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Timothy B. Mahoney
University of Nebraska

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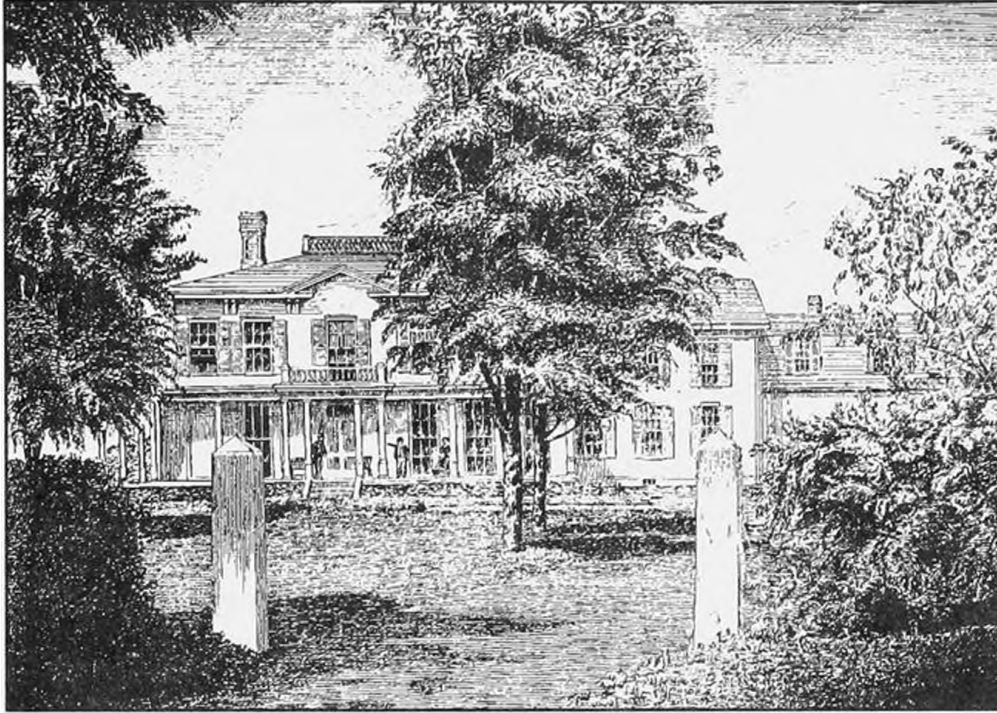
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TIMOTHY R. MAHONEY

ELIHU B. WASHBURNE
WESTWARD MIGRATION IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA

In the spring of 1840 Elihu B. Washburne (he added the "e" to his last name early in life) set out from New England to seek his fortune in the "wide, wide world." Eventually the young, Harvard-educated lawyer settled in Galena, Illinois, where other New Englanders were already shaping the fluid and diverse western society according to their own notions of genteel civilization. A representative New England migrant, Washburne participated in the creation of a self-conscious, regional middle class, with its own sense of gentlemanly conduct, its own definition of gentility, and its own aspirations for egalitarian interaction.

The lives of the famous and the not so famous interest historians in a variety of ways. Lately, social historians have become interested in the manner in which individuals' actions, thoughts, experiences, and behavior were shaped by, and helped shape the world in which they lived. This "social" approach, exemplified by a new genre of biographies, focuses on key moments when the subject's life intersects with formative moments in history, thus providing important insight into how that individual "ticked," and into how the larger process of social development occurred.¹



The “Norlands” Mansion, home of the large and remarkably accomplished Washburn family, was part of the New England cultural “hearth” – the wellspring of ideology and values that migrants carried westward.

Illustration from *Dedicatory Exercises of the Washburn Memorial Library*.

Elihu B. Washburne, the public man – Harvard graduate, congressman from Illinois, “Watchdog of the Treasury” – is well known to students of nineteenth-century America.² The “social” Elihu Washburne – the upwardly mobile “son of Maine,” whose life intersected with the social transformations of the upper Midwest in the 1840s – is much less known. This article examines Washburne’s choice of profession, his migration to the West, and his rising stature in western society. His voluminous correspondence with parents in Maine and with brothers in Maine, Massachusetts, and in the upper Midwest illuminates his behavior as he helped shape the regional social hegemony of the

genteel middle class in the 1840s. These letters also provide an unprecedented look into the early social development of the urban Midwest.³

Heading West in the spring of 1840, Washburne entered into a vortex of social and economic forces transforming the region, and he was determined to take advantage of them. It is clear, however, that despite the pull of the West, Washburne's youth in New England and his studies at Harvard Law School left a lasting imprint. At age twenty-four, he had already constructed himself as a New Englander, imbued with the social values and cultural attitudes of rural, even frontier Maine.

