

WESTWARD FROM MAINE: A STUDY OF THE WASHBURNS AS CLASSIC AMERICAN MYTH

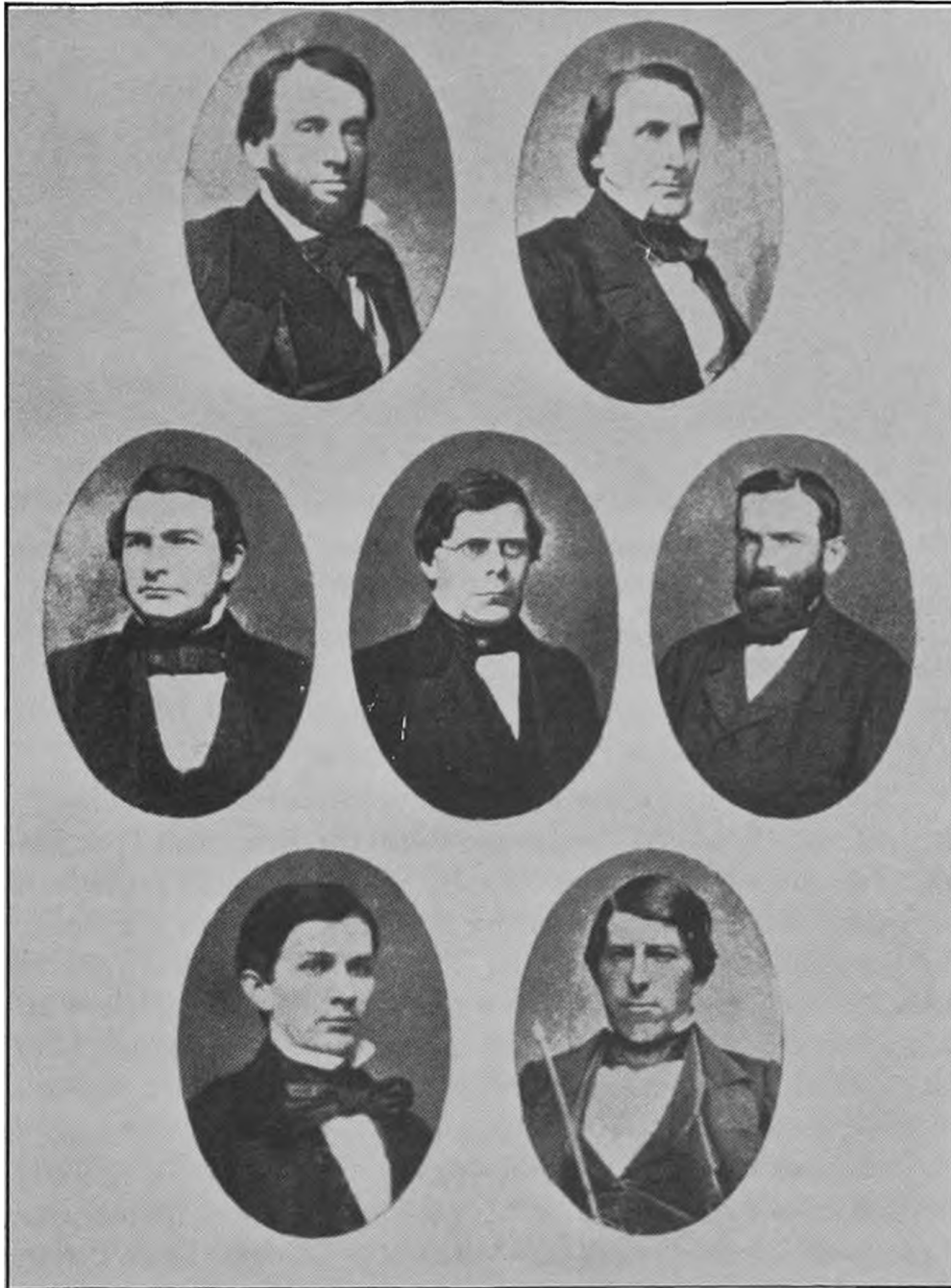
Looking back upon the storied past, literary historians often find it necessary to summarize the “American experience” through myth and metaphor.¹ Between the 1930s and the 1950s a school of thought emerged that emphasized mythic interpretations of a hegemonic American culture. Connected with these myths were allegorical statements dealing with the subjects of freedom, new birth, equality, and sacrifice.² Several examples emerge from the annals of American history: there is a definable “American Adam”; a “chosen people”; and a “rugged individualist.” Americans experienced “jeremiads” — times of social or political criticism and spiritual renewal. Myths arose out of the Civil War having to do with sin, evil, hope, and sacrifice, together with sanctification and redemption. These terms have been selected by R.W.B. Lewis to designate patterns of early American experience.³ With different nuances and emphases, these myths, metaphors, and symbols aid in explaining to a succession of generations the avowed mission, or errand, of America and Americans.

