

A riveting week that changed America

Indiana fallout on Obamacare, marriage remains to be seen

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – In a riveting 24-hour period last week, Americans saw the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirm Obamacare, then legalize same-sex marriage in all 50 states. A few hours later at the funeral for South Carolina State Sen. Clementa Pinckney, the full frontal assault on the Confederate battle flag continued, quickly spreading from President Obama's citation of the flag as racist, to a similar assessment from Republican Jeb Bush, to retailers such as eBay, Amazon and Walmart, to the Alabama statehouse where Gov. Robert Bentley ordered its removal from the heart of Dixie.

It was a stunning week that changed America in ways rarely



witnessed at such a pace. While Congress and state legislatures remain mostly inert as the general public evolves quickly on social issues, it was the Supreme Court and the corporate community that decisively moved the needle.

What remains to be seen is whether this evolution folds seamlessly into American culture, or whether this is only the calm before various groups on the social right regroup and prepare for other fights along other picket lines.

On Obamacare, which had faced more than 50 repeal votes in Congress that were es-

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A Hoosier in S. Carolina

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

NASHVILLE, Ind. – Historical karma seemed to flow out of every American pore last week, with South Carolina at the epicenter.

Following the almost unfathomable atrocity at the

Mother Emanuel AME Church in Charleston the week before, what the world witnessed in this bloody aftermath was a brand of Christianity where the faithful walked the walk, and talked the talk, in phrases we hear in a political context even up here in the north.

The families of the victims, confronting the pathetic shooter Dylann Storm Roof at his arraignment, revealed a



“Oh, but God works in mysterious ways. God has different ideas. Blinded by hate, the alleged killer could not see the grace surrounding Rev. Pinckney and that Bible study group.”

- President Obama, eulogizing Sen. Clementa Pinckney



is a non-partisan newsletter based in Indianapolis and Nashville, Ind. It was founded in 1994 in Fort Wayne.

It is published by
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Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN
46204

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stunning power of forgiveness that should live as an heroic example for the ages.

Growing up in Northern Indiana, I was a faithful adherent to President Lincoln and was a Civil War aficionado. I dutifully observed at 7:22 a.m. April 15, 1965, the 100th anniversary of the Great Emancipator's death before heading to school. I was about as Yankee as you could get. Yet it was my church, Main Street United Methodist in Peru, Ind., that opened my heart to the people of South Carolina.

Our Methodist Youth Fellowship group performed annual work trips over spring break, and for three years in the early 1970s, we traveled south of Charleston to Yonges Island near Edisto Beach, where we did work projects with the local African-American Methodist Church. It was a cultural shock the first time we arrived, on an Easter Sunday morning after a grueling trip that included breakdowns of the bus loaned from Ancilla College.

We attended the Easter service where the congregation demonstrably participated in the singing of the hymns, unlike how we sedately did it in Peru. Then Rev. Blake gave the sermon, which was an absolute stem-winder castigating President Nixon. Mind you, we were from Betty Rendell's Miami County, a true bastion of Midwestern Republicanism. The fact that the sermon was so overtly political (and now thinking about it in a historical context was probably more right than wrong) was a culture shock.

I remember one of the adult chaperons glancing at me during the service, asking, "Is this par for the course?"

Afterward, we joined our hosts for a lovely picnic outside the church before settling into very, very humble quarters at a nearby school gym. For the rest of the week, we worked with the locals on various home and community construction projects. We went to a "crab crack" at a local bar (the Hoosier chaperones were quite nervous about this event) and we kids, well, we loved it. We loved the people we met and worked with. We went back two more times before I graduated from high school. That's what I love about the Southland. Every time I've been there, I found welcoming folks, even though I discovered on one trip to Greenville, S.C., that people were making fun of my Hoosier accent.

I returned to South Carolina last winter, jumping off the interstate at Columbia, taking SR 23 down to Hilton Head, a resort full of gated communities. One thing that stood out on the drive through rural South Carolina: I saw only one Confederate flag flying in a front yard, and no decals and license plates on vehicles. I see more Confederate flags here in Indiana than I did in South Carolina. We passed Mother Emanuel as we walked Charleston, not realizing what the near future held.

Last Friday afternoon, I was riveted by the funeral of State Sen. Clementa Pinckney, whose district was adjacent to that of Yonges Island and

Edisto Beach. AME Bishop Richard Norris observed that his state had risen to its finest hour in the aftermath of the massacre. Yes, it did.

President Obama then gave one of the most memorable eulogies. The President put things into context: "Over the course of centuries, black churches served as 'hush harbors' where slaves could worship in safety; praise houses where their free descendants could gather and shout hallelujah, rest stops for the weary along the Underground Railroad; bunkers for the foot soldiers of the civil rights movement. They have been, and continue to be, community centers where we organize for jobs and justice; places of scholarship and network; places where children are loved and fed and kept out of harm's way, and told that they are beautiful and smart and taught that they matter. That's what happens in church."

For most Hoosiers, our state's role in the Underground Railroad is a source of vast pride.

"That's what the black church means. Our beating heart," Obama continued. "The place where our dignity as a people is inviolate. When there's no better example of this tradition than Mother Emanuel, a church built by blacks seeking liberty, burned to the ground because its founder sought to end slavery, only to rise up again, a Phoenix from these ashes."

Obama continued, saying, "We do not know whether the killer of Reverend Pinckney and eight others knew all of this history. But he surely sensed the meaning of his violent act. It was an act that drew on a long

history of bombs and arson and shots fired at churches, not random, but as a means of control, a way to terrorize and oppress. An act that he imagined would incite fear and recrimination; violence and suspicion. An act that he presumed would deepen divisions that trace back to our nation's original sin.

"Oh, but God works in mysterious ways," Obama said. "God has different ideas. He didn't know he was being used by God. Blinded by hatred, the alleged killer could not see the grace surrounding Reverend Pinckney and that Bible study group, the light of love that shone as they opened the church doors and invited a stranger to join in their prayer circle. The alleged killer could have never anticipated the way the families of the fallen would respond when they saw him in court, in the midst of unspeakable grief, with words of forgiveness. He couldn't imagine that."

Nor, in the days that followed the massacre, could we imagine the conservative Gov. Robert Bennett of Alabama removing Confederate flags from his statehouse, as Gov. Nikki Haley would press for in South Carolina, or the transformation on the subject of U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham and State Sen. Paul Thurmond, as well as NASCAR, which is now divorcing the widespread use of the battle flag.

The Mother Emanuel massacre was a transformational event at a time when the cultural changes in America are rapid and unpredictable.

The grace of the people caught up in this chapter was, to me, not so surprising given my experiences on Yonges Island decades before. ❖

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essentially for show, there was disappointment expressed by Gov. Mike Pence and the Republican congressional delegation.

But U.S. Rep. Luke Messer, speaking on CNN shortly after the 6-3 ruling that included Indiana-bred Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., in the majority, vowed to continue to seek repeal. "There's some good provisions in the law and there's been a lot of people hurt, too," said Messer, who heads the House Republican conference policy committee. "We have to keep our promises we're going to continue to stand up to the president. We're going to have to do the hard work of coming up with our own plan. We have to tell the American people what we would do if this was no longer the law of the land."



Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote the majority opinion on the marriage case.

U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon, a heart surgeon from Newburgh, observed, "While the Americans who may have lost their health insurance because of a poorly written, flawed law are no longer at risk of losing their subsidies, the fact remains that millions of Americans are still without affordable insurance or proper access to the healthcare system. The Supreme Court's decision doesn't change

these facts. As a physician who spent my career caring for patients regardless of their ability to pay, my goal is to make sure that everyone has access to quality, affordable healthcare. I will continue working for common-sense solutions that lower costs, expand choice, and put patients back in control of their healthcare decisions."

Gov. Pence prepared to double down, saying on Thursday, "Today's display of judicial activism by the Supreme Court upholds this deeply flawed law to the detriment of millions of Hoo-

siers who will continue to be subject to the mandates and taxes in Obamacare. Obamacare must be repealed and states must be given the flexibility to craft market-based solutions focused on lowering the cost of health care rather than growing the size of government. It now falls to the American people to elect new leadership in Washington, D.C., so we can repeal Obamacare and start over with health care reform based on personal responsibility and consumer choice rather than government mandates and taxes. Indiana will continue to be a leading voice in advancing those principles in the national debate.”

Republican U.S. Senate candidate Eric Holcomb said the GOP must change tactics. “Those of us who feel that the Affordable Care Act was the wrong answer to a national problem just can’t continue talking about what we’re against; we now have to present what we’re for,” said Holcomb. “We need the federal government – the Congress and the president – to give states the flexibility to offer alternative solutions. That’s what I will fight for in order to make America safer, stronger and freer for generations to come.”

Some observers saw the Obamacare ruling as lifting the GOP out of a potential crisis if millions of Americans, and 180,000 Hoosiers, lost their insurance subsidies. But the yawning hole is that in Congress, there has been no comprehensive Obamacare package presented.