In the industrializing cities of the 1830s, categories of work, wealth, and gender were being relentlessly differentiated. Individuals from all groups were cut free from the structures of community and family to fend for themselves as free agents in the market place. In such an environment, the Calvinist values of self-discipline, frugality, and hard work were given a more aggressive, individualistic formulation.⁴ There was, in fact, nothing really "new" about this new middle-class ideology. As Robert Abzug has argued, the new diversified and commercialized environment in both the East and the West compelled New Englanders to take these communal values and turn them aggressively, even obsessively, toward self-mastery and social reform.⁵ In the urban East, this impulse motivated middle-class people to construct an orderly, reform-oriented religious and professional culture. In the West, members of the middle-class professions carried out similar agendas through the transference of the traditional New England "village" culture. Transplanted New Englanders transformed public life by establishing institutions of learning and reform, and by creating an activist government which sought to be a "positive instrument" in creating a "better society."⁶ Washburne, in moving first to Cambridge, then to Illinois, was shaped by these forces as he forged an identity as a middle-class professional and a member of the legal fraternity.

Like many among the first generation of graduates from law schools, Washburne viewed the practice of law as a "disting-

tive, manly endeavor” in which one applied a strong ethical code based on responsibility, morality, and honor. To apply ethics and the rules of law to society required perseverance and self-control. To practice law, therefore, was a demonstration of strength and action which proved one’s manhood and sealed one’s fraternal bond with other members of the bar.⁷

These professional and social aspirations probably compelled Washburne to leave New England. The egalitarian individualism of the 1830s demanded, as Robert Wiebe has suggested, that each individual have a free field in which to operate.⁸ The expanding marketplace and westward migration would, in time, provide this for many people. The perception during the 1840s, however, was that the New England legal profession was “crowded.” The region did not provide the “broad field” so necessary to validate one’s social status.⁹ Washburne remarked in his letters that New England town life remained too “damned aristocratic,” and “prejudicial toward young m[e]n.” It tended, therefore, to “hold them back by their coat tails” rather than encourage them to achieve success.¹⁰ Thus, Washburne had to leave New England and “pursue his destiny” in the “wide, wide world” – a decision he never seems to have regretted.¹¹ Still, the depth of his commitment to the culture and values of the “hearth” from which he left would fundamentally shape his strategy and his contribution to western society once he settled there.

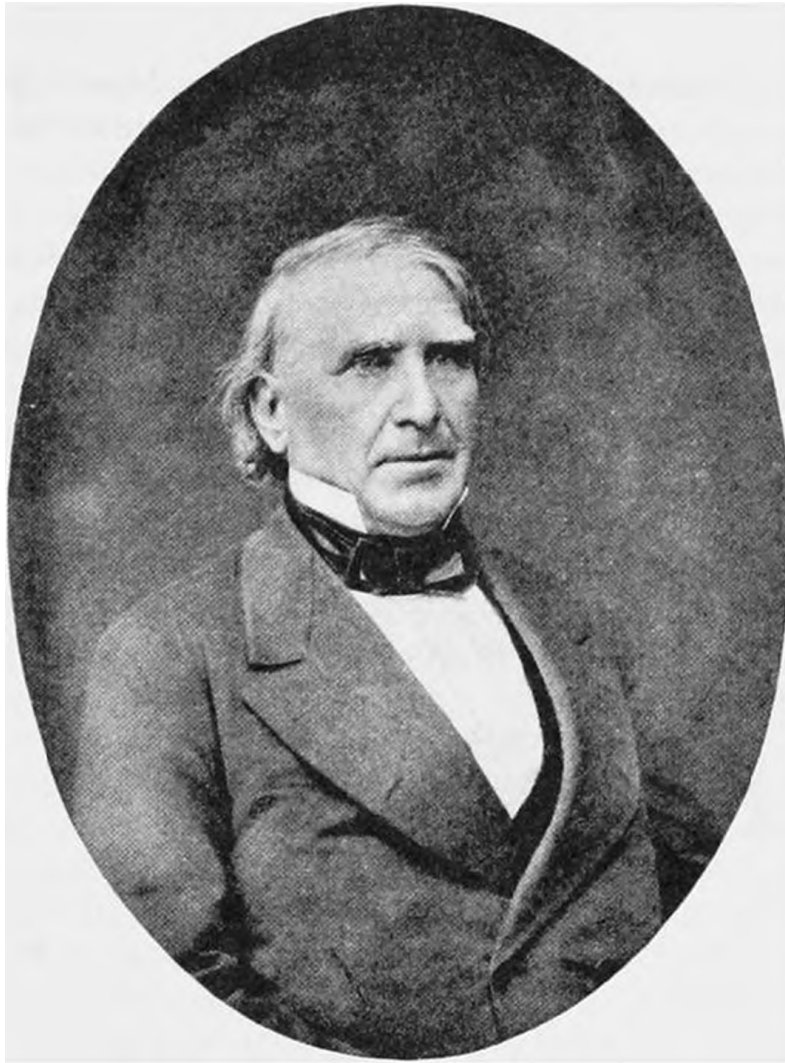
The vortex of social forces which Washburne chose to enter was indeed complex. Between 1800 and 1860 two great migration streams, extending westward from what D.W. Meinig called the primary “cultural hearths” of New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, flowed into and across the Old Northwest and the Upper Mississippi River valley.¹² Before 1830 these migration streams were primarily regional, or “folk” migrations, driven by the logic of rural village life and patriarchal kin groups moving from farms in the East to larger, richer farms in the West.¹³ Although this migratory system stemmed predominantly from Virginia, a New England stream also moved in a series of waves, flowing into northern New

England and west across New York into Ohio and Michigan through the 1830s, and then to Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and Iowa, and finally into Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota.¹⁴ A second migration, a process known as “chain migration,” transplanted kin groups from east to west. This, too, was rural in nature.

