction."38

Again in the Journal we find this:

"And is it not always the case that Christians in maturity always love solitude and communion with Christ... and in the South on Sabbath how did I love to recline beneath the meaning pines and there like old Thomas a Kempis commune with Christ."39

Then in The End of the World it is interesting to note:

"It is the evil of all day dreaming--day dreaming about the other world included--that it unfit us for duty in this world of tangible and inevitable facts."40

It would seem that Eggleston might be renouncing his old faith.

The Faith Doctor (1891) was the last novel Eggleston ever wrote, and the only one the scene of which he laid elsewhere than in the West. It deals with New York life. He gave as his reason for his departure from his Western scene that he had lived in

37Journal, p. 60.
38The End of the World, p. 143.
39Journal, p. 66.
40The End of the World, p. 278.
New York longer than he had anywhere else and knew New York life better than he knew any other part of the country.

Eggleston is trying to show the weakness and folly of men and women in adhering to all absurd current beliefs. He tries to vindicate the Hoosier for his clinging to traditional superstitions. For a people in the heart of metropolitan life in an age of enlightenment and scientific development he has no alibi whatsoever.

His theme, "the evil consequences of the lust after perfection," gave him an opportunity to depict certain phases of character, as affected by religious enthusiasm over Christian Science, especially. Eggleston's condition of mind and soul for a time was the original, from which in maturer and more enlightened years he drew the portrait of Phillida, the heroine of the novel.\(^1\) Her blind and self-sacrificing devotion to duty and her enthusiasm over her religion was not unlike that of Eggleston during his youth and early manhood.\(^2\) His experiences and feelings were at times similar to those of Agatha, even in moments of her darkest despair.

The book is readable but not so interesting as the Hoosier series. It is more finished in style, and the characters are rather vividly portrayed. The exaggeration in the characterization reminds one of Dickens in his novels of reform.\(^3\)

\(^1\) The First of the Hoosiers, p. 172.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 374.
\(^3\) Revisiter Johnson, "Edward Eggleston," Review of Reviews, XXVI, 449.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

The life of Edward Eggleston makes in itself a delightful story of aspirations and achievements. Few under similar circumstances have met adversity so courageously or profited so richly from those hard and bitter struggles as did this man of frail body and burdened conscience. Though driven from place to place in quest of health, his physical infirmities did not for a moment deter his ambition or diminish his mental vitality, for he was master of his fate. That same exuberance that forms a dominant characteristic of the man is manifested in all of his works.¹

While ill health interfered with his educational career as far as a formal course is concerned, it gave him opportunities of contact with American provincial life from which he gained a store of first-hand information that could not have been obtained in any school or from any other source.

The changes of time have largely eradicated the types of character that Eggleston drew. Modern civilization has supplanted the rude institutions of the Middle West. However crude this early civilization was, these people it produced proved to be dominating factors in the nation. The pictures which Eggleston drew in The Hoosier Schoolmaster, The End of the World, and The Circuit Rider were true. They told of a race that produced Abraham Lincoln and a long list of men of lesser

¹The Hoosiers, p. 164.
importance, of a section where liberty and patriotism reigned supreme. The land hunger led bands of hardy pioneers to brave the hardships and perils of an unknown region in order that they might have a home for themselves and their children. The slogan of these land seekers is expressed in the homely words of Old Mrs. Means in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*: "Git a plenty while you're gittin'." The number of these citizens in Indiana was not small, but even smallness of number never deterred their progress toward a high ideal for the individual and the country. Unfettered by Old World conditions, they saw the opportunity of the New World, and each bore his personal part of the responsibilities. It was of such that Lowell said in his immortal ode concerning Lincoln:

"For him her Old World moul'ds aside she threw,  
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast  
Of the unexhausted West,  
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,  
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.  

.......................  

"The kindly-earnest, brave, forseeing man,  
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,  
New birth of our new soil, the first American."  

Egleston knew the life of the Ohio valley at an interesting period of transition. He was more than a spectator of striking social phenomena, for he might have said with a degree of truth, "quorum parum magna fui." He was a representative of a saving remnant which stood for enlightenment in a dark day in a new land. The homely stories of the early Hoosiers, preserving as they do

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"the acid bite of the persimmon and the mellow flavor of the papaya," fixed for all time the character, the aims, and emotions of these forerunners of a new and an enlightened civilization, which it is our privilege to enjoy.

The plots of his novels are uniformly less important than the characters. He knew the men and women of whom he wrote, and he caught a kind of portrait of them in characteristic attitudes. This is not only true of the important characters but also of the minor ones. Granny Sanders, smoking her pipe before the open fire; Old Lady Means, gloating over the squire's forethought of marrying a wife with a lot of land; Cynthia Ann, throwing away her blooming plant because her good Methodist conscience scolded her for the appreciation of its beauty; Old Mrs. Tartum, hobbling around after the latest news or in an attempt to disseminate it.

The plots are weak and exist for the sake of the characters, which constitute the predominating element in the novels. The characters are so well drawn that the reader feels that he has been in contact with real persons, and they remain in the memory just as old acquaintances. The characters are treated in relation to surrounding social conditions instead of making environment a background.

It is plain that Mr. Eggleston is a close and sympathetic student of human nature and that the characters and incidents of

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3 Ibid., p. 38.

4 "The chief defect of these stories is in the plot. The characterization is careful and artistic." Scribner's Monthly, Vol. VI, 562 (September, 1823).

5 Ibid., p. 563.
his stories are drawn from life. Most of the characters are composite. He takes one trait from this one and another from that one. We can scarcely point to any truer work in American fiction than some of the character drawing in the first two books. The incidents are drawn mostly from Switzerland, Jefferson, and Decatur Counties in the Hoosier novels.6

Contemporary critics agree in asserting their belief in Eggleston's faithful transcript of life but point out the fault of moralizing too much in his first novels because of Dickens's influence. This is not surprising in one whom there was, according to his own confession, a life-long struggle "between the lover of literary art and the reformer, the philanthropist, the man with a mission."7 Though he maintains the point of view of the realist, sometimes the moralist betrays him.8

Eggleston influenced a great movement in American literature and at the same time wrote a very vital chapter in the record of our history. What he saw will never be seen again, and when The Hoosier Schoolmaster and Roxy cease to entertain as fiction, they will teach as history. The life thus described is like that described by Bret Harte, "only one episode in this great epic of our civilization; and the description of it is only one study for the complete picture of our national life."9

6Loc. cit.
7Fester, op. cit., p. 175.
8The Provincial American, p. 47.
9Scribner's Monthly, VI, 562 (September, 1823).
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