A repeal of Obamacare would require the election of a Republican president in 2016, and large majorities in both Congressional chambers. Standing in the way will be a messy Republican presidential nomination fight, and a decisive shift in public opinion that Howey Politics Indiana has observed with our own polling since 2012 here in Indiana, as well as nationally. Much of this shift has been ignored by the prevailing Republican power centers in Indiana, and it has wounded Gov. Pence politically, though the GOP’s legislative majorities at this point don’t appear to be threatened.

Marriage ruling fallout

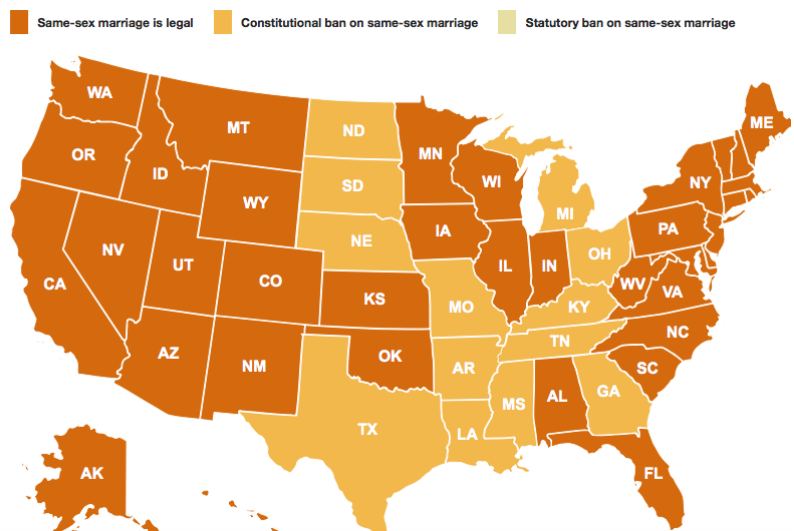
The marriage ruling will likely create more showdowns in state legislatures, including here in Indiana. While one Republican county chairman has told Howey Politics that there has been palpable relief in GOP circles that the same-sex marriage has been resolved, and Republican legislators will seek to extend civil rights protections in the 2016 session, multiple Republican and Statehouse sources are telling HPI.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg, who has been criticized by Indiana LGBT groups, said Friday he will seek a repeal of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and will seek an expansion of civil rights to include sexual orientation. Gregg reacted to the United States Supreme Court decision in Obergefell v. Hodges by saying, “Today’s historic decision by the U.S. Supreme Court is an affirmation of that core American principle that

all individuals are created equal and should be treated as such regardless of what they look like, where they live or who they love. And, unlike Mike Pence, if elected I will work to defend that principle for all Hoosiers.” Gregg vowed to “seek the full repeal of the divisive RFRA law and will work to extend full civil rights protections to LGBT citizens so a person’s sexuality can no longer be used as grounds for termination of a job or denial of any public services or accommodations. I’ll also sign an executive order to outlaw discrimination of LGBT Hoosiers within state government and in any entity that wishes to do business with the state or receive funds from my administration.”

Supt. Glenda Ritz, a Democratic candidate for governor, celebrated the Supreme Court ruling on marriage and said she would pursue a civil rights expansion. “Like so many other Hoosiers, my husband Gary and I are celebrating the commitment to liberty in today’s decision by the Supreme Court,” Ritz said in a Facebook posting that drew 60,000 likes. “However, we still have more work to do to guarantee legal protection in Indiana and to bring our state back together. I look forward to doing that work as your next governor.”

In Gov. Pence’s hometown of Columbus - the first city in Indiana to form a Human Rights Commission in 1962 - a new initiative intending to ensure all residents, including members of the LGBT community, feel they are welcome in the city, the Republic reported. The SAFE — short for safe and friendly environment — initiative is designed to allow businesses to publicly identify themselves



as welcoming to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in Columbus. So far, 25 businesses have officially taken the pledge, while eight other businesses have expressed an interest. About 130 business owners, church-goers and individual residents came to the official launch of the initiative last week at YES Cinema downtown.

While GOP legislative and party leadership were mum following the ruling, family advocacy groups clearly felt antagonized.

Open up the Indiana Family Institute page, and a

fundraising appeal precedes the website: "The future of marriage in American, and your religious freedom, are at stake. Give now to protect your family! The appeal seeks to "advance religious freedom laws, equip other pro-family Americans to act, and help your children and grandchildren live their lives according to their faith."

The Indiana Family Institute's Ryan McCann posted, "(Justice Anthony) Kennedy defines same-sex marriage as a 'fundamental right,' which is what allows the court to overturn the vast majority of state laws, and further prevents states from rejecting marital benefits to everyone equally (if you have a right to a marriage certificate, you have a right to marriage). That redefinition will also allow the court to overturn the 1st Amendment protections of freedom of religion. As we have been arguing for years, as goes marriage so goes religious liberty. Justice Kennedy has set the stage for those of us who hold true to parameters of biblical sexual morality to be viewed by the law as bigots. Legal bigots do not get the benefit of religious liberty."

McCann pointed to Ryan Anderson's post on the Daily Signal: "Because the court has inappropriately redefined marriage everywhere, there is urgent need for policy to ensure that the government never penalizes anyone for standing up for marriage. As discussed in my new book, 'Truth Overruled: The Future of Marriage and Religious Freedom,' we must work to protect the freedom of speech, association and religion of those who continue to abide by the truth of marriage as union of man and woman. At the federal level, the 1st Amendment Defense Act is a good place to start. It says that the federal government cannot discriminate against people and institutions that speak and act according to their belief that marriage is a union of one man and one woman. States need similar policies. Today's decision is a significant setback to achieving that goal. We must work to reverse it and recommit ourselves to building a strong marriage culture because so much of our future depends upon it."

A proposed marriage amendment prompted Hendricks County Republican Chairman Mike O'Brien to tweet, "An amendment to the U.S. Constitution on marriage? I guess that's one way for Republicans to lose every state-house election in 2016."

Wall Street Journal columnist William McGurn wrote, "In one of the great flimflams of American life, it is a prescription for endless litigation smuggled in under libertarian clothing. This began with the opening question put to all those who held the classic view of marriage: What can it possibly matter to you, they were asked, if two men or two women who love each other call their relationship marriage? We learned that it matters a great deal. It matters to Brendan Eich, who was forced to resign last year as CEO of the company he co-founded after it became public that he had donated \$1,000 to Proposition 8,

the successful California ballot measure banning same-sex marriage. It matters to Chick-Fil-A, which in 2012 saw the mayors of Chicago and Boston declare the restaurant chain had no place in their cities because its chief executive held the same view of marriage that Barack Obama held until very recently. Give the Obama administration its due: The president's solicitor general admitted during the Obergefell oral argument that a victory for same-sex marriage would put the tax-exempt status of such institutions on the chopping block."



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The future of MARRIAGE in America — and YOUR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM — are at stake

Give now to protect your family!

- ✓ ADVANCE religious freedom laws
- ✓ EQUIP other pro-family Americans to act
- ✓ HELP your children and grandchildren live their lives according to their faith

DONATE NOW

And New York Post columnist Rich Lowry observed, "Everyone knows where the debate over gay marriage is going next. Now that the Supreme Court has imposed its edict on the land, the question is whether religious institutions and people of faith will still be permitted to act on moral beliefs that the court has portrayed as bigoted and deeply wounding."

There were some differences expressed on the GOP side. Presidential candidate Jeb Bush took an adroit stance, saying, "Guided by my faith, I believe in traditional marriage. I believe the Supreme Court should have allowed the states to make this decision. I also believe that we should love our neighbor and respect others, including those making lifetime commitments. In a country as diverse as ours, good people who have opposing views should be able to live side by side. It is now crucial that as a country we protect religious freedom and the right of conscience and also not discriminate."

Another GOP contender, U.S. Sen. Rand Paul, explained in TIME, "While I disagree with Supreme Court's redefinition of marriage, I believe that all Americans have the right to contract. The Constitution is silent on the question of marriage because marriage has always been a local issue. Our founding fathers went to the local court-

house to be married, not to Washington, D.C. I've often said I don't want my guns or my marriage registered in Washington. Do consenting adults have a right to contract with other consenting adults? Supporters of the Supreme Court's decision argue yes but they argue no when it comes to economic liberties, like contracts regarding wages. It seems some rights are more equal than others."

And David Brooks, the conservative columnist for the New York Times, provided painful context for the social right. "Christianity is in decline in the United States. The share of Americans who describe themselves as Christians and attend church is dropping. Evangelical voters make up a smaller share of the electorate. Members of the millennial generation are detaching themselves from religious institutions in droves," Brooks wrote. "Christianity's gravest setbacks are in the realm of values. American culture is shifting away from orthodox Christian positions on homosexuality, premarital sex, contraception, out-of-wedlock childbearing, divorce and a range of other social issues. More and more Christians feel estranged from mainstream culture. They fear they will soon be treated as social pariahs, the moral equivalent of segregationists because of their adherence to scriptural teaching on gay marriage. They fear their colleges will be decertified, their religious institutions will lose their tax-exempt status, their religious liberty will come under greater assault."