By the 1830s, the impact of the industrial revolution and market capitalism swept across the West, triggering urban development and centralizing trade and production. These forces undermined rural household and village economies and the social order they supported. Thus they reoriented and altered the logic and dynamics of the dominant regional kinship migration systems. Gradually, a rural to urban, and then an intra-urban or “entrepreneurial” migration system developed above the dominant folk migration system. In this system merchants, professionals, skilled and unskilled workers from diverse cultures, and an urban “proletariat” sought social mobility in the urban West.¹⁵

As these intra-urban migration streams intersected across the West, the New England emigrants spread out geographically. New Englanders migrated to towns and other places of opportunity across the region, ranging from the nearest river city to the newest frontier mining camp. In particular, entrepreneurs from New England trekked across the central and southern urban Midwest and down the Mississippi River. There they encountered greater numbers of immigrants from the Middle Atlantic states, the Deep South, and from Europe. Meanwhile, older residents from the midwestern hinterlands sold out to new immigrants and moved into the nearby cities or still further west.¹⁶

In the new towns and cities of the Midwest, intense competition and specialization promoted social mobility and the rise of a regional middle class. Facing a diverse frontier population, middle-class aspirants from New England and the Middle Atlantic states aggressively articulated the new genteel class ideology. They became ardent practitioners of evangelical Christian revivalism and champions of capitalist individualism and Manifest



Elihu Washburne traveled west within two intertwined migratory patterns: as a New Englander, following in the footsteps of thousands of others from the region, and as an “entrepreneur,” moving within a community of lawyers and other professionals who interacted across the West according to an implicit code of honorable gentility. Photo from Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader Washburn: A Chapter of American Biography* (1925).

Destiny. This they fused under the rubric of Whiggery and later Republicanism.¹⁷ Regional demography and geography shaped these constructions and gave them a distinctive western cast. For example, the diversity of the population in any western town limited the social control New Englanders could achieve, thus tending to privatize their actions and agendas. While establish-

ing their institutions of reform and gentility, New Englanders had to accommodate or segment themselves from the rest of urban society.¹⁸

Order in this society was initially forged by the economic initiatives of the midwestern booster ethos, which demanded cooperative interaction among the predominantly young men in the population. Out of this male social order, some struggled to construct a genteel society. The skewed male/female ratios widened the age difference between spouses, enhancing male prerogative. Increasing fertility rates, combined with higher child death rates, emotionalized marriages and restricted women's public reform agendas. Despite the tentative nature of efforts to transfer New England society to the West, regional demographic conditions left a distinctly provincial stamp on western bourgeois culture.

Traveling west in the spring of 1840, Elihu Washburne moved within these two intertwined migration patterns. On one level he migrated as a New Englander, a Son of Maine, following thousands of his peers to the West. Preceded by his brother Cadwallader and followed by his brothers Charles and William Drew, he took part in a chain of family migration. Also, he traveled as a professionally educated man, within the emerging entrepreneurial migration system connecting eastern cities with the urban frontier. Yet, Washburne viewed himself primarily as a lone traveler, an entrepreneurial gentleman and lawyer. With a few references he hoped to enter an urban world of strangers, settle in some acceptable town — probably in eastern Iowa — hang out his shingle, and begin to climb the ladder of life on his own.

Washburne's progress West within the entrepreneurial system was facilitated by the professional code of behavior and ethics established among gentlemen of the middle class. From every "honorable man" he met, Washburne exacted some kind of information, or letter of introduction, thus easing his subsequent move further West. This western world, in twenty-four-year-old Washburne's view, was populated by gentlemen of character, honesty, and integrity who through hard work and

self-discipline had succeeded in life as men of action. In such company, each man treated all others as equals in an open and magnanimous manner. Favors were reciprocated completely in order to enhance each other's self-esteem. Egalitarian interaction sustained their public life, and contributed to the construction of middle-class social order. As a country boy, Washburne gave this code a simple, personal style. Nevertheless, he knew what he was about and what he wanted in life.¹⁹ He also knew that men who eschewed these values were rowdies of a lower social station, to be tolerated only so far as to achieve the purpose at hand, and not to be treated as social equals.