Ultimately, metaphors are not adequate to describe the American experience. They neglect, for instance, the parts played by Indians, Hispanics, French Canadians, and Asians.⁴ They make little mention of the significance of women. Such concepts define an American, as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese says, “too simply ...[as] white, Protestant, middle class, male, and probably from the Northeast.”⁵ It is not enough to write about “America” or “American thought” on the basis of its ministers, novelists, or political pamphleteers.⁶

Nonetheless metaphor and myth do say something important about the “American experience.” They reflect a manner in which Americans viewed themselves. As an example, literary symbols can be applied conveniently to a Maine family named Washburn. In a grand manner the family is a prototype of many American symbols: the Puritan jeremiad, James Fenimore

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Cooper's frontier characters, and Horatio Alger's equally fictional urban heroes.



The seven Washburn brothers. Upper left, Sidney; upper right, Elihu. Center left, Cadwallader; center, Israel; center right, Charles. Lower left, William; lower right, Samuel. *Lillian Washburn and Israel Washburn, Sr., MY SEVEN SONS (1940).*



By moving to the central Maine frontier, Israel Washburn Sr. began etching the frontier drama his sons would complete in even bolder relief in the Middle West. Confounded by thin soils and hard times, the Washburn brothers left for greater opportunity elsewhere. *Israel Washburn, NOTES, HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND PERSONAL, OF LIVERMORE (1874).*

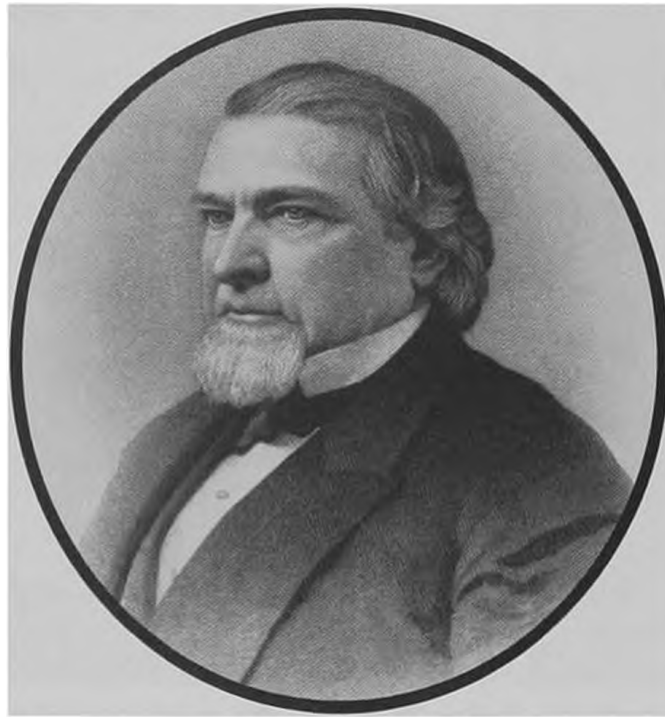
Seven Washburn sons, with their successes and failures, illustrate much that has been said about the America of the last century. The way we perceive their story represents a process of deifying American ancestors. By glorifying not only the deeds but the persona of pioneering forefathers, people in affect enhance their own stature on the world stage. Historical parallels include the Greeks and their Trojan War heroes, who were literally half gods, and the Romans, who in Virgil's *Aeneid*, glorified their own humble beginnings.

The metaphorical parallels between the Washburn family and American symbols include Cadwallader and William as "American Adams." Another Washburn, Charles Ames, elaborates the symbolism of the "American Adam" in his two novels. Elihu is appropriately a "rugged individualist"; Israel, orating on the purification of the American republic, exemplifies the "jeremiad." As though confirming these metaphorical references,

Andrew Carnegie praised the Washburns' careers as "typically American."⁷

James Fenimore Cooper symbolically described the rise of the "American Adam," who escaped from a corrupt European civilization, settled the edge of the American continent, and then began moving west into virgin territory. Cooper's Adam, the fictional Natty Bumppo, abandoned the culture of the east, moving west to live in harmony with nature as a friend to the Indian.⁸ Despite the wilderness setting, however, Cooper's fictional personalities gradually lost their innocence. Evolving from Deerslayer in one volume, Natty becomes, in another, Hawkeye, a soldier of the king fighting against the Indian in defense of English culture. In historian David Noble's view, Cooper intended to say to Americans that "they could never escape from history."⁹ To strengthen the claim, Cooper introduced the symbolic Judge Temple. "A man of civilization," the judge brought to the frontier an eastern culture and heritage.¹⁰ Noble concluded that Americans could achieve dignity only through the law.¹¹ Having settled down, Natty Bumppo adopted civilization and its codes out of necessity, for humans, Noble writes, "by their very presence" destroy the mysterious potential of the virgin land.¹²