Brooks urges a change of course for the social right. "Consider putting aside, in the current climate, the culture war oriented around the sexual revolution," Brooks said. "Put aside a culture war that has alienated large parts of three generations from any consideration of religion or belief. Put aside an effort that has been a communications disaster, reducing a rich, complex and beautiful faith into a public obsession with sex. Put aside a culture war that, at least over the near term, you are destined to lose. Consider a different culture war, one just as central to your faith and far more powerful in its persuasive witness. Social conservatives could be the people who help reweave the sinews of society. This culture war is more Albert Schweitzer and Dorothy Day than Jerry Falwell and Franklin Graham; more Salvation Army than Moral Majority. It's doing purposefully in public what social conservatives already do in private."

Epilogue

At this writing, while the left celebrates, the social right is in a state of reassessment. U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman, a Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, explained after the marriage decision, "Following this ruling, it is critically important that religious freedom is defended and that our constitutional right to live and work according to our own beliefs remains fundamental and unchanged."

A potential Senate race rival, State Sen. Mike Delph who had been very animated on Twitter in previous legislative showdowns over the marriage issue, made one Tweet on Saturday: "In matters of style, swim with the current, in matters of principle, stand like a rock." ❖



7th black church burns in South

COLUMBIA, S.C. -- An African-American church in South Carolina that was burned down by the Ku Klux Klan in 1995 caught fire again Tuesday night. It broke out on a night of frequent storms featuring lightning. No one was believed to be inside at the time (CBS News).

Both the Associated Press and MSNBC reported this morning that officials believe the cause isn't arson.

The fire at the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal church in Greeleyville broke out at a time when federal authorities are investigating blazes at several other predominantly black churches in the South, but so far the fires don't appear to be related.

The latest blaze broke out at about 8:30 p.m. and was extinguished by midnight, reports CBS News correspondent Mark Strassmann. When it was over, he says, there wasn't much left. As the fire raged, orange smoke filled the air above the church and spilled from its windows.

The fire comes about a week after Mount Zion AME was featured in a Los Angeles Times story about the long history of violence against black churches and 20 years after it was burned to the ground by the Klan, reports CBS Columbia affiliate WLTX-TV. It is the seventh Southern church to catch fire in recent weeks.

The image of orange flames coming from the same church the KKK burned down 20 years ago brought up painful memories, said Williamsburg County Councilman Eddie Woods Jr., who got out of bed to drive to the church after hearing about the fire. "That was a tough thing to see," Woods said. "It is hurting those people again. But we're going to rebuild. If this was someone, they need to know that hate won't stop us again." ❖

Pence uses EPA issue to motivate the base

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – At a time when Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia’s dissent on the marriage case focused on “this Court’s threat to American democracy,” U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz called on states to ignore the ruling, and Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton told county clerks and magistrates they could opt out of issuing same sex marriage licenses, Gov. Mike Pence appeared to be joining

forces of obstruction when he vowed “not to comply” with pending EPA Clean Power Plan rules last week.

It became a moot point on Monday when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 5-4 in Michigan et al. v. EPA, sidelining the rules, citing the potential costs to coal belt

states such as Indiana.

For Pence, “this is far from civil disobedience,” said spokeswoman Kara Brooks. “The governor said unless the federal EPA Clean Power Plan is demonstrably and significantly improved before being finalized Indiana will not comply, which means we won’t submit a state plan. This is much different from ignoring the law. No federal funding will be lost if we refuse to submit a state plan.”

The other aspect of this is, well, it’s good politics, with one energy industry source telling Howey Politics Indiana that Pence was probably “posturing” on two fronts: For members of Congress sympathetic to coal belt states who would be forced to reduce emissions and power production when there is no technology to remove carbon dioxide, and to Hoosier voters who love it when a public servant tells Washington to “stick it” so to speak.

Pence was in a policy victory mode on Monday after the court decision. “Today’s Supreme Court ruling is a victory for Indiana and for Hoosiers,” Pence said following the 5-4 decision on Michigan et al. v. EPA. “For too long, the repercussions of costly

regulations and federal overreach have been overlooked in Washington, where the administration’s approach to energy policy has placed environmental concerns above all others. However, as governor, I can confidently say the financial and economic impact of these policies are detrimental to Hoosier families and businesses alike here in Indiana.”

Justice Antonin Scalia, writing for the 5-4 U.S. Supreme Court majority, explained, “In accordance with executive order, the agency issued a ‘regulatory impact analysis’ alongside its regulation. This analysis estimated that the regulation would force power plants to bear costs of \$9.6 billion per year. The agency could not fully quantify the benefits of reducing power plants’ emissions of hazardous air pollutants; to the extent it could, it estimated that these benefits were worth \$4 to \$6 million per year. Read naturally in the present context, the phrase ‘appropriate and necessary’ requires at least some attention to cost. One would not say that it is even rational, never mind ‘appropriate,’ to impose billions of dollars in economic costs in return for a few dollars in health or environmental benefits.”

Prior to the ruling the Mike Pence for Indiana campaign was making hay out of coal dust. Over the weekend, the campaign sent a “newsletter” to supporters, saying, “Mike took a stand for Indiana. He wrote a letter to President Obama declaring ‘If the EPA rules are not significantly changed, we will not comply.’ This gross overreach by the EPA fails to consider the impact on states’ economies, and if passed, would significantly hurt Hoosier taxpayers. ‘Energy policy should promote the safe, environmentally responsible stewardship of our natural resources with the goal of reliable, affordable energy,’ Mike wrote. ‘Your approach to energy policy places environmental concerns above all others.’”

The Washington Times reported Tuesday: Outside the courtroom, the president’s climate change program faces an equally murky future. Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, a Republican, started last week what analysts say may become a trend. He said his state will ignore the EPA carbon regulations to insulate its residents from higher energy bills.

What the stance does is play well to the business community



Gov. Mike Pence pleads his case on HIP 2.0 with President Obama in Evansville last year. He used a different tactic to press for EPA Clean Power Plan rules last week.

where he has been under fire since the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, the state's southwestern region coal belt, which is home to potential opponent John Gregg, and to his conservative base, some of whom has been antagonized by not only the Obama administration's "war on coal," but Supreme Court rulings last week affirming Obamacare and same sex marriage.

The Times continued: Legal analysts say the Clean Power Plan also could run into trouble in court, and the proposal is even more problematic in some ways than the mercury standards struck down this week. "I think the Clean Power Plan, if it stays in its current form, is much more vulnerable to the Supreme Court striking it down than even the [mercury standards]. You've got a very broad, sweeping change in not only CO2 emissions from power plants but also the way the grid operates," said Jay Holloway, a lawyer at the firm Sutherland Asbill & Brennan LLP who specializes in environmental issues. "That's a much bigger and much broader approach that the EPA is taking, and so the questions become numerous with respect to not only the unreasonableness of the EPA's decision-making and the basis for the Clean Power Plan, but also its authority to make all of these changes."

Gregg, who once worked for Peabody Coal, was silent on the issue, something the Pence campaign noted, while the Republican Governors Association chided him. "While Gov. Mike Pence is standing up to the federal government's overreach, Democrats John Gregg and Glenda Ritz have remained dangerously silent on President Obama's new EPA regulations that would destroy Indiana jobs, raise energy costs and shift regulations from Indiana to the federal government," said RGA Communications Director Jon Thompson. "Hoosier voters have a right to know if Gregg and Ritz stand with them or extreme environmentalist special interests."

State Sen. Karen Tallian did comment, saying, "Gov. Mike Pence, in typical fashion, has reacted with superheated rhetoric, issuing a press release first, asking questions later. The rule by the Environmental Protection Agency has not been finalized. There's time for input from stakeholders like Indiana before it's finalized. Instead of finding a compromise, Mike Pence prefers to pitch the same missives he learned in Washington about how clean air and clean water spell the end of our economy. Hoosiers deserve and can have both. It's possible to protect our waterways and ensure the air our children breathe is safe while building a 21st century economy. It takes vision. It takes leadership. And sometimes, it starts with compromise. Unfortunately, our governor seems to prefer to step back from this opportunity."

It's the second time Pence has said he would defy the federal government. In 2014, he was one of



seven Republican governors who said they would ignore a 2003 Prison Rape Elimination Act signed by President George W. Bush. On that front, Brooks said that the state had submitted a letter of assurance that it is working to comply, and that the first Indiana correctional facility had passed a federal compliance audit.

Indiana's coal sector is light on employment, with Sourcewatch.com reporting there are 1,986 underground miner and 1,636 surface mining jobs, or 3,612 total jobs in Indiana in 2013. Indiana ranks second in number of coal plants with 90, employing 3,879 workers. Factor in related employees such as logistics, and the sector might employ in the 20,000 range.

Where Pence might end up sideways with voters would be independents and females, two groups he is already in trouble with, according to the April Howey Politics Indiana Poll, who tend to favor clean air. The National Resource Defense Council reports that the Clean Power Plan will lead to climate and health benefits worth an estimated \$55 billion to \$93 billion in 2030, including avoiding 2,700 to 6,600 premature deaths and 140,000 to 150,000 asthma attacks in children. These climate and health benefits far outweigh the estimated annual costs of the plan, which are \$7.3 billion to \$8.8 billion in 2030. From the soot and smog reductions alone, for every dollar invested through the Clean Power Plan, American families will see up to \$7 in health benefits.