A letter of introduction tucked in his pocket, written by the lawyer for whom he had clerked and with whom he had lived as a "member of...[the] family," described him as a young man with a "zeal in pursuing his professional studies," with "most perfectly correct...moral habits." Thus was made clear the depth of his commitment to new middle-class ideals and social strategies.²⁰ Washburne's quickness to assess other men's characters by their appearances and behavior, placing them in various categories of manhood, further attests to his acculturation into the middle-class, professional view of manliness. Before leaving for the West via Baltimore, he visited Washington D.C. in early 1840 to seek opinions from the great men of the republic on where to relocate, as did many other young men of that time. While a spectator at Congress, he characterized one senator as "a rough-hewn son of the forest" and another as "a very curious old gentleman." Yet another he judged to be a "bluff but genial old Kentuckian" who paid "little attention to his dress." A final senator possessed "an intelligent countenance" although he was "reserved and distant in manners."²¹

As he traveled west, he continued to size up the others he met, thus refining his own system of social attitudes and values, as well as finding his own place among these men. Passing over the Appalachian mountains, he joined company with "as couple [sic] of good fellows as ever broke bread." He found one a "high-minded honorable, generous Kentuckian," and the other "a real

good fellow, a merchant from Bloomington, Iowa.” These men traveled with Washburne as far as Pittsburgh and were preferable companions to those who joined him shortly thereafter. One of the latter Washburne brushed off by “telling him that he was such a rowdy I wished to have no more to do with him than was absolutely necessary.”

In Cincinnati, letters of introduction from Richard Houghton of the *Boston Atlas* brought him the attentions of some upstanding gentlemen, a pair of “first rate fellows.”²² According to the etiquette involving letters of introduction, each of these men treated Washburne with civility and exchanged the letters he presented to them for others commending Washburne to their acquaintances further west. Proceeding next to Rock Island, Illinois, Washburne found his younger brother Cadwallader teaching school. Washburne was impressed to find his brother already “quite a man among them.” Cadwallader tried to dissuade Elihu from going on to Iowa, submitting that Galena, Illinois, was “the best place in the whole West.” Others also encouraged Washburne to go to Galena because it was a thriving mining town with considerable potential for litigation. Moreover, Galena suffered from a lack of Whig lawyers. Some also suggested that the only Whig lawyer in town, Thomas Drummond, a native of Maine, might be willing to form a partnership with Washburne. Hoping to play his Maine card in lieu of proper letters of introduction, Elihu relied upon the good advice of certain gentlemen and decided to relocate in Galena. He assumed that common birthplace in Maine might bring him some consideration from men like Drummond.²³

Arriving on April 1, 1840, the young Washburne proceeded through “knee deep mud” to search for Thomas Drummond. Unfortunately, Drummond told Washburne that although he was a fellow Whig and a “Maine man,” he was not interested in taking on a partner, and in fact he discouraged Washburne from settling in Galena. Washburne must have been dismayed at the way his “Maine card” played out. Indeed, he recognized early on that being from Maine only allowed one to call oneself a New Englander. And even this

generalized regional identity was of limited use. New Englanders sought connections with other New Englanders, but they were still a relative minority in places like Galena, as most migrants were from the South or Middle Atlantic states.²⁴ In 1850 only 5 out of the 6,000 people in Galena were from Maine, and in nearby Quincy, a town of 7,000 people, only 20 were from Maine.

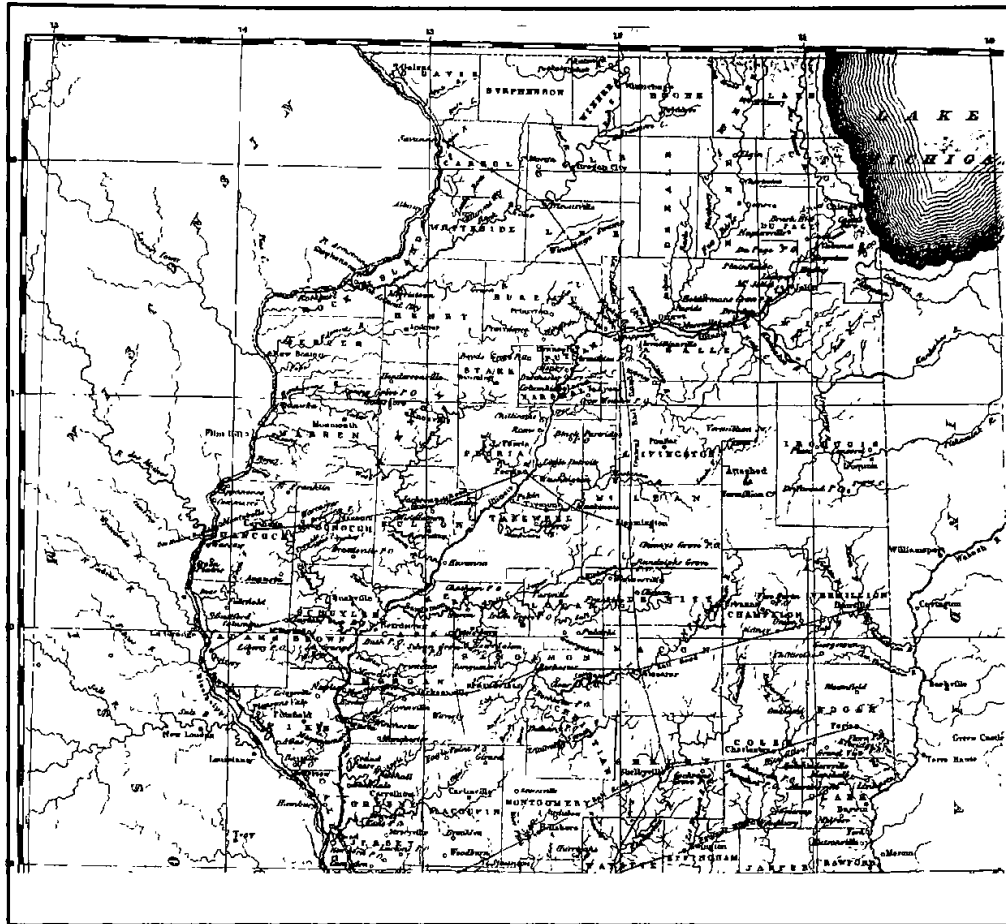
Recognizing the limits of being a Mainer, Washburne settled upon styling himself as a New Englander. This, however, was not a difficult decision, for Washburne's father was from Massachusetts, his relatives and siblings lived there, he received education in Cambridge, and he was thoroughly imbued with Harvard culture. In fact, his decision to move west was probably motivated by his contact with the entrepreneurial migration stream moving out of Massachusetts, rather than the trickle moving out of Maine. In the end, being a Maine man remained a private part of Washburne's personality; it shaped his identity, but it had a limited impact on the social or professional contacts he made in the subsequent years.