The Washburns' father represents this experience. Leaving his family in southern Massachusetts, Washburn traveled into the sparsely settled territory to the north, thus escaping to freer space. In the first quarter of the century, during which eight of the ten Washburn children were born, the family struggled to survive on the stony, thin soils of central Maine. During these years, Maine and its people suffered extreme hardships. An embargo, then a blockade on coastal trading, brought about by the War of 1812, virtually paralyzed Maine's economy. Three succeeding years of unseasonable cold descended beginning in 1815, and "nearly every green plant was killed, and fruit was everywhere blighted."¹³ Businesses closed, including the village store owned by Israel Washburn in Livermore. Economic misfortune scattered the Washburn family. In the 1830s, Samuel



Cadwallader Washburn, like James Fenimore Cooper's noted Deerslayer, went west, seeking opportunity in the vast frontier territory of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota. Cadwallader finally settled in Mineral Point to become the "chief man of business in this part of Wisconsin." From this vantage, he urged his brothers to try their luck in the uncultivated West. *Illustrations from Cadwallader Washburn, MEMORIAL ADDRESS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HON. C.C. WASHBURN (1888); and Cooper, THE PATHFINDER (G.P. Putnam's Sons' edition).*

went to sea, while others ventured into Massachusetts, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois, with one of the brothers stretching the miles farther to California, and another, in the 1850s, marching into Minnesota Territory. Even at midcentury, this region, at the headwaters of the Mississippi, was a paradigm for the "virgin west."

Cadwallader, like Cooper's American Adam, went west. Completing the metaphor, Martha Washburn lamented the loss of her son. Writing to the older brother, Elihu, she complained of Cad's departure. Elihu replied that she was looking at Cadwallader's flight west in the wrong light. He assured her that "the western country presents a wild field of enterprise." Elihu explained that her son would "pioneer his way...."¹⁴ Cadwallader did in fact "wander in the wilderness." Working as foreman of a surveyor's crew, he ranged over an immense territory, enjoying the happiest time of his life. Washburn was not "Deerslayer," to



be sure, but he was, like the fictional character, roaming the wilderness of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota, close to nature, happy, free, and spontaneous. As a result of his wanderings, in fact, Cadwallader spanned two elemental prototypes: Natty Bumppo, and the classic Horatio Alger protagonist.

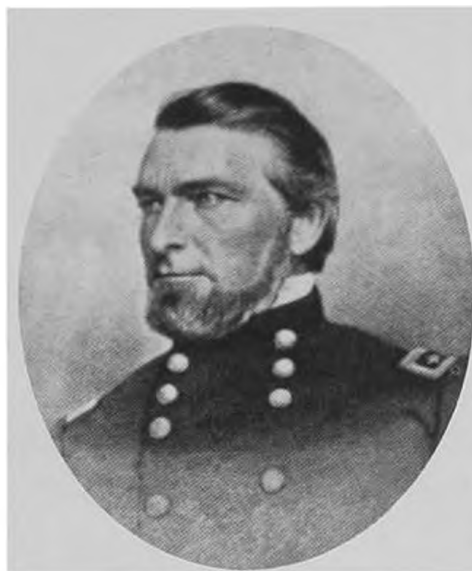
When this virtual “Deerslayer” came out of the woods, he settled in a frontier community peopled by men and women from the East, who, like Washburn himself, could be characterized as American Adams.¹⁵ By 1842 Cadwallader had adapted to the civilizing process. At Mineral Point, Wisconsin, he hung out a shingle and was even called “Judge.” Within a dozen years of his appearance at the Point he was “the chief man of business in this part of Wisconsin.”¹⁶ He married the daughter of Andrew Sheffield Garr, “one of the most astute lawyers [and] the most skillful special pleader of his day.”¹⁷ The uncultivated West, however, proved too much for Jeannette Garr, who had been raised in New York. Caught up in his business affairs, Cadwallader left her alone in their crude domicile at the Point as he toured lakes, rivers, and woods, taking time to start a shot tower at Helena, Wisconsin, opening a bank, and traveling east to find investors. With the birth of their second child, Jeannette, the easterner, lost her sanity.