Pence, Scalia and energy industry sources point to that \$9.6 billion annual cost to implement the Clean Power Plan. Less clear is whether the plan would spur new innovations that would actually create jobs.

Governor: Thomas mulls GOP primary

Indianapolis auto dealer Bob Thomas is still pondering entry into the Republican primary, and perhaps even an independent gubernatorial bid. "It is still under consideration," Thomas told HPI on Tuesday. "But taking on a sitting governor is a huge undertaking. I don't want to get into a bloody primary and then give the seat to the Democrats." Thomas began pondering a challenge to Gov. Pence following the Religious Freedom Restoration Act episode last April. Thomas said that he is talking with Republicans about the race. "I'm talking to the adults in the party," he said. "Everybody thinks the same way. They are scared to death this guy is going to get beat in November." Thomas is looking at mid-July to make a decision.

Governor: Gregg stokes up fundraising

Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Gregg is beginning to show some fundraising traction. The former House speaker has outraised Gov. Mike Pence in large donations since June 22

as he heads into the crucial mid-year reporting deadline Tuesday night.

Since June 22, Gregg has added \$335,000 from large donors, mostly from unions. Between May 10 and June 22, Gregg reported \$105,000 in large donations, giving him \$440,000 since the sine die of the Indiana General Assembly. Gregg is under more pressure than the other candidates after the general consensus following his close loss to Pence in 2012 was that he didn't raise the money needed and was late hiring a campaign finance director.

The Mike Pence for Indiana campaign picked up \$225,000 in large donations since June 22, including \$55,000 in the past two days. The Pence campaign received \$50,000 from Stuart Reed of Fortville and Thomas W. Smith of Boca Raton, Fla.; and \$25,000 from Larry Dunigan of Evansville and Danny Huston of Parker City.

Gregg picked up \$150,000 from the Northern Indiana Operators Joint Labor Management PAC, \$100,000 from the Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee, \$50,000 from the Indiana Regional Carpenters Cope Account, \$25,000 from the United Food and Commercial Workers Active Ballot, and \$10,000 from Lawrence Reuben of Indianapolis.

State Sen. Karen Tallian reported \$20,000 shifted from her Senate campaign to her gubernatorial committee. Supt. Glenda Ritz did not report any large donations. Pence began the year with \$3.5 million cash on hand, while Gregg and Ritz started the cycle with about \$130,000 apiece and Tallian at \$25,000. Gregg has an organizational advantage over Ritz and Tallian, never completely disbanding his campaign. Knowing he needs to show traction with donors, Gregg has told Howey Politics Indiana that he has focused on "dialing for dollars."

Ritz and Tallian have not announced their campaign teams, though Ritz sources tell HPI that key members are in place and will be announced soon.

U.S. Senate: Hale won't run; Young will

State Rep. Christina Hale, D-Indianapolis, announced she will not enter the U.S. Senate race. "So many people, friends, neighbors, and other Hoosiers encouraged me to run for U.S. Senate in 2016, but I've decided against running and will seek reelection to my state representative seat," Hale said. "I'll continue to work to find ways to keep fixing problems that face Hoosiers every day with my colleagues in the Indiana legislature and anyone else willing to roll up their sleeves and tackle the important issues." Former congressman Baron Hill is the only announced Democrat, while Republicans Eric Holcomb and U.S. Rep. Marlin Stutzman have entered the race, and U.S. Rep. Todd Young, State Sen. Mike Delph and State Sen. Jim Merritt are mulling entry into the race to replace U.S. Sen. Dan Coats.

U.S. Rep. Todd Young is nearing a decision to enter the Republican race and all signs point to a candidacy. WISH-TV reported the Young political organization has retained Cam Savage as a consultant. The Bloomington

Republican has been focused on ginning up his \$1.1 million first-quarter war chest by last night's filing deadline. Young is expected to pad those numbers well past the \$1.5 million mark, making him the top dog in the coming Senate campaign money wars.

In a fundraising email to supporters, Young explained, "Ever since Sen. Coats announced he wouldn't be running for reelection, I've been asked repeatedly if I would run for his seat. While I'm close to having an



answer to that question, I'm not quite ready to make any sort of announcement today. Regardless of what 2016 brings, I know I'll be a target for Washington Democrats. The House has passed bills I wrote to repeal and replace part of Obamacare's employer mandate, to delay

the effects of Obamacare's individual mandate, and to rein in the regulatory regime of the Obama White House. Just last week, the House passed another bill I helped get through the Ways and Means Committee that would repeal Obamacare's medical device tax. Because of all the help and counsel from Hoosiers like you, we have been incredibly successful at picking apart the Obama agenda. Liberals in Washington have taken notice and we will no doubt have a target on our back. That's why I need your help today! Tuesday is a critical deadline for federal fundraising reports."

As for other Republicans, State Sen. Mike Delph has been traveling the state, but has been uncharacteristically quiet, despite the recent Supreme Court ruling affirming same sex marriage. Sources tell HPI that State Sen. Jim Merritt is still preparing a candidacy, though Young's entry could prompt a reassessment.

3rd CD: Reaction to SCOTUS rulings

Republican contenders State Sen. Liz Brown and Dr. Pam Galloway weighed in on the U.S. Supreme Court marriage ruling. Brown released this statement (Howey Politics Indiana): "More than 40 years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court made a sweeping ruling, deeming that preborn children are unworthy of protection. Today the Supreme Court redefined marriage, but nine unelected judges can't redefine what we know as marriage. As I have advocated for the preborn despite the Supreme Court's position, I will continue to advocate for one-man, one-woman marriage and traditional families. I'm not

simply outspoken about my pro-life views. I've worked hard in the state senate to pass legislation that will protect preborn babies and end the atrocious practices at these abortion facilities. I'm pleased the state took this important step of requesting that Dr. Ulrich Klopfer's facility license in South Bend be revoked."

Galloway said, "Today the Supreme Court issued an outrageous decision to end the right of the states to define marriage in the United States. Marriage is clearly not a federal matter in the U.S. Constitution, and this ruling is a stark example of judicial overreach. Congress has the power to set aside Supreme Court rulings, and Congress should use that power to check this unjust decision." (Howey Politics Indiana)

Mayors

Indianapolis: 6,600 signatures for Harrison

Probable independent candidate Rev. Charles Harrison submitted more than 6,600 ballot petition signatures at Tuesday's deadline. Harrison has not made a final decision on whether to enter the race where Democrat nominee Joe Hogsett is the favorite at this point. Republican nominee Chuck Brewer weighed in on the Supreme Court marriage ruling, saying on Friday, "Today is a memorable day. I want to offer sincere congratulations to the people across America who have worked for many years to reach this historic outcome. It is important to remember that there are indeed good people on both sides of this debate, but now is the time to come together and move forward. #IndyWelcomesAll." (Howey Politics Indiana)

General Assembly

Indiana House: Buoscio rematch for Wesco

Jodi Buoscio lost in a thumping to Indiana Rep. Tim Wesco in 2014 elections for his post (Vandenack, Elkhart Truth). That's not deterring the Elkhart Memorial High School teacher from Osceola. She announced Thursday, June 25, she's going to try again for the District 21 Indiana House seat, citing Wesco's "extremist and divisive" positions. "Tim Wesco's sponsorship and support of the so-called religious freedom bill in the 2015 legislative session made us a national laughing stock," Buoscio, a Democrat, said in a statement. Wesco, a Republican, was an ardent supporter of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, the controversial measure signed into law that's blasted as anti-gay by critics and praised as a means to defend religious liberties by backers. Wesco, who said he'll likely run again in 2016 though



a formal decision won't come until later, won his third term in the District 21 seat in 2014, beating Buoscio by a 2-to-1 margin with 66.6% of the vote. "I think it's up to the voters to determine who is extreme and who is not extreme," Wesco said in response to Buoscio. He said his margin of victory in 2014 shows that District 21 voters don't think he's extreme and he stood behind his RFRA support.

It is one of several rematches taking shape. Former Democrat representative Shelli VanDenburgh will try to regain the seat she lost to State Rep. Julie Olthoff in HD19. In HD42, former Democrat senator Tim Skinner will seek a return by challenging Republican Rep. Alan Morrison.

Presidential: Christie launches bid

Gov. Chris Christie is about to find out whether the tough-talking style that's so popular at home in New Jersey will resonate on the presidential campaign trail (CNN).

Christie announced Tuesday he is running for the Republican presidential nomination in 2016. Speaking at his alma mater, Livingston High School, Christie said he is now "ready to fight for the people of the United States of America."

"We must tell each other the truth about the problems we have and the difficulty of the solutions," Christie added.

Christie is the 14th major contender seeking the GOP nomination. Christie looked to the past while making his debut as presidential candidate, holding his announcement event at the same high school in Livingston where he grew up and served as class president. "Why here? Because everything started here for me," Christie said, embracing his roots as he took the stage in the school's gymnasium. Just outside the gym, a team photo hangs of Christie and the Livingston "Lancers" baseball team in 1980. "When I decided to make this announcement, there was no other choice. I had to come home. And Livingston is home for me."