Moreover, from 1840 onward, references in Washburne's letters to his Maine heritage are rare. When passing Alton in 1840, he made no mention of Maine's most famous son in the Midwest, Elijah P. Lovejoy, the radical abolitionist who was murdered by a mob only three years earlier.²⁵ Furthermore, despite becoming an "almost life-long friend" with Judge Thomas Drummond, the two were never confidants and provided each other with little in terms of career advantage.²⁶ Also, Washburne seems to have had no connections to the small Maine community in Quincy, where the "Main" street was spelled "Maine Street." Likewise, his relation with Leonard Swett, a lawyer friend of Abraham Lincoln and Maine migrant, was little more than collegial.²⁷ Therefore, Washburne's Maine heritage tied him to no network of trade or business associates and provided him no real community in Galena or anywhere else in the Great West. The connection to any type of community came from his definition as a Yankee and New Englander, of which larger numbers flowed across the urban West than the relatively small number of Maine migrants.

Upon discovering that Drummond would be of no help, Washburne, who always tenaciously rose to meet a challenge, “determined...at once...to settle [in Galena] on [his] own hook, hit or miss.”²⁸ Playing his New England, as opposed to his Maine card, he looked up H.H. Houghton, Massachusetts-born editor of the local Whig paper and relative of Richard Houghton of the *Boston Atlas*. The Galenan told him to “ask no questions of any of them, but sit...right down and mind [his] own business and he would insure him[self] success.” Houghton, acting as a mentor, helped him find “a good office in a good part of town,” which he rented from Horatio Newhall, another Boston-born Galenan. Houghton roomed with Washburne in “one of the best private boarding houses in town.” This enabled Washburne, by the end of his second day in Galena, to have everything suiting him “to a T.” The following Monday he “h[un]g out his shingle” and sent out advertisements which contained references from professionals who resided in Maine, Massachusetts, Washington, D.C., Ohio, Kentucky, and Missouri.²⁹

By the time of his arrival in town, the social and professional world of Elihu B. Washburne was divided into those who were good, civil, and polite gentlemen, primarily from New England, and those who were unprincipled ruffians lacking in character and unworthy of his association. It was from this polarized social perspective that he encountered and analyzed Galena’s society and then moved methodically toward his goal of social mobility.

Within the town, two enclaves of “genteel” society had already emerged. The first was rooted in an old New England family from Connecticut. The Hempsteads included William, a merchant; Charles S., a lawyer; and their sister, Susan Hempstead Gratiot, wife of the late Henry Gratiot, who lived intermittently with her brothers in town and out at her estate at Gratiot’s Grove, Wisconsin. As early as 1830 the family had been able to establish these households as centers for “respectable” or “cultured” New Englanders and French residents from St. Louis.³⁰ The second enclave consisted of young aggressive professionals imbued, like Washburne, with a new social ideology. Led by Horatio Newhall,



Arriving in the frontier town of Galena, on the Illinois-Wisconsin border, Washburne proceeded through “knee deep mud” to look up a fellow New Englander. Benefiting from the advice of Massachusetts-born editor H. H. Houghton, he hung out his shingle and proceeded to establish himself as a gentleman. Map from Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois* (1945).