Not long after making Mineral Point his home, Cadwallader developed a lumber business. He brought his brother Samuel back from California where Sam was "washing the sand," as Cadwallader put it, and Sam administered the business of running Waubek, Wisconsin, a lumber town owned by Cadwallader, Elihu, and Sam.¹⁸ Thus the American Adam, Cadwallader, personified another myth – the self-made man, later modeled by Horatio Alger's characters. Alger's stories captured the American heroes who were "fierce democrats, independent, eager to work hard, educate themselves, and make their way to success." Alger "openly accepted the urban and industrial world..."¹⁹ In Cadwallader, too, we observe a poor, young man: from the farming community of Livermore he went west, met the challenge of the wilderness, rose from rags to riches, adopted city life, and, as an industrialist, ascended to the political whirl of Washington, D.C.

On his way to success in the world of commerce, Cadwallader permitted his name to be submitted as candidate for a seat in Congress on the Whig ticket. He was elected, and joined two of his brothers, Israel and Elihu, in the House of Representatives. The year Cadwallader was campaigning, his brother Israel helped to launch the Republican party. When Cadwallader stood for his second and third terms, it was as a Republican.²⁰

"Service to the new society was the ultimate goal of American individualism, and its highest glory," said historian James Oliver Robertson.²¹ In keeping with this thesis, Cadwallader took upon himself the duty of serving others. He stated his philosophy in an address delivered to citizens of Memphis, declaring that for him, "no private interest was ever permitted to stand in the way of the public welfare."²²

As a congressman, Cadwallader achieved notoriety as an outspoken opponent of slavery. When a group of senators recommended that the Constitution be amended so that no alteration could be made respecting slavery, Cadwallader asserted from the floor of the House that "the provisions of the Constitution are ample for the preservation of the Union....It needs to be obeyed rather than amended...."²³



MAJOR GENERAL CADWALLADER C. WASHBURN

Cadwallader's opposition to slavery, and his attitude toward the South in general, brings to mind a third American symbol: the Puritan "Jeremiad." Jeremiah of Anathoth, whose name provoked the use of the term, was shy, sensitive, gentle, and loving. He had a poetic imagination, a keen moral insight, and profound religious devotion.²⁴ American Puritans were especially enamored of this biblical character. With his grim message, he railed on about corruption. But there was also in Jeremiah a caring nature, a promise of forgiveness for the penitent. Jeremiah's harsh judgments were modified by a redemptive note. His proclamations were replicated by preachers in their pulpits and by the laity in their publications.

In his speech to the House of Representatives, Cadwallader noted the fact that for sixty years Congress had been controlled by the South. In 1861, the South was growing more restive, he said, because "a man who is peculiarly the representative of the great laboring classes [is] at the head of the executive department of the Government."²⁵ Paraphrasing the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah, Cadwallader said the North should not pass obedient necks beneath the southern yoke. Clearly, he went to Congress with a vision, an "errand" from the wilderness, which brought forth an occasional "jeremiad." Washburn was harsh in his preachments, but in keeping with the metaphor, he was also

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optimistic. He was known to have faith in a kind Providence. His outlook in this respect was in keeping with the Puritans. They, with their errands and anxiety, their belief in God's punishment for leaning toward carnal lures, profits and pleasures, their faith that events were guided for the benefit of mankind, and their understanding that punishment was corrective, not destructive, established the formula for the American jeremiad.²⁶ Cadwallader's pronouncements included promises of redemption as well as predictions of dire consequences. The likelihood of civil war was in the mind of Cadwallader as he closed his remarks.

If this Union must be dissolved, whether by peaceable secession or through fire and blood and civil war, we shall have the consolation of knowing that when the conflict is over, those who survive it will be, what they never have been, inhabitants of a free country."²⁷

When the war began, Cadwallader resigned from public office, received a commission as a brigadier general, formed a regiment of cavalry, and went off to the battlefields of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas. Cadwallader yearned to be in the heat of the conflict. "I feel anxious to participate in a battle," he wrote to Elihu. "This holiday soldiering I do not fancy."²⁸ Cadwallader's very name meant "battle arranger" in Welsh. Like his Wisconsin brother, Israel resigned from Congress, leaving the House and the leverage it provided for moving on to the Senate. That privilege would be left to his younger brother, William.