Walker slips in Iowa Poll

Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, who is expected to make Iowa the centerpiece of his early campaign efforts after he officially joins the presidential field on July 13, has the support of 18 percent of likely GOP caucus participants, according to the Quinnipiac University poll (Politico). That puts him ahead of a crowded Republican field, though his support is slipping. Walker was at 21 percent two months ago. The candidates finishing behind Walker are tightly bunched together: First-time candidates Ben Carson and Donald Trump tie for second place, with 10 percent of the vote. Just one point behind are Sens. Ted Cruz (Texas) and Rand Paul (Ky.). Former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush is at 8 percent, and Florida Sen. Marco Rubio is at 7 percent. ❖

Holcomb taking his shots in Senate race

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Running for statewide office isn't easy when you have little name recognition among Indiana's 4.8 million voters. Just ask Eric Holcomb, who started campaigning in March for next year's U.S. Senate election.



In a Howey Politics Indiana poll conducted in late April by Bellwether Research, 62 percent of voters said they'd never heard of Holcomb. Those voters won't go to the polls for months. So Holcomb is go-

ing to them. In the first 30 days of his campaign, he traveled to events in 30 cities and towns. He's pledged to visit all 92 counties before county fair season ends in August.

That's on top of a promise to shoot a basketball in a high school gym in every county, a goal that you can see he's well on the way to achieving if you scan his Facebook page.

Holcomb says the pace is exhausting but exhilarating. "Every time you go somewhere and talk to people, not just about their problems but about what they think are solutions, it fuels the rest of your day," he said.

He reflected over a cool drink on a hot day, having spent a week gathering endorsements and raising money. In seven days, he'd been to more than eight communities on a north-south-north trek that took him from Valparaiso to Vincennes and back again. He was getting ready to attend his 32nd Lincoln Day dinner of the year. He hits the events to court county Republican activists who can help turn out the vote in the May primary.

Holcomb has been all-in since his former boss, U.S. Sen. Dan Coats, announced his intended retirement in March. That set off wild speculation as to who would run, since it creates a rarely open seat that could tip the battle for control of the Senate,

where the GOP now has a four-vote majority.

"For a while, I'd thought there'd be more candidates than voters," jested Holcomb.

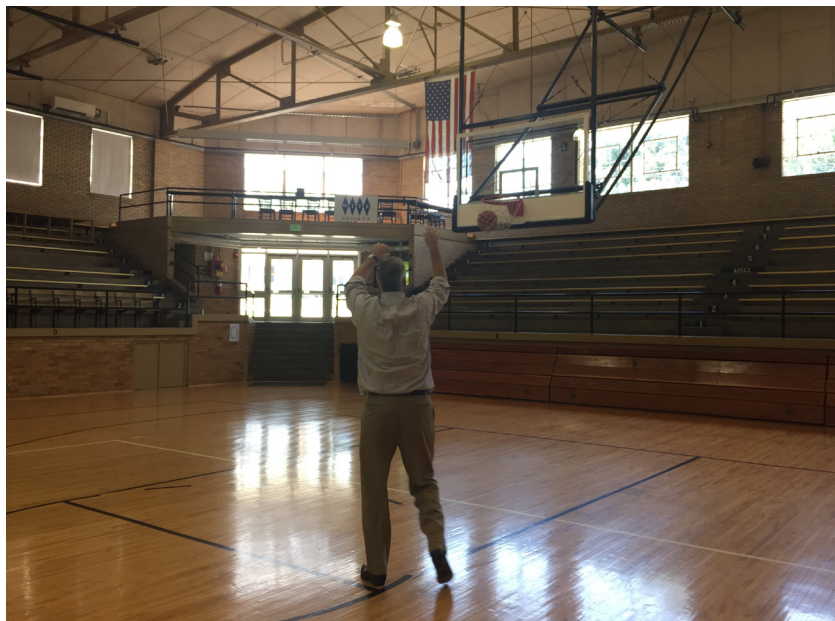
The field isn't that crowded – yet. Only U.S. Congressman Marlin Stutzman has jumped in with Holcomb on Republican side. More will follow. That includes Democrats, too, who are savoring the idea of a messy Republican primary that could threaten the GOP's hold on the seat.

Stutzman, who challenged the reelection of Rep. John Boehner as House Speaker earlier this year, has long had the backing of the ultra-conservative Club For Growth.

Holcomb, former chairman of the Indiana Republican Party and Coats' former district director, is seen as the establishment candidate. But that gets ahead of the story. Holcomb is still working on getting people to know his name. Though Holcomb has picked up key endorsements from some party leaders and state lawmakers, his playbook involves a campaign like the one he helped design for Mitch Daniels, a relative unknown when he first ran for governor back in 2003.

That plan had Daniels traveling the state to meet with all kinds of people. It stayed away from divisive social issues and inflammatory rhetoric and focused instead on common worries: Taxes, roads and schools. The plan helped Daniels topple a sitting governor and ended a 20-year streak of Democratic governors.

Back then, there was no place that Holcomb and Daniels wouldn't go. As his friend and fellow political strategist Cam Savage later wrote in a column for the NUVO weekly newspaper, Holcomb was convinced that Republicans needed to stop ignoring voters who lived in Indiana's small towns. That's why he now can be found shooting hoops with voters in old high school gyms, like the one in Oaktown, population 600, where residents raised \$40,000 to restore the gym floor and seats.



Republican Senate candidate Eric Holcomb sinks a shot at the Cabby O'Neill Gym in Jasper.

"It's really easy to ask Hoosiers, no matter what political stripe, to meet you at the gym, or at the barn, or at a city park, or the YMCA, to shoot hoops," he said. "It's amazing the knowledge you'll pick up there." ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI's newspapers and websites. Reach her at mhayden@cnhi.com. Follow her on Twitter @MaureenHayden

Indiana's Iron Brigade and its epic role in Battle of Gettysburg

By CRAIG DUNN

KOKOMO – Pvt. Abram J. Buckles looked forward to the coming fight. Buckles thirsted for all the honor and glory he'd seen others get; impatiently he sought the chance to do his duty. He thought he knew how he should seek it.



"I had always had a great anxiety to carry the flag of my regiment and did not know how I could get the place of color-bearer, unless by serving in the guard until I could see a proper chance to pick the flag up, should the color-bearer be killed or wounded," he later recounted. As Buckles drifted off to sleep that evening, with full stomach and singleness of purpose, he could not have

dreamed what the next day would hold. There would be plenty of opportunity for glory in Pennsylvania, in whatever form it was defined.

Sgt. Maj. Asa Blanchard roused his men early on July 1. Blanchard was a deep-voiced, popular soldier; there was no one more positive, and at times even hilarious, in the regiment. From all indications, the regiment was in for a hard day, and Blanchard wanted the men ready when the time came to move out.

The men were taking their own precautions. Pvts. William Roby Moore and William Level split everything they had right down the middle. Moore had a premonition that Level would be killed or wounded and he wanted his share of the utensils, blankets, food and supplies that they shared as tentmates. Gen. Meredith had sent orders for the 19th Indiana to fall in line of column as the Iron Brigade filed by. At 8 a.m., the column got under way, marching toward Gettysburg. First in column was the 2nd Wisconsin, followed by the 7th Wisconsin. The Hoosiers were next, all 288 men and officers. The 24th Michigan followed; then the 6th Wisconsin brought up the rear of the brigade.

The 19th Indiana that marched down the Emmitsburg Pike was by now an experienced and battle-hardened regi-

ment. It was led by experienced officers and fleshed out by the hardest and bravest of the enlisted men, the rest having leeches out through storms of fire and as a result of their own inadequacies.

Shortly after commencing the movement on Gettysburg, the men could hear the deep-throated boom of artillery fire reverberating in the distance. The column sped up, without being ordered to do so. About a mile south of Gettysburg, the Iron Brigade discharged all of its non-combatants and useless baggage. The column reached a little hill and finally the men could see all of Gettysburg in the distance, with batteries from both North and South blazing away at each other. As the 19th reached the top of the hill, a stray shell burst in the air above them, causing the men to let out a hearty cheer.

The Hoosiers had believed this fight was merely a cavalry skirmish. Gen. Reynolds, though, had ridden forward and sent back word to Gen. Wadsworth that Rebel infantry was present and driving down both sides of the Chambersburg Pike against Gen. John Buford's cavalry.

Another shell came whistling over the heads of the Hoosiers and exploded as General Wadsworth issued the order, "Deploy division, charge and drive the Rebels back!" The Iron Brigade now left the road and ran double-quick across the fields of ripening corn to the crest of Seminary Ridge. The division formed in lines of battle, the second brigade on the right side of the Chambersburg Pike and the Iron Brigade on the left of the road. Sgt. Maj. Asa Blanchard took his position on the left of the regiment and placed the guides for the left wing "as coolly as if on parade."

Burlington Cunningham, who had won the honor of bearing the flag by rescuing the standard on the field at Antietam, now held the furled banner. A staff officer



The 19th Indiana as part of the Iron Brigade that fought valiantly during the Battles of Gettysburg which began 152 years ago today.

rode by and told Cunningham "Do not unfurl the flag!" Cunningham could see the battle line forming, however, and could not restrain himself. He turned to Abe Buckles, who was color guard and told him, "Abe, pull the shuck!" With that, the flag swung defiantly into the breeze.