these lawyers and businessmen centered around H.H. Houghton and his local newspaper.³¹ Both groups were influenced by evangelical revivals which swept through New England culture in the West. In both of these social enclaves, Washburne encountered a more forcefully articulated version of the New England way with deeper roots in that culture than he himself possessed. Thus, ironically, moving to Illinois allowed Washburne the opportunity to become more, rather than less, of a New En-

glander. In the days and weeks following, one can follow in Washburne's letters a series of moves – introducing himself around, joining the right church, attending the right social and public events, joining the Whig party, even making a few stump speeches – that gained him entrance into these respectable circles in town.³²

It was through his work as a lawyer, however, that Washburne discerned which people belonged on which side of the boundary that he perceived between genteel society and the masses. In a letter to his brother, Washburne established affinities and connections and drew lines of demarcation and exclusion. He noted that he was involved in a case with Charles S. Hempstead, “one of the crack lawyers of the place.” The older lawyer was of good ability and good standing and “a very fine clever man.” Thomas Drummond, the lawyer who had rebuffed him a few weeks before, Washburne now judged to be a “tolerable good lawyer, and a man of decent talents and great industry.” Among the others who drew his appreciation was Artemus L. Holmes, “a young man about a year from New Hampshire” who appeared “to be a pretty clever fellow.” The rest of the lawyers in town, who in general he felt to be a “decent set of fellows,” were all Southerners and thus fell short in Washburne's moral assessment. John Turney, for example, though “a good judge of law,” was “an unprincipled man” and “a violent old loco.” Washburne thought even less of others, calling them ruffians beyond the pale of gentility. Among the doctors in town, Washburne referred to D.C. Wyeth, a fellow graduate of Harvard and native of Maine, as “a great Whig and a true gentleman.”³³

Fiercely loyal to his class and the region of his birth, Washburne increasingly associated only with Whigs, other New Englanders and New Yorkers, or graduates of Harvard and Yale.³⁴ Having rated the various lawyers and other professionals in town, he chose a mentor. “Charles S. Hempstead, Esq., the oldest and most respected lawyer in northern Illinois, standing in need of someone to assist him a little in business, told me if I would give up my office and come in with him and assist him, and

do my business in his office, I should have it rent free and that he would lodge me besides in an adjoining room and pay \$150.00 a year towards my board." In Washburne's view this arrangement connected him with "one of the best kind of men," and took him "out of the way of politics, the bane of lawyers." Washburne saw this offer to be a social and professional breakthrough. "I shall stand in the way of becoming acquainted with a great many business men here. I consider the offer to be quite a compliment."³⁵

As Washburne worked with Hempstead, he continued to navigate along the social boundary between genteel society and a rowdy western male subculture. As young single men in a highly competitive profession, the members of each local bar felt considerable pressure to prove themselves and achieve professional success. Yet, as a lawyer, one also had to spend considerable time with one's colleagues, especially while on the court circuit. The need to maintain order was heightened among lawyers by the imperative to remain impartial and carry out the law. Lawyers, like other men in similar circumstances, adopted forms of dissimulating and indirect behavior which suppressed and redirected social friction. This behavior was most pronounced on the circuit, where these pressures were most intense. Nicknames, practical jokes, "mock tribunals," spoof banquets, and drinking parties were part of the lore of the circuit. They seemed, at times, hardly more genteel than the sporting occasions among the rougher male elements of the larger towns.³⁶

Aware of the more convivial aspects of behavior on the circuit, Washburne deigned to play at being a "hail fellow, well-met with Tom, Dick, and Harry," but "accommodating only so far as I can without participating in their vices."³⁷ He preferred instead the genteel events which his legal brothers tended to abjure. He enjoyed meeting refined women at circuit town dances, though he was unable to dance because of a chronic hip condition.³⁸

Washburne, a temperance man who neither smoked nor played cards, made it quite clear he wanted nothing to do with

those who interacted with the rougher element of the male subculture which was pervasive in early urban western society.³⁹ He first caught a glimpse of this rougher element on a steamboat on the Ohio, and then again in a brief stop at Keokuk, Iowa, on his way to Galena. Though Washburne does not mention encountering it, he arrived at "one of the worst places on the river," where the wharf, called "Rat's Row," was lined with whiskey shops and dives full of "wharf rats" who lived within a rowdy male subculture.

Such subcultures were prominent in early western society, given the preponderance of men in most local populations. To relieve the stresses of a highly competitive, diverse, and womanless social environment, such men interacted by organizing in clubs, gangs, or associations, giving each other nicknames, playing practical jokes, organizing "frolics," drinking contests, and sporting competitions, or just plain rough-housing. Such activities vented social tension, averted outbreaks of violence, facilitated development of a social order, and fostered the gradual advance of some of their numbers to genteel middle-class status. Washburne, in any case, left Keokuk unimpressed: "There was nothing but a string of log cabins under the bluff, occupied by Indians, half-breeds, traders, and groggery keepers."⁴⁰