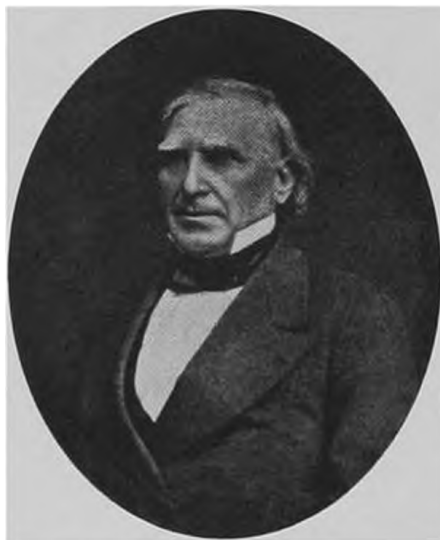
Stern management with a redemptive outlook was the manner that guided General Washburn while he was military commander of western Tennessee. He made it clear that he would brook no opposition when harsh measures were called for. Yet power would not be "wielded for purposes for oppression." His "impartial, just and liberal course... endeared [him] to all classes and condition of...citizens," said a Memphis community leader as he introduced the general at a public dinner. Cadwallader's subsequent address expressed the dual themes of



At the Falls of Saint Anthony, Cadwallader began the development of a flour milling business that would propel him into the highest ranks of American business and political life. The "American Adam" also personified the "rags to riches" myth celebrated by nineteenth-century Americans. Edgar, *THE MEDAL OF GOLD* (1925).

the American Jeremiad: criticism and renewal. "What should be done with the people who have been 'guilty of this great sin?'" he asked. "No punishment that we can inflict can restore life...or wipe away the widow's tears." And yet the general, in harmony with the Puritan redemption theme, did not hesitate to declare that "we should inflict no...further punishment than is demanded by the National safety."²⁹

Cadwallader demonstrated belief in a secular "errand in the wilderness," both as a venture on behalf of others — to preserve the Union — and as a mission of self-fulfillment. On one hand, he acquired a "civil religion" before it was identified as such; his devotion to his country was nearly absolute.³⁰ On the other hand, as the "rugged individualist," Cadwallader went on to even greater personal achievements after the war, becoming governor of Wisconsin, developing St. Anthony's Falls in Minneapolis, where he constructed the largest flour mill in the world, cultivating a foreign market for his product, and building railroads with the assistance of his brother, William. Cadwallader's funeral



ELIHU B. WASHBURNE

exercises in 1882 were indeed “larger than life.” When his tombstone was moved to the cemetery in LaCrosse it was so enormous that it required twenty-six horses to pull the wagon to the hilltop.

In 1839, when Cadwallader had reached the Iowa Territory, he sat down to write a message for three of his brothers. Two of them, Israel, the eldest, and Sidney the next oldest, had settled comfortably in the East, conducting routine professional and business affairs, Israel in Orono, Maine, and Sidney in Boston. Elihu, however, was undecided about his future, so young Cadwallader wrote: “The man that is well off at the East, to him I would not say come here; but to him that is not, I would say come....”³¹

Elihu, aptly described as the “rugged individualist,” moved west. As a lad of twelve, Elihu Washburne (he preferred the “English” spelling) was on his own, a strong-willed, self-contained youngster; when he went to work, he stopped drawing upon the reserves of the hard-pressed Livermore family. Individualism, together with a strong intellect and a well known, indeed sometimes irritating self-righteousness, carried Elihu through a series of jobs as printer’s apprentice, schoolmaster, and student in his native state. He was motivated by his father’s

devotion to Whiggism to turn his attention early to the political scene. Soon, another Pathfinder began to make plans to “go west...and grow up with the country,” as Horace Greeley was later to advise. Personifying Ralph Waldo Emerson’s admonitions to be self-reliant, Elihu finished his work at Harvard Law School and started a circuitous journey westward, landing in Galena, Illinois, during the spring of 1840. He settled in the West, as the metaphor has it, to pursue his own happiness, develop his own abilities, make his own fortune, and establish his own family.³²

The crude ways of the mining town brought him to grief. Elihu labeled one of his protagonists a “bully and a blackguard,” and wrote that if he or any of his fellow lawyers undertook “to play any game with me they will find...I am not the man to be bullied.”³³ Elihu observed that one of his roommates, a Judge Grant, slept with a Bowie knife three feet long.³⁴ But if life in Galena was uncivilized and confrontational, the young attorney rose to the occasion: he threw one man downstairs from his office.³⁵

Unlike Cadwallader who had married an easterner, Elihu married a westerner, Adele Gratiot, the first white female born in Galena. Adele was brought up in the wilderness of Gratiot’s Grove, a few miles outside Galena, and understood the crudities of life in the west and the ways of the Indian.³⁶ She married the enterprising lawyer from Maine when she was nineteen and he was twenty-nine. Adele bore eight children, one of whom died in infancy.