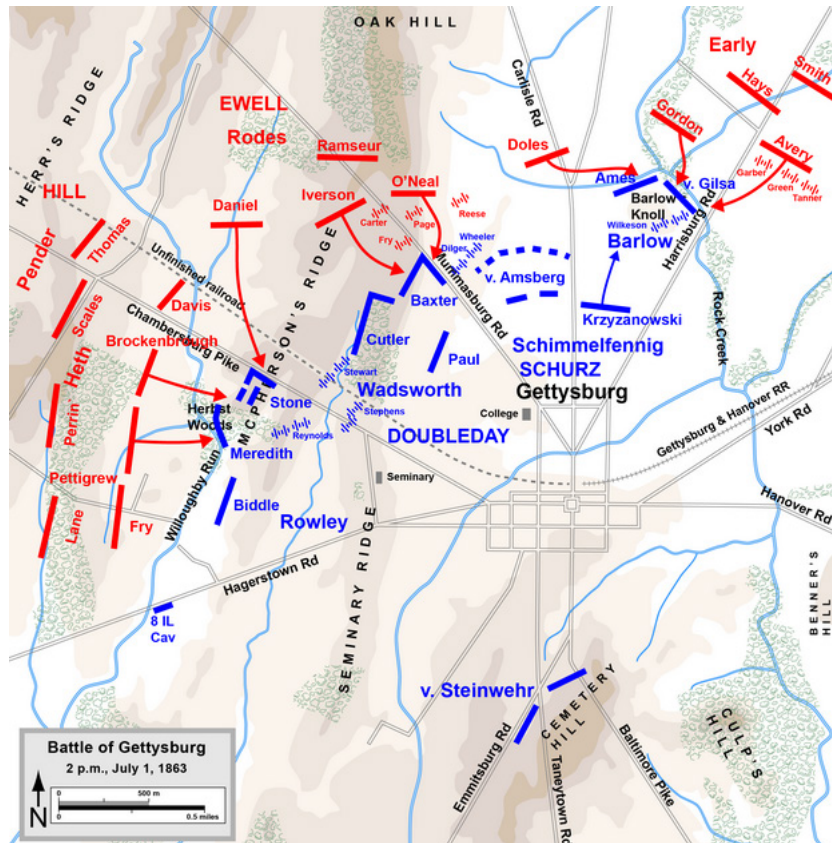
The regiment moved off Seminary Ridge and toward the next rise, McPherson's Ridge. As the men moved forward, they encountered Gamble's cavalymen, who were starting to filter back from the line as that outmanned cavalry division started to give way to the pressure of the advancing Confederates. The cavalymen cheered the Iron Brigade on, "We have got them now. Go in and give them hell!"

Hall's Battery of six guns had gone into action one hundred yards in front of McPherson's Ridge, and their firing slowed the advance of Brigadier Gen. James Archer's Alabamans and Tennesseans. With Gen. Reynolds exhorting them, "Forward men, forward, for God's sake!" the brigade advanced, loading their guns and fixing bayonets as they went. The Rebels unleashed a volley on the advancing Union troops, and Private Bill Level, true to Private Moore's premonition, went down immediately. Burlington Cunningham went down with a wound that knocked him unconscious. Abe Buckles picked up the flag, fulfilling his fondest dreams, and led the regiment to the attack.

The brigade continued its advance and drove the Rebels up McPherson's Ridge. As they reached the crest of the ridge, they encountered stray solid shots coming from the Rebel batteries just beyond the crest of Herr Ridge. It was now around 11 a.m. The brigade rushed past Gen. Reynolds at the crest of McPherson's Ridge and entered the woods below. Archer's Tennessee and Alabama troops entered McPherson's Woods from the west at the same time that Meredith's men entered it from the east. Archer's men came in screeching the Rebel yell, and got off the first volley at 40 yards away. Many men went down, including Gen. Reynolds, killed instantly by a bullet in the head. Archer's men also got a look at the enemy. They had seen Pennsylvania militia in the area in the past several days and half expected the men they faced in McPherson's Woods to be militia. When they saw their enemy they yelled, "There are those damned black-hatted fellows again. 'Taint no militia, it's the Army of the Potomac!"

The 24th Michigan and the 19th Indiana now found themselves outside the right flank of Archer's men in McPherson's Woods and far in advance of the brigade line. Seizing the moment, the Westerners now wheeled to the right and poured a terrific enfilading fire into Archer's shocked troops.

The fighting was brief and vicious. Archer's men began to fall back down the ridge to where the bulk of their brigade awaited on the banks of Willoughby Run. Abram Buckles now spied the fluttering flags of Archer's



Brigade at the foot of the hill and impetuously charged down the hill. Lt. Col. Dudley yelled, "Come back here with that flag!" but Buckles ran on. The 19th Indiana followed him and, without orders, continued firing at the Rebels. Archer's men broke and ran across Willoughby Run with the Hoosiers and the 24th Michigan in hot pursuit. The Iron Brigade pushed the gray-clads for another hundred yards before the officers of the regiments could get them under control. Archer's Brigade was almost destroyed. In addition to killing and wounding many, the Westerners captured several hundred Confederates, including Gen. Archer himself.

A smashing victory on Day 1

It was a smashing victory and blunted a Confederate attack that might have ended with the Rebels holding Cemetery Ridge at the end of day one, instead of Union forces possessing it.

The sidearms of the enemy field officers were handed over to Lt. Col. Dudley. He gave the sword of a Rebel lieutenant colonel to Sgt. Maj. Blanchard. Blanchard and Adjutant George Finney then escorted the prisoners back to the cavalry, which had re-formed in the rear of the Union line. Blanchard returned to the regiment and supervised the smashing of more than 400 Rebel rifles over rocks, a task which took 90 minutes to accomplish. The men then settled down to aiding their wounded and making coffee. Pvt. James Stickley, Company C, was badly wounded during the attack, but he refused to leave the field when his comrades came to his assistance.

Col. Williams ordered the regiment to hold its fire until the Rebels had crossed Willoughby Run and then to fire low. As the full power of the Rebel lines could be seen, Col. Williams yelled out, "Boys, we must hold our colors on this line or lie here under them!" For many soldiers, the latter part of the colonel's declaration would be fulfilled that day.

The full fury of Pettigrew's North Carolinians' attack came sweeping down on the flank of the Iron Brigade. The 19th Indiana unleashed its first volley, which managed to melt away the first line of the Rebel advance. The second line of the enemy attack opened fire, and the Hoosiers started to drop from the massed Rebel volley. Pvt. James Stickley, who had earlier refused to leave the field when he was wounded, was struck down again, this time mortally.

In the act of encouraging his men, Lt. Richard Jones was killed instantly by a minie ball. The roar of rifles and artillery coupled with the high-pitched Rebel yell and the assorted commands of the Union officers added confusion to the desperate scene. Pvt. Wes Payton was struck by a musket ball in the abdomen, turning him in a series of somersaults. His eyes bulged out and he called to his friend, Private Moore, "Robe, I'm shot!" He looked down, expecting to find a gaping fatal wound, and saw that the bullet had struck a brass button on his frock coat, saving his life.



Cpl. Cunningham had recovered from his earlier wound to reclaim the regimental colors. The volley from the second Rebel line sent bullets flying at the colors, and Cunningham went down with a shot in the leg. He lay on the ground near Willoughby Run while three successive lines of Brockenbrough's Virginians stumbled over him.

Abe Buckles snatched up the flag and started for the trees of McPherson's Woods. Another Rebel volley caught Buckles, and he went down with his arm shattered by a ball. The men shouted to Lt. Macy that the colors were down. Macy ordered one private to go get the flag, but the private refused. Macy ran back through the hailstorm of bullets toward the flag; a Sgt. Blair, Co. K, also went to its rescue. Blair no sooner grabbed it than he was shot down. David Phipps picked it up, waved it three times and was felled by a Rebel bullet. By this time, Macy arrived. He had to roll Phipps off the flag to claim it. Macy then raced back up the hill in a cloud of bullets.

The scene along the entire Union line was a discouraging one. Shortly after the first Confederate line attacked, the 11th Corps gave way on the Union right flank. The left flank of the Iron Brigade was in peril because Biddle's Brigade was an echelon in their left rear, unable to

By this time the Union line was increasing in strength, with the addition of Gen. O.O. Howard's 11th Corps, which positioned itself on the right of the 1st Corps. Also adding strength was part of Rowley's Division on the left flank of the Iron Brigade. At 11:30, Biddle's Brigade of Rowley's Division took position on the left rear of the Iron Brigade, and Stone's Brigade spread out on the right rear. For some unexplained reason, Biddle's men were ordered down into the ravine by Willoughby Run. This movement left them exposed to Confederate artillery fire, which drove them from the field. Their withdrawal left the Iron Brigade's left flank dangerously exposed.