But after a short time in Galena, he became aware of a similar male subculture in this town. Galena, too, was known for its string of wharfside taverns, billiard parlors, saloons, and houses of prostitution. In reporting on a religious revival primarily among the women of Galena in 1840, Washburne remarked that "there is need enough of piety in this town, God knows." The practice among southern aristocratic gentlemen or the more accommodating Chesterfield gentlemen from Pennsylvania was to interact with this subculture, using some of its members to advantage. Washburne, on the other hand, stood his ground as a New England Christian gentleman: "I have not yet been into the first 'hell' in town. I avoid them as I would the pestilence that walketh at noonday. I was told by many fellows that if I settled here, in order to succeed, I should have to take my glass of liquor and game of cards, and be a hail fellow. I told

them if my success was to depend on that I was bound not to succeed....A steady and moral man is respected here as much as at the East."⁴¹ Washburne chose to simply go about his business, gradually attaching himself to the professional, social, and familial network of like-minded New Englanders.⁴²

Washburne's new association with the Hempsteads reinforced this policy by drawing him into one of the oldest and most exclusive social enclaves in town. In mid-August Hempstead invited Washburne to board at his recently finished brick Greek Revival house directly above the wharf where he had his office.⁴³ From the time he took up residence on Bench Street, Washburne was impressed. "Mr. Hempstead," he reported to his brother, "lives in a splendid style."⁴⁴ His house was the "seat of the most refined and generous hospitality"; travelers from the East were "surprised and delighted at the elegance and grace with which they were entertained."⁴⁵ Gentility, one could say, was making an impact on Washburne. For the aspiring lawyer, the Hempsteads and Gratiots quickly became the model of success.

In the course of a few months Washburne was drawn into the family circle. He became accustomed to the elegant style — "gay, lively, fashionable, and intelligent" — of the Gratiot-Hempstead set. In entering this genteel world, Washburne also found himself, unwittingly perhaps, in the midst of one of the town's most fervently religious families, and thus in the forefront in forging a new middle-class synthesis of Christianity, capitalism, and gentility. In the years before Washburne's arrival, the Presbyterian church had become a western outpost of Charles G. Finney's brand of revivalism, largely through its minister Aratus Kent, who had arrived in Galena in 1829 as a representative of the Home Missionary Society. Susan Hempstead Gratiot was among the church's first members. Thus the Gratiots and Hempsteads had defined "good society" in spiritual terms. For them, sincerity, morality, and piety became expressions of gentility. In 1832, Kent returned from upstate New York with renewed revivalist fervor. At first, in Newhall's words, Kent was "a little too zealous" for that "longitude." But his return was

followed by a series of revivals in 1833, 1840, and 1841. The last drew Washburne's mentor, Charles Hempstead, into the church, during the very winter Washburne was living with him.⁴⁶

Although Washburne remained initially skeptical, this religious revolution had a fateful effect on his choice of a spouse, and capped his arrival at the seat of western small-town gentility.⁴⁷ It was within the small Hempstead-Gratiot circle that Washburne fell in love with and married Hempstead's niece, Adele Gratiot. The marriage, in July 1845, fused Washburne's rugged notions of gentility and manliness with Adele's religiosity and her strong sense of true and moral womanhood — an archetypal Victorian middle-class ideological synthesis, structured to western conditions. Their marriage also fused two New England cultures — Elihu's, derived from Maine of the 1830s, and Adele's, an intertwining of St. Louis French background and old Connecticut culture.

This emerging middle-class ideology, prefigured in Galena's rough-cut gentility and its ardent religiosity and synthesized so effectively in the Washburne-Gratiot marriage, was as robust as the West itself. It sustained the Washburnes through years of continual separation and travel back and forth between Galena, Springfield, Illinois, Maine, and Washington. It structured the private demands of marriage and family against Washburne's public career, with its conflicting duties, responsibilities, and loyalties. The Washburnes constructed an upper-middle-class family regime, and came, in the end, to see themselves not so much as transplanted New Englanders, but as westerners, who, given the structure of Elihu's public life, lived within the wider world of Gilded-Age culture.

NOTES

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⁹Russell K. Nelson, "The Early Life and Congressional Career of Elihu B. Washburne," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Dakota, 1953, p. 14.

¹⁰Elihu B. Washburne to Algernon S. Washburn, May 17, 1840, Algernon S. Washburn Papers (hereafter ASW), Minnesota Historical Society.

¹¹*Ibid.*; "Dedicatory Exercises of the Washburn Memorial Library, Wednesday, August 5, 1885, at 'The Norlands,' Livermore, Maine" (Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1885), p. 32.

¹²Meinig, *Shaping of America*, 2: 264-84.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

¹⁵Kathleen N. Conzen, "A Saga of Families," in Clyde Milner, Carol O'Connor, and Martha Sandweiss, editors, *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 314-57.

¹⁶Jeffrey S. Adler, *Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁷William L. Barney, *The Passage of the Republic: An Interdisciplinary History of Nineteenth Century America* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1987), p. 182.

¹⁸Meinig, *Shaping of America*, 2: 268-73.