Elihu lived out the role of the rugged individualist. He ran for Congress on a minority Whig ticket and after two attempts was elected to the House of Representatives. In Washington for sixteen years, he was his own person: a radical and a man of force and virtue. Newsmen called him “a rough frontiersman”; he was rancorous, open in declaring his loyalties, and uncompromising on many issues, including slavery.

Elihu attracted the attention of Abraham Lincoln. When political antagonists tried to separate these two men by accusing Washburne of encouraging Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, the

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Galena Republican declared his loyalty to Lincoln indisputable. "When I am for a man, I am for him," he wrote in a private letter to W.H. Herndon.³⁷ Rutherford B. Hayes, president-to-be, once wrote, "I do not care about defeat if associated with such [a man] as Washburne."³⁸ Elihu took bold and obdurate positions on money matters, declaring himself "the most unpopular man in the United States."³⁹ This Washburne, exemplar of the mythic rugged individualist who also served socially useful ends, was aware of his liability in the political arena as a critic of corporations and corruption.⁴⁰ His independence and unrelenting honesty served to keep him in the shadows, but his firm stand earned him the accolades, "Watchdog of the Treasury" and "Father of the House." Elihu served on key congressional committees during the war. His perseverance in supporting the military career of Ulysses S. Grant, from his own town of Galena, resulted in Grant becoming president and Washburne becoming secretary of state and then ambassador to France.

The Maine native settled in Paris, the most desirable foreign minister's post available, but he remained an exemplar of the American individualist. Elihu wore black suits with shirt collar hugging up under his chin, attending court with officers from European countries who wore colorful trappings as protocol required. Occasionally, as when seated beside the Empress Eugenie at a banquet, he slipped his shoes off under the table.

During the Franco-Prussian war and the 1871 Communist uprising in Paris, Washburne found himself in considerable personal danger, but once again the American individualist was not jarred by threats to his safety. The street on which he lived was mined, but said he, "This is my place where duty calls me and here I must remain."⁴¹ In January, when the Germans began bombarding the city, a shell struck the American legation, missing Washburne by only twenty feet. He did not retreat outside the city as other foreign dignitaries had done. Nor did he wait for danger to seek him out. As a secretary of the legation recalled, "If we heard of any part of Paris where shells were likely to burst and bullets to whistle, Washburne was sure to have important business in that direction." "Voila!" the Minister cheerfully wrote in his diary. "Another revolution."⁴²



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As ambassador to France, Elihu Washburne experienced the 1871 Paris Commune first-hand. Far from daunted, Washburne charged into the fray. As a mediator, he helped save lives during the siege.

Elihu Washburne,
*RECOLLECTION OF A
MINISTER TO FRANCE (1887).*

During the siege, Washburne saved the lives of hundreds of Germans living in Paris. He was also asked to meet with Communists to obtain the release of the archbishop of Paris, George Darboy. Washburne transmitted a message to Thiers, head of the French government, asking that in exchange for the release of the Archbishop, a Communist, Blanquin, be permitted to escape. Because Thiers was not willing to permit the exchange, the archbishop, despite Washburne's efforts, was assassinated.

A rugged individualist, Elihu nevertheless did not crave a princely life. "I shall retire to a humble farm with my family," he said. In fact, he did no such thing, but moved into a large and luxurious home in Chicago, adorned with rare treasures of art and relics of great historic interest. Its walls were hung with portraits of kings and statesman. There, Washburne, the poor boy off a Maine farm, now famous himself, entertained presidents, governors, senators and foreign dignitaries.⁴³ When he died, his estate was worth approximately \$800,000.

While some of the Washburn brothers exemplify the positive features of American mythology, others represent less exemplary American characteristics. With these "backsliders" —

Samuel, Charles, and William — family opinion sometimes displayed the judgmental demeanor of a jeremiad. An occurrence illustrates in small measure this aspect of Cadwallader's relation to his brothers. He learned that William had taken his family and gone abroad — leaving town when he owed money! The older brother wrote to William's secretary instructing him in no uncertain terms to write and tell William to come home. "It is disgraceful that he should be away spending money while his creditors are waiting for their pay."⁴⁴ Honesty was part of the mythical covenant, and William's behavior signaled a "fall," deserving judgment and reprimand.