By now the 19th Indiana had done some realignment of its own. The 24th Michigan was shifted to the

right of the 19th, and the 19th was moved further to the left in the ravine at Willoughby Run, sheltered somewhat by the western edge of McPherson's Woods. It was in this position that the men went about destroying Rebel guns and drinking their coffee, in full view of the Confederates re-forming on Herr Ridge.

It was now nearly 3 p.m.

and Colonel Williams could see a huge enemy flanking column of Lt. Gen. A. P. Hill's men moving into position for attack. Concerned about his exposed status on the flank, the colonel sent Sgt. Maj. Blanchard to Gen. Meredith to tell him that he intended to move 200 yards back up the hill to the ridge line. Meredith concurred and sent Blanchard on to General Wadsworth to inform him. Wadsworth wanted no part of the movement. He told Blanchard to tell Meredith that the woods must be held at all costs. Blanchard replied, "General, if that is what you want and the Iron Brigade can't hold it, who will?" Wadsworth responded, "Present my compliments to Gen. Meredith and say to him that with the Iron Brigade in possession of McPherson's Woods, I have no fear for our left flank."

19th Indiana exposed

It is doubtful that Wadsworth had been anywhere near the left flank. If he could have seen it dangling in the air, he most certainly would have allowed the withdrawal. The 19th Indiana was exposed, and an overwhelming Confederate force was moving toward it. These were the ingredients for a disaster.

At 3 p.m. the Rebels fired a signal gun and three long lines of Confederates advanced. Sergeant Major Blanchard was sent out to bring in Company B, who were about one-hundred yards in front of the main line as skirmishers. As Brigadier Johnston Pettigrew's and Colonel J. M. Brockenbrough's brigades emerged from the timber line, the Hoosiers automatically formed their battle line.

protect the left of the 19th Indiana. This led to the 19th's being forced back, uncovering the 24th Michigan.

Gen. Meredith now ordered his brigade to fall back 200 yards to the top of McPherson's Ridge. The Indiana troops moved slowly back, halting and firing a deadly rain of bullets as they went, at Rebels who were massed at this vulnerable point. The Confederates directed their charge up the slope of the ridge toward the 151st Pennsylvania, the right flank regiment of Biddle's Brigade. As Pettigrew's 26th North Carolina neared them, the 19th Indiana wheeled to their left and poured a withering fire into the flanks of the North Carolinians.

A Rebel artillery shell exploded at the feet of Gen. Meredith's horse, killing it instantly and sending up a piece of shrapnel to graze the general's head. The horse fell on the unconscious general, and Meredith had to be removed from the field. It was at this point, as the unit attempted to re-form the line at the top of McPherson's Ridge, that the casualties started to mount rapidly. Maj. Lindley was wounded severely in the hand, as was Capt. Ives. Capt. Shafer was injured and so was young Capt. David Holloway. Allen Ogborn, Alexander Burke, Reuben Clark, Peter Foust and William Hoover were all mortally wounded on the west face of the ridge. Sgt. James Ferguson, Pvs. Andrew Beshears, Thomas Winset, Thomas Daugherty and Thomas Michener were all killed while blazing away at the hard-driving Confederates. Capt. Adam Gisse and James Nash were seriously wounded, but both of the men refused to leave the field and boldly fought on.



On the crest of the ridge

Lt. Macy now made the crest of the ridge with the colors, and Lieutenant Crocket East was helping him put the flag back in the shuck, when East was shot and killed. While Macy attended to East, Joel Curtis picked up the flag and he, too, instantly went down. Macy yelled at Pvt. Moore to pick up the flag. Moore reluctantly did so as he was busy loading and firing his rifle. A bullet found its way to his hand, breaking it and splattering blood all over. Colonel Williams ordered Moore to the rear, and as blood spurted, Moore tried to pass the colors to Pvt. Joe Carter, a Virginian who was loading and firing. Carter, however, wanted no part of the folly of being the focal point for all of the Rebel marksmen. Lt. Col. Dudley now raced into the fray and grabbed the flag. He too lasted but a few moments before he was shot below the right knee. This wound would cost the young officer his leg. As Dudley lay on the ground with the flagstaff in his hand, Sgt. Maj. Blanchard ran to his aid, crying out, "Colonel, you shouldn't have done this. That was my duty. I shall never

forgive myself for letting you touch that flag."

Lt. Macy had seen enough futility in the form of colorbearers' deaths. He left East's lifeless form, picked up the flag, took it to Pvt. Burr Clifford and told him to shuck the flag. Clifford threw down his musket and all of his equipment and started for the rear with the flag. He walked, twirling the flag around the staff as he went. He then stopped and placed the staff on the ground. Holding the staff in his left hand, he turned sideways to present a smaller target. Instantly a bullet struck the staff below his hand, and another struck his tall black hat. Another bullet pierced his pant leg below the knee and one more above the other knee. Two more bullets cut through the tail of his frock coat. Blanchard saw the wavering Clifford and told Dudley, "It's down again, colonel, now it's my turn!"

Blanchard ran up and demanded that he be given the flag, but Lt. Macy yelled that there had been enough men shot with the flag. Blanchard turned to Col. Williams and appealed to him to let him carry the flag. Col. Williams ordered, "Let him have it." As soon as Blanchard had his hands on the flag, he tied the shuck around his waist, unfurled the banner and yelled, "Rally boys!" He was instantly shot in the groin; blood gushed from a severed artery. Blanchard fell against a tree and cried at his men, "Don't stop for me, don't let them have the flag. Tell Mother I never faltered." Macy reclaimed the flag and started to put it back into the shuck when Private Clifford came up and took the flag.

The death of Blanchard was the culmination of the fight at McPherson's Ridge for the 19th Indiana. The regiment slowly fell back to Seminary Ridge, stopping and firing as they went. At Seminary Ridge, Gen. Wadsworth had formed a battle line and the men of the 19th joined it. This line successfully stemmed the Rebel tide until Howard's 11th Corps gave way on its flank. The regiment now fell apart and it was every man for himself as the desperate remnants of the 1st Corps retreated back under relentless Confederate pressure and shelling toward Cemetery Hill where they were greeted by Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock.

There were too few Hoosiers to be rallied by Hancock. Of 288 men who entered the first day's fight, 27 were killed outright, 133 were wounded and 50 were missing. Victory bells might be heard throughout the North on the Fourth of July, but they were soon to be joined by the mournful wails of farm families in Elkhart, Selma, Spencer, Muncie, Richmond and Winchester, Indiana, as they learned the true cost of the victory. ❖

Dunn is chairman of the Howard County Republicans.

Serious consequences for Illinois governor

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – What happened to that prominent political figure in neighboring Illinois was surprising. Consequences are serious.

Dennis Hastert? No. This is about Illinois Gov. Bruce Rauner. He's the one who told the Chicago Tribune editorial board that he intends to "rip the economic guts out of Indiana."

Indiana Gov. Mike Pence helped Rauner toward that goal in promoting what was ridiculed nationally as a Hoosier freedom-to-discriminate law.



But this isn't about the silliness of these neighboring states trying to steal jobs from each other instead of working together for the economic good of both.

Maybe Rauner's threat of "coming after Indiana big time" is understandable after Indiana sought to steal jobs with billboards asking Illinois employers if they were "Il-

linoid by higher taxes."

The surprise was a unanimous decision of the politically split Illinois Supreme Court. Consequences are serious for Rauner, the Republican governor, and the Democratic-controlled Illinois legislature.

The court struck down what was called pension reform, actually pension slashing, a scheme through which Illinois politicians of both parties sought to alleviate a massive government retirement system debt that they created.

What happened and why is worth considering in view of the way other states and cities look at cutting pensions of government employees to solve massive debt problems.

While campaigning for governor last year, Rauner bad-mouthed the pension "reform" signed by the prior Democratic governor. But when he won, he needed reasons to have the pension-slashing or at least some of it upheld.

Rauner successfully fought to eliminate a temporary income tax hike that boosted the rate to 5 percent to meet the state's share of pension costs. With Rauner insisting he had a way to pay the bills, Democratic legislative leaders let the rate drop back to 3.75 percent for individuals, costing the state \$4 billion in annual revenue.

The huge pension debt was built over decades with bipartisanship. Many government workers in Illinois, as in other states and cities, stayed in relatively low-paying jobs with the promise of very generous pensions upon

retirement.

Politicians intended that. They held down salaries, bragging to voters that they provided more services and still avoided big tax hikes, even as they mortgaged the future.

No matter what they mouthed, Illinois politicians held bipartisan hope that the Supreme Court would uphold pension changes — at least some — that would curtail future cost-of-living adjustments, raise the retirement age for many and cap other pensions.

After all, as we now see, Rauner didn't have a plan to pay the bills. And Democratic legislative leaders didn't have a way to draft a budget retaining vital services and keeping the state somewhat solvent.

Surprise! The Illinois Supreme Court, four Democrats and three Republicans, ruled unanimously, throwing out the whole pension "reform."

The court said the pension crisis is one "for which the General Assembly itself is largely responsible." It concluded: "Crisis is not an excuse to abandon the rule of law. It is a summons to defend it."

Imagine that. A court decides on "rule of law" rather than partisan views of the justices.