¹⁹Elihu Washburne to Algernon S. Washburn, May 17, 1840, ASW.

²⁰Hon. Samuel Shaw to unknown, November 29, 1839, Washburn Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

²¹Carroll, *Twelve Americans*, p. 403.

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²²Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, March 15, 1840, Elihu B. Washburne Papers (hereafter EBW), Washburn-Norlands Foundation, Livermore, Maine.

²³Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, April 4, 1840, EBW; Hunt, *Elihu... Washburn*, p. 171.

²⁴Cadwallader Washburn to Israel Washburn, August 7, 1842, Cadwallader Washburn Collection, Washburn-Norlands Foundation.

²⁵Elihu B. Washburne to Zebina Eastman, May 13, 1874, Zebina Eastman Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

²⁶"Dedicatory Exercises of the Washburn Memorial Library," p. 24.

²⁷Transcripts of Washburn Journal, vol. 1, September 24, 1866 through May 15, 1868, Edith Wilson Gammon, editor, typescript, Washburn-Norlands Foundation, p. 134, May 23, 1868; Harry E. Pratt, "A Beginner of the Old Eighth Judicial Circuit," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 44 (Summer 1951): 241.

²⁸Hunt, *Elihu... Washburn*, p. 172; Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, April 4, 1840, EBW.

²⁹Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, April 4, 1840, EBW; Elihu B. Washburne to Adele G. Washburne, April 1, 1861, EBW; advertisement, May 18, 1840, ASW.

³⁰Hunt, *Elihu... Washburn*, p. 172; Susan Hempstead Gratiot to Sarah Beebe, February 28, 1831; "Memoir of Susan Hempstead"; Gratiot to Beebe, August 27, 1827; Adele Gratiot Washburne Collection (hereafter AGW), Washburn-Norlands Foundation; John Dowling to Peter Menard, November 30, 1829, Pierre Menard Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

³¹Horatio Newhall to Hooper Warren, November 2, 1836; Horatio Newhall to Isaac Newhall, April 29, 1832, June 1, 1832; Horatio Newhall to Sarah Lewis Newhall, March 3, 1833; Horatio Newhall Papers (hereafter HN), Illinois State Historical Library.

³²Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, April 4, 1840; *ibid.*, May 1, 1840, EBW.

³³Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, May 20, 1840, EBW; Elihu Washburne to A.S. Washburn, May 17, 1840, ASW.

³⁴Horatio Newhall to Isaac Newhall, December 11, 1840, HN.

³⁵Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, July 26, 1840, EBW.

³⁶Timothy R. Mahoney, "'A Common Band of Brotherhood': The Booster Ethos, Male Subcultures and the Origins of Urban Social Order in the Midwest of the 1840s," paper presented before the Northern Great Plains History Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota, September 1994.

³⁷Elihu B. Washburne to M.J. Washburn, February 12, 1841, EBW.

³⁸*Ibid.*; Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, June 1, 1840, EBW; Nelson, "Early Life and Congressional Career of Elihu B. Washburne," p. 14.

³⁹Nelson, "Early Life and Congressional Career of Elihu B. Washburne," p. 14; Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, June 1, 1840, EBW; Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, May 17, 1840; *ibid.*, September 11, 1842, ASW.

⁴⁰Hunt, *Elihu... Washburn*, p. 171.

⁴¹Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, June 1, 1840, EBW.

⁴²Hunt, *Elihu... Washburn*, p. 173; Alice L. Bartel, editor, *Parish Register of Grace Church of Galena, Illinois*, 2 vols. (Wilmette, Illinois: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1964).

⁴³*Galena Directory and Miner's Annual Register* (Galena: Green, Wilson, and Co., 1847); Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, August 14, 1840, EBW; Carl H. Johnson, *The Building of Galena: An Architectural Legacy* (Stevens Point, Wisconsin: Worzalla Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 38, 42.

⁴⁴Elihu B. Washburne to A.S. Washburn, October 10, 1840, EBW.

⁴⁵Elihu B. Washburne, *Historical Sketch of Charles S. Hempstead to which is Appended a Memoir of Edward Hempstead* (Galena: Gazette Book and Job Printing House, 1875), p. 20.

⁴⁶Horatio Newhall to Sarah Lewis Newhall, February 16, 1833, HN; *ibid.*, March 3, 1833; Paul Johnson, *Shopkeeper's Millennium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 100-01; Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling*, pp. 57-75; Susan Hempstead Gratiot to Sarah Beebe, November 24, 1833; *ibid.*, April 6, 1834, AGW; "Aratus Kent" in "Sketches of Lives of Former Galenans," *Galena Weekly Advertiser*, October 25, 1870.

⁴⁷On the influence of revivals on western urban development, see James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 37-38.

Timothy R. Mahoney is a member of the Department of History at the University of Nebraska. Professor Mahoney's work on Elihu Washburne is drawn from his broader social-biographical study of formative middle-class culture, a forthcoming work entitled "Provincial Lives: Middle Class Experience in the Antebellum Midwest."