The most succinct illustration of the jeremiad is in the life and writings of Israel Washburn, who turned a critical eye upon social problems of the 1850s and 1860s. In the style of Jeremiah, Israel enumerated his prophecies and predictions. He bitterly attacked the Supreme Court after the 1857 Dred Scott decision. He condemned slavery, working in congress for its eradication. He was darkly prophetic about the accumulation of great wealth and land in America and about the centralization of power. He reserved his judgment about capital, which, he noted, is "keen-sighted, hard-faced, close-fisted, needing to be looked after." But he alerted the citizenry to the corrupting features of wealth, writing, "Our eyes must rest...on...statutes of distribution, as well as those of accumulation."⁴⁵ Washburn's judgment is no less "religious" for being economic and political in tone. Like the biblical Jeremiah who revealed that "the whole land is laid waste," and that "everyone deals falsely," Israel Washburn's verdict burned in the minds of people like Charles Sumner, who wrote Israel about his declarations: "We are all under obligation to you who has put it so clearly, elaborately and persuasively."⁴⁶

Israel, a devout Universalist and governor of Maine, spoke enthusiastically about the religious ethos of the Republic. He linked his religious outlook regarding human destiny to the purification of the American Republic. "It is obvious," he said, "that these fundamental principles of this government are identical with those of Universalism."⁴⁷ In keeping with the metaphor of Americans as "a chosen people," the Maine Gover-



Israel Washburn served with distinction in Augusta and in Washington. When the ex-governor was reelected to Congress, Speaker of the House Galusha Grow announced that there "is a God in Israel . . . all hail the future."

Maine Historical Society Collections.

nor expressed the hope that the unity of humankind would be realized "through something between a Universalist America and American Universalism as the instrument of God 'by which the world is to be won'." ⁴⁸

Israel Washburn's peers recognized and appreciated his representative character. Galusha Grow, speaker of the House, wrote on an occasion when the ex-governor was reelected to Congress. He announced to Washburn that "there is a God in Israel... All hail the future." ⁴⁹ Nineteenth-century America was sensitive to the romance of metaphors and could readily appreciate the double meaning of a phrase such as that used by Speaker Grow. Such symbols had carrying power beyond the Washburns' time, and many are still lucid with meaning.

Myths and metaphors, although they glorify and exaggerate, aid in understanding the past. They provide insight into the values of the times. The Washburns can be understood through identification with characters like the American Adam, the chosen people, the rugged individualist, and Jeremiah of Anathoth, as well as Horatio Alger's fictitious characters. It is doubtful that myths and metaphors reveal accurate information about individuals, but they do reflect the society that chose to record their lives in a certain manner. The people writing about the Washburns — and the Washburns themselves — held values that influenced their perceptions and behavior. This can be seen even in the lives of seven Americans who were "white, Protestant, middle class, and male." ⁵⁰

NOTES

¹Hennig Cohen, editor, *The American Experience: Approaches to the Study of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968).

²Author's correspondence with Betty Chmaj, American Studies, California State University at Sacramento, 1990.

³R.W.B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 2.

⁴"By exploring the myths, symbols, and images embedded in texts, tales, and artifacts...scholars thought they exposed the...deep patterns underlying American culture." Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "A New Context for a New American Studies?" *American Quarterly* 41 (December 1989): 588-613. See also Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), p. 21.

⁵Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Between Individualism and Fragmentation: American Culture and the New Literary Studies of Race and Gender," *American Quarterly* 42 (March 1990): 7-29.

⁶Laurence Vesey, "Intellectual History and the New Social History," in *New Directions in American Intellectual History*, edited by John Higham and Paul K. Conkin (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. 20.

⁷Letters and memorabilia concerning the seven brothers, the father, mother, and sisters, is located principally at the Washburn Memorial Library in Livermore, Maine, the Washburn homestead. Additional material is located at the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin and Illinois historical societies, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, and at archives in Maine and Minnesota.

⁸*The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841).

⁹David W. Noble, "Cooper, Leatherstocking and the Death of the American Adam," in *American Experience*, p. 174.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹²Ibid., p. 181. Emphasis added.

¹³Reginald H. Sturtevant, *A History of Livermore, Maine* (Lewiston, Maine: Twin City Printery, 1970), p. 77.

¹⁴E.B. Washburne to Martha Washburn, May 22, 1839, Washburn Collection, Norlands.

¹⁵Of 508 families in Mineral Point in 1850, 400 were from England or the continent. See George Fiedler, *Mineral Point: A History* (Mineral Point, Wisconsin: Mineral Point Historical Society and the Iowa County Democrat-Tribune, 1862), p. 95.

¹⁶Gaillard Hunt, compiler, *Israel, Elihu and Cadwallader Washburn* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1925; Da Capo Press Reprint, 1969), p. 318.

¹⁷*New York Times*, March 22, 1863, quoted in Hunt, *Israel, Elihu and Cadwallader Washburn*, p. 317.

¹⁸C.C. Washburn to E.B. Washbourne, Mineral Point, Wisconsin, January 1, 1854, Washburn Memorial Library.