Are there some individual examples of outrageous pensions in Illinois? Yes. Would it also be outrageous to go back on pension promises to so many teachers, police officers and firemen? Yes.

A court said those bipartisan promises by politicians must be kept. Surprise! ❖

Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.



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Bob Zaltsberg, Bloomington Herald-Times:

The depths of our political condition shone through in the aftermath of the U.S. Supreme Court decision last week that preserved the Affordable Care Act, otherwise known as Obamacare. Here's one example. "In deciding this case, the Supreme Court was forced to deal with what everyone acknowledges is a horribly written law that was rammed through the legislative process in shameless fashion. More than five years after it was passed, we are still dealing with the fallout of this recklessness. ..." That was the reaction from Indiana State Senate leader David Long, who apparently knows what "everyone acknowledges." Well, not everyone. "But as the dust has settled, there can be no doubt that this law is working. It has changed, and in some cases saved, American lives. It set this country on a smarter, stronger course." Here's more of the politics. "It is profoundly disappointing to me and every Hoosier who had hoped this ruling would give our nation the opportunity to start over on health care reform. Obamacare must be repealed and states must be given the flexibility to craft market-based solutions focused on lowering the cost of health care rather than growing the size of government." That is part of Gov. Mike Pence's statement. It would be unfair to interpret his comment that he's disappointed that 160,000 low- and moderate-income Indiana residents will continue to get federal subsidies that enable them to afford health care. Surely he was hoping that some other plan would come forth before the subsidies disappeared had the court ruled the other way; he just didn't say it. ❖



Jon Webb, Evansville Courier & Press: You know what happened on Friday. 5-4. All 50 states. The White House awash in a rainbow. Crowds all across the country kissing, waving flags, basking in a change that seemed impossible a few years before, when presidential candidates worried that if a man could marry a man, who's to say a man couldn't get hitched to a mastiff/pug mix? I grew up in a small town where being gay was not tolerated. My parents never taught me to hate anyone, but others did and I was a fast learner. As a teenager, I called kids I didn't like gay-bashing slang words that can't be repeated in this newspaper. I'm mortified by that now. I'd pay any amount of money to go back in time and punch myself in the face. And if my former self wasn't available, I'd settle for presidential candidate Scott Walker. "I believe this Supreme Court decision is a grave mistake," Walker said in a statement. "Five unelected judges have taken it upon themselves to redefine the institution of marriage." Even Gov. Mike Pence — the great defender of staunchly heterosexual pastry chefs — has given in. "Under our system of government, our citizens are free to disagree with decisions of the Supreme Court, but we are not free to disobey them," he said in a statement. "As we move forward as a state and a nation, Hoosiers may be assured that our ad-

ministration will respect the law and the dignity and worth of every Hoosier and every Hoosier family." Opponents of the decision may see this merely as a sign that America is sliding into Godlessness. Do you know what type of person finished second-to-last in the poll, just a shade ahead of socialists? Atheists. Whether or not Friday's decision is the will of a heavenly creator, I don't know. And either way, that doesn't matter. The U.S. is not beholden to one religion. Its laws are based on fairness, reason and Super PAC money. ❖

Lesley Weidenbener, Statehouse File: It was no surprise on Thursday night when Republican Mike Pence announced he'd seek a second term as governor — but he did drop a bit of a bombshell about how he'll do it. "I'm ready to take on those who would misrepresent our record and trash our good state and people to advance their political agendas," Pence said during a speech to the GOP faithful at a party dinner. That matters because Pence has said for years that he wouldn't run negative campaigns. In fact, he once wrote an essay titled "Confessions of a Negative Campaigner," a reaction to nasty races he ran in 1988 and 1990 against then U.S. Rep. Phil Sharp, a Democrat. Already, some voters perceive Pence has been picking on state Superintendent Glenda Ritz, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for governor, and gay Hoosiers, who oppose the controversial Religious Freedom Restoration Act. An overly negative campaign could only reinforce those perceptions. But given his lower approval ratings, staying all positive all the time probably won't be enough to win. ❖

Dave Bangert, Lafayette Journal & Courier: Here's what you get for \$440 an hour these days: An Indiana House determined to keep secrets, all on your dime. The latest episode in just how far Indiana legislators will go to prove they are above the state's open records laws twisted down a new hole with this week's revelation that they'd hired outside counsel to help the cause. As reported by Niki Kelly, Statehouse reporter for the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, House Speaker Brian Bosma bypassed Attorney General Greg Zoeller's office — essentially on retainer in defense of the state in most cases — to bring in Indianapolis attorney Geoffrey Slaughter. A part of the Taft Stettinius & Hollister law firm, Slaughter makes that aforementioned \$440 an hour. What will it buy? Specifically, Bosma is looking to tamp down open records requests into the emails of state Rep. Eric Koch regarding House Bill 1320. The Citizens Action Coalition of Indiana, the Energy and Policy Institute and Common Cause of Indiana have made two requests to inspect Koch's emails related to the bill dealing with solar energy. They wanted to know how Koch's personal investments and ties to the energy industry — pointed out in an Indianapolis Star investigation earlier in the session — might have fueled his motivation. ❖

Court passes on House suit

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana courts have no business deciding disputes involving the Indiana House, according to a motion filed in a lawsuit about the House's attempts to conceal legislator communications (Kelly, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette). Indianapolis attorney Geoffrey Slaughter filed a motion to dismiss the case Friday. "Under separation of powers principles, courts are not to meddle in the affairs of an equal, coordinate branch of state government," the court records said. "The General Assembly chose to apply the public records act to certain legislative bodies, including itself. But this statutory enactment is legally insufficient to overcome the separation of powers limitation on the court's ability to grant plaintiffs relief." The documents said "mere statutes cannot trump the judiciary's constitutional obligation" to refrain from getting involved in legislative affairs. The motion is the latest in a case filed in April by the Citizens Action Coalition of Indiana, Energy and Policy Institute and Common Cause Indiana. They sued about a public records request for correspondence between Republican Rep. Eric Koch and various utilities regarding a bill about solar power. The litigation arose after House attorneys denied the request, saying the Indiana General Assembly is exempt from Indiana's Access to Public Records Act. The state's Public Access Counselor disagreed and ruled the legislature must comply with the state law. GOP House Speaker Brian Bosma then hired an outside attorney costing \$440 an hour to defend the suit. "This issue raises questions about why Statehouse Republicans seem to be reluctant to be transparent with Hoosiers," said Drew Anderson, spokesman for the Indiana Democratic Party. "The personal information of Hoosiers should always be protected, but it is also important that leader-



ship remain accountable to those who elected them." The motion to dismiss also cautioned that opening up legislator communications would interfere with their ability to enact laws.

IMPD messes with Cannabis church

INDIANAPOLIS — Even though the founder of The First Church of Cannabis has told people to keep their marijuana out of Wednesday's inaugural service, police and neighborhood residents prepared to make the event inconvenient for the "cannaterians" (IndyStar). The Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Department on Tuesday morning posted official "no parking" signs for blocks surrounding the church, which is in the middle of a residential Eastside neighborhood. Police said they were merely reinforcing existing law. Numerous residents posted their own no parking signs or strung yellow tape that said "caution" to keep cars off their property.

U.S., Cuba to open embassies

WASHINGTON — The United States and Cuba have agreed to open embassies in each other's capitals, the biggest tangible step in the countries' historic bid to restore ties after more than a half-century of hostilities. President Barack Obama is expected to announce the agreement today at the White House.

Ritz seeks to revamp A-F

INDIANAPOLIS — Indiana schools chief Glenda Ritz is making another pitch for the state to consider changes in the way it designates A-F accountability grades that for the first time this year will reflect standardized tests based off the state's new academic standards (Schneider, Evansville Courier & Press). Ritz is requesting

education policy leaders allow the newest round of A-F scores to remain the same as the previous school year if a grade for a school was to go down. But Ritz also is requesting the ability to assign new grades to schools that improve their performance. The ratings set for release in December will serve as the accountability grade for the 2014-15 school year."

Pence to tour flooded farm

RENSELAER — Gov. Mike Pence plans to take a first-hand look at the effect of flooding in Indiana (Associated Press). The governor's office says Pence will meet with farmers and survey flooding Wednesday afternoon. He's scheduled to visit Culp Farm in Rensselaer and Plank Farm in Walton. The USDA says 19 percent of Indiana's 5.7 million acres of soybeans and 21 percent of its 5.7 million acres of corn in very poor or poor condition."

Chamber releases legislative grades

INDIANAPOLIS — State legislators received their grades today from the Indiana Chamber of Commerce on their performance during the 2015 General Assembly. The numbers, released in the organization's annual Legislative Vote Analysis, are based on voting records on pro-jobs, pro-economy legislation. The 2015 scores were wide-ranging, from 36% to 100%. There were a total of nine perfect marks — all in the House, which is the exact opposite of last year when 10 senators were atop the list. "We saw a greater spread in scores this year, even among those in the same party. That's a testament to the nature of the public policy being introduced and debated, as well as the changing demographics in the Legislature," states Indiana Chamber President and CEO Kevin Brinegar. "Whether a legislator ranks high or low, their score is tied to how they voted on bills in our Legislative Agenda."