¹⁹James Oliver Robertson, *American Myth, American Reality* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1980), p. 165.

²⁰Francis Curtis, *The Republican Party: A History of its Fifty Years' Existence and a Record of its Measures and Leaders* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 179: "In Washington, on May 9th, the morning after the House took up the Kansas-Nebraska bill, about thirty members of the House of Representatives were called together by Israel Washburn of Maine.... The word 'Republican', as a name for the new party was agreed upon as appropriate."

²¹Robertson, *American Myth*, p. 155.

²²C.C. Washburn, *Speech of Maj. General C.C. Washburn on the Occasion of his Reception by the Citizens of Memphis, on his Resuming Command, March 8, 1865* (Portland, Maine: Argus Steam Book and Job Print, 1865): 6.

²³*Journal of Proceedings of Special Committee of Thirty Three*, U.S. Congress, 36th Congress, 2d Sess. vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1861).

²⁴Julius A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 143.

²⁵*Journal of Proceedings of Special Committee of Thirty Three*, p. 513.

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²⁶Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. xiv: "Perry Miller stressed the dark side of the jeremiad. I argue that this was a partial view of their message, that the Puritans' cries of declension and doom were part of a strategy designed to revitalize the errand."

²⁷*Journal of Proceedings of Special Committee of Thirty Three.*

²⁸C.C. Washburn to E.B. Washburne, January 22, 1862, E.B. Washburne Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁹Washburn, *Speech of Maj. General C.C. Washburn.*

³⁰It was Robert N. Bellah's article, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* (Winter 1967), which prompted extensive discussion of the topic of "Civil Religion in America."

³¹C.C. Washburn to Israel Washburn, July 11, 1869, Washburn Memorial Library.

³²Robertson, *American Myth*, p. 147.

³³E.B. Washburne to Algernon Sidney Washburn, May 22, 1840, Washburn Collection, Norlands.

³⁴Judge Grant wrote E.B. Washburne later saying his Bowie knife was only one and one-half feet in length. E.B. Washburne, address delivered at Turner Hall, Galena, in *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, 1877.

³⁵Returning from the West to visit Maine, Elihu Washburne attended a dance in Hallowell. He indicated that he "put in the real western licks and cut up Indian loosely. I presumed I was voted vulgar but what does a western man care....I am sick of the East and want to be back in the free, the open, the generous, the glorious west." E.B. Washburne to C.C. Washburn (from Hallowell, Maine), December 23, 1842, Washburn Memorial Library.

³⁶In fact, her father, Henry, enjoyed the confidence of Indians, exerting influence over them during the Blackhawk War.

³⁷E.B. Washburne to W.H. Herndon, House of Representatives, April 28, 1858, Washburn Memorial Library.

³⁸R.B. Hayes to his uncle, March 7, 1869, in "Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes," edited by Charles Richard Williams,

Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society 3 (1924): 59.

³⁶E.B. Washburne to Zabina Eastman, February 3, 1874, Washburn Memorial Library.

³⁷Robertson, *American Myth*, p. 155.

³⁸E.B. Washburne to Adele Washburne, July 19, 1870, E.B. Washburne Collection, Library of Congress.

³⁹Quoted in Stephen Hess, "An American in Paris," *American Heritage* 18 (February 1967): 71.

⁴⁰*Boston Sunday Globe*, April 7, 1895.

⁴¹C.C. Washburn to William Hale, February 18, 1876, Washburn Collection, Norlands.

⁴²Israel Washburn, in "Modern Civilization," *Universalist Quarterly and General Review*, January 1858, p. 24. Israel Washburn's view in this regard was contradistinctive to general Whig views. See Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 9.

⁴³Charles Sumner to Israel Washburn, Jr., July 12, 1865, Washburn Collection, Norlands.

⁴⁴"Remarks of Hon. Israel Washburn, Jr., at Mass Meeting at Gloucester, Massachusetts," in *Universalist Centenary* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1870), quoted from George Huntston Williams, "American Universalism: A Bicentennial Historical Essay," *Journal of the Universalist Society* (1870), pp. 59-61.

⁴⁵Williams, *American Universalism*, p. 31.

⁴⁶Galusha A. Grow to Israel Washburn, Jr., November 12, 1860, Washburn Collection, Norlands.

⁴⁷Fox-Genovese, "Between Individualism and Fragmentation."

Theodore A. Webb was born in Bangor, where he attended school. He received a B.A. degree at the University of Connecticut and a D.D. at Bangor Theological Seminary. He has served Universalist churches in Maine, Connecticut, New York, and California. He resides in Sacramento, and has written numerous articles on a variety of topics.